CHAPTER IV

REVIEWING TERRORISM: SECURITY MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE

“Terrorism is currently at the top of the national security agenda in many countries around the world. Indeed, terrorism is widely considered to be the greatest security challenge of our time. Many societies around the world are now faced with the prospect of endemic terrorism on their own soil. At a time when terrorist attacks and thwarted plots regularly dominate the news headlines, when long queues at airport security checks have become all-too-common, and when once innocuous items (drinks, shoes, backpacks) can become the means of deadly attacks, it is clear that the threat of terrorism hangs over us as never before\(^1\) (Waxman, D. 2011: 4)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the discourses of terrorism, seek to define terrorism as major threat to national security and attempts to understand the state-capacity, methods, instruments, approaches and tools use to deal with terrorism as a security issue. Secondly, this chapter deals with the legal aspects of terrorism in a global perspective. This is further lengthened with the outlining the problem of terrorism and counter terrorism issues in India, and how the State of India recognises terrorism and seek to address through its various legal provisions. Thirdly, this chapter seeks to construct the discourse of terrorism as security threat by exploring that how different countries are dealing with the several facets of terrorism, and how counter-terrorism strategies and policies have been phase-wise explored particularly after the wake of Nine-Eleven. Fourthly, the chapter examines that how different countries have brought renewed attention towards terrorism and how these countries have introduced and undertaken several improved measures into respective mechanisms to adequately deal with the complex-going threat of terrorism. Also, this chapter evaluate that how collective measures have been made to be pursued at the global level to deal with terrorism as global security issue.

Other than the above, this chapter seek to answer two pre-underlined research questions. First, “how far the post-09/11 terrorism-centric security debate applies to India’s case; and if so, to what extent, “Terrorism” has emerged to be the principal

\(^1\) U.S. State Department’s definition of terrorism as “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience (Waxman D. 2011: 4)
threat as well as central to the emerging threat-dynamics in India’s internal security threat-sphere?”; and second “what are the terrorism-containment/counter-terrorism agenda to be taken into perspective while formulating the renewed internal security management strategies as well as formulating the plans of internal security management reforms?”.

4.2 Conceptualising Terrorism as Security Threat

Contemporary security studies putting ‘terrorism’ as one of most challenging subject in the security discourses and scholars across schools of thought are seriously deliberative on the problem of terrorism. Recognition of terrorism is universally identified to be the problem for the states, the government, as well as to the entire humanity. The states, the governments, and the security managers are now in serious search of for the answer that “how to deal with terrorism and how to eliminate and eradicate terrorism (Ervine, P. 2010). For Benjamin Netanyahu, “terrorism puts the state at stake by nothing less than challenging the survival of the civilization”\(^2\). This is now termed as “the deliberate and systematic assault on civilians to inspire fear for political ends (Netanyahu 2001)”\(^2\). Now, it is often defined to be warfare deliberately waged against civilians with the purpose of destroying their will to support either leaders or policies that the agents of such violence find objectionable (Carr, C. 2002), while they are interested in using the threat of pain in order to antagonize a people and destabilize a social structure (Fiala 2002).

Terrorism has emerged to be most prominent security issue of the early 21st century, while the issue of responding of this remains a highly debated subject. When many types of security of non-traditional nature have been now emerging in the debate and views are differing on what to be given emphasis as security challenge, it becomes difficult that how terrorism fits into it (Ervine, P. 2010).

4.2.1 Defining Terrorism

Before, dealing with terrorism as a security challenges, it is necessary to define what terrorism is and how it manifests itself into different forms and faces. The term "Terrorism" comes from the French word ‘Terrorism’, which is constructed on the

\(^2\) The Former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu termed ‘terrorism’ to be a political problem and said to be threat to the survival of our civilization (Netanyahu 2001).
Latin verb “terrere” meaning, to cause to tremble. The etymological\(^3\) explanation of the term terrorism is traced to the Latin word ‘terrere’ which means “frighten or tremble”. When it gets coupled with the French suffix ‘isme’ (meaning to ‘practice’) it denotes the meaning of “practicing trembling or causing frightening”. Here, trembling and frightening are synonymous for fear, panic, and anxiety-what can be naturally called as terror (Burgess, Mark 2003). The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) report (2004) described terrorism as:

“any act "Intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act\(^4\)”.

In explaining terrorism, the academics seek to bring numbers of definitions into context\(^5\). So, several contextual explanations with intentions and perceptions have made the definition wide. This makes drawing the rationale definition of terrorism much difficult. A study for definition of terrorism has found more than 200 definition of it, for example, Simon (1994) talks of at least 212 different definition of terrorism which exists in the world (Simon, Jeffrey D. (1994), out of which 90 are currently used by various governments and institutions (Schmid, & Albert 1988). Though scholars across the world have tried to come out with all-acceptable definitions of terrorism, it however has not so far become all-acceptable, because it is too-loaded with conceptual problems.

However, the common thread, what is found from the most of the acceptable scholars and their definition, which states that “the contemporary nature of terrorism denotes the killing of humans by non-state political actors for various reasons, mostly for political purposes (What Is Terrorism?)”. Therefore, the composite defining of terrorism often offered to be an anxiety-inspiring method (Schmid, & Albert 1988) where the use of threat and violence is employed (Laqueur, W. 1999). This is with the political aim intended to have “far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the

\(^3\)“Etymology is the study of the origin and evolution of words. From this standpoint, language is organic, changeable, fluctuating, depending on the needs of thinkers and speakers over time and place.” (Burgess, Mark 2003).


\(^5\) Various contexts involve analysis by diverse stake holders, which include various states, governments, international bodies, researchers and the academics.
immediate target (Hoffman, B. 2006)” directed against state and government⁶ “in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological, and it is war of other means (U.S. Department of State 1996)”.

Since, there are numerous definitions of terrorism; the choice of taking definition can therefore be also wide. But taking the most useful definition of terrorism, the common aspects of its nature is identified to be: “it is political, it is psychological, it is coercive, and it is deliberate”. It is deliberate because, *it is a sensibly employed with specifically selected tactics*, based on the plan and intention to achieve particular goals. It is coercive because, it applies the raw threat of violence to harm, kill or destruct the other people (often who are not the real targets) to produce intended effects. It is psychological because, it is clearly done to do psychological effect on terror of the targeted audience (other than the actual victims). And it is much political in nature because, most of the terrorist acts are done with political intention or to cause a political effect. The *act of terrorism* therefore, equated with “the policy of the continuation of war through other means (Web source 62)”.

The United States Department of Defense definition of terrorism finds three key elements: violence, fear, and intimidation. All of these three elements found to be producing terror in its victims⁷. It sees the act of terrorism to be “premeditated politically-motivated violence” which is perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience (Terrorism Research). Often the unlawful of use of force and violence to intimidate or coerce that is in furtherance of political objectives. In most of the cases of terrorism this has been found to be trend and motives⁸ (Ibid). In perpetrating terrorism, the terrorists use anxiety-inspiring methods of repeated violent actions⁹. The sole purpose *is putting the public or any section of the public, in fear* for political ends¹⁰, though, in

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⁶ League Convention (1937). Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism. Article 1(2)
⁷ The United States Department of Defense defines terrorism as “the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.”
⁸ The FBI uses this definition: “Terrorism is the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.
⁹ The United Nations produced the following definition of terrorism in 1992; "An anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby - in contrast to assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets.”
¹⁰ the British Government definition of terrorism from 1974
some cases, it is “without the adversary realizing the nature of the threat, mistaking terrorism for criminal activity” (Ibid).

4.2.2 Challenges in Defining Terrorism

The definition of terrorism has not been clearly established since its expression, while its meaning has been transforming over the years with new ideologies, technologies and inventions of sophisticated means and methods of war also used for terror\textsuperscript{11}. There remain several challenges which do not allow the larger international community to come out with all-acceptable definition of terrorism.

4.2.3 Defining Terrorism Lacks Global Consensus

Defining terrorism has remained difficult, as there has not been any \textit{internationally agreed-upon legal definition} of consensus to define it (Ervine, P. 2010). So far the effort towards global unanimity on defining terrorism and to fight terrorism is concerned, still it is inadequate. Therefore, to formulate or enforce international agreements against terrorism lacks the consensus (Ganor 2002). On the other side, the practical scenarios in different countries are diverse, numerous and varied. So, determining and accepting the definitions offered by different countries as accurate and appropriate becomes puzzling. The problems of such definitions also become unacceptable when they got confined within certain context and certain periphery. Though, those may sound appealing, but going beyond certain boundary, it is faced with problematic setbacks (Defining Terrorism).

There are many differing definitions on terrorism but still the question “\textit{what is terrorism}” is yet remains without all-accepted answer. Similarly, the other question “why one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter” remains unanswered too. Even, the international community faces difficulties when it comes to define “what terrorism is” and “what it constitutes”. It is also faced with the similar challenges of exploring to find out the perspective ways to define or delineate it. So, finding a proper, well-accepted definition of “what constitutes terror” not so far have been made clear, the fundamental cause of differences continue to remain laid on the difference of historical and cultural dis-matches. This begets challenges to the desire of all accepted definition of “what is and what constitute terrorism and the act of terrorism”.

\textsuperscript{11} Invention of dynamite, nuclear weapons and appearance of new terrorist techniques like blackmail and bloody suicides’ attacks
The problem is that, unless the all accepted definition comes to picture, identifying or determining “particular groups as terrorist or terrorist organisations is found to be opposed as offensive and not to be fairly acceptable.

4.2.4 Involvement of Political Subjectivity

The involvement of political subjectivity in terrorism does not allow defining terrorism as a threat to human survival\textsuperscript{12}. Political subjectivity often tends to make the definition of terrorism vague. This gives the terror sponsoring states give the space to either deny or justify their acts. According to Horgan, terror is carried out in a political climate to affect a specific type of target in a conscience, deliberate strategic use of violence (Defining Terrorism). Secondly, terror is not only used as a weapon by the individuals or non-state actors, but by the states as well. So, he suggests for balanced approach to define terror, and variety of disciplinary perspectives should be taken together while defining the diversity and complexity of terrorism. At the same time, it is also important to understand side by side the acts of terrorists and to understand the specific set of grievances and political agenda on which the actors willing to use terror.

While, academics take the reasons of the lack of universal definition to terrorism, policy makers see failures in their attempt to work out a coherent response on which they can act against terrorism (Hoffman, B. 2005: 40). So far it remains clear that research into terrorism is faced with the several challenges when the attempts in defining terrorism remain unconsummated, while researching into terrorism remains rid with several problems, due to the scarcity of primary, first-hand research and the private nature of data, the challenge to defining terrorism is furthered. It is also understood that in the search of the definition of terrorism, the research becomes insensible due to high possible inclusion of the preconceived biases and stereotypes.

Understanding the root cause remains important for a pragmatic research into terrorism, and this has to be based on both spatial and temporal perspectives. Therefore, this work instead misplacing itself in the oblivion of illusory-contradictory definitions on terrorism, alternatively seeks to take terrorism as: firstly, the “use of the means and methods of terror with certain purpose”; secondly, it is to be “conducted by a subnational organization almost with a political desire” and the “fundamental nature

\textsuperscript{12} The most spread notion that one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter though not correctly defined also gives a supporting notion in some cases to see terrorism as a part of freedom struggle justified to be unseen or tolerated and thus let to survive.
of which has been often violent and psychological (Hoffman, B. 2005: 40)”. This does not bring any particular ideology into terrorism and does not seek to free the other ideology from the act of terrorism; rather it seeks to define terrorism irrespective of ideologies and only concentrate on the means and methodologies used in the perpetration of terror. Therefore, the most acceptable definition of terrorism that is “the use or threat and violence as a means of attempting to achieve some sort of effect within a political context” (John Horgan (1), has been taken as the only defining characterisation for this work.

Despite a lack of universality in the definitions of terrorism, it is found to be centred on the political theatre and is found to be used to coerce and intimidate the civilians and the non-combatants. However, in order to work for the strategy to fight terrorism, it is important to define terror very clear and best. According to Boaz Ganor (2002), there are seven major issues that need to be addressed to help define terror and this includes:

- The boundary between terrorism and other forms of political violence needs to be understood;
- The State-sponsored terrorism and non-state terrorism should be understood as the part of same phenomenon;
- The relationship between crime and terrorism should be explored;
- How to separate terrorism from simple criminal acts should be made clear;
- It is to be understood that whether terrorism used as the mans and is a subcategory of coercion or violence or desire for Power or for Influence;
- All efforts should be taken to understand the question of legitimacy behind terrorism and to take all efforts of delegitimization;
- The relationship between guerrilla warfare and terrorism should also be understood.
- Why terrorism needs political response should be clarified.

4.3 Analysis of Terrorism

The problems associated with the analysis of terrorism are many. But most vital lacking is of the knowledge of their motivations and intentions. Similarly, understanding of the structure, function, organization is also lacking (Sageman 2004). It is unlikely to eliminate terrorism completely, which remains politically motivated violence traced back to thousands of years (Laqueur, W. 2001). Therefore, national
security managers need to understand the intention and impact of terrorist attacks on targeted societies. In preventing terrorist activities, there is need to understand the intention, objectives, organisations, behaviour and the changing tactics of terrorist groups’ actions (Waxman, D. 2011). So for governments to be successful in their sustainable counter-terrorism objectives, it is quite important to understand and predict the terrorist objectives and behaviour and to remain prepared to deal with its possible impacts (Ibid).

Now, terrorism has its economic, social, political and psychological effects upon the population and even on the state and government. Terrorism therefore has become the subject of research of the psychologists, sociologists, economists, and political scientists and of course has been carrying out in various approaches (Waxman, D. 2011).

4.3.1 Psychological Analysis of Terrorism

Psychological analysis of terrorism takes the belief system of the terrorist into important consideration among the reasons for the growth of terrorists and their activities. Psychological analysis of terrorism states that “terrorism” is different than usual crime (Hudson, R. 1999). This is targeted against a particular person, or a group of people. It is argued that the belief system gives a strong foundation to the terrorist leaders to develop strong motivation in their recruits and also to accomplish all dirty works. Similarly, the belief system helps the terrorist for the subjective interpretation of the surrounding world on which they plan to target (Crenshaw M. 1981: 379-399). Belief system makes certain conviction in the mind of the terrorists through which they their targets, and see their actions justified to them (Hudson R. 1999).

The important outcome of the psychological analysis of terrorism states that it is a war targeting people’s psychology and convictions. This is an alternative war strategy is aimed at direct targeting “the hearts and minds of the people rather than territorial grabbing per se (Mazari, S. 1999)”. So, terrorism remains to be a psychological warfare, where attacks are made to make certain propaganda effective. As the ground work for the perpetration of terrorism, strategy often employed where-the minds of the dissenting groups are subverted through tactics for psychological warfare or are

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13 “Belief system is either controlled by religious or by the political-ideological beliefs (Hudson R. A. 1999)”.
prepared for militant type activities. This is the very crucial point to be remembered when the study of armed insurgencies violent movements and terrorists types of incidents are desired. Because, if the mind of the dissidents is won over; then it becomes easier to make them the tool for the acts psychological warfare through various acts of subversion (Ibid).

4.3.2 The Political Analysis of Terrorism

Political analysis of terrorism is much important, because, in most of the cases terrorism is used as political tool. In terrorism, the trace of political aim, objective or reason might be directly well perceived or remains distance, but is well-palpable. Terrorism is undertaken by both the state and non-state actors. It can be local or international. But the common practice is the use of means and methods of terror to induce fear in an audience in order to achieve a political goal (Ervine, P. 2010). Terrorism though target innocents, the target is beyond the victims, particularly the state or the opponent political entity (Ibid). Terrorism so far is understood to be the action of none-state actors or the weak actors (who feel suppressed, marginalized or denied of their desire), which use violent acts to invoke a response or to prove and propagate their points. The means and methods of terror are pursued by these groups to achieve their political agenda (Encarta, Online, 2006: Par 1), or aiming at the containment of the political opponents by intimidating their supporters (Agarwal, S. 2011).

Though the objectives are political, but perpetrators often use religious or ideological relics to appeal to a wider existing audience. The non-state actors also use terrorism as a tactic to polarise the population in their favour. By killing people in mass, they aim to undermine the state capacity and convey the message that they are equally capable to take the state into vengeance. The role of the non-state actors usually remain involved in attempts to either gain control of an existing State, or to create a new State, or to underscore the pre-eminence of States (Buzan, B. 1987: 3).

The political aim of the terrorists has been to use the tool of terror for leverage and bargaining and to do political and diplomatic disruption. Their aim also involves provoking a government to react harshly and indiscriminately (Pillar, P. 2003). Such intention may involve to strategy of the release of the fellow terrorist-prisoners or pressing for the withdrawal of military troops to their advantages. The motive also
involves provoking the government for the indiscriminate retaliation or severe military responses which can create resentment and hostility among the people toward the government. The motive may also involve facilitating the perpetual cycle of violence in given area to their advantages (Pillar, P. 2003). However, there has not so far been all-agreed consensus among scholars, that at what front the terrorist groups become successful in achieving their political objectives and at what front they achieve to fail. While some talk of certain political gains of terrorist (Pape, A. 2003: 343-361) while the others sees terrorism often gets politically backfired and have little scope to succeed in democracy (Abrahms, M. 2006: 42-78).

4.3.3 Operational Intention

The acts of terror have long historical existence. Despite having a history longer than the modern nation-state, why the use of terror still continues remains poorly understood. Though “the meaning of the word terror itself is clear, when it is applied to acts and actors in the real world it becomes confused (web source 48)”. What terrorists intend through the acts of terror is still to be studied in its totality. There are several types and nature of intention the terrorists have for committing the acts of violence and terror. This may also vary from the nature or ideologies the particular terrorists group is affiliated or subscribe to. However, the common and most important intention are found to be to: producing widespread fear among the common mass or to “harass, weaken, or embarrass government security forces so that the government overreacts and appears repressive to the terrorists’ advantage which can give them leverage to further their propaganda (Ibid)”.

It is said that ideology and motivation powers the objectives of terrorist and decides their operations. When ideology varies, the target types and aim also vary. It is therefore, theorised that “when the terrorists groups of secular ideological affiliation (having non-religious goals) are supposed to attempt highly selective and discriminate acts of terror so as to achieve specific political aim; however in contrast, terrorists groups driven by religious ideologies will always try the attacks to be indiscriminate and the causalities to be as high as possible” (web source 48). Similarly, the target of non-religious terrorism is often found to be the symbolic attacks targeting the authority, or the state or the government. Therefore, the target of these groups found to be the places or people whom they considered to be central to economic exploitation, social injustice, or political repression or even religious exploitation (Ibid).
The psychological intention of the terrorists behind attacking is to create fear of xenophobia within a society (Huddy, L. et al. 2002: 485-509) so as to keep people under serious psychological trauma and strain (Bleich, A. et.al. 2003: 612-620). They particularly target the people who seem to be opponent to their ideology and agenda (Echebarria-Echabe A. & Fernandez-Guede E. 2006: 259–265). Studying terrorist organisations, their policy statements, the ideological missions can reveal the intention of the particular terrorist groups. Understanding the affiliation and political mission can also make it easier to understand their enemy, while it can also make clear that which are the vulnerable groups to be programmed into their missions and who can be the audience of appeal (Waxman, D. 2011).

4.3.4 The Modus Operandi

The weak states use the means of asymmetric warfare to win over its opponents, which is relatively stronger (Hoge et al. 2001). Therefore, weak states often found to be employing the terrorism as their modus operandi (is also similar to the means of asymmetry). Terrorists prefer to operate in the societies where rights and protections prevail, and generally avoid authoritarian governments when conducting operations wherever possible. Though, this may not apply to all cases of terrorist operations. Therefore, it is said that “the governments with effective security forces and few guaranteed civil liberties have typically suffered much less from terrorism than liberal states with excellent security forces (web source 49)”.

The new modus operandi of terrorism represents a significant departure from the previous patterns of terrorism particularly urban terrorism. The terrorists are found to be exploiting the weak points in a country’s security for terrorism planning. The act of terrorism involves detailed planning and the use of sophisticated weapons, advanced training. Terrorists plan to carry out coordinated attacks, which make security forces confused and scattered. Further, terrorists plan to select target and coordinated attacks which can gather wider public attention and publicity creating larger impact at the cost of minimum investment. Terrorist also plan to take hostage of people or places of importance for the purpose of bargaining using that as shield for their own. The new modus operandi of planting anonymous bombs in crowded places is found to be getting replaced by the things like armed assaults and hostage-taking. Terrorists target a large pool of people and for so they often resort to attack on public place killing large numbers of people mercilessly. Finally and most importantly, there have been
growing involvements of cross-border terrorist organisations, state actors and non-state actors in planning and executing terrorist acts. All these pose significant challenges to Indian security forces (Iyer, L. 2009).

_Terrorist organisations remain to be illicit clandestine organisations generally consisting of planners, trainers, and actual executioner_ having various structures of existence and execution methods (What is Terrorism?). Now, the global terrorists rather than attacking a specific target have started more indiscriminative attacks and killings. Therefore, it becomes difficult to trace the terrorists’ intention and their plan of targets. Now the terrorist acts connect to decentralized and extraterritorial terrorist organisations. It makes the state security apparatus difficult to apprehend the terrorists to break their operations (Karacasulu, N. 2006: 1-17).

“Terrorists sowing fear and panic within the targeted public seek to pressure the government to act in ways they desire (Waxman, D. 2011)”. Therefore, creating _fear, panic, anxiety, distress etc._ in the public will continue to remain as the essential element of terrorism strategy, and is hardly to change (Ibid). Instead of probing the consequences of a single terrorist attack, examination of the effects of repeated terrorist attacks on a targeted society is necessary, because that can reveal the clear picture of terrorist strategy as well as their intention. Similarly, a country’s response and the citizens’ reaction to a single, large-scale terrorist attack versus the response and reaction to repeated, smaller-scale attacks are also need to be examined. When the former might often be out of the externally sponsored act, while the later often shows sign the growth and chronic nature of terrorism in a country and also growth of the home-grown terrorists (Spilerman & Stecklov 2009:167-89). Though attacks in terms of numbers said to have decreased (by the late 1990s) (Beck 2003: 255-267), however, the motivations, methods and strategies (Karacasulu, N. 2006: 1-17) have changed and becoming more dangerous. Therefore, research on terrorism the counts of up-and-down statistics of incidents rather on the changing nature and motivation of the terrorists and their critical targets (Beck 2002:112-119)

The terrorist groups have both political and terrorist wings so as to keep the opportunity open for political gain, and if does not materialise, then to opt for practicing terrorism (Karacasulu, N. 2006: 1-17). Their operations involves changing the targets, widening the areas of targets and targeting political and economic elites, critical infrastructures like financial centers, media, energy production etc. (Laqueur,
For the financial support, terrorists carry out various financial crimes. This includes the act of stealing, extortion as well as through various forms of crimes particularly organised-crimes. The terrorists are dependent on publicity to succeed for which they do violence and act of terror (Karacasulu, N. 2006: 1-17).

For operational requirement they either collect weapons and ammunition through looting from the security forces or they procure it through underworld channels and via organised crime networks. So as to limit the State capacity against them, they disrupt the lines of information and communication. To gather public support in the operational theatre they take all activities to the best of their capacity in order to create doubt and disbelief about the government in public mind. Most seriously, the terrorist through various strategies of sabotages and guerrilla wars incessantly try to keep the government otherwise engaged (Terrorism Research). This enables them to carry out their long strategy and planning for operations.

4.4 Reason for the Growth of Terrorism

The realists’ assumption that terrorism is an existential threat (Frum & Perle 2003) and this act is “intended with the purpose of intimidating a population so as to compelling a state and its government”\(^\text{14}\). As per the realists view, the rise of terrorism can be seen to the struggle for power, which happens due to “some short of imbalances that happens in the power domain, where small powers often seek an alternate distribution of power (Nau, H. 2012)”. Through stable balance of power, the realists claim that an end to these struggles can be given\(^\text{15}\) (Ibid). Struggle for power is one of the reasons behind the growth of terrorism particularly internal terrorism in many countries. When the struggle for ‘power’ among self-interested states (Walt, S. 1998) is the order of the world, it is obvious that State will remain the serious cause behind the genesis and sponsorship of terrorism (in the other State which is antagonistic to it), though it is also the States which remain the major responders to all most security threats including terrorism.

If terrorism is indented to control over the power or to demonstrate power, the states will also seek to preserve their power (Morgenthau, H. 1978: 4-15) for which it may

\(^{14}\) United Nations Security Council report described it in November 2004

\(^{15}\) The realist often claims that ethnic conflicts are the result of hard-wired psychological needs. Since these are enduring features in human society. In this context, they suggest for accommodating different identities through stable balance of power to end these struggles (Nau, H. R. 2012).
also prefer to extent of the use of military force fight terrorism when the other means stand to fail. As *war is a necessary expedient for preserving power* (Fiala, A. 2002) for the sole objective of the preservation and protection of the state and its interests, the state being the key actor will struggle for the preservation of power with the ultimate purpose of self-preservation (Farkasch, R. 2004). When terrorism stands contrary to the survival of state and government it should be seriously taken. When physical violence is done for the power, it becomes the responsibility of the state to safeguard the means and methods of achieving powers constitutional measures (Morgenthau H. J. 1978: 4-15). Because, power is the central tool in the hand of a State, through which it can only manage its sustenance.

There are numerous reasons behind the persistence and the growth of terrorism. Terrorism is growing out of the consequence of the growing identity consciousness. This is because of which the struggle for national, religious, and ethnic identities makes one group see the other as enemy and this is where the genesis of aggression begins (Nau, H. 2012). Even some see modern day terrorism as a product unequal socioeconomic development relating it to relate to the modernisation process. So, there are scholars who often tend to explain terrorism with the use of Modernisation approaches. They further, argue that unequal socioeconomic development having been the global phenomenon, this makes the globalisation of terrorism much easier (Ibid).

4.4.1 How terrorism is becoming radical and dangerous

Before the nineteenth century, terrorists preferred not to harm innocent people (web source 24), however, over the years, their preference has changed as they now just want to get the point across, and here the September 11 terrorist attacks can be taken as examples (Cherian, S. 2009). Examining historically, the terrorist motivations in the 1970s remained political. So, the activities like hijacking, kidnapping, bombing and taking hostages remained the most practised methods during this phase. But in the 1980s, besides politically motivated terrorism, religiously and economically motivated terrorism grew (Karacasulu, N. 2006). In the 1990s, religious terrorism became the new phenomenon (Chalk 1996). In the 1980’s methods of adopting chemical weapons also added. In the 1990’s beyond these conventional methods, two other threats are seen. First is that terrorists started to acquire the WMD, and second with
the increasing use of Internet, terrorist also have resorted to information warfare (Medd & Goldstein 1999: 17-32).

The other emerging is trend is that, now extreme right groups are gradually replacing the leftist and anarchic groups, and there is also in the growth of ethnically motivated terrorism (Laqueur, W.1996). Further, the state-sponsored terrorism and the individual terrorist group are also found to be flourishing, while the link between the rogue-states, the terrorist groups also getting developed. Though the number of attacks has decreased, terrorism is becoming radical and dangerous. While, terrorists have gained access to destructive technology, the use of WMD by terrorist increases their potential to harm (Medd & Goldstein 1999: 17-32). Terrorists’ access to technology and communication channels and easy access to international banking system, the global terrorism has become more dangerous (Laqueur, W.1996).

4.4.2 Globalisation of Terrorism: Post Nine Eleven Analysis

Globalization process has widened the support for terrorism (Karacasulu, N. 2006: 1-17), while terrorism itself is getting internationalised with the spread of technologies. The September 11 terrorist attacks, marks that that the scope of threats have widened with globalization (Cha V. 2000: 391-403). In such a situation terrorism is becoming more challenging, and thus, the battle against terrorism became a priority for all the nations (Karacasulu, N. 2006: 1-17). While, globalization has made the scope of the states to reduce, the advantages of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the complimentary support out of the regional conflicts, the weakening of the state system, privatization of force and the growth of organised crimes have strengthened the advantages of the terrorists over the states (The European Security Strategy 2003:3-4). Apart from the advantage taken over on the advanced communication and information technological infrastructures, the terrorists also take the advantages of the political and media sensationalism which helps them in making the public to fear and giving boost to the terrorism dictum (Rinehart 2011).

4.4.2.1 Modern Terrorism

Rise of modern terrorism has become complex, more diverse with more ideological and political goals. Modern day terrorism tends to higher level of sophisticated and higher scale of violence. The weapons used by the modern terrorist are more deadly, while many of them are resorting to acquiring radiological, biological and chemical
weapons (Shivani, R. 2013:160-184). The motivations, strategies and weapons now used by the modern terrorists have changed in compared to the same used by the traditional terrorists (Deutsch, J. 1997:10-24). Now modern terrorists have access to huge financial resources and modern communication channels and equipment. So, these conditions have made modern terrorism gone much beyond the traditional terrorism, which now emerging to be the greatest security threat to the nation-states. While, modern day terrorism is emerging to be the most brutal form of violent still proper understanding of its nature and target remains absent. There is still lack of proper evaluation and the methodology of attacks it is going to employ. While, it is understood that the modern day terrorism has the capacity to the continuous adaptation across different theatre; still there is lack of suitable and adequate response mechanism in frame to deal with it decisively (Shivani, R. 2013: 160-184).

4.4.4 Why Terrorism Needs International Political Response

The matter of the fact is that terrorism is gradually moving away from state-based terrorism to transnational terrorist networks (Transnational Terrorism 2008). The nature and function of terrorism is becoming transnational and more sophisticated. While the terrorists’ motivations will not change, but the methods they will use will change very rapid. Terrorists will resort to the use of new technologies and sophisticated tools, and will target sensitive infrastructures to bend enemy to the ground what the States so far have not even imagined and realised. Terrorist networks will now involve international victims and perpetrators will their targets will growingly concentrate at global lifelines such as airliners and embassies with politically-motivated gains (Fiala, 2002 & Reeson, G. 2006).

Though, terrorism historically continued to operate in a traditional set of manner, now terrorism has got enough ground for escalation with the developmental and technological progress (such as scientific, social and economic). The assumption of terrorists’ access to the weapon of mass destruction is growingly getting ground, even some argue that the terrorists are afraid to use it or wait for a suitable moment to use it. While, history confirms of all made weapons so far the mankind has been used somehow and somewhere, the use of WMD by the non-state actors and terrorists or by the state as the result of terrorists compulsion cannot be ruled out. To attain political
aims, terrorists will ever resort to threats and violence against civilian targets\textsuperscript{16}. Therefore, it remains alarming that the political aim of different terrorist groups also may come tighter and the use of worst form of atomic or nuclear terrorism for larger set of political aim cannot be ruled out (Web source 55).

4.4.5 What Consists of Terrorism?

“Terrorism consists of series of acts intended to spread intimidation, panic, and destruction in a population, which can be carried out by individuals or groups opposing a State, or acting on its behalf (Agarwal, S. 2011)”. There are many types of terrorism, and there are terrorists organisation made for different purposes (Mockaitis 2006: par, 1). In recent years, terrorism seems to be at a new height and attacks are more violent than in the past (Wilcox, P. C. 2006: 1). For the last decade, there has been a dramatic rise in terrorists’ activities, where the methods of murder, kidnapping, hijacking, and bombings have been employed (Encarta, Par 2006:1). Since terrorists generally cannot match the strength of conventional military forces, they often rely on to the mode of operations for example like guerrilla warfare (Mockaitis, 2006: Part 3).

4.4.6 Terrorism and its Domestic Effect

The fundamental questions like: what affection will the attacks of terrorists on a country will have; what kinds of domestic effects they produce or are likely to produce? Such questions require comprehensive and integrated answers. Some scholars argue that while the actual “effects of terrorism are quite minimal, the current concern with terrorism is well out of proportion” to the threat that terrorism actually poses (John & Stewart 2010). They support their claim with the argument that before the comparison of the number of fatalities in conventional wars, or even traffic accidents, the numbers of terrorist fatalities are quite minimal. However, such an argument said to be the crudest way to measure the impact of terrorism when terrorist aim, target and consequences go far beyond the deaths and destruction (Waxman, D. 2011).

4.5 Defining Terrorism as an Internal Security Challenge

Defining terrorism as an internal security challenge should be as per the problem within. However, it should also be made tune to the cross-boundary definitions,

\textsuperscript{16}As identified by Geneva conventions definitions of terrorism
because it also requires international cooperation to deal with the terrorist with cross-border nexus. In Indian internal security management context, the understanding of terrorism should be based on its long-standing experience of suffering and a lesson from the historical success and failure of its management. The nature, type of the problems as well as the genesis theatre may change. But, the very nature of terrorism will remain the same. It will almost remain political in nature, and the means and methods of terror will be used for the purpose of their achievement.

Therefore, any group using the method of terror or violence or the both for political objectives, there action should neither be justified, nor their legitimacy should ever be considered (Held, V. 2008: 52). When the act is based on intimidating a section, even if they are not the target or even culprit in the eyes of the terrorists themselves, the question is raised first on morality of perpetrators of terrorism, when terrorism and killing of innocent can be method or means of publicity and or to gain the attention of the public or the government how can the plight of these people should be considered as legitimate though they believe themselves to be legitimate (Web source 49). Keeping these arguments in consideration, the followings should also be treated as the act and the actors of terrorism:

- Use of violence/terror for political objectives/purposes;
- The means and methods of terror used for intimidation of innocent targets with the aim of doing organised crimes;
- Organised crimes relating to terror financing, and in way which connects to the networking of terrorists or the terrorism networks.

4.5.1 Terrorism should be treated more than Crime

Though, terrorism is primarily a criminal act, but it should be differentiated from the acts of crime when it is done indiscriminately with intended political purpose. Terrorism also should be differentiated from the act of crime, because its impact is intended to reach more than the immediate targeted victims. So, terrorism obviously involves the acts of crime like murder, arson, kidnapping and etc. therefore, terrorism automatically is brought under the purview of criminal justice system. Secondly, terrorism can be called as the acts of unlawful violence and war based on the belief that violence or use of threat will be effective, when the terrorists feel that they had no other choice. This is based on the idea that the act of terror would produce fear in
government to change its attitude in the favour what they demand. Extremists also practice terrorism to produce fear with same intension (Raswan, S. 2013) and therefore, this study does not see any fundamental difference between the modern day terrorism and the extremism. Thirdly, terrorism can be seen to be as coercive tactic adopted as part of a larger guerrilla strategy. This was generally used to secure the objectives of a secessionist movement as the worst political strategy when demands were not met (Ibid).

In many of the countries, fundamentally and legally, terrorism is differentiated from the criminal acts, keeping in attention that terrorism is generally done for a political purpose (Acharya, B. 2010). Similarly, many countries have taken enough pain to define terrorism as different form security problem, however often failed to come to an all acceptable and error-free define of terrorism. However, in many countries that like of India the acts of terrorism have been tried to be kept distinguishingly separate from the criminal acts done for other purposes (Waxman, D. 2011).

It is found problematic that many Western governments traditionally treated terrorism as a criminal matter. These government identified terrorism as a type of crime with the intention to curtail their global appeal and respect. However, the problem of this approach was that, this limited the range of options available for combating terrorists. Then only the use of law enforcement and intelligence agencies made the antiterrorist efforts limited, “while pre-emptive military strikes against terrorist leaders, networks, or bases were ignored (Carr, C. 2002)”. However, the post 9/11 launch of the global war on terrorism reversed this approach (Reeson, G. 2006). It was later decided on the larger global consensus that the terrorist states should not be accommodated and tolerated, and terrorist violence should be met with appropriate hard-security response (Walt, 1998). Moreover, terrorists should be treated more than criminals, because, looking terrorist within the criminal framework in fact overlooks their capacity and motivations and the level of damage and fatality they are supposed to produce (Reeson, G. 2006).

4.5.2 Counter-Terrorism in the Homeland: Global Analysis in the Post-Nine Eleven context

Terrorism became an issue on the international agenda in 1934, when the League of Nations as a major step toward terrorism termed it to be highly illegal, and drafted a convention for the prevention and punishment of terrorist acts (Sinclair, A. 2003).
However, since that time, terrorism has evolved from an old form to quite modern, while it has become much complex, sophisticated and dangerous. The comparison between old and new terrorism can be explained through the evolution of terrorism in four waves, with the Fourth Wave being terrorism in its modern form.

The First Wave was in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Second Wave was the colonial wave, confined within national geographical boundaries from 1921 until today. The third wave was the contemporary wave, which introduced international terrorism-crossing national boundaries (began in the 1960s) (Rapoport, D. 1988:2-10). And last, the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack which was symptom manifested indicating the rise of the fourth wave of terrorism (Ibid). Though states have already known the pains of terrorism, it became more a concern of many other states with September 11, 2001 (9/11) terrorist attacks in the United States. This a turning point for all the nations to see the threat of terrorism. Almost a new awareness has started, because everybody saw its damages while a lot of people have died or injured, and unfortunately while terrorist declared their success. Terrorism became the main topic on the top agenda for many nations and institutions. Today, global terror is a giant problem for all humanity. September 11 gave a message that the target was the main leader of globalization, the United States (Karacasulu, N. 2006: 1-17).

4.5.3 Counter Terrorism: A Major Concern in the Protection of Internal Security

Counter terrorism (CT) has become one of the major concerns for nations across the globe when the protection of national security and assets has been at stake (Cordesman 2001). While on the other hand, the emergence of terrorist to worldwide networks with numerous cells and global coordination has made the counter-terrorist task more difficult. Terrorism can be eliminated through institutional solutions based on reconciliation and robust federal arrangement and proper developmental distribution (Nau, H. R. 2012). Much pre-occupation and dependent on the State and its apparatus cannot serve the purpose unless there is adequate level of cooperation to defeat the threats like terrorism when it has already gone global and beyond the reach of the individual state capacity (Farkasch, R. 2004). Similarly, preoccupation with States makes to ignore the role of other actors (non-state and international actors) those are also equally important to fight the threat like terrorism (Ibid).

In the effort of countering and fighting modern-day terrorism, the emphasis on the multi-national corporations, terrorist groups, non-governmental organizations, and
other transnational actors are to be important. This becomes important in the context, when the rise of non-state actors as both threat and tool of management of threats based on the liberal principles of collective self-defence (Buros, R. L. 2011) rise to prominence, though the states are considered to be remaining sovereign. Therefore, the contemporary counterterrorism strategies are bending to subscribe to the principles of collective self-defence, as the threat from terrorism remains existent worldwide. When terrorism emerges as a threat to the nation states as well as the larger international community, this requires for working out coherent response of counter-terrorism measures (Obama 2010: 8).

There should not remain any difference of understanding on the point that “effective fight against terrorism requires multilateral approaches, institutions and cooperation (Obama 2011: 2)”. Therefore, countries desiring international cooperation on CT, should adjust their CT efforts and mechanisms that to the international kind. In the process of collateral CT effort, various governments across the globe are required to consider on the idea of forming alliances to combat terrorism and terror cells in their homeland. Since, terrorism is an international issue; diplomacy with other countries has to be an essential component, while proper communications among the countries has also to be established (Nanjappa, V. 2014).

4.5.4 Constrains of CT as Internal Security Issue:

When the new elements of terrorism challenge the states, it becomes difficult to measure and fight it effectively as an internal security issue (Clark, I. 1999). Similarly, when terrorism poses a growing strategic threat and is committed to maximum violence, while going non-territorial nature, it is becoming far from possible to apply the state capacity and the traditional deterrence strategy against this threat (Guehenno, J. M. 1999: 22-35). So, while the role of military is important, the prominence of intelligence and law enforcement are equally indispensable (Obama 2011).

4.5.5 The Post Nine Eleven CT

The most important initiatives those can be learn from the international effort of CT in post Nine-Eleven are: to target terrorist finances by “broad based International counter-terrorism cooperation on the financial fronts” is necessary (Karacasulu, N. 2006: 1-17). Then, addressing terrorism in several ways respectively: readiness to take 'all necessary steps' to respond to the attacks and to combat all forms of terrorism; the
prevention and suppression of the financing of terrorism; and the measures to eliminate international terrorism (Ibid). The post-Nine Eleven CT strategy has been pre-emptive targeting the potential threats and developing capabilities with the objectives of the containment of the adversaries. It understands that relying on a reactive posture solely no longer that cannot help in the deterrence of the potential attackers whose magnitude of potential harm is now becoming more dangerous\textsuperscript{17}. However, the post-Nine Eleven CT strategy appears less confident that deterrence alone can protect. And therefore, it stressed upon the military capabilities pre-emption if deterrence does not work\textsuperscript{18} (Ibid).

4.5.6 Making Counterterrorism Strategy

“Any counterterrorism strategy must begin with a clear and attainable goal (Frum & Perle. 2003)”. For example, for the realists, terrorism is an existential threat which military only can handle. However, a single method for the eradication of terrorism is simply not possible, and it can only be manageable when the state’s response is proactive and multidimensional. Therefore, counterterrorism strategy requires meaningful integration of government agencies across the short-term, mid-term and long-term measures consisting of all strategies of defensive, offensive, and proactive measures (Ibid).

CT strategy must involve understanding the threat terrorism poses and the major elements of counterterrorism. Because, for a state, formulation of CT is the most complex affairs among the whole dimensions of security management as it involves and may pose serious set-backs and dangerous reactions. However, the CT becomes compulsion as it involves the highest opportunity to save the state from the threat to its very survival. While, CT involves both opportunities and dangerous compulsions equally, how a state manages the opportunities depends on how it succeeds to understand threats and the involved players and how it prepares its capabilities to respond those effectively (Buros, R. L. 2011). Effective CT strategy may generally constitute numbers of steps and parameter that the state has to undertake, however, the most prominent and compulsory among those are (Ibid):

\textsuperscript{17} “The National Security Strategy of the United States (NSS)” issued by the Bush administration, September 2002.

\textsuperscript{18} The post-Nine Eleven CT strategy realises that the terrorist organisations like the Al’Qaeda cannot be deterred the military capabilities and therefore the option should remain open to pre-emption as the alternative where the use of military remains essential.
• The “elimination of terrorism and terrorist groups” with massive military response; and if not so possible at least reduction in the size of terrorist organizations;

• “Reduction in the ideological appeal of extremist philosophies and indoctrination”;

• Balancing the support sphere including curbing the cross-border ideological, methodological, and logistical support and trainings; and

• Finding out all illegal activities and financial sources on which the terrorists remain existent.

### 4.5.7 The Objectives in Making of Counter-terrorism Strategies

In making of counter-terrorism strategies, important objectives of it need to be sketched. The Provisions of CT objectives need to include:

• The governments must be made to “persuade people that the killing of civilians by terrorists is absolutely unacceptable”, whatever the political motive might be behind.

• All efforts must be made by the government to win over the hearts and minds of citizens to isolate people to get involved in terrorism on the appeal of any anti-government movement or revolutions.

• Necessary strategies and planed must be exercised to expose the terrorists intention and affiliation so that they can be made isolated and exposed in the public (Wilcox P. C. 2006).

### 4.6 CT in the Homeland: A Review of Approaches by Different Countries

Terrorism being a global concern, a review of the contemporary approaches to management of terrorism as internal security challenge is essential. Here an attempt has been made to do a precise review that “how internal security threats are recognised in contemporary times in the various countries in world” that by keeping CT efforts at its centrality. Four examples have been taken here to study, these includes three countries and the European Union. Two of these are the neighbouring countries, importantly, the People’s Republic of China, and the Federal Republic of Pakistan. Similarly, two important countries in the global perspective namely, the United States of America, and the European Union have been taken. This has been precisely studied in the context of how these states and governments have taken terrorism and how they plan to manage and contain it as an internal security issue in their homeland.
4.6.1 Global Efforts to CT in the Homeland: Post-Nine-Eleven Context

After 9/11, countries took several measures to combat terrorism on their homeland. Now many of these countries have erected special designated units to handle terrorist threats. Many security agencies and elite tactical units have been formed which have been assigned the role to directly engage with the terrorists and to prevent terrorist attacks. Apart from preventive actions, such units also have been assigned to perform hostage rescue and responding to on-going attacks at various given situations. In the United States, the majority of counter-terrorism operations are done at the tactical level, while the majority of the operations are handled at the intelligence level. However, in majority of counter-terrorism operations, the federal and national law enforcement agencies and intelligence agencies get involved\(^{19}\) (Cordesman, A. H. 2001).

It is only after the 9/11, there was realisation that intensive preventive measures should be taken against terrorist acts. So, the American government understood that it has to take the policy of “zero tolerance” towards terrorism. The politicians in America felt that the government had to act against terrorists both in the homeland and worldwide to prevent terrorist to do another 9/11 like attack on USA.

The post-9/11 saw the considerable the tune of national counterterrorism legislation in the EU countries. The EU countries emphasised on terrorism as national concern, and vowed to deal with it using national tools (Transnational Terrorism 2008). The “European CT found to be focusing on the strategic aspects, and evolving national legislations ensuring better road map for ensuring effective strategy to deal with terrorism. With the formulation of the EU Counter-Terrorism Strategy (2005) and demarcation of Action Plan (by the European Council, 2007), European Union CT got a major boost of ensuring better road map for ensuring effective CT strategy. The post- 9/11 effort of the Europe has been to develop a common legal framework at the national level, and to establish cooperation mechanisms at the international level so that the facilitation of counterterrorism become successful (Transnational Terrorism 2008).

\(^{19}\) such as the FBI and CIA
Though the involvement of military in terrorist attacks in certain countries in EU\textsuperscript{20}, the policymakers have however taken it as a domestic phenomenon and emphasised its counter by the police and law enforcement (soft-approach) rather than by military means (hard-approach)\textsuperscript{21} (Web source 22). But, for India, either of the approaches should not exclude the other and the two kinds of policies are necessary to coexist (Transnational Terrorism 2008).

\textbf{4.6.2 The Global Efforts to CT in the Post-Nine-Eleven phase}

Globally, there are two extreme positions of counterterrorism policies often reflected in the media debate. These are either based on military tools, as the external-security centric approach, or the approaches which is based on the agenda of development of a legal counterterrorism system, which is internal-securitycentricity approach\textsuperscript{22}. So, the researchers are of the opinion that: “the countries which view terrorism as an internal security issue tend to emphasize on the ‘legal approach’, while those that see it as a foreign security matter emphasize the “military approach” (Transnational Terrorism 2008).

The international effort towards the broad-policy-based approach to counterterrorism after the 09/11 needs adequate mention. In this regard, this work has taken the perspective studies of the Counter-Terrorism measures taken up by the EU, the USA and the UN as exemplary analysis. The government of EU and the USA have underlined major pillars and efforts on which the CT has to base on, and these are:

- Prevent the terrorist activities and attacks;
- Defend Against Attacks;
- Pursue Terrorists and Their Organizations;
- Respond to Attacks; and
- Building Counterterrorism Coalitions.

\textsuperscript{20} for example the case of Dutch and Netherlands
\textsuperscript{21} Still, there are certain countries in the region which do not conceptualize terrorism as an internal issue. This is in the sense that: “countries that face extremist, separatist terrorist movements at home and at other side where internal Islamic-inspired terrorism has become the main security threat after 9/11”.
\textsuperscript{22} The European countries like France, Germany, the Netherlands, Russia, Spain, and United Kingdom consider terrorism largely as an internal security issue; while the countries like Czech Republic, Denmark, Italy, Poland, Portugal and Sweden it is considered terrorism as an external issue (Web source 22).
Here, “Prevent” signifies the proactive measure for countering “the radicalization and recruitment to terrorist groups”, and countering “the methods and conditions that make terrorism appealing (Council of the European Union 2005: 7)”. This includes the “combating terrorist recruitment”, “providing important assistance in policy coordination”, “information exchange”, and “neutralising the ability of the radicalized individuals by targeting the access of training and recruitment (in the material and virtual domain)” (Buros R. 2011). In terms of “Defend Against Attacks”, the strategies underlined by both the countries stress upon the “strengthening of collective security arrangements” in order to ‘share the burdens of common security’(Obama 2011: 6), which ultimately makes the defence of terrorism easier\(^23\) (Council of the European Union 2005: 10).

Here the importance on the engagement and partnership with multilateral institutions at international level has been emphasised. The intention of the emphasis aimed for the reduction of the financial burden on one country and the enhancement and advancement of the legitimacy of the CT efforts (Buros, R. 2011). Such effort is further aimed at defending targets, securing borders, as well as protecting infrastructure and crowded places from physical and electronic attack (Council of the European Union 2005: 10-11).

The goal of “Pursue Terrorists and Their Organizations” is aimed at disrupting the planning, recruitment and financing of terror sponsorships (Ibid: 2005: 12). This is also aimed at the exchange of intelligence in order to deprive the terrorists from the logistics and channels (like bombs, false documents, communications, and the ability to exploit the internet) (Ibid: 13) and to confront the terrorist financing (Ibid: 14).

“Respond to Attacks” is has been underlined to crucial. This is to prepare for immediate response to the terrorist attacks when they are taking place. The EU suggests for single structural institutions which should have the capacity to deal with the attacks side by side dealing with the disasters (Ibid: 15). This can help a better response to attack, minimise the effect of the attack and give better assistance to the immediate victims\(^24\) (Obama 2011: 8).

\(^23\) the E.U. calls for ‘effective EU collective action

\(^24\) While, the U.S. strategy’s response to terrorist attacks is aimed at assisting victims in way which makes the population motivated to response to terrorist plans and action so that they can never succeed further (Obama 2011: 8)
Building counterterrorism coalitions is aimed for the “combination national capabilities” for responding to attacks with international efforts to separate terrorists from the population they hide amongst (Buros, R. 2011). Though the pillar of CT that is “Building Counterterrorism Coalitions” is faced with several challenges, the efforts have been continuing keeping its importance in attention. It is due to political and practical complications at the ground level, the identification of common threat from terrorism and common interest in CT coalition has the common-agreed identification of this has so far not been possible. Therefore, this also makes it difficult to identify the central threats and threat factors, which can be at focus for counter-terror strategies

The efforts taken by these counties include the ratification of pertinent international treaties and conventions against terrorism and related activities. This gives importance on improving police/judicial cooperation on a global scale (Council of the European Union 2005: 5) and engaging the full- capabilities and resources of the entire government mechanism (Obama 2011:7) for tactical, effective and durable CT actions. The long term CT measures also taken include to address the classical causes of terrorism and engage in conflict resolution (Buros, R. 2011) and to take proactive measures for separating the terrorists from their ideological base of support. Another important dimension of CT is the underline of the need for value based approaches.

The National Strategy for Counterterrorism (2011) (of USA) and the EU counter-terrorism Strategy (2005) have underlined the need of values-based approach to CT. The argument is that that the value-based approach of CT formulation can be grounded on a multilateral law enforcement methodology by taking into consideration of the “past, present, and future” of the challenges and their management (Buros R. 2011). Value based approach to terrorism can also enable to cares for “balancing security and transparency’ and ‘upholding the rule of law by maintaining an effective legal framework for CT operations and bringing terrorists to justice (Obama 2011: 5-6)”.

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25 Though building counterterrorism strategies sounds easy, political and practical complications at the ground level makes it difficult. The difficulty first lies at the political level, that is politically, in terms of defining what ‘terrorism’ is and what it constitutes. Therefore, still there is absence of a ‘universal definition of terrorism’. Secondly, it is also natural, that threats perceived differently in the different political and thus shaped or reshaping social spheres.

26 such as poor rapid but unmanaged modernization; lack of political or economic prospects and of education opportunities, by promoting good governance, human rights, democracy as well as education and economic prosperity, (Council of the European Union 2005: 9)
4.6.3 The CT effort in US

Among the serious victim of terrorism, the US is found to be one. Therefore, in CT, the role of US is wide. Therefore, terrorism research is found to be blending or depending on much data source that is centred at the US effort of CT in its homeland and in the world, though the USA led war on terror has been one of much controversial subject in the contemporary security discourses. However, there are certain important and unavoidable example can be learnt from the US CT efforts. For example, US consider terrorism to be a political problem or with political aim(s); though the means used by the terrorists to be illegitimate, fatal, and barbaric violence directed against civilians27 (Pillar 2003). The CT measures (as per the U.S.A. desire) are aimed at “upholding the rule of law by maintaining effective, durable legal framework for CT operations and bringing terrorists to justice (Obama 2011:4)”.

Followingly the US has underlined certain principles of policy towards terrorism, and also developed methods for dealing with the threat of terrorism. These are the methods and principle which are seen to be central and important in the US policy to fight terrorism. The Principles and Methods are:

**Principles:**

- “Strike no deals with the terrorists”;
- “Bring them to justice for their crimes”;
- “Isolate and apply pressure on states that sponsor terrorism, to make them change their policies”; and
- “Strengthen the counterterrorism capabilities of those countries that work with the United States and require assistance”.

**Methods:**

- “To place the nations that provide aid to the terrorists to a list, and conduct the policy of global isolation towards them”; and
- “To place the organizations those are supporting terrorists in the officially recognised Foreign Terrorist Organizations Lists”.

27 This is reflected in its definition of terrorism, where it is quoted to be premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience (the United States' statutory definition of terrorism (Pillar, 2003)
4.6.3.1 CT and Homeland Security Management of US: Revamping Attempts

The post 9/11 examination of national security in the USA came to finding that there are numbers of factors play vital in national security. The emergence of a transnational Society has transformed the security sphere and the transnational organisations among the others like terrorists also play the role. The federal government of the US taking the note of the note of these new threats, both the President and the Congress of US resolved for the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in US. The objective behind the set-up the DHS in US is said to be based on the management of such diverse issues as evidenced from the proposals of its establishment (Balachandran V.).

The Aspin-Brown Commission (1996) of US to study “the role Intelligence in the 21st Century”. It led to the creation of a cybersecurity division along with the Department of Homeland Security (Lakhanpal, V. 2010). The federal government also put a request for $4.5 billion for infrastructure security (Green, J. 2002). The FBI now boasts of more than one thousand "cyber investigators. It is evident that there is a growing concern in the US about cyber-terrorism at all levels (Lakhanpal, V. 2010).

In the post-9/11 phase, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has reoriented its focus from “investigating terrorism after its occurrence” to “preventing terrorist attacks” as a matter of priority (Mueller, R. 2008). The FBI is also said to be have reoriented itself from “prosecutions after an attack” to “an intelligence-driven effort to detect and dismantle terrorist threats prior to an attack” (Mueller, R. 2008). For the purpose, a system of domain awareness has been introduced, which will do a “360-degree analysis of all national security and criminal threats in any given city or community (Lederman, G. 2012)”.

In a major step of homeland security management reform, the US government has made its plan of involving the private sector, academia, think tanks, retired governors and retired government officials in the management affairs of its homeland security. This is to enhance strategic evaluations, feedback, leadership, coordination, management and implementation of the homeland security tasks. It understands that

28 Harvard professor Stanley Hoffman described this dispersal as the "emergence of a transnational Society that includes multinational corporations, non-governmental organisations, criminals and terrorists".

29 In 1996, the US Congress mandated a study on "The Role of US Intelligence in the 21st Century" through the 17-member Aspin-Brown Commission.
only casting the responsibility on the traditional institutions like the police, military, intelligence services and the FBI will not serve the purpose (Balachandran V. 2000).

4.6.3.2 Important Points to learn from US Attempts of Reform

The US set up the National Commission to enquire into the failures that facilitated the 9/11 terrorist strikes. The report was discussed in the national Congress, and the US homeland security architecture was revamped as per the recommendations (Raman B. Dec. 24/2009). One of the most important points of reform that the USA undertook was to keep Homeland Security Management in the country decentralised. In this regard, the USA government wanted the following important measures to be taken care of:

1. “The counter-terrorism affairs outside the homeland and covert operations against terrorists in foreign territory, the responsibilities of the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency made remain intact (Raman B. Dec. 24/2009)”;

2. “The role of National Security Agency and other technical intelligence agencies relating to counter terrorism, continue to remain reporting to the Defence Secretary and the Director National Intelligence (and not to the Secretary for Homeland Security) (Ibid)”.

3. “Though the Secretary for Homeland Security is entrusted with the apex power so far taking physical security measures and follow-up action on intelligence reports are concerned, however, his powers have not been expanded at the expense of other agencies of the government, which play an important role in respect of counter-terrorism also (Ibid)”.

4.6.4 The European Union

The Post-Nine Eleven Perspective of CT of the European Union is committed to jointly combating terrorism in its territory. After 9/11, the European Union Council thought of harnessing all of its capacities and measures to combat terrorism and took decision in this regard (The European Council: Sept. 20/2001). The CT measures taken by are wide and various dimension of terrorism have been made inclusive in it. “Range of measures includes judicial cooperation, cooperation between police and intelligence services, prevention of financing of terrorism, strengthen the control at external borders and to improve cooperation for their effective combating (Karacasulu, N. 2006: 1-17)”.
There are two important policy measures taken by the EU regarding CT in its territory; First, the *EU Declaration on Combating Terrorism*, and second, the *EU Plan of Action on Combating Terrorism* (Ibid). Both of the policy measures have stressed for the conceptual framework of security under which the fight against terrorism becomes possible. The EU has also adopted the *Madrid Declaration* with several important objectives to combat terrorism which is considered to be essential pillars of successful-CT-efforts, and these according to Karacasulu (2006:1-17) were to include:

- “To deepen the international consensus and enhance international efforts to reduce the access of terrorists to financial and economic resources”;
- “To maximize the capacity within EU bodies and Member states to detect, investigate and prosecute terrorists and to prevent terrorist attacks”;
- “To protect the security of international transport and to ensure effective systems of border control”;
- “To enhance the capability of the EU and of the Member States to deal with the consequences of a terrorist attack”;
- “To address the factors contributing to support for and the recruitment into terrorist networks”; and
- To take actions under “the EU external relations priority towards Third Countries” so as to enhance the *counter terrorist capacity* in the Third World Countries.

4.6.5 CT effort in Pakistan

The draft of the National Security Policy presented in the federal cabinet of Pakistan underlines the concern on important issues of terrorism and outlines plans and policies how to deal those with. The draft of the National Security Policy terms extremism, terrorism and sectarianism as distinct threats to its internal security30 (The Express Tribune Feb 26/2014). The draft underlines the concern of the *use of chemical and biological weapons by non-state armed groups and terrorists* (The Express Tribune Feb 26/2014). It shows seriousness to cope with the non-state armed groups and terrorists, for which it stresses upon the enhancement of capacity of the Ministry of Defence (The Express Tribune Feb 26/2014). The draft of the National Security Policy

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30 According to the draft, *terrorism has inflicted a loss of $78 billion to Pakistan in the last ten years.*
Policy stressed for the present laws to be revised and a campaign against the ideology of terrorists to be launched (The Express Tribune Feb 26/2014).

4.6.5.1 Directorate of Internal Security

Pakistan has also shown its plan to set up “a Directorate of Internal Security” under its National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA). The aim behind its establishment is to stop the terrorist activities by the use of rapid action force. The objective behind establishing it under the NACTA is to have effective use and analysis of data for facilitating effective counter of terrorism in its homeland. It is to note that the NACTA in Pakistan has been considered to be given the authority to take measures to push miscreants to surrender before the law-enforcement agencies (The Express Tribune Feb 26/2014).

Pakistan has specifically underlined terrorism to be most serious internal security challenges in its country. Accordingly, direction has also been issued to all the provinces to set up “counter-terror departments” to cope with challenge of terrorism (The Express Tribune Feb 26/2014). Most importantly, the draft of the National Security Policy also suggests for bringing the religious seminaries into the mainstream and their curricula and syllabi to be adjusted to contemporary requirements. This also suggests for the financial accounts of the madrassas to be audited and the aid from abroad are monitored (The Express Tribune Feb 26/2014).

4.6.6 CT in China’s Internal Security Management

The 2004 and 2006 White Papers on National Security gives attention to the domestic security threats analysis, noting “non-traditional security issues” to be posing a growing threat. This is where ‘terrorism’ among the others like, transnational crime as the serious non-traditional security threat which the country must prepare to face. While China’s security preparation is now found to be getting planed in accordance with its growing international power and the increase level of domestic social and economic developmental challenges, leaderships in the county believe that “its civilian and paramilitary forces are unable to carry out their internal security missions without significant support from the regular People Liberation Army (PLA)” (Tanner, M. S. 57-58).

Keeping this in consideration, now country’s internal security strategy has been desired to evolve to the point where in protecting country’s internal security order, the
involvement of PLA should be less or entirely avoidable. It wants the internal security forces remain psychologically trained and prepared to meet any type of worst security scenario at any point of time. Accordingly, the country has been in the process of building alternative internal security and public safety organs which are capable to successfully carry out these sensitive missions without resort to the help of the army (Tanner, M. 57-58). For the country, it remains well-understood that the desire for erecting specific internal security organ ought to place heavy burden on the state to develop it.

Because, it involves the paramilitary, civilian police, intelligence, and emergency rescue forces apart from others which have to be made capable of responding to a wide range of contingencies and serving the needs of a wide range of leadership stakeholders (Tanner, M. 57-58). In this regard, the ultimate need of the state is to be able to stand up, train, and finance their built up, while side by side there is also need of specified strategies and plans for their deployment (Ibid). This effort desires for the need of a specific response mechanism that would “enable to monitor social problems, forecast and prevent incidents of social unrest, and, when they occur, respond quickly, powerfully, and effectively to threats to internal order (Ibid)”. When preserving country’s sovereignty, unity and stability remains at the top security agenda in the country, it perhaps would not care to go back foot on investing heavily in the management of its internal security (Ibid).

4.6.7 Major Steps of CT: Critically Concluding from the Above Analysis

Concluding from the above, the following critical analyses are considered to be important in making CT effective. Terrorism is not only threat to the nation states but also to the larger international community and should not be tolerable, and therefore requires effective measure to fight it. However, successful counter-terrorism measure requires multilateral approaches and institutions. While the role of military is important, the prominence of intelligence and law enforcement are equally indispensable (Obama 2011: 2).

31 However, Liberals, on the other hand, tend to view terrorism as one of many threats alongside nuclear proliferation, cyber protection, balanced economic growth, climate change, and pandemic disease (Obama 2010: 8)
32 Liberals tend to believe that although the military is necessary, intelligence and law enforcement resources are equally indispensable
The most important task of formulating CT measure is to working out a coherent response of counter-terrorism measure. This in detail must be strategic planning involving the plan of investigations and operations; plan for appropriate resources and logistics and the raise of good capacity of the involved agencies. *Counterterrorism is a complex undertaking* for those democratic countries societies which however are more prone to terrorism (Buros, R. 2011). Unless terrorism is identified as central to the internal security threats formulation of CT cannot be appropriate.

The CT mechanism has to suit to the internal security conditions. Specifically designed CT approaches with special CT to deal with terrorism of many forms in the country become crucial. Terrorism requires to be countered simultaneously from the numbers of front. This is at the fronts where it emerges, it is supported, it is nourished and it is implemented. Apart from these, its support across the spectra of diplomacy, intelligence, financial channels, and its spread across the front of ideological psychological, anthropological and social fronts also need to be countered (Buros, R. L. 2011).

Terrorism is a low intensity war which requires special policy and mechanism to deal it with. Fighting terrorism requires specific anti-terrorism legislation, real-time adjudication of terror cases, and lessening the duration of accommodating the under-trial terrorists. The policy or entire idea of counter-terrorism encompasses a comprehensive level of tools, policies and strategies. Anti-terror law is one only of the tools however is central and quite important for CT. By engaging in terror activities, the spreaders inexplicably invalidate the moral values they possesses (Defining Terrorism), and therefore to fight terrorism, demystifying the stereotypes of the terrorists as “poor, desperate, naïve single young men from third world countries, vulnerable to brainwashing and recruitment into terror” should be done away (Pinkley, D. 2007).

CT involves strategic planning, investigations and operations. Success of CT planning involves resources, logistics and security strategist having clear understanding of the ground. Success of operation involves well equipped and well-trained with necessary level of capacity. Success of operation requires a good level of coordination at

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33 In case of Afzal Guru, an accused in assaulted in attack on Indian parliament and gave death sentence by the supreme court but the punishment not given due to excuse application is pending before the president.
intelligence level at the time of and during the planning of (counter insurgency/counter terrorism) operations. Strategic success of operation must involve of operational success in isolating the terrorists, creating fissures within groups, destroying the terrorist recruitment infrastructure and training camps, and neutralising the terrorist leadership.

4.6.7.1 Curbing Terrorism Finance

Globally, ‘curbing terrorism finance’ remains an important issue to fight terrorism effectively. The west and the Americans have understood that the terrorist groups have vast, unified, and sophisticated financial infrastructures, and this enables them to undertake terrorist acts at global scale. Therefore, the first preventive measure must be to choke off their access to global financial mechanisms which can be only be done if the security apparatus and the government is given wide power to deal with it along with higher level of international cooperation in this regard. This is perhaps the realisation which made the government of UK and the USA to take several measures in this regard. For example, the UK’s Counter Terrorism Act 2008 has empowered the Treasury Broad to deal with any financial support to terrorism. Similarly, the government in USA after the September 11 (2001) took measures to freeze the assets of terrorists organisations and supporters (Wittig, T. 2011).

However, it is also understood that apart from their alternate financial universe, the funds channel of the terrorists is very difficult to ascertain, when the terrorists draw many kinds of material support from different parts of the normal economy which has nothing to do with the illegal money laundering. So, understanding terrorism finance also requires understanding how the terrorists interact with the normal economy, and then how to curb with that also. No doubt, the terrorists are involved in the nefarious smuggling of drugs, weapons, vehicles and people as their routine activity. And to understand terrorist financial back up, it is quite important to understand both the

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34 The UK’s Counter Terrorism Act 2008 has empowered the Treasury Broad to direct the financial sector in its dealings with any persons, organisations or foreign governments deemed to be providing financial support to terrorism.
35 It is only 13 days after the September 11 2001 attacks in New York and Washington, President George W. Bush announced an executive order freezing the assets of 27 organisations purported to engage in or support terrorist activities.
36 Terrorist interactions with normal economy include conventional employment, trading, bartering, donations in cash and in kind, distribution of food and medicine
normal economic activity and nefarious smuggling activities of the terrorists\textsuperscript{37} which in combination remains the financial activity chain on which the terrorists sustain (Wittig, T. 2011).

Here the policymakers may face the challenge to determine the organised and deliberate support versus accidental support of financial chains to terrorism and terrorist activities. However, the policymakers cannot bear the consequences of the consolidation of terrorist-finance channels and for so it has to work hard to intervene into the financial channels and to exasperate the support channels to the terrorists. When the report suggests that the terrorists have erected worth million dollars cost organisation, the counter terrorism policy to deal with the financial channel of the terrorists is quite necessary (Wittig, T. 2011).

\textbf{4.6.7.2 Counter-Terrorism Laws}

The necessary legal provisions are the tools to deal with the heinous perpetration of terrorism. The demand for stringent legal and constitutional provisions for the effective action against terrorism has now been found to be renewed. The demand often is for specific anti-terror legislations to deal with this menace (Acharya B. 2010). Many countries facing the problem of terrorism have tough laws in place to tackle it. Tough laws can keep terrorism in check and can help investigating agencies to ensure that trial against terrorists reach a logical end. A good law in place can ensure to overcome the difficulties the investigating agencies face in gathering evidences in cases relating to terrorism. An appropriate legal provision can help the investigators to overcome the problems pertaining to investigation and trial (Nanjappa, V. June 30/2014).

The review of the post Nine Eleven legislative measures taken at global level demonstrate the fact that the countries have realised the need of stringent legal provisions for fighting terrorism of new forms and nature. For example, the USA in its bold effort towards the management of terrorism in its homeland, it enacted strong anti-terrorism legislation. In the legislative provisions, extensive powers to the domestic law enforcement and the intelligence agencies were given. At the same time the provisions were strengthened to curb money laundering, to prevent foreign

\textsuperscript{37} Wittig suggests that to understand terrorist support completely, one must understand the economies of each of these individual activities.
terrorists from entering the US, and to enhance the penalties for acts of terrorism in that country\textsuperscript{38}. Similarly, anti-terrorism legislation (after 9/11) enacted in UK made the provisions to strengthen the police authority by giving them additional powers with wide ambit of provision for the detention of foreign nationals suspected to involve in terrorist activities. The provision was also made to take extra measures for the “enhanced security of critical national infrastructures” like airports and laboratories in the country.

4.6.8 The Policy of Counter-Terrorism in India: Emerging Issues

After the 26/11 attacks\textsuperscript{39}, Indian attention towards terrorism has changed a lot. The emergence and growth of terrorism has been getting recognised as the most serious challenges to India’s internal security. Now, there has been a strong consensus over the understanding that “terrorism and terrorists in all their forms and manifestations are scourges on human society and those should be fought as a national security challenge (Sahni, A. 2010)". Terrorism can never be contained and defeated at its points of delivery, but, its sources and its networks existing on the homeland must be targeted and destroyed. So, defeat of terrorism demand for effective counter-terrorism strategies including offensive actions. The absent of defined strategy make CT initiatives ad hoc, arbitrary and directionless.

How the state recognises the threats, and uses the designed capabilities will define that whether the use of different approaches would create advantages or opposite (Buros, R. 2011). But, there remains hardly any confusion that in all respect, State must take efforts to successfully winning over the threats posed by the terrorist at every cost (Carr 2002). For so, the state must strive for: the formulation of a comprehensive strategy that can address the concerns of dealing with all terrorist threats with necessary coercive measures. If so necessary, the state must also prepare for “pre-emptive military offensives aimed at the terrorists and the states those harbour, supply, and assist them (Farkasch, R. 2004)".

No country can rely on the things like a permanently defined defence strategy for the containment of terrorism. As terrorist strategies often changes from time to time, the

\textsuperscript{38} After the 9/11 incident, United States of America enacted the PATRIOT Act which giving extensive powers to the domestic law enforcement and the intelligence agencies. This underlined the importance of the need of anti-terrorism legislation to fight terrorism (web source 23).

\textsuperscript{39} in many cities like Jaipur, Ahmedabad, Bangalore and attack on Mumbai on 2611 and recent attack on Pune on 1422010. The terrorist attack
CT strategies need to change and evolve as per the need of the time also. Because, it is said that *the state needs to be lucky at all the times while, the terrorists need to be lucky just at once*\(^40\). No doubt, protection of assets and lives needs to remain the necessary condition of the CT in internal security management. However, this cannot defeat terrorism from its root (Sahni, A. 2010). Whether, containment of terrorism as internal security problem with state-apparatus will succeed or it compulsorily requires for subscribing to the principles of collective-defence\(^41\) or to the hard-core military methodology need to be explored.

Examining in terms of policy based approaches of CT; it is pertinent that the counter-terror policy should constitute the plans of countering both the *planned act of terrorism* sponsored and designed by the foreign hands and the *various acts of terror* having their genesis from various insurgent, separatist and extremist groups active in the country. In the making of *imperative security policy, the making of* Imperative CT policy is quite important. This requires the analysis of the country’s *strategic posture* on terrorism, country’s basic counter-terrorism doctrine and the desire and effort undertaken or thought of in the country to bring changes or necessary corrections in the existing CT policy\(^42\) (Sahni, A. 2010).

In the management of internal security from the view of point of the “management of the threat of terrorism”, the analysis of threat environment, with specific analysis of the existing nature of terrorism or similar nature in the said threats or threat environment must be clear. Similarly, the analysis of the management of terrorism from various perspective approaches must be flawless, while the whole affairs of terrorism containment should be conceptually and organizationally made distinct\(^43\). The analysis of the national security (like police, armed/paramilitary, intelligence apparatus etc.) in regard to their capacity and position in fighting terrorism must be unblemished (Newmann, W. 2002: 126-137).

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\(^{40}\) The Irish Republican Army encapsulated the terrorist’s advantage in the adage

\(^{41}\) The principles of collective-defense is said to be based on the police-plus-paramilitary-plus -military employment apart from the intelligence need to be empirically examined.

\(^{42}\) The first imperative of an effective counter-terrorism response is “to clearly define country’s strategic orientation and posture with regard to terrorism”. It is also required to ensure the condition where the basic counter-terrorism doctrine with specific defined capacities is given space to evolve and specific response to terrorism are clarified (Sahni A. 2010)

\(^{43}\) For making the policy for containment of terrorist threats, there should be clear distinction between law enforcement and national security as seeing terrorism from these two ideas are entirely different. For example whether terrorism types of threats should be dealt as the law and order problem, or should be dealt with as terrorism (Newmann W. 2002: 126-137).
Keeping the nature and position of threat and threat environment, the clarity must be drawn where the employment of national security apparatus or homeland security apparatus to deal with terrorism or terrorism types of threats. It must also be made clear that in what conditions the national security apparatus and the homeland security apparatus should work in separate or should work in tandem. For making the CT policy or terrorism containment policy effective, the entire affairs of terrorism containment should be conceptually and organizationally made separate, while at the management or enforcement level, it has to remain coordinated (Newmann, W. 2002: 126-137).

Analysis of CT policy involves detail analysis of strategic approaches, management approaches, clear political perspectives and mandates, institutions and apparatus (for fighting terrorism) are essential. For so, the following points are important:

- First, success in fighting terrorism involves the crafting a coherent strategies. For so, clear assumptions about the threat environment, necessary strategy and organisational management structure should remain clear. Moreover, in making coherent strategies to fight terrorism, understanding the rank and file of the terrorist cadres, groups and leaderships, their source of inspiration, background and revenge model are equally essential (Ibid).

- Secondly, success in fighting terrorism involves a clear analysis of India’s management approach to terrorism. This includes “how the country sees and understands terrorism, and how it intends to respond them”. Moreover, for establishing clarity in management, the country must be free from internal contradictions, as it yields incongruous, wasteful and conflicting policy impulses resulting into failures (Ibid).

- Third, success in fighting terrorism involves “clear political perspectives and mandates, which can create the necessary foundations for the development of institutional mechanisms for the implementation of effective and coordinated counterterrorism efforts, initiatives and policies” keeping the past in introspection and the future in attention 44 (Sahni, A. 2010).

- Fourth, success in fighting terrorism involves renewed institutions and apparatus in accordance with the need of the time. There is need for systematic and routine examination of arising deficiencies and gaps with the existing institutions and apparatus and efforts to strengthen them (Ibid).

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44 A critical evaluation of past opens up to what extent the country is efficient and prepared to fight future attack. In this regard, the country must be self-critical and retrospective (Sahni A. 2010).
For constructing coherent CT strategy, strictly adhering to the principles of federalism remains the first condition. Secondly, while striving for all efforts to strengthen CT apparatus (through required reforms), the reform of the similar apparatus under the provincial jurisdiction also need to be in agenda.

4.7 Conclusion

In the study of national security management, the study of terrorism has emerged to be important, crucial and central. In a democratic set up, this will make fighting terrorism much challenging. As terrorism is considered to be the cheapest diplomatic effort of containment of India, as the most impacting means of “striking back” by the weaker state against the superior state, this will continue against India by its enemy state for long time to come (Clarke, R. 2011).

Now, terrorism has gone beyond the national-territorial dimension and has kept the country alarmed. It is predicted that, terrorist will seek to target the Indian icons and its symbols including political, economic, cultural and religious, and will often seek to exploit of the points of weakness. While anti-terror policy in the country remains uncodified, Governments’ preferences to deal with terrorist situations have been ad-hoc much guided by perceptions (Singh, P. 2011: Vol. CXLI, No. 586).

The challenges of terrorism in the recent times have been multiplied and multifaceted. Increasing of terrorist activities both home-bred and cross-border has grown. Various insurgency movements’ acquaintance to terrorism has also made the concern more challenging. The upsurge of terrorist activities and the intensification of cross-border terrorism, which includes the cross border activities of the “insurgents, the Maoists, the homegrown terrorists, and the organised criminal groups” have emerged as serious internal security challenges (Raswan, S. 2013). When various terrorist groups or large organised terrorist networks keep attacking a country, the attacks or the series of attacks become larger, effects become prolonged. In such a condition, it is highly possible that country become traumatised at several fronts. The phenomenal rise and with intra-operational nexus among these terrorist groups have made the apprehension further.

Nowadays, a new turn of terrorism has been taking place where the possibility of the terrorist outfits is supposed to emerge as autonomous entity (Clarke, R. 2011). This may require to the CT efforts to keep in attention at these new-emerging autonomous units. This situation may lead to the two new scenarios. First, the state sponsorship of
terrorism will be eliminated by the emerged autonomous terror entity; or second, the sponsor states will continue terror-promotion through the passive means by taking these autonomous entities as intermediaries (Bayman et al. 2001).

Terrorism in India has grown to the extent of numbers of bomb blasts and jihadi terrorists attacks of barbaric kinds. It is predicted that terrorism will manifest its different faces from different fronts. Various forms of terrorism in combination will pose multidimensional challenges. While the repeated and deadly attacks of terror will create public fear and sense of insecurity, their pro-active and successful containments can only make their effects to get progressively weaker.

The means and methods of terror now used by the terrorists have become much sophisticated, and terrorists’ access to sophisticated logistics has become much easier. When, sophisticated means and methods of terror increasingly adopted by terrorists, this has led to the rise in gravity of terrorism. Terrorists are now taking the advantages of the modern means of communication and technology as well as the high-tech and advanced transport and communication system. This has enabled the terrorists and their tasks much easier (Acharya, B. 2010). When the modern terrorists keep-pace with emerging technology, this gives rise to unpredict terror attacks. In the coming future, terrorism-promotion will become more clandestine and more untraceable making it more challengeable to manage it (Bayman et al. 2001).

At different fronts, the terrorist apply different tactics. Therefore, there cannot be uniform response to all terrorist attacks. Response will also vary as per the case, nature, context and scale of attacks. It is, therefore, essential to have a clear vision to deal with different forms of terrorism. There should enough provisions that how to deal with “the single act of externally sponsored terrorism” and how to deal with “terrorism which exists internally and gradually going chronic” (Waxman, D. 2011).

The country has been facing different shades of terrorism since independence. While the pace of various forms of terrorism is advancing much speeder; country’s internal security management system is said to have not evolved to their desired level of containments. So far no comprehensive anti-terror law could have been formulated. The countries which are subject to terrorism of only one-to-two decades, however, have come out with stringent laws. The government has often been criticised to be shy
of tackling terror as terror, rather it prefers to deal with terror as “unlawful activity” (Singh, P. 2011: Vol. CXLI, No. 586).

While the necessary security apparatus are long-awaiting for the necessary reform and restructure, the associated apparatus like the legal apparatus the criminal justice system is still wanting for the necessary projections to curb the menace of terrorism. The reach and capacity of the policy-provision and apparatus and now do not match to need of confronting the complex-set of challenges posed by the terrorists now-a-days. It is therefore, foremostly desired that the necessary India’s internal security management policy, provisions, apparatus and infrastructures must evolve to demand and the need of time.

Counter measures based on ingenious policy initiatives is necessary to curb the threats posed by the terrorists (Doval, A. 2011). So far India is concerned, the specificity of management of terrorism as an internal security management problem is still lacked in the country (Raman, B. Dec. 24/2009). To deal with terrorism, the measures to be taken are necessarily needed to be of multi-dimension. First it requires well worked-out diplomatic efforts to deal with terrorism promoted by the antagonistic states; second, there is need of modernisation and expansion of security apparatus involved in fighting various forms of terrorism and the terrorists those are resorting to the use of modern means methods of perpetrating terrorism and becoming the part of global terror networks (Raswan, S. 2013).

The management of terrorism as internal security challenges has not been clear except their containment as mentioned in various laws of the country. There are provisions under which the certain outfits are banned as terrorist outfits and then appropriate action (as enshrined in these laws) are initiated. But, what the State and the Government of India intent to do with these terrorist organisations after their ban is so far not clear (Clarke, R. 2011). Still, “there is lack of distinction between terrorism as a threat and terrorism as a phenomenon, between indigenous terrorism and externally-sponsored terrorism, between operational and political management of terrorism, between the use of hard and soft power in dealing with terrorism, and distinction between treating all terrorists as one, and need to create distinction between terrorism and terrorists” (Raman, B. Dec. 24/2009). But, “does India needs to treat different terrorist differently” is a complex question still remains unresolved (Ibid).