"The advent of new technologies, advanced means of communication and ever more sophisticated ways of moving money around have already influenced the way terrorists operate and will continue to do so. Terrorist organisers and fundraisers no longer have to be in the same country as their target or indeed as each other. Their communications to each other can be encrypted. And there is the potential, if the right targets are hit (such as strategic computer systems running banking or air traffic control operations) to affect thousands or even millions of people."

- Jack Straw UK Home Secretary, 1998

At the international level, the term “terrorism” was first mentioned at the Third Conference for the Unification of Penal Law held under the auspices of the International Association of Penal Law at Brussels in 1930. Committee V of this conference defined “an act of terrorism” as “the deliberate use of means capable of producing a common danger” to commit “an act imperilling life, physical integrity or human health or threatening to destroy substantial property. Such acts would include arson explosion, flooding or submersion, ignition of asphyxiating or noxious substances, wilful disruption of the normal operation of means of transport or communication, causing wilful damage to government property and public utility services and population or deliberate poisoning of drinking water or staple food, causing of diseases to men, animals or plant1 – life so on.

The much vaunted globalisation, new liberalisation in formerly autocratic states, increasing privatisation of state functions, and most

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importantly, the revolution in computing telecommunications and data transference capacities - commonly referred to as the Information Revolution - all had impact strongly on the international security agenda and on the nature of the threat actors in today’s world.2

Terrorism therefore has emerged as a major problem confronting the international community. Over the years, most countries have viewed the menace with great concern, the events of 11 September 2001 have forced them to focus on it like never before.3 Whatever be the reasons for terrorism, such as socio-economic deprivation, ethno political aspirations, ideological inspirations, suppression or oppression of weaker sections of communities, the fact is that terrorism has now assumed a true transnational dimension and has all the potential and prospect of being globalised in all senses of the term. It is “widespread geographically and diverse ideologically”.4

As the nineteenth century ended, it seemed no one was safe from terrorist attack.5 History shows that terrorism more often than not has little political impact and that when it has an effect it is often the opposite of the one desired. It transforms the co-relation and arrangement of living spaces, requires change in how the workplace is organised, how new skills are gathered and distributed, resulting in older values and ways of life become outdated and dysfunctional, social and cultural mutations are experienced by people both as a threat and loss.6

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The terrorist conceived the attacks as a direct assault on the forces of globalisation - the unremitting expansion of market forces, the breakneck speed with which capital moves around the globe, and the constant search for realising greater economic efficiencies - influences everything from indigenous cultures and environmental regulations to labour standards and patterns of productivity. Remarkably little attention has been given to globalisation's potential impact on global conflict, and vice versa. Terrorism is changing for the worse find support in the notion that terrorist attacks have consistently become more life threatening in the course of the last three decades. Bruce Hoffman and Brian Jenkins, have showed a trend of increasing fatalities from terrorism, starting from the late 1960s and continuing through 1995.

The recent tragedies evinced the interesting parallels and connections between the rise of globalisation and growth of Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda movement. Both advanced dramatically during 1990. The true power and influence of each was first overlooked and later underestimated. Just as globalisation came to touch many countries around the world, al Qaeda followers and cells are now established in more than 60 countries. Each movement functions as a network of complex connections embedded in countries but linked between and across societies. World leaders tended to misunderstand the depth to which activities associated with globalization on one hand and al Qaeda on the other could conceivably disrupt their countries. Neither force accepts

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10 Kurt M. Campbell, Supra no.7, p.10.
11 Ibid. p.10.
the notion or legitimacy of states or the state system in their inexorable quest. Computers are a second symbol of globalization. No area of the world and no arena of politics, economies, society or culture are immune from the pervasive influence of computer technology. More than 150 million computers are in use today: More than 90 percent are personal computers. Their number is growing by as many as 18 to 20 million annually. Thus, computing power and capacity double every eighteen months. This exponential growth led to the digital revolution.

The multifaceted character of economic globalisation and rapid flow of information is made possible by new electronic information systems, as also the availability of large funds which can be moved from one corner of the globe to another at a moment’s notice and integration of national economies into one increasingly seamless global market. The technological change in the field of computers and electronics, has vastly reduced the physical and financial obstacles to terrorists to operate at global level. The new technology, notably the telecommunications and data processing, has been a decisive factor in almost every aspect of global economic restructuring.

Technology being the drive of globalisation is leading to greater prosperity and efficiency in terrorist activities, which include the bureaucratic tasks, cooperation and coordination of persons, constant flow of communication links with members and activists. Hence analyzing

14 The Economist, July-1, 1995, p.4.
terrorism as something separate from globalization is misleading and potentially dangerous. Indeed globalization and terrorism are intricately intertwined forces.\textsuperscript{17} Modern international terrorism is especially dangerous because of the power that it potentially derives from globalization – whether through access to CBNR Weapons, global media outreach, or a diverse network of financial and information resources.\textsuperscript{18}

Terrorism is a by-product of broader historical shifts in the international distribution of power in all forms – political, economic, military, ideological and cultural. These are the same forces of power that characterise the forces of western-led globalisation. Terrorists have access to goods, money, people and powerful technology, with more targets, more territory, more means of recruitment and more exploitable sources of range than ever before. The world is increasingly becoming interconnected. The presumed erosion of national economies and societies raises a question over the potential political power of the state; the power of governments and institutions to shape the economic and social environment in which they find themselves appears to have waned.\textsuperscript{19}

The deepening economic, political, social and cultural contacts across border, which are characteristics of globalisation, are making state borders and governments increasingly less meaningful.\textsuperscript{20} It is found that free trade agreements, the internet, and the integration of financial markets are erasing borders and uniting the world into a single lucrative, but brutally competitive market place.\textsuperscript{21} Globalization therefore, implies

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} Audrey Kurth Cronin, Behind the Curve Globalization and International Terrorism, \textit{International Security}, Vol. 27 (3), Winter, 2002, p.52.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Ibid. p.53.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Amoore Louise et.al., "Overturning Globalisation", \textit{New Political Economy}, Vol. 2(1), 1997, p.179.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Charles W. Kegley and Eugene Witkoff, Supra no.12, p.246.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Friedman Thomas L., Answers Needed to Globalization Dissent, \textit{Houston Chronicle}, February 8, 1996, p.30.
\end{itemize}
nothing less than a redistribution of global economic power, which will increasingly translate into a distribution of political power.\textsuperscript{22}

Globalisation thus, is not an inevitable, linear development, and it can be disrupted by such unconventional means as international terrorism. The objectives of international terrorism may have changed as a result of globalization. Foreign intrusions and growing awareness of shrinking global space have created incentives to use the ideal asymmetrical weapon, terrorism for more ambitious purposes.

This is by no means a comprehensive presentation of global interpenetration of terrorist means, the broad strategic picture, however, is of an increasing ability of terrorist organisations to exploit the same avenues of communication coordination and cooperation as other international actors including states, MNCs, NGOs and even individuals. It is naïve to assume that which is good for international commerce and communication is not good for international terrorists.\textsuperscript{23}

The fluid movement of terrorists' financial resources demonstrates the growing informal connections that are countering the local fragmentation caused by globalization. Globalization, thus has enabled terrorist organizations to reach across international borders, in the same way that commerce and business interests are linked.

The internet has become an important tool for perpetuating terrorist groups, both openly and clandestinely. Many of them employ elaborate list\textsuperscript{24} which collect money from witting or witting donors and distribute savvy political messages to a broad audience online.

\textsuperscript{22} Schwab Klaus and Claude Smadja, “Start Taking the Backlash Against Globalization Seriously, International Herald Tribune, February 1, 1996.
\textsuperscript{24} Dorothy Denning, “Cyber Warriors, Activists and Terrorists Turn to Cyberspace”, Harvard International Review, Vol. 23 (2) Summer 2001, p.70.
The use of information technologies such as the internet, mobile phones, and instant messaging has extended the global reach of many terrorist groups. In Dorothy Denning's words, terrorists "still prefer bombs to bytes. Terrorist groups increasingly turned to "hactivism" — attacks on internet sites, including web defacements, hijackings of websites, web sit-ins denial of service attacks and automated email "bombings" — attacks that may not kill anyone but do attract media attention, provide a means of operating anonymously, and are easy to coordinate internationally.

The break up of the Soviet Union and the resulting increased availability of Soviet chemical, biological and nuclear weapons caused experts to argue that terrorist groups, seeking more dramatic and deadly results, would be more drawn to these weapons. The 1995 Sarin gas attack by the Japanese cult Aum Shinrikyo in the Tokyo subway system seemed to confirm that worry. More recently, an examination of evidence taken from Afghanistan and Pakistan reveals al-Qaeda's interest in chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

The Middle East continues to be the locus of most terrorist activity, Central and South Asia, the Balkans and the Tran Caucasus have been growing in significance over the past decade. Before September 11, the absolute number of causalities of international terrorism had increased from a low of 344 in 1991 to a high of 6,693 in 1998. The percentage of

26 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
international attacks against US targets or U.S. Citizens rose dramatically over the 1990s from 20 percent in 1993-95 to almost 50 percent in 2000.  
Thus, the increasing threat of globalized terrorism must be met with flexible, multifaceted responses that deliberately and effectively exploit avenues of globalization in return; this is not happening. The current wave of international terrorism, characterised by unpredictable and unprecedented threats from non-state actors, not only is a reaction to globalisation but it facilitated by it, in U.S. 
There is a systematic link between the current, unchecked characteristics of informational capitalism and the destruction of lives in a large segment of the world. 

Some scholars have sought to link poverty with terror. Poverty, they argue, fosters terror because it creates a sense of hopelessness, restricts educational opportunity and produces frustration over inequality. There is little reason to believe that greater foreign aid will have significant positive effect. It may even increase the terrorist threat. The social origins of terror are rooted more in the values and beliefs associated with the mixed economies of developing countries in a globalized world.  
Global politics today, moreover, is anchored not just in traditional geo political concerns but also in a large diversity of economic, social and ecological questions. Pollution, drugs, human rights and terrorism are among an increasing number of transnational policy issues which cut across territorial jurisdictions and existing political alignments and which require

31 Audrey Kurth Cronin, Supra no. 17, p.30.

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international cooperation for their effective resolution.35 The social consequences to the current globalisation drive do not result from the scale of this process but, rather, are due to the specific patterns of this globalization.36 Nations, people and organizations are linked, in addition, by many new forms of communication, which range across borders. The revolution in microelectronics, in information technology and in computers has established virtually instantaneous worldwide links, which have dramatically altered the nature of political communication.37 The connection between a ‘physical setting’, ‘Social situation’ and politics from pre modern times to modern times has been ruptured, new modes of understanding and new frames of political reference are readymade food for terrorists to operate globally, to fulfil their assigned target. Technology has affected the ‘international division of labour’, swift changes in technology have enhanced the capacity of producers to supply the market with new products and services, and to produce old products with new processes.38

Three developments have paved the way for making technological innovations. 1) Globalisation technologies had an impact on lowering the distance 2) these technologies altered the scale needed for efficient operation 3) The provision of variety of new financial investments was meant to facilitate the growing complexity of cross-border terrorist transaction.39 ‘Globalisation’ therefore, be characterised as “both to the

37 David Held, Supra no.35, p.162.
39 Ibid. p.83.
compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of terrorists of the world as a whole.40 As Anthony Giddens puts it, "globalization can be summed up as the intensification of world wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.41

The Internet, perhaps with its pre-eminent high tech symbol, puts terrorists all over the world in instant touch with one another with vast store of information, making it increasingly difficult for governments to manipulate public opinion or cut their people off from 'outside' influences.42 Thus the globalization of terrorism is pressing nation states not to assert their sovereignty and form supra-national alliances and institutions in order to combat it. Over the same period there has been a corresponding rise of a fundamentalist Islamic Nationalism that, while it uses the new global technologies to propagate its messages, often sees itself to be in a life and death struggle against globalization as a new form of western Imperialism.43

Indian nation-state is grievously threatened by an unholy alliance between the postmodern forces of globalisation and pre-modern forces of an atavistic communalism – "between the supra national and the global on the one side and the subnational and the local on the other, the nation is being squeezed out of existence.44 Hence, according to Das Arvind “the market is more important than the nation”, and consumerism takes precedence over patriotism”.

43 Ibid. p.8.
44 Roy Starrs, Supra no.42, p.10.
The communication revolution is hardly less central to global turbulence. The rapidity and clarity with which ideas and information now circulate through Television, VCR, CDs, Computer networks, fax machines, satellite hookups, and fibre optic telephone circuits have not only rendered national boundaries more porous but also enabled terrorist to operate at breakneck speed.\(^{45}\) Global integration therefore, had widened the gap between the haves and have-nots, and in doing so created resentment. “Globalization is an endeavour that can spread worldwide the values of freedom and civil contact – The antithesis of terrorism.”\(^{46}\) Harold James suggests that most people tend to confuse the cause of globalization with its effects. International openness, he says, did not lead to the spread of technology. Rather, it was “technical changes and efficiencies of scale that have made purely national markets relatively inefficient.”\(^{47}\) Institutions are lagging behind technology. The revolution in the technologies of transport, travel, communications and information have unified and shrunk the globe.\(^{48}\) All communication has implications of power and hegemony. Looking for those implications and exploring their nature are therefore, central to any study of communication.\(^{49}\)

In the early 1990’s the Internet shifted from a specialized tool of the scientific community to a more user-friendly network transforming social interaction. The number of Internet hosts – computer with a direct connection – rose from less than 100,000 in 1998 to more than 36 million

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\(^{47}\) Ibid. p.7.


in 1998. More than 143 million people were estimated to be Internet users in mid-1998 and by 2001 that number was expected to be more than 700 million.\textsuperscript{50} As communications revolution turns digital, it promises far-reaching change, globally, nationally and locally. Network communications connect everything to everything else, creating network society that forces complex and contradictory shifts.\textsuperscript{51}

Traditional nation-states are threatened by these changes, control and management of information flows are becoming very difficult. Exclusive national, cultural values are being challenged everywhere.\textsuperscript{52} During the last decade or so, there has been a technological sea change with the advent of the information revolution. In the words of Cosmos, the character in the motion picture Sneakers, 'the world is not run by weapons anymore, or energy or money. It is run by ones and zeros – little bits of data. It's all electronics and there's war there.'\textsuperscript{53} The potential created for differing forms of 'warfare' in cyberspace seems unlimited, with 'cyber-terrorism' emerging as an effective low-cost option.\textsuperscript{54}

Over a period of time, traditional terrorist tactics have, however, failed to fetch lucrative results. Thus, the new breed of terrorists has started looking at the phenomenal advantage of the information revolution, and the leverage network system offers for their kind of operation.\textsuperscript{55} Thus, the convergence of technological, military and socio-political determinants predicts that cyber-terrorism will draw the attention of all in future.

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid. p.58.
\textsuperscript{53} Krishnan Mavalli and Ashutosh Kumar Sinha, 'Spiders on the Web', Outlook, 15 March 1999, p.16-8.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid. p.74.
Over the past decade, the belief has grown among some who study terrorism that it is changing. That it has become 'the new terrorism'.\(^{56}\) This terrorism is reputedly distinguished from the old by a new structure, a new kind of personnel, and a new attitude towards violence. Thus, the new structure is a network, facilitated by information technology. Terrorists are now able and willing to develop network forms of organization for the same reason that businesses are.\(^{57}\) The information revolution by lowering the cost of communication, allows organization to push functions outside a controlling hierarchical structure. It becomes more flexible, adaptive and resilient because each of its unit senses and reacts on its own in loose co-ordination with others. In the words of Michele Zanini, Terrorists may be increasing their use of information technology and modern communications.\(^{58}\) Although terrorism spreads and changes forms and although knowledge about this phenomenon is growing rapidly.\(^{59}\)

Bonitz observed two major characteristics of the scientific communication system. (a) it is holographic; (b) it follows the principles of utmost speed.\(^{60}\) Being holographic means that from the moment the information enters the communication system – that is, published in some form – it is everywhere; in monographs, articles, conference proceedings, reports, advances, e-mail, etc. All means of communication provide access to this information. Utmost speed signifies that the information reaches


\(^{58}\) Ibid p.4.


\(^{60}\) Ibid. p.117.
its destination in the fastest manner and shortest time-span possible. Terrorists by using these Bonitzs characteristics may operate their clandestine goals globally. Thus, modern technological development enables terrorists to their destinations in the fastest manner.

In the age of globalization, it has become apparent that no single country can protect its security without co-operation of another state just as states cooperate, contemporary terrorist groups also cooperate with one another. Similar to states exchanging personnel and sharing intelligence, terrorists also share operational knowledge and fundraising strategies.61 There is a great deal of controversy to identify whether terrorism itself can be viewed as a technology. The use of terror alone as a technology to achieve political or religious ends is, a relatively recent phenomenon.62 Even over the last century the nature and character of terrorism has changed greatly. This goes not only for its methods but also for the aims of the struggle and the character of the people that were and are involved in it.63 As the technology of terrorism can be mastered by people of all creeds, so does its philosophy transcend the traditional dividing lines between political doctrine.64

States also contribute funds to terrorist groups to engage inimical states. The Republic of Ireland, through its military intelligence, disbursed about £100,000 to Irish Republican Army (IRA). Similarly, the Lybian government contributed nine million pounds sterling and 130

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64 Ibid. p.5.
tonnes of weapons.\textsuperscript{65} Like terrorist groups most contemporary criminal organisations are also transnational in reach. Some groups such as LTTE even own a shipping fleet. During the past decade, human smuggling netted profits, which rivalled profits from narcotics. Certain groups like Islamic Armed Group of Algeria (GIA) operating in small terms of 5 to 10, engaged in credit card scams and netted sterling 5000-10,000 a day. The GIA terrorists in France spend 50 percentage of their time engaging in low-level crime to fund their terrorist operation.\textsuperscript{66} This effort will be shaped by globalisation, which has effectively recast terrorism within an inter-network paradigm of relationships.\textsuperscript{67}

Nation states are traditionally organised along a hierarchical paradigm, but the growing power of computer networks and the chaotic nature of the late twentieth century information system has meant a shifting in the nature of threats posed to nation-states and the entities within them. The use of hierarchical force against non-hierarchical targets may not be particularly effective.\textsuperscript{68} No nation, no corporation and no individual can control the flow of information. Some nations have already tried to censor particular types of information, or block the flow of information from particular sources. But there is in fact no way to do it; links among the millions of computers connected to the internet are far too complex.\textsuperscript{69} As technology has progressed, so also have the means

\textsuperscript{65} Rohan Gunaratua, Supra no. 61, p.8.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid. p.8.
with which to resist dominant ideologies and power relations. Computerisation has globalized economies, mobilized populations and enhanced law enforcement efficiency, intelligence and cooperation. It has also maximised the potential for terrorist groups to efficiently and effectively conduct their operations.70

These technological transitions coincide with the increasing size and scope of international arms trade currently, the U.S. monopolises the market, supplying approximately 47 percent of the world export market with U.K. in second place trading 20 percent. The principle importer is Saudi Arabia spending an estimated US $5.1 billion on arms. In 1993 developing countries accounted for 78 percent of the importing market.71

Advances in computerization have empowered terrorist group to enrich the complexity of their communications, operations, financing and ultimately anonymity. The dynamic means with which terrorists now articulate, globally has accelerated at a rapid rate, from telegraphs to landline telephones, to mobile telephones and electronic mail. Computerization allows correspondence to become fragmented, disjointed, and multidimensional. "The money laundering process has evolved to such a complex level that the role of computer is vital which provides the means to control and mobilize the funds between computer banks in an encrypted format to private international network.72

The World Wide Web now has the capacity to broadcast simultaneously with radio and television programmes that can provide a non-computerised e-mail service. By 1999 there were approximately 150-

180 million internet users worldwide. 99 percentage of whom were citizens of industrialised countries. By 2005, the user aggregate will be estimated at 1 billion.\textsuperscript{73}

The events of September 11 have brought into sharp focus key questions concerning the role that new media technologies have played in the emergence of the "New terrorism". A number of studies have examined the changing nature of terrorism in contemporary society, yet little attention has focussed upon terrorists' use of internet. According to Shpiro "Communication technology developments, such as digital satellite broadcasting, cellular communications and the internet, have turned terrorism into a live show, which could be seen stage by stage, much like a prepared script. Although both aircrafts that crashed into the world trade centre took off simultaneously from Boston, the terrorists delayed the impact of the second kidnapped aeroplane on the North tower, ensuring that every television camera in New York would be focussed on their murderous activities.\textsuperscript{74}

Thus, "new terrorism" is increasingly dependent upon new media technologies. As Conway argues: Every machine connected to the internet is potentially a printing press, a broadcasting station, or a place of assembly. The Internet is an ideal propaganda tool for terrorists who can disseminate their information undiluted by the media and untouched by the Government censors.\textsuperscript{75} However, with globalization and the development of new communication technology, the scope and scale of

\textsuperscript{73} Slevin, quoted in David Clarke, \textit{Technology and Terrorism}, p.126.
\textsuperscript{75} Conway M. "Reality Bites: Cyber Terrorism and the Terrorist "Use" of the Internet at First, \textit{Monday.org/issues/issue-7-11/Conway/index.html}.
impact has changed. As Nacos notes “Although the theatre metaphor remains instructive, it has given way to that of terrorism as a global television spectacular, as breaking news that is watched by international audiences and transcends by far the boundaries of theatrical events.76

Hence, new media technologies have clearly aided the formation of terrorist networks in three main respects 1) They have reduced the cost and the time involved in communication and co-ordination and 2) They have enabled the sharing of complex information through video conferencing, e-mail, and websites over a geographically dispersed area.77

Bin Laden is said to have developed a communications network incorporating e-mail, bulletin, boards, and the web, with the help of Egyptian computer experts such as Yasser al Serri. According to Zanini and Edwards “Using the internet for communication can increase speed of mobilisation and allow more dialogue between members, which enhances the organisations flexibility, since tactics can be adjusted more frequently. Terrorists with a common agenda and goals can form subgroups, meet at a target location, conduct terrorist operations and then readily determine their relationships and re-disperse.78 The top ten Google search terms relating to the terrorist attacks were ‘cnn” “world trade center”, “bbc”, “pentagon”, “msnbc”, “Osama bin laden”, “nostradamus”, “American airlines”, “fbi”, and “Barbara Olsen”. Similarly, the most frequently used Lycos search words included: “world trade center”, “nostradamus”, “New

78 Ibid. p.36.

As Waisbord observes “Like the risk of terrorism, the threat of bioterrorism only became a risk worth media coverage after it materialised and resulted in billions of dollars of losses”.

**Some Theoretical Issues of Terrorism and Globalisation:**

**Psychological Theories That Link Terrorism to Globalisation:**

Due to global expansion of free markets and democracy, the 1990’s witnessed a significant increase in casualties due to terrorism. Others argue that emerging ethnic and religious sensibilities, the widening gap between rich and poor, the status of the US as the only superpower, links to organised crime, access to internet, and the availability of weapons of mass destruction will increase the incidents of terrorism. Globalization contributes to the creation of socio cultural and psychological conditions from which terrorism may emerge.

The worldwide march toward economic growth and democratic ideals is welcome in the framework of a western perspective of limitless self-realization, but can trigger political and social instability elsewhere. Globalization undermines social cohesion in three ways: 1) nations are weakened due to challenges to centralised economies and the pursuit of private wealth as well as the growing standardization as experience via

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telecommunications. The weakening of nation yields a political vacuum that is often filled by xenophobic and aggressive reactionary forces that might fuel international conflict and support terrorism.84 2) Globalisation places civil society in jeopardy. And it has strained the relationship between the individual and community so that many social institutions appear to be disintegrating. 3) Longstanding multicultural tensions in different parts of the world prevent recently imported democratic institutions.85

The weakening of national sovereignty, erosion of civil society, and expression of inter group conflict are indicators of socio cultural dislocation associated with globalization.

Social Identity Theory:

Social identity theory is concerned with the relations between groups, especially groups that have unequal power. The theory predicts the circumstances in which people are motivated to maintain or change their group membership and inter group situation. It construes group relations as fluid and inter group conflicts as determined by normal psychological processes operating in unusual circumstances.86 The major assumption of this theory is that individuals are motivated to maintain or achieve a positive, more inclusive self-determination. In a group context, this implies a preference to belong to groups that have prestige and value. Under these conditions, social components of self-concept become more prominent than individual components. Concern with the ingroup

85 Ibid.
replaces self interest, self-perceptions and conduct conform to ingroup stereotypes. Intergroup violence can be intensified if a group with a negative social identity is isolated and its members rely on a leader for information about current events. In such cases, ingroup members perceptions of outgroups and relevant external events may become distorted. Causing them to view the outgroup as an enemy. Consequently ingroups may be willing to inflict costly harm on their adversaries via terrorism.87

According to this theory, individuals define themselves partly by their group membership which fulfil several basic psychological needs, including belongingness, distinctiveness, respect understanding. Being a member of a group contributes to self-concept and the valence of that group influences self-worth. When group members evaluate the ingroup more favourably, they make positive attributions about the ingroup and experience satisfaction. Less favourable evaluations relative to another group contribute to the formation of a negative social identity and dissatisfaction. Therefore, an interior ingroup evaluation prompts efforts to improve the relative status of the ingroup. The choice of restorative strategies depends on the ingroup's perception of its status vis-à-vis the outgroup. These are determined by legitimacy and stability of the social comparison outcome and the permeability of group boundaries. The outcome of a comparison may be legitimate or illegitimate, stable or unstable the boundaries between groups also perceived as permeable or impermeable. Unfavourable group comparisons experienced by the ingroup as illegitimate and stable and occur in circumstances in which

group boundaries are permeable result in a profound state of deprivation for the ingroup, sowing the seeds of terrorism.88

This theory has been applied to Hindu-Muslim conflict in India, revealing the degree to which individuals and groups will defend cherished social identities.89

Social Reduction Theory:

This theory examines macro-social change, social continuity and stability which can be applied to various manifestations of resistance to globalization, including terrorism. Social reduction theory is believed in the observation that local identity and cultural differences in behaviour are surprisingly resilient in the face of imposed change. (e.g. economic policies and legislative initiative.) when such change occur, they are modest.90 It is basic unit of analysis, which subsumes small-scale pattern of social interaction that take place in daily life. Social reduction theory 91 attempts to explain the apparent paradox that globalisation, which promises to improve people's material existence and expand individual rights is met with profound violent resistance.92 The theory rests on four propositions that articulate resistance to change 1) the rate of macro social change involving institutional transformations, occurs more rapidly than change that takes place at the micro social level. 2) micro-social change occurs within social reduction systems or inter-connected

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88 Ibid.
92 Wheeler, Supra no.90.
networks of locally valid practices, implemented through implicit norms and related social skills that realize social relationships in particular domain. 93

3) It consists of interlaced units of interaction (i.e. reductions) each expressed in a way which is congruent with local norms and impacts social relationships. 4) Social reduction systems are maintained by carriers (myths, traditions) which are embedded in culture and influence members of a culture through socialization. The fact that globalisation continues to advance inspite of Islamic resistance which may emerge more extreme, 21st century form of terrorism. Technology (e.g. cell phones, the internet) decays traditional social reduction systems and the cultural norms that they express by exposing isolated societies to western information and values. Beyond technology, the economic and political policies associated with globalisation accelerate the disintegration of indigenous culture. 94 These policies vastly expand entitlements and capabilities, creating unprecedented opportunities for individual choice.

In Orthodox Islamic society find the explosion of information and opportunities for individual choice extremely threatening because they are not readily accommodated by social reduction systems. Thus, globalisation leads to undermine social reduction systems. 95

Vygotsky’s Socio Cultural Theory:

Vygotsky’s socio cultural theory focuses on how the beliefs, customs, skills and values of a culture are transmitted. He believed that individuals are active and constructive and learning is socially mediated and lifelong. 96

93 Moghaddam and Harve, Supra no. 91, p.231.
The significance of Vygotsky's work owes much to its displacement of psychology's emphasis on autonomous, self-contained individuals with a more rational conception of the person. His perspective offers a framework for conceptualizing cultural resistance to globalisation. As noted, globalisation involves economic, social and political change. It affects existing sign systems that govern daily life. Globalization creates a gap between existing sign systems that regulate behaviour and new control that have yet to be learned and internalised. People in non-western cultures who have been impacted by globalisation experience psychological disequilibrium because the principles of successful living based on established patterns of social interaction no longer work. Disequilibrium motivates efforts to regain control by mastering and internalising a new set of cultural interactions with which to understand and adjust to the dislocations wrought by globalisation. This type of adaptation has motivated by a need to understand macro social change through interaction. Vygotsky called it as proximal development or locus of individual change. Thus, the lack of formative experiences and opportunities to internalise interpersonal interactions produces adaptational failure (i.e. living without cultural norms) and maladjustment. Closing of cognitive gaps through interaction with cultural guides who advocate ideology and action aimed at obliterating the sources of disequilibrium can lead to the acquisition of an internal sign system that produces a violent terroristic world view as a way to master the world.

98 Ibid.
99 Ibid. p.51.
Globalisation and Terrorism In India:

Impact of globalization on Terrorism began with globalisation of International relations and with the globalisation of inter-individual relations. The linkage between globalisation and Terrorism in India is analysed through five dimensions.

1) The adverse impact of economic globalisation.

2) Serious lack of sensibility to democratic principles at national level.

3) Trans-border terrorism.

4) Emergence of transnational terrorist support system.

5) Availability of new technology.100

Intensified inequalities, social dislocations and human insecurity have coincided with a redefinition of the political in the emerging world order. Part of this redefinition involves the emergence of new constitutionalism. New constitutionalism limits democratic control over central elements of economic policy and regulation by locking in future governments to liberal frameworks of accumulation premised on freedom of enterprise.101

Globalization in its present form fosters or enhances social inequality.102 Today it seems that the heads of governments may be the last to recognise that they and their ministers have lost the authority over national societies and economies that they used to have. Their command

over outcomes is not what it used to be. The state is less effective on those basic matters that the market, left to itself, has never been able to provide security against violence, stable money for trade and investment, a clear system of law and the means to enforce it, and the need for a political authority of some kind legitimated either by coercive force or by popular consent, or more often by a combination of the two, is the fundamental reason for the states’ existence. But many states are coming to be deficient in these fundamentals. States whether Democratic or non-Democratic, large and small, strong and weak have been weakened as a result of technological and financial change and of the accelerated integration of national economies into one single global market economy. The proponents of hyperglobalists argue that the changes introduced by globalisation are so profound that they have altered irrevocably the political economy context of national policy making. The powers of nation-state are depicted as being hollowed out by a huge increase in capital mobility due to the computerised financial and commercial flows and national governments are simply powerless to control.

Thus, globalisation of markets has undermined the autonomy of the nation-state, widened economic inequality and inaugurated a competitive ‘race to the bottom’ as governments seek to attract mobile capital by reducing or eliminating perceived impediments to business. The process of globalisation is posing a profound challenge for democracy in

104 Ibid. p.5.
India, since it is eroding national boundaries, weakening the authority of the state and could undermine the support of the people for democratically elected governments.\textsuperscript{107} There are two possible interpretations of 'India-in-transition. 1) The India one knew is in a shambles, a tottering subcontinent, ill at ease with other states and nations on its peripheries, internally disintegrating both territorially and socially unable to hold politically. 2) culturally too, as a civilization which most people think will survive, weathered as it has many onslaughts – it is being subjected to multiple pressures that could well upset its traditional balance and staying power.\textsuperscript{108} Raymond Vernon's elegant metaphor, 'Sovereignty at bay' captured the changing mood succinctly to the new phenomenon of power of large transnational companies in contesting the authority of the state.\textsuperscript{109} According to Kenichi Ohmae, Nation-states have forfeited their authority, since they retain no control over the course of major economic decisions made by corporate actors. States have failed to coordinate or control exchange rates or stop the erosion of their sovereignty.\textsuperscript{110}

Some scholars have identified the real threat to the survival of the nation-state as originating from within. According to James N. Rosenau states have not become peripheral to global affairs; they continue to maintain their world and infuse its international system with vitality and a capacity to adapt to change. His main concern is the 'vulnerability' of the state, which includes the growing density of population, complexity of

organised segments of society, the globalisation of national economies, the relentless pressure of technological innovation, the challenge of sub-groups to achieve autonomy and the endless intractable problems.\textsuperscript{111}

Thus, the nation-states sovereignty is attacked from many quarters with the upsurge of globalisation "the steady extension of improved communication facilities, rise of sub nationalism and the assertion of ethnic identity in many states signalling in the words of Robert Gilpin that the nation-state is dying.\textsuperscript{112} The state is thus undoubtedly a problematic category. Ethical revulsion against the state is primarily an extension of contemptuous disdain towards the notion of sovereignty. "The crisis is generated by the ethical claim of statist monopoly on human identity, political community and legitimate authority.\textsuperscript{113}

Today we find that with respect to whole range the state has ceased to fulfil the roles assigned to it. The autonomy has been eroded and given place to the growing sway of corporate interests on the one hand and communal organisations and movements on the other, as well as merchants of violence who have been spreading their tentacles far and wide.\textsuperscript{114} The domain of state authority in society and economy is shrinking; and that what were once domains of authority exclusive to state authority are now being shared with other loci or sources of authority.\textsuperscript{115}

Thus, globalisation, which is ushered in on the promise of higher growth, produces no such thing. On the one hand the stagnation, the

\textsuperscript{111} James N. Rosenau, Supra no.45, p.193.
\textsuperscript{115} Susan Strange, Supra no.103, p.82.
unemployment, the impoverishment, which it produces, together with the consequent increase in crime and violence.\textsuperscript{116} The globalisation of violent conflicts has led to unprecedented levels of human suffering. Terrorism has constituted a necessary component in such conflicts.\textsuperscript{117}

Nation-states will be subjected to increasing challenges from the grass roots and diverse peripheries and regions, both these tendencies eroding the autonomy of nation-state in India. The more centralised the state becomes, the more distant it will get from grass roots and the diverse communities and nationalities. As both these trends converge, large sections of the people will be left with no option but to join a growing culture of revolt and rebellion, 'strikes' 'dharnas' 'bandhs' number of them forced to become part of growing culture of violence and revolution.\textsuperscript{118}

As national autonomy is eroded, so is the ability of national authorities to protect their citizens from serious crime and terrorism. As a result of dynamic of globalisation, criminogenesis increases significantly.\textsuperscript{119} In the process of globalisation, the nation-state is being increasingly transcended and considered inadequate as the basis for social analysis. The independence, sovereignty and autonomy of nation-state are systematically undermined by external actors and supranational bodies. Decisions that constituted and symbolized sovereign powers now have to be shared and co-ordinated.\textsuperscript{120} The existing crisis of the Indian State and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid p.29.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Polity according to Atul Kohli is the problem of governability. He argues India is having too much of the wrong kind of democracy and not enough of the right type democracy. A highly interventionist but ineffectual national government and weak political parties are two factors in India's governability crisis which contributes towards making India's democracy the wrong type.121

Rudolph's point towards the rising level of mobilisation since 1960s impinging on the relative autonomy of the Indian state as a major factor leading to the contemporary crisis. 'Overloaded' Indian state, according to them, faces the problem of governability, as it becomes the target or protest against unfulfilled agendas. This brings about the paradox of a strong weak state, weak in its capability of governance strong in its repressive nature.122 Achin Vanaik also argues the political order as represented by the present Indian state can be named as the one, which reflects violent democracy and functional anarchy. It is the state that does not resolve conflicts but manages to cope with them.123 The state in modern times has been a source of both law and legitimacy of authority and monopoly over coercive power, a source also of security for the people of systems of justice, equity and accountability and through them all, of conditions of freedom and creativity, the arts and pursuit of excellence.124 But globalisation has rendered it weak and it is being challenged by the assertion of cultures, ethnicity, nationalities, pluralism with vengeance; tension and violence are generated by the cult of consumerism resulting in

destabilisation of social arrangements, the state of anomie is precipitating the violence of terrorism and fundamentalism. The state has become powerless and state is ceasing to be state to protect poor, the weak and oppressed.\textsuperscript{125}

Thus, the vacuum created by the erosion of modern state and the state system globally is already being filled by rise of new ethno-nationalism on the one hand and class encounters in the form of struggles for equity and justice on the other, both of these involving great deal of strife and violence.\textsuperscript{126} This is taking the form of new epidemic of violence in the cities and among unemployed youth but also increasing in the interiors of tribal hinterlands and forest reserves where ill-organised 'militants' (both 'Naxalites' and 'terrorists') find their heaven.\textsuperscript{127} As protagonists of new economic policy based on 'structural adjustment programme' are refusing to attend to the real economic crises like growing recession, poverty, unemployment, unavailability of education, health, housing, transportation and other living conditions, access to natural resources at affordable costs and consequently – those suffering from it all are treated by the state with lack of concern or respect. They are thought unworthy of protection by the political order, which implicitly makes them aliens in their own country.\textsuperscript{128} Naturally the only response that unconcern and inhumanity generates is one of criminality in which gun becomes the only medium of communication, wielding the gun becomes an end in itself. These young men are as willing to kill as to die.\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid, p.2516.
\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Indian Express}, November 13, 1992.
\textsuperscript{128} Rajni Kothari, Supra no.126, p.1104.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid, p.1104.
Hence, terrorism, whether national or transnational aims among other things, at eroding not only the state power but also the state system per se, with a view to attaining the desired objectives. Only a weak and degraded state system can offer an appropriate environment: to the forces that resort to terrorism. Thus eroding state power becomes the primary objective of terrorist groups or those agencies that sponsor, support and protect them, so as to use them vis-à-vis their targets.\textsuperscript{130}

Terrorism symbolizes deep changes in the political structures of society. The evidence of eroding political order is everywhere. Democratic process is facing the crisis of legitimacy, periodic elections are becoming less effective; the credibility of politicians – policy makers and holders of political power is being lowered and authority of state is being challenged in greater dimension. The government has become ineffective and the conflict resolution mechanism has become feeble.\textsuperscript{131}

In the absence of effective mediating and conflict resolving mechanism, the politics and central power structure has thus become unresponsive. It no more has the capacity to respond adequately to the demands and pressure of social groups. For Myron Weiner, the fragility of the political system is reflected through the organisational weakness of the dominant party, the extra parliamentary movements and the fragmentation and regionalization of opposition parties, states capacity to sustain democratic institutions gets threatened as the conflict-managing role of the dominant party diminishes.\textsuperscript{132} Thus, the weak organizational


\textsuperscript{132} Myron Weiner, quoted in Rekha Choudhary, Supra no.131, p.113.
structure, de-idolization of political issues, non-democratic internal functioning of the party are the prime reasons for declining efficacy of parties. This had direct implication for the states capacity to deal with social problems. As increasingly the Indian state and its political apparatus have failed to respond to the pressing issues, it has resulted in the loss of centrality of the Indian state on the one hand and a tendency to seek non-political solution to social and political problems on the other.133

**Terrorism and Insurgency:**

According to the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences insurgency is defined as use of armed forces against an established government to achieve public purpose, which cannot in the opinion of insurgents be achieved by pacific means.134 It is also defined as struggle between a non-ruling and ruling in which the former consciously employs political resources and violence to establish legitimacy for certain issues considered as illegitimate.135

The term 'terrorism' according to U.S. state Department, Department of Defense, and CIA means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience. The term 'International Terrorism means terrorism involving citizens or territory of more than one country.136 Both terrorism and insurgency are means for violent revolutionary change. But there are differences between the two, the first dividing line between insurgency and terrorism is the fact that,

133 Ibid, p.115.
while former is regional and latter is international by nature. While terrorism is reactionary, insurgency is revolutionary in character. While insurgency is dogmatic, terrorism is non-dogmatic. Insurgency depends on popular support for its struggle, terrorism, on the contrary, is based on urban society. Insurgency organisation and modus operandi is more like a paramilitary organisation and terrorism is like Non-military type.137

Insurgency is relatively value-neutral concept denoting a rebellion or rising against any government in power or the civil authorities.138 According to the International Red Cross (ICRC) the number of such insurgencies has increased in recent years from an average of 20-25 per year to 65-70 per year. Not only is the number of crisis rising but also the people affected by them. The ICRC estimates that the number of people affected by this kind of insurgency will increase by 10 million per year in the coming years.139 The overall effects of these conflicts include a huge increase in the numbers of refugees: major disruptions and interruptions in the supply of food for the populations and major increase in poverty and disease.140

The North-East Terrorism/Insurgency:

The roots of insurgency in the North East lie deeply embedded in its history and geography. The geo-strategic importance of the region has

137 Kshitij Prabha, Terrorism Instrument of Foreign Policy, South Asian Publisher, New Delhi, 2000, p.28.
140 Paul Wilkinson, Supra no.138, p.4.
encouraged secessionist movements and insurgency. Physiologically, the region can be divided into three broad areas – hills, plateau and plains, the region's total population is about 26 million and it is ethnically, linguistically, religiously and culturally quite diverse. There are 116 tribes, 420 languages and dialects used in the region out of a total 1652 in the whole country. Seven states comprise India's Northeast: Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. These states cover a combined area of over 255,088 square kilometres (7.7 percent of the country's territory) and according to the 2001 census of India, a population of 38,495,089 persons. (3.74 percent of national population). The tribal population of the region constitutes only about 30 percent of the population, while the 'non-tribals' dominate Assam and Tripura, over 60 percent of the population of Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland is drawn from the scheduled Tribes.

The North East has been an area of great and continuous civilisational intercourse through history, and has been thought of as "a gateway of commerce and culture that linked India overland to east and South East Asia" and a 'complex transition zone of linguistic, racial and religious streams'. Tribal revolts against the British Government were not uncommon. History records the revolts of Ahoms (1828); Khasis and

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142 Ibid p. 225.
Singphos (1826-1830); Khamptis (1839); Nagas (1979), Jaintas (1860-1862); Lushias (1844-1845 and 1892) and frequent clashes occurred between tribals and British troops. It is a sensitive geo-political flank of India whose frontier matches with those of Bangladesh, Myanmar, China and Bhutan. Its security is vital for the overall stability of North-East India. "When India became independent the tribals in this region demanded complete separation from India and raised their banner of revolt to achieve a separate national identity. Against this background, the North-East has been a hotbed of insurgency and fertile ground for armed struggle of underground militants ever since independence.147

ASSAM:

Insurgency in Assam makes for a rather complex phenomenon. The insurgents can claim a nearly one-century-old history of politics of parochialism in the state. Insurgency in Assam emerged due to the deportation of illegal migrants from Bangladesh. Since India’s partition in 1947, a continuous flow of illegal migrants across the borders has disturbed the local demography and popular sentiments against the ‘foreigners’, which led to a mass movement seeking the detection of illegal migrants. With the increasing proliferation and easy availability of small arms and training, and the widespread failure and corruption of the political leadership in the region, increasing polarisation of tribal identities and a mushrooming of militant organisations and movements has made

the situation very complex. According to 2001 census, total population of Assam is 26,638,407.\textsuperscript{148} Area: 78,610 square kilometre, Rural: 77,438 square kilometre, Urban: 828 square kilometre, Literacy rate: 64.28 percentage Life Expectancy at Birth: 57.31 years per capita (1996-97). Rs.7335.\textsuperscript{149} Number of conflict deaths: 1992-2000 - 3,837, 2000-758 (366 civilians, 327 militants, 65 SF) 2001 - 606 (264 civilians, 283 militants, 59 SF).\textsuperscript{150} In 2002 (April 30) 98 (12 civilians, 84 militants, 2 SF). A large number of militant groups have emerged in the state, and a disturbing trend is the constitution of a number of Muslim fundamentalist militia which is backed by Pakistan’s external intelligence agency, the Inter Service Intelligence (ISI).

The movement started in July 1979 under the leadership of the All Assam Students Union (AASU) and All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) for deletion from voters list of illegal migrants. Talks between the Indian government and agitators broke down. Towards the end of 1979, the agitation took a violent turn despite the promulgation of president’s rule.

\textsuperscript{148} Census of India 2001, Provisional Figures, \url{http://www.censusindia.net/results/provdata.xls}
\textsuperscript{149} Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, \url{http://mha.nic.in/nen/11.htm}
\textsuperscript{150} South Asia Terrorism Portal, \url{http://www.satp.org}
### Table 4.1: Fatalities in insurgencies and terrorist conflicts in India's Northeast, 1992-2001.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Assam</th>
<th>Manipur</th>
<th>Meghalaya</th>
<th>Mizoram</th>
<th>Nagaland</th>
<th>Tripura</th>
<th>Arunachal Pradesh</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>SF</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>492</td>
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<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>913</td>
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<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>1058</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>254</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>1235</td>
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<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>839</td>
<td>1680</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>208</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>907</td>
<td>1701</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>137</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2459</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>1373</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12181</td>
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<tr>
<td>State wise</td>
<td>4443</td>
<td>3006</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>2633</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>12181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cumulative Total (All categories) M: Militants; SF: Security Force Personnel; C: Civilians

The United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) established on April 7, 1979, at Sibsagar, under the leadership of Paresh Baruah (Chief of Staff) along with Arabinda Rajkhowa (chairman) has emerged as one of the major insurgent outfits of the region, suspected of having strong links with ISI and neighbouring states. The ULFA, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) and other outfits in the state have been able to maintain a fairly high degree of violence, the security forces have not been able to produce the desired degree of success in Assam. A number of organisations were formed to give expression to the separatist urges of elite classes. These included the Assam Association (1903), Asom Sahitya Sabha (1917), Asom chhatra Sanmilan (1919) Assam Samgrakshini Sabha (1926) etc., A notable writer and poet, Ambikagiri Roychoudhury, spoke of "Asomiya Swaraj" and stated that 'Swaraj for India might not bring swaraj for Assam'. The Samgrakshini Sabha demanded "Assam for Assamese". The elite classes were apprehensive of the provincial government dominated by Muslim League accusing it of encouraging Muslim immigration from East Bengal.

According to S.K. Baruah, "culturally, racially and linguistically, every non-Assamese is a foreigner in Assam". Thus every foreigner who came to and resided in Assam for trade and other purposes after the British in 1826 A.D. might be treated as alien. Hence, Assam, from very ancient times, never formed a part of India. The partition of the country was responsible for creating some fresh problems for the region. It left

152 Chetana, Vol. III (2) 1920, p. 2.
153 *The Assam Tribune*, August 29, 1941.
154 *Assam Tribune*, July 20, 1947.
The center's inability to deal with the situation firmly enabled the separatist sentiments to graduate from the Language Movement (1960) to the Oil Refinery Movement (1967); and it was from the movement on the issue of medium of instruction (1972) to the Anti Foreigner Movement that the ULFA came into being. A terrorist organisation by the name of Assam People's Liberation Army (APLA) was formed which did commit a number of terrorists acts including the killing of police officers before Assam state Assembly election in 1983.  

ULFA had established contact with NSCN for procuring arms and arranging for training. They had even started crossing over to Myanmar for training. The cadres were sent across the international border via Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh. They have established their own

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155 Ved Marwah, Supra no.141, p.227.
156 N.C. Asthana, Supra no. 151, p.110.
training camps in the foot hills of Bhutan. It also established contact with
the Kachin Independent Army (KLA) of Mynmar and through them they
have been able to procure arms and assistance from China. It is also in
touch with the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and People's Revolutionary
Army of Langleipak in Manipur.\footnote{ibid. p.111.}

Over the years the nefarious activities of the ULFA have been
continuing unchecked. This is due to undue leniency by the judiciary in
dealing with the terrorists. The assistance that the insurgents operating in
the Northeast region had received from China in the form of training arms
and ammunitions from camps inside the Yunnan Province is an indicator
of the Chinese strategy of making conscious attempts "in support of
expansion of its own sphere of political influence".\footnote{Ray S. Cline and Yonah Alexander, Terrorism: The Soviet Connection, quoted in Stephen Segaller, "State-

Chinese assistance
to the Northeast rebels commenced almost immediately after insurgency
first emerged in the region. Such a trend, a recent Rand study projected,
"will become more significant overtime, in part because geographical
limitations constrain – but certainly do not eliminate – more conventional
forms of military competition. Moreover, both India and China have
relatively less well – integrated, but nonetheless strategic, border areas
that lend themselves as arenas for low intensity war. In the near to
medium term, however, Sino-Indian competition is likely to be muted.\footnote{Ashley J. Tellis, et.al., "Sources of Conflict in Asia", in Zalmay Khalilzad and Ian O. Lesser, (eds.), Sources
of Conflict in the 21st century: Regional Futures and U.S. Strategy, Santa Monica Press, 2000, Rand
Corporation, p.157.}

In conformity with the Rand Corporation, Northeast insurgents continue
to be beneficiaries of Chinese arms assistance. The ULFA terrorists in
Assam have procured arms from the Chinese Army. Among other recent

\footnote{ibid. p.111.}
reports of Chinese arms for the Northeast militants, a news report of December 2000, quoting unnamed intelligence sources, said the consignment worth an estimated US $750,000 reached Cox's Bazaar, a Coastal town in Bangladesh.\textsuperscript{160}

At around the same time, another report claimed that an arms consignment had arrived in Myanmar at a town named Tabu, close to the border with India.\textsuperscript{161} Reflecting on cross-border linkages of terrorist groups, Christopher Harmon notes, "weak internal controls combine with weak border controls yielding countries... which are all but lacking sovereignty, and are ripe for abuse by internal groups, outside powers and foreign terrorist organisations."\textsuperscript{162} In view of this, then Union Minister of state for Home I.D. Swami said in parliament in 2000 that terrorist organisations in the Northeast were receiving arms as well as money from foreign countries.\textsuperscript{163} He confirmed that arms were emerging primarily from Bangladesh, Myanmar and Thailand, while money was flowing in from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) based in unnamed European countries. Establishing camps in neighbouring territories has been rendered relatively easy for the Northeast based terrorist groups primarily due to the fact that the region shares 90 percent of its borders with China, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Bhutan.\textsuperscript{164}

Thuingaleng Muivah, General Secretary of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland – Isak Muivah (NSCN-IM) is an apt example of a terrorist leader living in exile in a foreign country, and moving around the

\begin{footnotesize}
160 \url{http://www.satp.org/news/december}
161 \url{http://www.satp.org/news/october/news}
\end{footnotesize}

\begin{footnotesize}
202
\end{footnotesize}
globe with impunity, even as he participates in negotiations with the Indian government, on the one hand, and procures sophisticated weapons and fire power for the NSCN-IM on the other. On January 19, 2000, Muviah was arrested in Thailand for travelling on a fake passport but was granted bail.165

The ULFA operated, initially, in close coordination with the All Assam Students Union, (AASU) and All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad’s (AAGSP) agitation. The agitation ended in August 1985, with the signing of the Assam Accord with the centre, and its leaders formed the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) and engaged in electoral politics. “This is the starting point of, the political distance between ULFA and AGP growing continuously. The ULFA unleashed its reign of terror in 1989. It has also been alleged that there had been pressure of the AASU on the AGP government for not taking stern action against the ULFA”.166

The army has been equally unsuccessful. The much published ‘Operation Bajrang’ was launched towards the close of 1990, and April 1991. The ULFA created terror in the state, disrupting communications and hitting various targets abducting for ransom and killing civilians and government officials. As AGP came to power after the Assam Accord in 1985 the government progressively lost control of the situation, the state was brought under president’s rule on November 28 1990, and ULFA was prescribed under the Unlawful Activities (prevention) Act 1967. The army launched Operation Rhino in September 1991, the Saikia government suspended Army operations in January 1992 with the announcement of

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166 Sharma, D.P. Combating Terrorism, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1992, p.263.
an amnesty for all militants willing to surrender. The ULFA, however, proved extremely resilient, acquiring new military hardware and establishing a chain of training camps across the border in Myanmar, Bangladesh and Bhutan. In April 1995, the Indian and Myanmar armed forces jointly conducted Operation Golden Bird along their border.

**Bodo Terrorism in Assam:**

Bodos are the tribals of the plains. They include Bodos, the Boro-Kacharis and the Machas besides eight other small tribes. They are found in the district of Kokrajhar and Udalguri sub-division of Darrang district. In all 23 development blocks in the districts of Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Barpeta, Nalbari, Kamrup and Darrang have been identified having a sizeable concentration of the tribals.¹⁶⁷

The All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) had existed since 1967, but emerged as a potent force under the leadership of Upendranath Brahma only in the 1980's. Towards the latter half of the 1980s, the Bodos started demanding separate state within India. In 1988, the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) was founded and initiated a 'guerilla war'. The Indian government managed to 'Bodo Accord' in 1993. The Bodo volunteer Force (BVF), a wing of ABSU laid down arms, paving the way for the establishment of the Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC). Unfortunately, the expected did not happen. All sorts of Splinter groups emerged in the process, Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) continues to press for a full-fledged state whereas the National Democratic Front of Boroland (NDFB) has put forward a separate sovereign country. Violence perpetrated by these groups rose steadily from 1992 to 1998. On

¹⁶⁷ N.C. Asthana and Anjali Nirmal, Supra no. 151, p.112.
December 12, 2000, 11 BLT terrorists were killed in clash with NDFB terrorists in Barpata district. On January 16, 2001, the NDFB announced its plan of 'selective killing' targeting the rival Bodo groups such as the BLT, All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS) Bodo Peoples Action Committee (BPAC) and All Bodo Womens Welfare Federation (ABWWF).

MANIPUR:

Manipur is a predominantly hilly state. About 90 percent of the area of the state consists of hills. The Imphal valley has just about 10 percent of the total area the Meitei people inhabiting the valley account for about 60 percent of the population of the state. The tribals constitute about 27.3 percent of the population. According to census of India 2001, total population of the state is 2,388,634. Area – 22,327 square kilometre, Rural – 22,182 square kilometre, Urban – 145 square kilometre. Literacy rate 68.87 percentage, per capita Rs. 8,194. Number of Conflict Related Deaths: 1992 – 2000 – 2750, 2000 – 246 (93 civilians, 102 militants, 51 SF), 2001 – 256 (70 civilians, 161 militants, 25 SF) 2002 – 84 (14 civilians, 51 militants and 19 SF).

Ethnically there are four distinct groups in the state: 1) The Meiteis, including the Lois 2) The Bishnupuriyas, 3) The Pangans 4) The Hill tribes. There are in all, 29 tribes in Manipur. The hills are exclusively reserved for the tribals – mainly Nagas and Kukis. The Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reform Act – under which the hill tribes are allowed to...
settle in the valley, but no Meitei is allowed to buy land or settle in hills. The Meiteis classified as non-tribals/1/. denied benefits that create reservations in jobs and educational institutions.

Manipur was merged with the Indian Union on October 15, 1949, but it became separate state only in 1972 after long and frequent violent agitation. The merger and delay in granting statehood caused discontent among Meities. The Kukis and the Nagas have had fairly bloody history or rivalry. There are several reasons for it. The Tangkhul Nagas are supporters of the NSCN. Thus their demand for a ‘Greater Nagaland’ is strained by Kukis because they perceive it a threat to integrity of Manipur. They have difference of opinion on creation of a separate district for Sadar hills with headquarters at Kangpokpi. There have been agitations and counter agitations on the issue of disruptions of the lifeline of state, the Dimapur – Imphal road (NH-39). Above all, the rivalry stems to control the Moreh region in Chandel district.

Various terrorist groups operating in Northeast India have bases and camps in the areas in Myanmar bordering the Indian states of Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Mizoram. The National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khaplang (NSCN-K) has its training camps.174 And its central as well as general Headquarters (6HQ) in Myanmar.175 The NSCN-IM, ULFA176 and National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) also have camps in Myanmar. Among other groups known to have presence in Myanmar are Kuki national Army (KNA) and Kuki National Front (KNF).177

176 http://www.satp.org/news/May
Myanmar is among the many sources of weapons for the Northeast-based terrorist groups.\textsuperscript{178} According to two surrendered KNA terrorists, sophisticated arms like the 6.3 and AK Series of rifles "have been available in plenty inside Myanmar", in the weapons market.\textsuperscript{179} A large cache of arms and ammunition was recovered from the residence of a Myanmarese national in a village in Mizoram which shares borders with Myanmar.\textsuperscript{180}

The 'Golden Triangle' of Myanmar, Thailand and Laos is also a major source of illegal drugs for South Asian Region and Western Europe. The nexus between narcotics traffic, terrorist/insurgent groups and international drug mafias has developed across the entire 1643 kilometres length of Indo-Myanmar border covering Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram.\textsuperscript{181} The coastal region of India are used by terrorist for the supply and exchange of narcotics and arms. An effective check on 'narco terrorism activities is one of the latest challenges faced by the paramilitary forces and intelligence agencies of India'.

The period 1979-81 witnessed an escalation in insurgent activities. In order to tackle the situation the Armed Forces (Special powers) Act, 1958 was imposed in September 1980. The emergence of an insurgency is traced to the constitution of the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) on November 1964 under the leadership of Sumarendra Singh. In December 1968, a breakaway group of the UNLF led by Oinam Sudhir Kumar, established a government in exile called the Revolutionary Government of Manipur (RGM) with headquarters at Sylhat in East Pakistan, with a view to liberate Manipur through armed struggle.

\textsuperscript{178} www.satp.org/news/2001/February/news1.htm
In September 1978, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) with a leftist ideology and alleged training in guerilla warfare in China, was founded by N. Bisheswar Singh. The People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) led by R.K. Tulachandra in 1977 and the Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP) in 1980 were equally powerful underground organizations operating in Manipur.

The extremist violence by Meitei state committee (MSC) and UNLF was started mainly to highlight social and economic discrimination. Their terrorist acts concentrated mostly on looting banks and treasuries and assassination of police officers and security forces.182

The Kuki National Front (KNF) have been struggling for a separate state within the Indian Union. Their ethnic conflict with Nagas compounded the problem with a bitter struggle to control drug trafficking and smuggling of contraband through the border town of Moreh resulting in blood bath between Kukis and Nagas in 1992 nothing has contributed more towards the globalisation of terrorism than the illicit trade in narcotics.183 Notwithstanding the fact that the drug lords are primarily motivated only to earn money the quickest and cheapest way. The Malevolent marriage between these two is responsible for global lawlessness in more than one way.

There have been frequent internecine conflicts between Kukis and Paites. The violence between them reached its highest intensity in 1997-98 when clashes claimed 1,000 lives, with 4,600 houses torched thousands of rupees - worth of property destroyed. The various militant

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182 Ved Marwah, Supra no.141, p.289.
groups have been criminalised and there is evidence of a complex web of collusion between terrorist outfits and political parties. The increasing articulation of the demand for a separate Kuki homeland, and efforts to consolidate the identity of Kuki-aligned tribes has also given rise to new conflicts.

Recently, however, there have been some efforts by successive state governments of Manipur to move towards a process of dialogue. The erstwhile People’s Front government headed by Radhabinod Koijam offered on February 28, 2001 a unilateral month-long cease-fire commencing March 1, 2001 to 17 separatists outfits in the state. Subsequently, on March 19, 2001, Governor Ved Marwah announced the setting up of a contact group to liaison with extremist groups in the state. Thus, political opportunism has led to erosion and breakdown of democratic institutions. There is no hope of an end to violence and terrorism in Manipur in the near future.

TRIPURA:

A deepening nexus between major political parties and terrorist groups is evident in Tripura and terrorist groups in the state also have strong connections with other insurgent organisations in the region. These groups often aided by ISI, exploit 865 kilometre long porous border with Bangladesh to establish their hideouts beyond Indian territory, the state has emerged as major corridor for pushing arms into the Northeast. Terrorists groups in the state are deeply criminalised and have transformed abduction into an industry.

187 Ved Marwah, Supra no. 141, p.298.

The trouble in Tripura has its origin in the large-scale migration of Bengali refugees from East Pakistan after partition. Continuous influx of Muslim migrants from Bangladesh in recent years further worsened the problem. The tribals who constitute half of the total population have been reduced to one-third which apprehended the tribals of being reduced to minority status in their own land.\(^{190}\)

Tripura, formerly a princely state, was a Union Territory at the dawn of India's independence. It secured its statehood in January 1972. The first insurgency in the state was organised by the CPI during 1948 – 51 as a part of larger movement to “liberate India from its then ruling classes”. The movement disintegrated and its leader Dasharath Deb, was co-opted into democratic politics. The CPI and (after the split) the CPI-Marxist (CPI-M) have since launched agitation for tribal rights, but the logic of electoral arithmetic has forced a dilution of this stance, since no political party can secure power in the state without tribal vote.\(^{191}\)

The failure of democratic politics to correct the imbalance and rising tribal discontent, led to the emergence of the Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti

\(^{189}\) Supra no. 148.  
\(^{190}\) Ved Marwah, Supra no.141, p.298.  
\(^{191}\) Supra no. 150.
(TUJS) in June 1967. Primarily a political front which raised four demands: 1) autonomous district council 2) Introduction of 'Kokborok' in the Roman script as medium of instruction for tribal students 3) restoration of alienated tribal lands 4) extension of inner-line regulations.\textsuperscript{192}

The militant elements in TUJS soon tired of its peaceful ways and formed an underground organisation named Tripura National Volunteers (TNV). One Bijoy Hrangkhawl assumed its leadership in July 1979. The main objective of the TNV being creation of an independent tribal state by overthrowing the existing government through armed struggle.\textsuperscript{193} Communal tension flared up throughout the state. Systematic attack were launched on police stations and outposts; markets were looted, public property was extensively damaged. According to Chaudhury, "The flame of fire spread very rapidly from village to village burning thousands of houses and huts, cattle, crops. Lakhs of people were rendered homeless. Properties, both movable and immovable worth several crores were destroyed, burnt, damaged, looted, captured. Hundreds were murdered. All contemptible crimes in human history were committed.\textsuperscript{194} There was a breakdown of public order, the state police, the paramilitary forces, the army and intelligence machinery all failed miserably. The sorry state of affairs continued for over eight years. In 1988 a tripartite agreement was signed by the Union Government, State Government and the TNV, the peace, however, was short lived. In May 1990, the All Tripura Tribal Force, came into being which launched an armed offensive

\textsuperscript{192} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{193} N.C. Asthana, Supra no.151, p.136.
\textsuperscript{194} G. Choudhury, \textit{A Political History of Tripura}, Ashish Press, New Delhi, 1985, p.64.
targeting Congress and TUJS cadres. In 1991, the erstwhile Vice-President of the TNV, Dhananjoy Reang established the National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) and began hit and run operations primarily targeting security forces. The NLFT reportedly has camps in Bangladesh. An NLFT 'Commander', Chandi pada Jamatiya surrendered in April 2001, the safe house in Chittagong. This is where NLFT president Biswamohan Debbarma and other top leaders reside. A range of rightwing political leaders, army officers and Christian missionaries maintain contacts with NLFT.

Besides NLFT the All Tripura Tiger Force and the Meghalaya – based Hynniewtrep National Liberation council (HNLC) and Achin National Volunteer Council (ANVC) also run camps in Bangladesh. The Meghalaya chief minister has pointed out that Bangladesh had 'courted' these groups to setup camps on its soil. The ATTF has setup its headquarters in Satchari, in Bangladesh, from where its chairman directs outfits' activities.

A significant Bengali militant group, The United Bengali Liberation Front (UBLF) came into existence in October 1999 with the objective of protection of the Bengali populace from attack by other terrorist outfits as the NLFT. Today there are over 30 militant organisations operating at various levels. There are clear indications that terrorism in the state with its disproportionate emphasis on criminal activities such as abduction and extortion is substantially supported and sustained by political patronage. Abduction by terrorists in Tripura has evolved into a
well-organised criminal operation. A total of 555 incidents of abduction including 481 by NLFT and 41 by the ATTF, were reported in the state.\(^{199}\)

The easy availability and movement of finances has been another major contributory element in the support of terrorism. The easy availability of funds and the concomitant of free flow of these funds across borders through ubiquitous ‘hawala’ channels have enormously empowered the terrorists. The darker side of globalisation of financial markets, turned away from its distributional effects and tendencies towards periodic instability, began focus on the manner in which it facilitated the transfer of funds, that enabled trans-border terrorism. The new challenge of financial market globalisation to India is to track and freeze the financial assets of trans-border terrorist network.\(^{200}\)

The UN Security Council through Resolution 1373 decided that all states should prevent and suppress the financing of terrorism, as well as criminalize the wilful provision or collection of funds for such acts. The funds, financial assets and economic resources of those who commit or attempt to commit terrorist acts or participate in or facilitate the commission of terrorist acts and of persons and entities acting on behalf of terrorists should also be frozen without delay.\(^{201}\) Terrorist outfits in Tripura also strengthened their existing network with Pakistan’s ISI and with other groups in the region. The All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF) reportedly maintains a tacit understanding with several insurgent groups in the regions. The political wing of ATTF, the Tripura Peoples Democratic Front (TPDF) has set up a parallel government in remote areas of the state.

\(^{199}\) Ibid.
Tripura has emerged as a corridor for pushing arms into other states in the Northeast, with groups such as NLFT procuring arms and ammunitions from South East Asian Countries such as Thailand and Singapore and depositing them at Cox Bazar in Bangladesh, one of the major illegal arms centres in the region. According to Badal Choudhury, the illegal consignments of weapons are offloaded in the district of Dhalai, South and North Tripura, to be transported to other parts of the Northeastern region. In May 2000 documenting on Terrorist activities lists 21 NLFT and 8 ATTF base camps that are operating across the border.

The year 2000 also witnessed a violent conflict between the cadres of NLFT and Bru National Liberation Front (BNLF). The high point of this violent feud was the July 9 2000, incident wherein 70 BNLF cadres were killed by the NLFT at the BNLF headquarters in the Jampui hills in Bangladesh.

Meanwhile counter insurgency operations in the state continued. In a bid to combat the continuing upsurge of insurgency. The state was declared a disturbed area and 6 of its 49 police districts were brought under Disturbed Area Act in 1988. The Army and Assam Rifles were inducted into counter-insurgency operations – though army was pulled out due to Kargil war.

MIZORAM:

Peace has returned to Mizoram after two decades of insurgency from 1966 to 1986. The Mizo National Front (MNF) signed the Peace Accord on

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203 www.flonnet.com/fl1712/17120410.htm
204 www.himalmag.com/december2001/essay.htm
June 30, 1986. Subsequently, Mizoram was raised to the status of a full-fledged state on February 20, 1987. The Mizo in India comprise several different tribes, namely, Lushais, Chakmas, Pawis, Paithers, Ralte, Phangirs, Hmras, Kukis, Maras, Lakhers and Reangs. The biggest and the most advanced group among them is that of the Lushais.


Mizoram was a part of Assam before its reconstitution as a union territory in 1972 and became a full-fledged state in 1987, after the agreement with Ladenga, who became its first chief minister. The state remained peaceful, though several voices demanding concessions for specific tribal groups are heard from time to time. Organizations like the Zomi Reunion organisation (ZORO) and Hmar peoples convention (HPC) contain the seeds of potential violence. Other minority tribes like Pavis, Lakhers etc. allege neglect and discrimination. Mizoram never experienced abduction for ransom throughout the period. There was widespread shock, consequently, when six employees of the North-Eastern Electricity Power Corporation (Ltd) (NEEPCO) were abducted by militants

206 N.C. Asthana, Supra no. 151, p. 150.
207 Ibid. p.150
208 Supra no. 148
209 Supra no. 149
belonging to Manipur’s Hmaro Peoples Convention – Democrats (HPCD) in March 2000. 211 In another disturbing incident, seven members of the anti-terrorist Hunter Force of Mizoram Police were killed in an ambush by suspected BNLF terrorists along the Indo-Bangladesh border in Mamit district on June 30, 2000. 212

Though Mizoram was granted Union Territory status on January 21, 1972, it is believed that Lal Dengar did not cut off his secret communication channel with the government and maintained his devious links through covert means. 213 The insurgency operations refused to get wiped off. Brig. Sailo formed a political party namely Peoples Conference (PC) and went on to become Chief Minister. 214

There is the problem of the Mizo-Chakma ethnic conflict. The Mizo chauvinists are not pleased with the creation of the Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC) in 1972. These elements and members of a student organisation called Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP) have also been expressing resentment over the problem of the Chakma refugees from Bangladesh. As the matter came to head with the revision of electoral rolls in 1994. 215

The Mizos are having some problems with the Reangs too. The Reangs are demanding an Autonomous District Council, which the Mizos do not approve of. In 1997 a Mizo was murdered in a Reang-dominated area. In retaliation the Mizos restored to large scale arson and did it with brutal efficiency that about 41,000 Reangs were forced to flee to Tripura
and Assam. Against this the Reangs too have formed a terrorist outfit called Bru National Liberation Front (BNLF) such outfits come to vent their ire on the Government and Security forces.216

Though peace has returned to Mizoram, there is still a continuous traffic of Myanmar insurgents and non-insurgents along Indo-Myanmar border. The active groups include the Chin National Front (CNF), the Arakan Liberation Party (ALP), and the National Unity Party of Arakan (NUPA). This traffic is intimately linked with our strategic interests in the area. On October 28, 2000, the BNLF had suggested tripartite peace talks to end its three-year-old insurgency in the state and urged the state government to set the stage by declaring cease-fire.217

In the past, the BNLF and NLFT co-operated closely, but rising tensions in the recent past have seen BNLF cadres fleeing from the NLFT. In January 2001, Surji Moni and Hmunsia, 'President' and 'Deputy Commander', respectively of the BNLF escaped from the NLFT and surrendered to the Assam Rifles at Kanchanpura in Tripura.218 Some BNLF leaders have also taken shelter in Bangladesh.219

In view of these developments Mizoram still calls for a constant vigil. The state is getting intermittent eruptions of social, political or ethnic tensions. The increasing influx of illegal immigrants from Myanmar is also fraught with possibilities of serious socio-economic and political ramifications.

216 Assam Tribune, May 1, 2002.
MEGHALAYA:

Meghalaya is home to a number of tribes, including, prominently, the Garos, Khasis, Pnars, Jayantias, etc. Inter-tribal rivalry and common acrimony against the 'outsiders' has led to the growth of a number of militant organisations. Meghalaya is one of those states the merger of which in the Union of India was not entirely devoid of some hesitation, a little confusion and considerable manipulation. At first the Khasi leaders signed the 'standstill Agreement' on August 9, 1947. A few months later a general durbar was convened under the Nongstoin Syiemship on January 14, 1948. In that durbar they decided not to merge with India and to remain as an independent Syiemship.


The demand for a separate Hill state was raised after the Government of Assam decided to introduce Assamese as the official language for transaction of government business. Soon an organisation called All Party Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC) was formed to lead the movement for the Hill state. The movement remained quite peaceful and
succeeded in securing first the autonomous state of Meghalaya in 1970, and subsequently the full-fledged state of Meghalaya in 1972.224

The signs of insurrectionary profile were first detected in 1989 in the shape of the Meghalaya United Movement (MUM). With the objective of the all round development of Khasi society and its ultimate secession from union of India. The MUM had some sort of understanding with ULFA, particularly assistance for going to and coming from the territory of Bangladesh. Terrorist organisations in India's Northeast have formed three types of linkages. They are 1) between any two terrorists organisations, cutting across theatres; 2) amongst terrorists organisations operating within a theatre; and 3) broad fronts consisting of terrorist organisations operating in different theatres. The consequent alliances among terrorist groups take the form of ideological collaboration, logistics or material support and co-operation and joint operations.225

Militant groups operating in India routinely call for a boycott of national day celebrations. This is also true of extremist organisations in the Northeast.226 Furthermore, linkages that the terrorist groups have established also extend beyond India's borders. These cross-border linkages serve the function of providing terrorists with safe heaven from where they can run their bases and camps, as well as arms for their terror campaign.227 These linkages might be formed "for a variety of reasons" sometimes a shared ideology, sometimes a shared enemy or sometimes simply, shared training facilities.228

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224 N.C. Asthana, Supra no.151, p.148.
225 www.ict.org.il/article^articles.articledet.cmc?articleid=120.
226 Indian Express, August 14, 2001.
Commenting on the assistance accorded to terrorist groups operating in the Northeast region, S.K. Ghosh states these groups received funds, weapons, explosives, advice, forged travel documents and sanctuary from Pakistan.229

The continuing assistance to terrorist groups by the ISI can also be understood in the framework of destabilization seeking to establish in India. "Once conventional war is impossible, futile or inconvenient, state sponsored terrorism is used instead as a proxy war. The state can maintain diplomatic relations and as long as the states sponsoring terrorism can enjoy the luxury of holding both sides of the stick, this kind of terrorism will not only continue but also increase."230

The ISI conducts training camps in Bangladesh for various terrorist groups operating in India's Northeast most prominently, the NSCN, the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA), the ULFA and the Northeast students Organisation (NESO).231 Thus in 1991 another organisation called the Achik Liberation Matgrik Army (ALMA) was formed which aimed at creation of a separate Garoland however it failed to accomplish anything spectacular. In 1992 another group called Hynniewtrep Voluntary Council (HVC) was floated which had connections with ULFA.232

At present there are two insurgent outfits active in Meghalaya. They are 1) The Achik National Volunteer Council (ANVC) and Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC). These outfits are not only in touch with NSCN (IM), ULFA and NDFB, but they are also providing them with

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their territory for secret meetings, occasional shelter and trans-border movement. It is also learnt that the NDFB is contemplating to make increasing use of Meghalaya in case the Bhutan Government insists upon the removal of their camps from the territory of Bhutan.233 Meghalaya demands a very prudent but firm treatment. The inefficiency of the government machinery in general and the incompetence of the security forces and the intelligence network have been so remarkably evident from the fact that they have not been able to tame even these petty outfits.234 If the government agencies cannot deal with such infantile insurgent groups the portents are indeed extremely grim.235

NAGALAND:

The Naga conflict is the oldest secessionist conflict in the Northeast, and it is therefore a logical place to begin the survey. The Nagas base their case for secessionism on the fact that they are different from mainstream. They argue that they were never Indian and were only brought into India by the British Conquests.236 The state of Nagaland was carved out of the original state of Assam in 1960s. The Nagas comprise nearly 17 major tribes and over 20 sub tribes. The major tribes include Ao, Angami, Sema, Lotha, Thangkhul, Konyale, Rengma and Moo. Each tribe and sub-tribe speaks a different language, which belong to the Tibeto-Burmese group of languages.237

The population of Nagaland according to 2001 census is 1,988,636,238 Area - 16,579 square kilometre, Rural -16,432 square

234 N.C. Asthana, Supra no.151, p.149.
235 Ibid.
238 Census of India 2001, Supra no. 148.

The roots of Naga separation precede Indian Independence, and the ‘Naga Club’ submitted a memorandum to the British Administration in 1926, demanding that Naga sovereignty be restored when the British withdraw from India. Although the Naga club claimed to represent, as many as 20 tribes, it was essentially an organisation of government officials and few leading headmen from the villages neighbouring Kohima. Insurgency came to Naga Hills much later, under the aegis of the Naga National Council (NNC) led by the legendary Angami Zapu Phizo, who raised the banner of revolt against the Indian government on August 14, 1947. By 1950, Phizo had assumed the presidency of the NNC and publicly resolved to establish a sovereign Naga state. To this effect, in May 1951, the council held a ‘referendum’ in which it claimed that 99 percent of the Naga people supported independence for Nagaland, though this has never been accepted by the government.

On March 22, 1956, Phizo created an underground government called the Naga Federal Government (NFG) and a Naga Federal Army (NFA). Following the induction of the armed forces in the state in April 1956, Phizo withdrew to what was then East Pakistan in December 1956 and thereafter, to London in June 1960. The Armed Forces (special

239 Ministry of Home Affairs, Supra no. 149.
240 Supra no. 150.
243 Ibid. p.80.
powers) Act, 1958, was invoked in the state. The ‘Delhi Agreement’ between a section of the Naga leadership and the Government of India, led to the formation of the state of Nagaland on December 1, 1963. The NNC strongly condemned these initiatives as measures to divide the Naga people. In 1972, the centre banned the NCC, the NFG and NFA as ‘unlawful associations’ under the Unlawful Activities (prevention) Act of 1967. Massive Counter – Insurgency operations brought the situation under relative control. Under the consequent Shillong Accord, signed between the centre and sections of the NNC and NFG on November 11, 1975, the latter accepted the Indian constitution and agreed to come over ground and surrender their weapons.

However, a group of about 140 activists of the NNC repudiated the Accord and formed a new underground organisation called the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN) under the leadership of Thuingaleng Muivah, Isak Chisi Swu and S.S. Khaplang on Myanmarese soil in 1980. Collusive politics lies at the heart of the insurgency in the state and as Udayon Misra observes, “Every government in Nagaland since the state was formed, has had some stake in having the insurgency continue. Among other things, the insurgency has always been a convenient lever to secure greater benefits from the centre.

The NSCN factions are now dominant forces in the state, with the Isak Muivah group in the ascendant, which boasts of nearly 3,000 armed cadres and a political and military wing. Drug trafficking from Myanmar is a major source of income for NSCN-IM, and also engages in extortion,

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245 The Shillong Agreement of November 11, 1975, http://www.satp.org/
robberies and other criminal pursuits to obtain finance, the outfits also generate funds through international mobilization.247

Furthermore, in the year 2000, Indian intelligence officials disclosed that NSCN-IM militants had revived their Chinese connection, which was stopped in the 1980s. They also indicated that top NSCN-IM functionary was dispatched to strike a deal with Chinese officials in the Kunming Province to provide them a ‘major arms consignment’ through the territory controlled by the Kachin rebels in Myanmar. Reports have also indicated that the NSCN-IM militants have full-fledged liaison office in territories in China across the border with Arunachal Pradesh.248 The Naga insurgents received financial and arms assistance from Pakistan before the emergence of Bangladesh.249 There is ample evidence that Pakistan continued with financial assistance to the Naga insurgents, contrary to Swu’s protestations.250 With the money that ISI provided, the NSCN-IM purchased several Chinese rifles, machine guns, mortars and explosives from black markets in Asia.251

The ethnic conflict between the two rival factions of the NSCN, remains one of the most intractable problems of the Naga insurgency. On October 9, 2001, the NSCN-K gave a call for unity among different Naga insurgent outfits.252 In early October 2001, the co-ordination committee of the Naga Hoho, called for a concerted effort to bring unity and understanding among different Naga tribes to facilitate the ongoing political negotiations between the union government and Naga terrorist

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249 Northeast Sun, vol.6 (3), September 1-14, 2000, p.7.
252 The Sentinel, Guwahati, October 10, 2001.
groups. The NSCN-K on December 8, 2001, while offering a month-long cease-fire to the IM, also announced suspension of military operations during this period.253

Insurgency in Nagaland continues to thrive as a result of cross-border contacts. Myanmar and Bangladesh remain safe havens for NSCN-IM. Relations with Kachin Independence Army (KIA), a Myanmarese guerrilla group, which facilitates the movement of arms into Indian Northeast through Arunachal Pradesh.254 The deal with China in a major arms consignment included the supply of AK-47 and M-16 rifles and 6.3 machine guns.255

Nagaland has a long border with the Myanmar on the eastern flank. These areas of Myanmar are very weakly administrated. In the absence of a strong administration and a military presence favourably disposed towards us, these areas of Myanmar have been heaven for insurgents of the North-East. This area provides the transit roots for the smuggling of arms and drugs. In connection with the smuggling of arms the whole complex network of narco-terrorism is gaining ground with far reaching ramifications in a globalised world.256 Terrorism not only has great deal in common with organised crime, but it can also be usefully studied as such.257

Due to revolution in Communications technology the insurgents are getting sophisticated weapons like AK-47 rifles rather than medieval Bandooq Toradars and bolt-action rifles. The evolving circumstance or

255 Supra no. 150.
256 N.C. Asthana, Supra no.151, p.123.
context of the operation of the terrorist economy in the North east is breakdown of the institutions of civil governance, all major governmental institutions, criminal justice administration - in this region suffer a collapse in degrees that vary directly with the scale and influence of the terrorists movements in particular states. Major decisions, policies and activities relating to terrorism are, undertaken by central government and its agencies which focus primarily on counter-terrorist operations by Army and Central Paramilitary Forces, direct negotiations with the leadership of terrorist organisation to secure a negotiated settlement are largely unsuccessful.\textsuperscript{258} Crucially, while the role and relevance of the state governments tends to shrink in these circumstances due to lack of capability to deal with northeast problems.\textsuperscript{259}

For nearly 22 years after the Shillong Accord, Nagaland did not witness any serious peace process. The then Premier Rajiv Gandhi had made some efforts to hold secret talks with rebel leaders in the late 1980, but did not succeed in initiating dialogue. On June 15, 1995, Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao met both Isak and Muivah in Paris. On February 23, 1996, Narasimha Rao offered to hold unconditional talks with Nagas on three preconditions for talks: 1) Negotiations should focus on sovereignty 2) Talks would be held in a third country and 3) a third party mediator would be included.\textsuperscript{260} In November 1996, Prime Minister Deve Gowda sent former union Minister Rajesh Pilot on a secret mission to Bangkok for discussions. Deve Gowda himself met these leaders on February 3, 1997, in Zurich. Following these meetings, a cease-fire

\textsuperscript{258} S. Ajai Sahni and George, Supra no.202, p. 49-51.
\textsuperscript{259} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{260} Supra no. 150.
agreement was signed on July 25, 1997, that came into effect on August 1, 1997.

The peace process suffered a setback with the arrest of Muivah in Bangkok, on January 19, 2000 on charges of travelling on false documents. With Muivah behind bars, the dialogue process came to halt. After his release on September 18, 2000, the NSCN-IM leadership restored the dialogue with Indian government.261 In January 2001, a significant advance was made in the form of agreement on ‘Revised Ground Rules’. The Union government announced, on June 14, 2001 the ceasefire would be extended ‘without territorial limits’ for a period of one year ending July 31, 2002.

ARUNACHAL PRADESH:

Arunachal Pradesh suffers primarily from an ‘overflow’ of violence from neighbouring Nagaland, particularly in Naga dominated Tirap and Changleng district.


262 Supra no. 148.
263 Supra no. 149.
Arunachal Pradesh was long projected as an 'Island of Peace' in the turbulent Northeast. It has witnessed sporadic clashes between various Naga insurgent outfits. Its Tirap district borders Nagaland, which is used by insurgent groups as a transit route from Myanmar, which is dominated by NSCN-K. On June 19, 2001, Mukut Mithi, Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh urged the Union government not to recognise insurgent groups – ULFA, NSCN-K, NSCN-IM and Bodo militants, reportedly using Arunachal Pradesh territory to locate their hideouts, subversive activities and training their terrorist groups. After the recent decision by the ULFA to shift its bases from Bhutan, there is significant indication that these camps may be moved into Arunachal Pradesh.264

Of late, one indigenous insurgent group began to surface the state; the Arunachal Dragon Force (ADF) which formed in 2001, the ADF is believed to have been propped up by the NSCN – IM and the ULFA. The ADF has now been rechristened as East India Liberation Front (EILF) primarily active in Lohit district of the state. It is formed by some surrendered terrorists belonging to the United Peoples' Volunteers of Arunachal Pradesh (UPVA) under the leadership of Chownomi Naamchum.265

The ADFs declared goal is the protection of the ethnic identity of indigenous Arunachalis from the increasing number of infiltrators and outside settlers entering Arunachal Pradesh and the struggle for an “independent homeland” for the Khamti tribe in the state. The ADF

265 Supra no. 150.
reportedly draws its cadres from among the 50,000 Khamti tribes and has an estimated strength of about 400 cadres.266

There is increasing evidence of growing nexus between politicians and terrorist groups. In June 2000, L. Wanglat, a member of state Legislative Assembly had demanded an enquiry by the CBI. He demanded that political leaders found guilty should be arrested and be asked to relinquish their official posts.267 On April 6, 2001 former chief minister Gegong Apang alleged that some ministers and MLAs were harbouring and abetting insurgents in the states and had direct links with the NSCN-K and NSCN-IM, in Tirap and Changlang.268

Oil India Limited (OIL), the premier oil-exploring agency in the state, received an extortion notice of Rupees Six million from the NSCN-IM in July 2001. Consequent to this, operations at Khumsai oil well in Changlang district were suspended after July 31, 2001, on the eve of the expiry of the August 1 deadline to meet the demand.269

Union Home Ministry extended the Disturbed Areas Act on February 24, 2001, to these districts by another six months.270 Chief minister Mukut Mithi and Governor Arvind Dave had drawn the attention of the Prime Minister to the critical situation in the wake of clashes between NSCN factions, and had requested additional deployment of paramilitary forces.271 With the growing clashes between the two rival factions centre rushed two companies of paramilitary forces to the state on September 30, 2000. In June 2000, the people of Tirap district had requested the

266 Ibid.
269 www.nenanews.com/OT%20Apr.7%20%.20Apr.221,01/0415.htm
Arunachal Pradesh government to immediately initiate a peace process with NSCN-K. The chiefs and the village heads of Tirap district decided to press the state government to begin the process. A memorandum was submitted to the chief minister for immediate constitution of peace committee to initiate dialogue with the ultras.272

PUNJAB:

Militancy in Panjab is closely linked with the politics in the state. The Akali Dal, from its inception, has been fighting openly for political power by espousing the cause of Sikh religion. For them there can be no separation between the Sikh religion and Sikh politics.273

Punjab, the land of five rivers spilt blood for one and half decades. Thousands were killed during 1980s and continued to be killed till date in sporadic acts of terrorism. During 1990s the situation appeared totally under control. Though there are several reasons for this, one of the most significant reasons is Pakistan’s support to militants for secession of the state from India and creation of independent Khalistan.

Among all the episodes of terrorism that have plagued this country till date, Sikh terrorism was perhaps the most savage. There was no act of terrorism one could think of that was not perpetrated by the Sikh terrorists with the utmost vehemence. From Selective killings to mass killings; from assassination to subversion of the pseudo intellectuals; from kidnappings to extortions; from arson to blowing up of railway tracks; from looting of banks to obtaining support from ISI; from transistor bomb

273 Ved Marwah, Supra no.141, p.152.
explosions to remote control devices; from hijacking of aircraft to the
destruction of an Air India Jumbo Jet; and from ambushes on police
patrols to fighting pitched battles with the army, there was perhaps no
trick in the arsenal of terrorist that was not tried by them.274

The movement for the creation of Khalistan was one of the most
virulent terrorist campaigns in the world. Launched in early 1980’s by a
group of bigots who discovered their justification in a perversion of the
Sikh religious identity, and supported by political opportunists both within
the country and abroad, this movement had consumed 21,469 lives before
it was defeated in 1993.275

Thousands of others were injured and maimed, hundreds of
thousands were permanently dislocated. The only sustained attention it
received has been in the form of propaganda by the front organisations of
the defeated terrorist movement was unambiguously the result of the
counter terrorist measures implemented in the state by the security
forces.276 A ‘fundamental conflict’ between internal security duties and the
professional instincts, traditions and ethos of the military concede that a
resort to the army is a legitimate last line of defence even within the strict
limits imposed in a constitutionalist liberal democratic system.277

274 N.C. Ashtana, Supra no.151, p.155.
India’s Security in the 1990s and Beyond, Viking, New Delhi, 1994, p.117.
277 Paul Wilkinson, “The Role of the Military in Combating Terrorism in a Democratic Society”, Terrorism and
Table 4.2: Incidents of Cognizable Crime (IPC) under Different Crime Heads

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Incidents of Crime</th>
<th>Murder</th>
<th>Attempt To Murder</th>
<th>Kidnapping</th>
<th>Dacoity</th>
<th>TADA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>13,588</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>12,263</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>13,960</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>12,828</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>11,185</td>
<td>646</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>13,224</td>
<td>1,101</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>15,017</td>
<td>1,388</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>14,275</td>
<td>1,761</td>
<td>1,184</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>14,166</td>
<td>1,667</td>
<td>1,171</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>16,131</td>
<td>2,813</td>
<td>1,567</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Crime in India, National Crime Record Bureau, Vol. 1980 to 1990 (New Delhi)

The Sikhs, who have played an important part in the history of India quite out of proportion to their small numbers, belong to a religious sect founded by Guru Nanak, a saint of the highest rank. Before his death in 1538 he nominated Angad, one of his disciples, as the next Guru. The third Guru, Amardas, started the tradition of Langar - the free kitchen. Akbar was so impressed that he gave plot of land to the Guru's daughter. This is the site of the Golden Temple.278

Factors Responsible for the Growth of Terrorism in the 1980s:

Social Factors:

In the process of modernisation, a large number of educated Sikh youth began to abandon their traditional symbols/—Cutting of hair and beard, smoking/jalcohol, etc., which was strictly prohibited by Sikh Gurus.

278 N.S. Saksena, Terrorism, History and Facets in the world and in India, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1985, p.176.
These growing trends among the youth caused fear in religious leaders and fundamentalists that Sikh would be absorbed in the Hindu fold.\textsuperscript{279}

Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the then chief of Damdami Taksal, launched a movement against these evils of modernisation and gained popularity of his followers.\textsuperscript{280} A sizable number of Scheduled Caste and agrarian working class of Sikh community started getting alienated from Akali Dal which was dominated by rich Jat farmers and from religious institutions which were controlled by Akalis. Most of them even started opposing the Akalis politically and became a vote bank of the Congress and the left.\textsuperscript{281}

**Economic Factors:**

The Green Revolution, which benefited largely the rich and resourceful peasants than marginal, and small landholders who could not afford to have new and modern expensive technology.\textsuperscript{282} The small farmers eventually and slowly started getting converted into the landless labourers their share was denied by the landlords who introduced a cash wage system keeping in view of their own interests, than the traditional wage system.\textsuperscript{283} Their position became more critical with the increase in unemployment because of mechanisation of agriculture and migration of cheap agrarian workers in Punjab. Thus the revolution widened the economic gulf between the agriculture classes. According to Khushwant Singh “rich landlords became richer, the marginal became poor and landless unwanted on the land”.


The increasing politicisation of agrarian workers by the left and their growing attachment to the left, alarmed the landlords the beneficiaries of the revolution. In the words of Gopal Singh, “the landlords to destroy the unity of landless, started looking for reactionary elements and diverse force through chauvinistic, communal or secessionist movements.284

The main beneficiaries of Green Revolution mainly the Sikh Jats began to invest their surplus money, which led to the rise of powerful economic and politically influenced class which started making efforts to capture state power for nursing their economic interest. As Satya Pal Dang describes, the demand for Anand Pur Sahib Resolution as the reflection of this very class.

Green Revolution also led to an increase in the income of SGPC (Shiromani Gurudwar/Parbandhak Committee). Its budget increased to 577.41 percentage over a decade. This body enjoyed control over big network of manpower being its employers. The body is described as “state within a state”. It is believed, that the party, which controls the SGPC, dominates the Akali Politics thereby Punjab politics. The increased potentialities of SGPC resulted in intensifying the struggle among the contestants for its control in order to establish and maintain their supremacy in state.285

With the intention to capture the SGPC, the Congress financed and backed Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale whose men entered the fray having an alliance with ‘Dal Khalsa’ and Revolutionary Akali Dal headed by Jagjit Singh Chauhan, but they faced total rejection of the Sikhs.286 Such tactics encouraged the anti national elements.

284 Gopal Singh, Supra no.281, p.11 and 12.
The prosperity led to large number of rural youths who became educated and sought professional and blue collar jobs, a large number could not get adequate opportunities in public or private sector. As a result, large number of unemployed youth started seeking jobs abroad, while the remaining frustrated ones started joining several movements to fulfil their dreams. With the failure of Naxalite movement, youth started getting attracted towards extremism and terrorism advocated by Bhindranwale.\(^{287}\)

**Political Factors:**

Terrorists have been waging a violent struggle with an ultimate aim of establishing 'Khalistan' (A Sikh Sovereign State) Initially it began as a protest movement against the Nirankari Sect, which was accused, of the death of Thirteen Sikh fundamentalists who got killed in the clash of 1978 at Amritsar. The first victim was Baba Gurbachan Singh, the then Chief of Nirankari sect. With the killing of Lala Jagat Narain, the terrorists added Hindus too in their list of targets. Eventually terrorist gunned down one another. It was in 1986, the terrorists formally declared the establishment of 'Khalistan' as their ultimate aim and only solution to the problems of Sikhs.\(^{288}\) The terrorists were able to attract a small section of the Sikhs, the misdeeds of the terrorist forces revealed their intensions. As a result, large section of Sikhs earlier known as sympathizer and supporters started getting alienated.

Political manoeuvring of Congress and Akali played important role in creating and encouraging terrorism. The parties in order to capture the

\(^{287}\) Khushwant Singh, Supra no.280, p.326-27.
power, adopted unfair means and mixed religion with politics which resulted in worsening the situation.\textsuperscript{289}

When terrorism was started in the state, the government under the leadership of Darbara Singh, the then Chief minister failed to contain it. The dramatic way in which Bhindranwale was arrested and released at Chouk Mehta (Amritsar) government helped Sant to enhance his image which ultimately projected him as a living martyr among the Sikhs.\textsuperscript{290} It was believed to be most appropriate time to crush terrorists without hurting sentiments of Sikh because Bhindranwale and other extremists and terrorists were living in the Guru Nanak Nivas, which was not part of Golden temple.\textsuperscript{291}

After Operation Blue star, terrorism gained momentum during Surjit Singh Barnala Government, which failed to put effective check on activities of terrorist forces. These elements even started running parallel government from Golden Temple Complex.\textsuperscript{292}

**Operation Blue star:**

The Congress party which lost power in 1977, being an opposition party indulged in creating troubles for the Akalis in the state. Inspite of having secular image, the Congress leadership started looking for religious personalities whom they could use as a weapon against Akalis. Ultimately the Congress introduced Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, then Chief of Damdami Taksal against the Akalis.\textsuperscript{293} Sant intensified the issue of

\textsuperscript{289} ibid.
\textsuperscript{291} Raj Kumar, *Supra no.288*, p. 159.
differences between the Sikhs and Nirankaris which resulted in a violent clash between two in which 16 persons lost their lives.\textsuperscript{294} In 1979 Bhindranwale contested the elections of SQPC against Akalis. This act of Congress became a threat to the integration of the country. The Congress leadership backed and blessed the foundation of ‘Dal Khalsa’ to create trouble for Akalis, which was admitted by Giani Zail Singh who was involved in the creation of the body. The Dal eventually came forward with demand for ‘Khalistan’ and indulged in sabotage, assassination and hijacking.

The Akalis who lost political power in 1930, raised some political, religious and economic demands to create trouble for Congress. In order to fulfil these demands, Akalis also engaged in fundamentalism and with separatist elements, who were allowed to use Golden Temple Complex. Eventually the Golden Temple Complex became headquarter of terrorist forces, which even started the parallel administration in state.\textsuperscript{295}

In December 1983, when pressure was mounting on central government to arrest Bhindranwale, he and his armed supporters moved to the Akal Takht – one of the most sacred buildings inside the Golden Temple Complex. After the entourage had shifted a spate of ‘punishments’ inside the complex and other ‘actions’ all over Punjab had people who disagreed with Bhindranwale and his supporters, tortured and their bodies thrown into the drain.\textsuperscript{296} The state of lawlessness prevailed all over Punjab and between 1 October 1983 and 31 May 1984, as many as 24 banks were robbed, millions of rupees looted, several officials were killed, railway stations were burnt down.

\textsuperscript{294} \textit{The Tribune,} April 4, 1978.
\textsuperscript{295} Raj Kumar, Supra no.288, p.159.
The operation started in the early hours of 4 June 1984, light and medium machine guns, grenades and variety of other guns were used by both sides. The militants also used rocket launchers, anti-personnel mines. The army troops used tanks, helicopters and artillery shells in the operation which lasted for over two and half days. In the Bluestar Operation death toll according to Khushwant Singh came to 379 dead and 2000 wounded. The operation caused enormous degree of hurt in the minds of Sikhs which strengthened terrorism in the state.

The central government under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi failed to control the anti-Sikh riot which followed by the assassination of Indira Gandhi. In the riots thousands of Sikhs were brutally killed, which created a strong sense of insecurity among the Sikhs living outside the Punjab. Later government did not implement “Punjab Accord” signed by Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, thus weakening moderate Akali leadership against terrorists. This opportunity was exploited by terrorist groups to reorganise and re-establish themselves, resulting in deterioration of law and order situation. Ultimately the government had to conduct operation Black Thunder to crush terrorism.

Terrorism in Punjab had been receiving ideological armed and financial assistance from U.S. and Pakistan. These countries were not only allowing terrorist and separatist forces to utilise their territory for anti Indian activities but were also providing them weapon training. Besides training facilities Pakistan supplied arms, weapons and telecommunication facilities to Bhindranwale and his associates. Pakistan helped Bhindranwale grow unto the size of hero.

298 Gopal Singh, A History of Sikh People, World Book Centre, New Delhi, 1979, p.739.
Naxalite Terror in India:

The Chinese aggression of 1962 placed the Indian communists on the horns of the dilemma. Differences cropped up within the CPI on ideological grounds, which ultimately led to a split in the party and the CPM was born in 1964. Unanimity of thought did not continue for long within the CPM also. There were some pro-chinese leaders like Charu Majumdar and Kanu Sanyal who maintained different line of thought on implementation of land reforms.299

The most important reason for the Naxalite movement was the Chinese perception in 1967-69 that there was a serious danger to them from the Soviet Union and that India was the main ally of Soviet Union and therefore, it was necessary to weaken India and if possible, to destabilise her. China also perceived that India had ceased to be a humiliated weak power of October 1962 and with active Soviet help, she had become a dominant military power in South Asia.300

Resort to terrorist methods has been an essential component of the Naxalite movement, but it is important to emphasize an important difference between Naxalite movement and other separatist movements in India: unlike terrorists, Naxalites have concentrated mainly on targeting the so-called "class enemies".301 The movement started from Naxalbari in West Bengal in 1967. It was a minor incident of looting crops by sharecroppers, which ignited the fire of Naxalism. A number of violent clashes followed this incident were about one hundred incidents reported to the police. On 24 May 1967, ten persons were killed in police firing.

299 N.C. Asthana, Supra no.151, p.174.
300 N.S. Saksena, Supra no.278, p.123.
301 Ved Marwah, Supra no. 141, p.317.
Extremists committed a number of murders, dacoities and thefts of arms and ammunition. The movement peaked by 1971 when about 400 incidents reported in various parts of the country. This movement proved to be a model for Girijans of Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh. During 1968 to 1979, 29 police officers and one sub-inspector were killed.\textsuperscript{302}

It is observed that the CPM did not approve activities of leaders like Charu Mujumdar, Kanu Sanyal, Sourin Bose, Sushital Roy Choudhury, Parimala Das Gupta and Sunita Ghosh in defiance of the party directives. All of them were expelled from the party and they inturn, went to form the so-called ALL India Co-ordination Committee in November 1967. Later this organisation was renamed as All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries on April 22 1969. This led to formation of a party namely Communist Party of India-Marxist Leninist (CPI-ML).

"The contemporary political and economic situation of the country presented a very dismal picture. The political machinations at the centre and widespread poverty played an important part. It was precisely for this reason that the sentiments of Naxalbari were echoed in places in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu".\textsuperscript{303}

The CPML - Peoples War Group was formed by a man called K. Seetharamaiah in the northern Telengana, in Andhra Pradesh Leftist terrorism in Bihar was continued by Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) – Anti-Lin Biao faction of Vinod Mishra. In Kerala the cause of movement was taken by a man called K. Venu, belonging to the CPI-ML Anti Lin faction.

\textsuperscript{302} Prakash Singh, \textit{The Naxalite Movement in India}, Rupa and Company, Delhi, 1975, p.41.
\textsuperscript{303} N.C. Asthana, Supra no.151, p.175.
The main targets of violence continued to be landlords, police personnel and police informers.

The most disturbing aspect about PWG is that its violent profile has not shown downward trend despite ban on it in July 1996. This could mean only three things. 1) The police are not competent to deal with situation 2) Lack of political will to combat terrorism 3) PWG succeeding in consolidating its support base as well as resources.

Today, according to the Indian government official statistics, Naxalites have spread to 160 districts all over the country, their main strength concentrated in 76 districts, nine states where in 25,000 members operate.304

The Union home ministry talks of 76 districts in nine states that are badly affected by Naxalism.305 It has a set of regional and zonal committees with secretaries and members. In 2004, its armed wing merged with that of MLC leading to the formation of the People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA), which according to government sources has about 3,500 trained fighters. In the earlier years the Naxalites used local weapons to target landlords, now they use cell mobile to A.K.-47 rifles, rocket launchers, grenades and landmines with latest technology to hit their targets.306

During the last few years, Naxalite violence in India has been on the rise. The following table shows the magnitude of Naxalite violence.

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Table 4.3: Naxalite violence in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>People killed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2006 (April 30)</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sitaram Yechury, Learning from Experience and Analysis in Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.XLI (29), July 22, 28, 2006, p.3171

Addressing a meeting of the standing committee of the Chief Ministers of Six Naxalite affected states on April 13, 2006, Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh stated that factors such as exploitation, artificial depressed wages, iniquitous socio-political circumstances, inadequate employment opportunities, lack of access to resources underdeveloped agriculture, geographical isolation and lack of land reforms contributed to the growth of Naxalite movement in India.307

“Naxal menace now extends to dozen states”, and has spread to nearly 40 percent of the country’s geographical area, with the affected population going upto 35 percent”.308 Earlier in November 2005, the Union Home Minister, Shivaraj Patil stated in Indian Parliament that “in states like Jammu and Kashmir and Northeast, we have been largely successful in bringing down terrorism but not so much in dealing with Naxalites”.309

307 The Hindu, April 14, 2006.
308 The Hindu, April 15, 2006.
309 The Hindu, November 30, 2005.
In a status paper on the naxal problem, placed in parliament by union home minister Shivaraj Patil on March 13 2006 said, “this year the UPA government spelled out a policy to combat the challenge posed by the ‘Naxalite Menace’. The 14 point policy stresses the urgency for the states to adopt a collective approach and pursue a co-ordinated response to counter the naxalites”.310

Due to the impact of globalisation, terrorism has not only changed its traditional modus operandi but has also become more technology driven. This is the chilling message of many events over the past years. Punjab in 1980s, Assam from the 1980s onwards and Jammu and Kashmir from the 1990 onwards, all of them are region specific and even isolated sites of terrorism. It is ironic that liberal democratic India has been the stage of immense violence, communal rioting, caste conflict, the threat of political assassination, and insurgency in the country. The violence in Gujarat in March 2002 reminds us that our future may be as violent as our past.311 The suicide attacks on the Kalachuk army camp in Jammu on May 2002, the events of 11 September 2001 in the US and the attack on our parliament on 13 December 2001 were signs that the scale and scope of terrorist violence is not only changing but expanding too. Terrorism remains undiminished and the nation-state system in dealing with terrorism is not so effective since the authority of the state has been declining. People are not sure about the ability of the state to tackle the menace of terrorism effectively. The undermining of state authority is being manifested in regard to enforcement of normal laws.312

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311 Kanti Bajpai, Supra no.236, p.2.
The ground realities in India are stark and statistics provide a grim reminder of the increasing threat of terrorism. India has lost over 56,000 lives to terrorism that has afflicted the country over the last decade.313

A significant number of deaths have also occurred due to left wing extremism (Naxalism in India) and retaliatory violence in some areas of the states of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orrissa, Chhatisgarh, Jharkahnd, UP, West Bengal and Bihar. Between 1992 and 2003 at least 21,497 civilians and 7,046 security forces while 26,072 terrorists have been killed in counter offensive.314

The authority and legitimacy of India has come under a severe challenge as a result of rising trends in terrorism.315

Terrorism and low intensity warfare has become a permanent feature of India's internal security. The technologies used by terrorists have been increasing cross border terrorism. There is lot of movement across Northeast and Kashmir border due to the wave of globalisation.

Terrorists are increasing their firearms, mobility, communications and surveillance capabilities through cross-border linkages. The response pattern of the security forces to these incremental gains has lagged significantly and consistently behind. The introduction of cellular phones and Iridium technology are substantially documented in many of terrorist incidents. India woke up to cellular technology well after it was already entrenched elsewhere.316

314 Supra no. 150.
315 Saji Charian, Supra no.313, p.l.
The slow creep of iridium technology heralded by a long drawn international media blitz, caught intelligence agencies completely unprepared and ill equipped as its precursor, the cell phone. Similar patterns are visible in weapons technology available to terrorist. Kalashnikov Assault Rifles, RDX and sophisticated training devices, shoulder fired rockets and missiles etc. are increasingly used by terrorists. Today they have graduated to sophisticated assault rifles, LMGs, high velocity telescopic sniper rifles, light and medium machine guns, armour piercing incendiary ammunition, PETN based explosives with complex triggering devices, trip-switches, remote control mechanisms, time pencils, electronic timers, anti-personnel grenades, anti-tank and anti-personnel mines, grenades, rocket launchers mortars. Anti aircraft guns, stinger surface to air missiles, sophisticated communications, computers, electronic devices, surveillance equipment, unmanned aerial vehicles are also used.317

Narco-terrorism can be defined as the link between terrorism and drug trafficking. However, there is also a link between narco terrorism and information technology. The drug money is converted into legal money through money laundering and offshore banking through high technology network.318 Thus drug money is converted into hot cash by trans-border activities by terrorists.

Thus, the state has become ineffective in dealing with the problem of terrorism. Though there have been number of legislations being enacted like Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act (1978), Assam preventive Detention Act (1980), National Security Act (1980, amended in 1984 and

318 Akshay Joshi, _Information Age and India_, IDSA, New Delhi, 2001, p.96.

Modern-day terrorism is characterised by the spread of lethal weapons linked to higher levels of technological sophistication available to terrorists. Added to this, narcotics having intertwined with religious and covert movements have turned terrorism into big business.321

319 Saji Cherian, Supra no.313, p.3.
In a message to the nation on the eve of the 60th Independence Day, on 15th August 2006, President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, stressed the need for 1) Territorial Security 2) Internal Security 3) Formulate a Citizen Security bill and adopt a resolution that India will be transformed into a safe, prosperous, happy and socio-economically developed nation before the year 2020.322

322 The Hindu, August 15, 2006.