CHAPTER-III
CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF TERRORISM

A. Introduction

Terrorism, has become a worldwide phenomenon and it is not a new phenomenon but is as old as civilization. Terrorism has been alive with the inception of civilization in different forms and in different areas. Martha Crenshaw outlined in her seminar article on causes of terrorism "that there may be two basic factors for the emergence of terrorism. One is the existence of certain 'Preconditions' in a society that set the stage for its occurrence and second is the 'precipitants' i.e. specific events that immediately precede the occurrence of terrorism."¹ There has been problem of defining of international terrorism due to international politics and no universal definition of terrorism has been accepted so far. The world community has not reached at a consensus over the common meaning and definition of terrorism. Therefore, it is very difficult, to ascertain all the causes of terrorism. Since, its nature is very heinous and destructive, therefore, human being fails to explain it.²

Terrorism is not a disease but only a symptom. Former Prime Minister Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee asked why do some people choose the path of terrorism? Why do they will and are ready to be killed? How are they able to create a religious frenzy in support of terrorism, when no religion sanctions the terrorism? He admits that some people, who are dissatisfied with prevailing state of affairs or are angry having a sense of injustice or deprivation, may strive to establish a different social order. This is acceptable as long as such idealists do not resort to the path of terrorists whose ways are different.³

² Girija Shankar Sharma, "living with Terrorism : can India find a way out"? Supreme Court Journal Vol. 8 part 46 No. 2005, see also Ranjit K. Panchnanda, "Terrorism and Response to Terrorists Threat" (2002) p. 9.
³ The Hindu, January 1, 2002.
General Musharraf, President of Pakistan, pointed out the following causes of terrorism.

(a) "Denial of Rights,
(b) Unsettled Disputes,
(c) Political Oppression
(d) Poverty.

But Vajpayee disagrees with Musharraf. The common enemy that both countries are facing are poverty, illiteracy, disease and unemployment. Terrorism and extremism cannot solve any of these problems but they can only further delay their solution. We generally admit that these causes may lead to terrorism. Terrorist, like the criminal, are not born but they are created by the society. Hate may be considered the first emotional step of leading/rising the terrorism but Bruce D. Clayton said "hate can not be considered as a reason of terrorism." Terrorism is about power.4 Basically terrorism is product of sick mind natured by a broading sense of injustice and is sustained by hatred.5

B. Factors Responsible for Origin of Terrorism

There are several factors for the emergence of terrorism. Some may be genuine and some less-genuine. Some genuine causes include socio-economic, political motivation and frustration, regional disparities, intervention into religious, social and personal freedom of the people, communalism and secessionism etc. and other less-genuine reasons for growing of terrorism are illiteracy, increase of population, soft attitude of government towards criminals and economic offences etc. But, it does not mean that these less-genuine reasons are not responsible for emergence of terrorism.6

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6 B.P. Singh Sehgal, (Ed.) "Global Terrorism, Socio-Politico and Legal Dimensions" (1995) p. 16.
These causes are responsible to lead to erupt frustration anger and anxiety in the minds of the people and finally this frustration and anger explodes in forms of violence in the society. Violence breeds violence.⁷ There have been millions of ‘freedom-fighters’ and ‘terrorists’ in different parts of the world and all these belong to different nationalities, ethnic groups different religious and different ideologies. After all these differences, they all have the common things i.e. disagreement, dissatisfaction with the established government of state.⁸ The responsible factors of emergence of terrorism may briefly be classified as under:

(i) Socio-Economic Factors
(ii) Political Factors.
(iii) Regional Disparities

(i) Socio-Economic Factors:- Socio-economic causes or refers gross economic inequalities in which there is exploitation of man by man. where the majority consists of the affluent and richer section. They lead a life of luxury. This class exploit weaker sections who are deprived of their basic necessities and becomes helpless. Such factors contribute toward the growth of an atmosphere which is conducive to promote the ‘terrorism’. There have been several examples that the political parties and their leaders thrive on creating an atmosphere of hatred between the different groups in society. Their attempts include rigging of polls by capturing booths and fighting opposing electorate at different stages of elections. In such incident, the affected or aggrieved persons lead to or contribute towards the growth of terrorism.⁹

Economic inequality and widening gap between rich and poor is undoubtedly a very important cause leading to terrorism in human society. Humilton says in his empirically tested formulation that “terrorism has emerged

⁸ Ibid.
among the rich and poor oppressive”. The rights and privileges of the deprived sections must be protected to check the increase of terrorism in the society. Economists have reasons to believe that those who commit criminal acts respond to incentive of terrorism. They also believe that such people commit crimes with a hope to become rich or better off and they, doing so, use the resources in disruptive activities. Their main aim is to get better conditions. In this context, many more analysts believe that if in a society, a significant number of people, or some identifiable sub-group of a larger population, feel discriminated and have some social, economic or political grievances, the emergence of a social unrest movement is likely to lead to terrorism. This movement may seek and demand equal rights, privileges and justice for allegedly discriminated or frustrated or deprived people or may even demand a separate homeland or a separate state.10

There are a number of examples of terrorism particularly, the revolutionary terrorism, occurring, in the different states, due to the real conditions of discrimination, deprivation, frustration, injustice, misery, poverty and unemployment among a large section of people in a society. There are a number of states suffering from this factors i.e. Nagaland, Tirpura, Assam, Mizoram, Manipur, Andra Pardesh and Chhatisgarh etc. This does not mean that only social and economic grievances are sufficient conditions for raising the terrorism. Walter lacquer says that terrorism has emerged in response to repressive. Hamilton says in his umpiring tested formulation that “terrorism has arisen among rich and poor, oppressive and relatively unoppressive societies. It has been used to promote causes with no popular support as well as causes endorsed by a large majority. Clutter Buck and Lacquer feel that terrorism does not emerge due to poor and exploited but it emerge due to ideal elites and unparalleled affluence rather than the desperate poverty.

10 Supra n. 1. p. 383. See also Hadley centril, "The politics of Despair" (1958) pp. 238-239.
Terrorism may also arise in those societies, where the reasonable demands of a large section of the people are unreasonably denied by the society while the society has the capacity to satisfy the demands of people. Such people become conscious and try to catch up the activities of terrorism to fulfill their reasonable demands.

Ted Robert Gurr in his Book ‘why men rebel’ has argued that ‘Decremental Deprivation’ is a cause of terrorism ‘Decremental Deprivation’ occurs when the value capabilities of a given large section of people drastically declined due to one or several reasons by the established regime and such ‘Decremental Deprivation’ leads to in form of terrorism. Gurr further argues that the success of Bol Sheviks movement in seizing power in Russia in 1917 was due to large part of Decremental Deprivation.11 The root of causes of terrorism are not deprivation oppression but the perception and experience of injustice and belief that such injustice is not natural or inevitable, but arbitrary, unnecessary and remediable. In an inflation of growing expectations, the unfilled promises of abundance, equality, independence and sovereignty provoke bitter frustration and spreading feeling of needlessly suffered injustice that can and should be terminated by violence.12

Economic factors and issues are considered very important source of political violence or emerge of terrorism. When these economic factors or discontent expectations and aspirations are not fulfilled by the authority, lead to disturbances and turmoil forms. According to the Aristotle and Marx, the principle cause of revolution is the aspiration for economic or political equality on part of common people and they (people) were exploited on both level i.e. economic and political.13 When people made to feel that their legitimate aspirations are

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repressed or unfulfilled then they become frustrated and this frustration choose the proper channel of expression which lead to political violence. Following concepts of the noted and eminent persons, relate the economic roots and political violence to terrorism.

(1) Lasswell and Kaplan’s theory of disparity between value position and values demanded

(2) Gurr’s concept of ‘Relative de privation’

(3) Pettee’s concept of cramp

(4) Brain Croziers belief in ‘frustration’ as a common element to all rebels.

(5) Lewis Coser’s and Hosclitz and Willner’s theory of distinction between expectations and aspirations linked with deprivation.

(6) Galtung’s thesis of ‘rank’ disequilibrium it means men or groups high on power or education but, low on income.

(7) Dollard’s ‘frustration’, ‘aggression’ ‘formulation’

In modern time, there is duty and widening reasonability of state government not only to protect and restrain the expectations and aspiration of people but also to foster and promote them, the government of state shall be held responsible to the extent to terrorism, if their such demands and grievances were not fulfilled. Infact, the state is only institution having the resources and authority to satisfy the demands of its peoples if state fails, it becomes the main target of the masses to lead to violence.

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15 Gurr, Ted. Robert, "Why men Rebel" op. cit. Supra n. 11
According to Gurr, “Economic values are more salient for most people than other values because some minimal level of economic good is necessary for continued physical existence” Economic dissatisfaction may cause political violence. Socio-Economic factors of terrorism results into various problems in the society. These are briefly discussed as under:

(a) Unemployment.
(b) Poverty
(c) Illiteracy
(d) Homelessness, Desperation and lack of Opportunity.
(e) Wrong Policies of Government
(f) Accumulation of Wealth in few Hands
(g) Deprivation of Basic Rights and Violation of Fundamental Freedoms

(a) Unemployment: It is considered as a prime factor for emergence of terrorism. It is a valid reason for youth becoming restless. Employment is considered as a source of livelihood. But, according to an analysis in Kashmir which confirmed that unemployment may not be the main reason for emergence of terrorism contrary to the population impression that unemployment among the educated young men in the Kashmir Valley was the main reason behind the ongoing menace of terrorism. The fact is that, as per information furnished on the floor of the legislative assembly during the 1989, there were only 69,099 educated unemployed youth on the live register of employment exchanges in all the 14 districts of Jammu and Kashmir. Out of these 23,191 were in Jammu district alone. It meant that 34 percent of the educated unemployed youth hailed from Jammu district alone. On the other hand, there were 26,784 educated unemployed youth in the six districts of the Kashmir region i.e. Srinagar, Budgam, Anantnag, Pulward, Baramulla and Kupwara out of these unemployed youth only 4,161

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21 Supra n. 9. p. 130.
were provided employment during the first quarter that current financial year. Among them, there was only 10 percent (423) share of the Jammu district.\(^{22}\)

Unemployment is exploitation of the youth power and denial of opportunities to them, thus become the prime factor of terrorism. It is pity that even the professional graduates are feeding alienated today. Unemployment is one of the most alarming social problems in India. However, this problem/factor is not peculiar to India alone, but is now assuming global dimensions and so terrorism is spreading. All the developing countries in the world carry a crushing burden of employment persons. The unemployment persons, whether they be new entrants, experienced persons, old persons, casual workers or under-employed suffer seriously for want of economic opportunities. When the employment is not available to young persons they become frustrated, disillusioned and mentally sick. Finding no outlet for their constructive energies, they lead heavily towards the anti-social activities and become in disciplined and recalcitrant youth.\(^{23}\)

(b) Illiteracy :- ‘Illiteracy’ is also considered as a contributory factor to terrorism. It is generally presumed that an illiterate may easily be misled by the people as against a well educated person. Education, therefore help in overall development of personality of a person. Terrorists, sometimes misled illiterate masses either in the name of religion or otherwise and prepare them to join terrorism. The poor persons, generally from rural folk fall pray to their slogans of self determination. This phenomenon is specially found in the Jammu & Kashmir where a number of youths have joined terrorism being misled by terrorists groups They, leaving aside national stream, gets derailed and trapped in the terrorist circles. But, on the other side, we also find that most of the terror attacks are well


designed articulated and master mind by well educated persons of the society-including doctors, engineers and professors.

(c) Poverty: Poverty is also considered as one causes of the terrorism. The economic inequality and the widening gap between the rich and poor is considered to contribute towards the growth of terrorism. The rights and privileges of the deprived sections should be protected Dr. A.S. Anand (Retd.) Chief Justice of Supreme Court of India, Said that "economic inequalities contribute towards the growth of a conducive atmosphere for terrorism".

The Problem of terrorism cannot be tackled so long as there is a concentration of wealth in a few hands at the cost of millions of poverty-striken-masses around the globe. India, where despite the assurance of the socialist-pattern of economy enshrined in the Constitution the wealth of the nation is concentrated in the hands of a few privileged people, and millions of people are wailing in a poverty every day. The intellectuals therefore, must define in clear terms the socialist pattern enshrined in the Constitution of India, i.e. whether this pattern is aimed at to level the gap between the poor and rich and also in order to prevent the concentration of wealth, the socialization of wealth of the nation is of utmost importance forum so that each and every person could lead a life of dignity.

The Human Development profile, compiled by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) on the basis of an in depth study of over 33,000 rural Indian households, reveals disturbing facts. India's 350 million people live in the extreme poverty of the 40 percent poor the poorest 20 percent have a daily income of just Rs. 31 the remaining 20 percent have a daily income of Rs. 5.5 (1994 prices). In total category of the poor about 8 percent of their household income is spent on health and primary education alone. The poorest of the poor...

Seminar Organized on Global Terrorism, Socio Politico and Legal Dimension by the Jammu University, Jammu in his inaugural address. See also Valson Thampu, "The Threat of Terrorism" The Sunday Times (New Delhi), January 9, 2002.
spent up to 20 percent of their income on health care alone. About 25 percent have access to water only 35 percent utilize the public distribution system.\(^\text{25}\)

Country's income for their luxurious life style, and conventional while their people starve (Arabia, Syria, Sudan, Libya, Saddam's Iraq) But, if the poverty is the role cause of hatred and terrorism is spawned by that hatred, then why are not the poor of these countries flying airplanes into the palaces of their evil rulers? The fact is that poverty may assist in the recruitment of the terrorists, it is not a "root cause" of terrorism.\(^\text{26}\)

(d) Homelessness, Desperation and Lack of Opportunity :- Homelessness, desperation and lack of opportunities make the life of a person miserable. The cumulative and resultant effect of them helps in the derailment of mind of person. He easily gets influenced by the dreamy life of wealth and leisure. Terrorist organization generally are in need and search of such derailed personalities. They are recruited and trained for different nefarious activities and are promised to give huge wealth and a comfortable life, But, it does not mean that all persons who are devoid of basic necessities would turn to terrorists; but it is certainly a factor which helps in their preparedness to take 'terrorism' as a career.

(e) Wrong Policies of the Government :- The wrong policies specially non-application of mind in the implementation and administration of developmental policies are a major factor which is responsible for the miserable living conditions of thousands of people in India and the world at large. Rampant corruption in the implementation level further add fuel to fire. Hardly 10 percent funds of such policies are actually used in the programmes and rest of funds are eaten away by the so called middlemen and administrators. People who are already living in drastic graphical and social conditions are further pushed behind. Resultantly, they are neither involved the democratic process nor in the developmental process. About 30 percent population of our country are fighting for bread and


\(^{26}\) http://www.rootofcauses/Breman/internationalterrorism/httm/
butter even 60 years after independence. These people gets frustrated and may fall prey of anti-national forces including terrorist organisation.

(f) Accumulation of Wealth in Few Hands :- India got independence in 1947 and the Constitution of India came into force in 1950. In the last 57 years, it appears, that the goal of social and economic justice enshrined in the preamble is far from reality. Actually, the things are going just opposite to what is prescribed in the Directive Principles of State Policy. The people who were rich have become neo-rich and the poors are losing their identity and are reduced to non-existent level having no participation in the national building and processes. The social and economic justice for all is a fallacy and the doctrine requires to reconsideration. These people easily join anti-social forces to destabilize the country. Basic economic needs of all must be fulfilled, otherwise, deprived sections of society may turn hostile and violent.

(g) Deprivation of Basic Rights and Violation of Fundamental Freedoms :- The police and enforcement agencies of our country are infamous for violation of fundamental rights and freedoms of the people. In the name of interrogation, brutalities are committed. Fake encounters by security agencies and police are also not uncommon. Innocent people, sometimes, are killed and their dead bodies disposed of without postmortems. In these situations the victims and their society gets isolated from the government. They have no faith whatsoever in the administration. Resultantly, they are approached by anti-social forces for help and assistance. These anti-social groups taking advantage of their indifferent conditions of mind, exploit them for ulterior objectives.

According to B Raman, the most frequently mentioned "root cause" of Arab hatred and pursuant terrorist assault is poverty. This Marxist explanation is very reductive waging war against poverty is far more appealing than waging war against extremist Moslem. But, we need to keep the following in mind :-
(i) The most poverty-stricken areas of the world (South American Indigenous, sub Saharan Africa, parts of the East Asia and India) have produced no terrorism or almost no terrorists.

(ii) Almost all terror leaders and many terror perpetrators are very rich or at least middle class. Osama bin Laden is a multimillionaire, Zawahiri is a doctor and Mohammed Atta, the leader of the 9/11 terrorists was a dentist;

(ii) Political Factors :- Political factors is another cause of terrorism and it has emerged as an explosive cause for terrorism in recent history. Political frustration means lack of opportunity for political participation to a group in large pluralistic society. Due to non-redressal of grievances and discontents among a large section of people, who generally act on behalf of a passive majority, lead to terrorism. Dr. A.S. Anand said that “political ambitions of parties, the party leaders and established ideological groups also promote terrorism. With emergence of democratic system, political aspirations of masses have arisen but there has been evidence where those aspirations were not allowed in politics or proper participations were not given. So, they feel frustration and promote terrorism. They may lead to a ‘civil war’ which can threaten the existence of a society and state, and may open the doors to foreign interventions. For instance India has a full experience of such instances when foreign powers divided the people, and communal strife persisted for decades. An insurgency in the North-Eastern areas is a cause of such political frustration. In developing countries of the world, the societies are in transition and institutions of democracy social justice and secularism have not struck the roots firmly and hence the functioning of these societies and institutions does not bring about the realization or does not fulfill the aspirations of the peoples as per their expectations.

Ted Robert Gurr has argued that political violence is a consequence of a significant gap developing between the value expectations of a group of people and value capabilities of that group.
Aspirational deprivation lead to emerge as terrorism and it (aspirational deprivation) happens when value capabilities of a group remain stand still or constant while its value expectation increase. Gurr points out in this regard that the violence caused by Black Americans in the 1960’s is an example of violence caused by aspirational deprivation. Black’s demands for immediate equality had come up against the realities of continuing discrimination and prejudice, resulting in wide spread dissatisfaction and frustration.27

Politics of the ruling party, in its bid to keep held on power structures, directly or indirectly knowingly or unknowingly breeds terrorism. Undue political interference in administrative and police functioning, patronizing the criminals and terrorists. A political criminal-terrorists nexus is a important cause of terrorism. The toleration on part of government towards certain kind of terrorists, particularly when it is question of ‘my enemy’s enemy is my friend’, emboldens the perpetrators. Corruption on part of government functionaries demoralizes the police cadres. When the government shows too leniency to the ‘youths’ to appease certain sections of population or at times, becomes too repressive, terrorism tends to flourish.28

The soft attitude and the incapacity to take hard decisions is considered the cause of terrorism showing lack of a firm national approach on certain problems like in dealing with the hostage situation or hijacking, leads to boost the morale terrorists.29 Weakness on part of the government sends wrong signals to terrorists and they generally increase their attacks under such situations. Absence of effective security measures and a ‘Hand-in-glove’ relationship between self seeking politicians, some corrupt elements in police and security forces, under world criminals and terrorists provides a very fertile ground to terrorists activities.

27 Supra n. 12.
29 Ibid.
Hannah Arendt suggested that the acts of extreme revolutionary violence in Industrialized societies may be the revolt against the rule of 'Nobody'.

Bernard Krick also suggested that in an age of bureaucrats, tyrannicide is plainly less useful than terror. Sometimes, political power holders and power seekers very conveniently and deliberately ignore the intelligence reports about the subversive activities of some insurgents terrorists and hard criminals. In other cases even the top political leadership is found to be a party, directly or indirectly, to subversion and destabilization of the country. A weak as well as an unresponsive leadership permits terrorism.

Incapability and leniency of the government in the way of handling of some highly inflammable or sensitive situations leads as a catalyst for terrorism. An overreaction and under reaction may also invite to terrorism. Excessive use of force to quell protest or squash dissent may aggravate the situation by providing the rational to use terrorist method as to retaliate, to some already potential violent elements. “Development of such action-reaction syndrome then establishes the structure of the conflict between the regime and the challenges.”

Some decision that may seems to solve one problem may prove fatal and dangerous and may lead to terrorism. The late Rajiv Gandhi’s then the Prime Minister of India, decision to send the Indian Peace Keeping Forces (IPKF) to Sri Lanka to dispose LTTE terrorism against Sinhalese population there backfired as the LTTE not only directed their activities in some southern states of India, but also were supposed to be responsible for glory assassination of Rajiv Gandhi himself.

(iii) Regional Disparities:- Regional disparities is also an important cause to the emergence and growth of terrorism. This cause occasionally takes the form of
separatist movements. Ted Robert Gurr said that 'progressive deprivation' and regional disparities may lead to terrorism. As an example of progressive deprivation Gurr notes the waves of Rioting in colonies when liberalizing tendencies and reforms did not result in prompt independence.\textsuperscript{34} Regional disparities is a highly inflammable cause that serve or exists in many part of the world and every nation or state have a large number of highly soft aware linguistic, religious, cultural and ethnic groups with significantly concentration of economic infrastructure at selected places either instigated or ignored by government results into regional disparities among the various regions compelling this (the ignored peoples) demands to regional autonomies and failure to fulfill their demands they lead to regional terrorism.\textsuperscript{35} The stages of this regional terrorism may be called an open revolt against the government or outside entrepreneurs.\textsuperscript{36} This follow violence with soft targets which might also include the local not toeing the line of terrorists.\textsuperscript{37} Many times interference in religious, social and personal freedoms of people by the government results into emotional outburst which leads to terrorist violence.\textsuperscript{38} It is said that, “Terrorists are not born but created by the particular sociological, economic and political conditioning process.”\textsuperscript{39} Men by nature are freedom loving and possessive and any challenge to these basic instincts may amount to fueling a fire of terrorism. It is fact that sometime some unimaginative persons give wrong interpretation to the things or facts and mislead or misguide innocent peoples and incite or instigate them to resort to violence. It is also a hard fact that many a time, young innocent boys are lured to lead terrorism either for huge money or for any cause, which they are told is a sacred one.\textsuperscript{40} Many significant number of political autonomist and separatist movements are, at present, active in many countries according to their

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} Supra n. 12.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Supra n. 28 pp. 95-96.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{37} Supra n. 13, p. 17.
\item \textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Ibid. p. 85.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Supra n.11 p. 6.
\end{itemize}
geographical locations. These may be listed as. Tamils in Sri Lanka, Kurd in Iraq, Bretons and Serbs and Slaves in Yugoslavia, Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland, Quebec secessionists in Canada, Basques in Spain, Corsicans in France, and Kashmiri Militants and Sikhs in India and Baluchs and Sindhis in Pakistan. All these groups motivate or provoke to the people develop a strong self-awareness sense and demand not only of formal recognition of their identities, special constitutional safeguards, more autonomy and decentralization of political power but also completely separate sovereign status. They try to trap or lure to the peoples by their attractive slogans and reminding the glorious part of the history of their people. They also instigate the people to overthrow the existence of Government of state and establish their own regime according to their wills.

C. Emergence of Global Terrorism: Root causes

A root cause of terrorism is what facilitates the murderous acts of the terrorists and helps them to go unpunished. We again owe it to Mr. Kofi Annan for introducing a healthy balance in this debate on the so-called root causes and removing any confusion. He told the Madrid summit on March 10: "Groups use terrorist tactics because they think those tactics are effective, and that people, or at least those in whose name they claim to act, will approve. Such beliefs are the true "root cause" of terrorism. Our job is to show unequivocally that they are wrong".

1. There may five root causes of continuing and thriving terrorism. These are discussed below:

(a) Soft State
(b) No Action Against the States Sponsoring Terrorism
(c) Double Standards
(d) Non-implementation of U.N. Principles
(e) Powerless Police and Security Agencies

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41 Supra n. 35 p. 97.
42 Ibid.
(a) Soft State: The first and the foremost root cause of thriving terrorism is the failure of the international community and the individual victim-States to make it clear to the terrorists that terrorism does not and will not pay. A soft State, which fails to deal with terrorism effectively and lets itself be intimidated by the terrorists, is the primary root cause. The action of the Indian government in December, 1999, in releasing some terrorists to meet the demands of some Pakistani Jihadi hijackers paved the way for the attack on the Legislative Assembly of Jammu & Kashmir in October, 2001, the attack on the Indian Parliament in December, 2001, and the kidnapping and murder of Daniel Pearl, the American journalist, in Karachi in January-February, 2002. The withdrawal of the Spanish troops from Iraq soon after the Madrid blasts paved the way for the recent London explosions.

(b) No Action against the States Sponsoring Terrorism: The second root cause of thriving terrorism is the failure of the international community to act firmly against the State-sponsors of international jihadi terrorism. The collapse of the USSR and other Communist States of East Europe brought about the collapse of the Red Army faction of Germany, the group led by Carlos and other ideological groups, which were dependent on the support of the Communist States for their existence. Terrorism bred by other States withers away when deprived of such support. The jihadi terrorists are able to survive because of the support and complicity of State such as Pakistan and Bangladesh. After 9/11, one hears less and less the argument of one nation’s terrorist being another nation’s freedom-fighter. But, one still finds that one nation’s State-sponsor of terrorism is another nation’s stalwart ally against terrorism.

(c) Double Standards: The third root cause is the double standard adopted by certain nations in their attitude to terrorism. For them, terrorism is what threatens the lives of their citizens and their national interests. What threatens the lives and

43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
interests of others is acceptable and understandable behaviour, even, if, perceived by the victims as terrorism. India has been a major victim of the double standards by the US and other Western countries. Hopes that after 9/11 the US would discard these double standards have been belied. Pakistan’s complicity with the anti-Indian terrorists is not viewed with the same glasses as its complicity with the anti-US terrorists. One finds these double standards not only in governmental, but also in non-governmental, including academic circles. It is such double standards which convey a wrong message to terrorists that terrorism pays in certain circumstances.45

(d) Non-Implementation of U.N. Principles: The fourth root cause of thriving terrorism is the unsatisfactory implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No. 1373 by many States, particularly Pakistan, and the failure of the international community to act against them. Pakistan has repeatedly avoided extending mutual legal assistance to India in the investigation and prosecution of terrorism-related cases. It has avoided the arrest and deportation of 20 terrorists figuring in the INTERPOL’s Red Corner Notices, who are wanted in India for indulging in acts of terrorism. It has violated the Conventions of the International Civil Aviation Organisation by failing to arrest and deport hijackers. It has avoided freezing the bank accounts of many jihadi terrorist leaders and organisations and of Dawood Ibrahim, the notorious mafia leader, who was declared by the US Treasury Department as an international terrorist in October 2003. The US had requested the UNSC to move for the freezing of his bank accounts. Pakistan has chosen to ignore this.46

(e) Powerless Police and Security Agencies: The fifth and final root cause of thriving terrorism is found in our own civil society and not in those of others. That is the opposition of our liberal elite to the legal empowerment of our police and other security agencies to enable them to perform effectively their counter-
terrorist responsibilities. India Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi were in the forefront of the national and global battle against terrorism and sacrificed their lives in the cause of counter-terrorism. They never hesitated to give the police and other agencies the required capabilities.47

D. Effects of Terrorism

Terrorism produces harmful effects and it may be diverse in nature. Terrorism may be disastrous for all countries, both rich and poor, and their people. The normal life is disturbed and peace and tranquility in social life get vanished. The atmosphere of uncertainty develops and everything seems to coming to a halt. The smoke of devastation hovers all around and fear psychosis among the common masses prevails. It (terrorism) breaks down the social, economic, political and legal structure of the affected countries and the entire process of development comes to a halt. The economy of the affected countries get sheltered miserably. The maintenance of the rule of the law and human rights becomes almost impossible. The developmental processes of the country get terminated. Terrorism perpetrates violence, degrades morality and destroys the fabric of democratics societies. In this regard, Jerusalem Conference on International Terrorism held in 1979 deduced that terrorism is a serious and growing threat to the people of the all states which live under the rule of law, that it is no longer a national problem, but a global one that it cannot be contained, unless consolidated and concerted internal efforts are generated against it.48

For the purposes of study, the adverse effects of terrorism may be classified as under:-

(i) Political Effects :- Terrorism has far reaching and dangerous effects on the political situation of the affected countries. The normal political activities are completely halted and disrupted. It produces the instability, hindrances to the growth of democracy and looses administrative authority. The normal political

47 Ibid.
activities comes to stand still and democratic institutions also come under heavy strain. The people of aspiration for a better living get a severe setback. The administrators find it difficult to exercise their activity freely and quite often developmental funds be used to the fuller advantages of the society. The routine works come under strain and the facilitating services revolved to the society get utterly disrupted.

(ii) Economic Effects :- The normal business and economics of the country gets a heavy a set back. The investment falls and the capitalists feel shy away their investment. The processes of growth come under the heavy strain and peace of change slowdowns. Terrorism derails the economy of the effected countries.

(iii) Social Effects :- Terrorism also disrupts the social activities of the people. The hundreds of educational institutions gets destroyed or remain closed. Other social institutions hardly do any meaningful work owing to fear and uncertainty. The growth of social culture gets under heavy strain.49

E. Review

Terrorism has become a worldwide phenomenon. It has been raising its hands in different forms and in different areas. Therefore, there may not be the same factors for emergence of it in different parts of the world. There has also been a problem that no universal definition of terrorism has been accepted till now. Therefore, it is very difficult to ascertain all the causes of terrorism. There may be two basic factors for emergence of terrorism. One is 'preconditions' that set the stage of its occurrence and second is 'precipitants' that specify events that immediately precede the occurrence of terrorism. According to the Ted Robert Gurr, terrorism has been emerging due to not acceptance of the reasonable demands of a large section of the society. They are deprived from the reasonable demands. He also outlined two basic factors of terrorism one is 'mental deprivation' and the other 'economic factors'. The terrorism emerges when the expectations and aspirations of the people are not fully satisfied by the authorities

49 Ibid.
or governments.\textsuperscript{50} Hamilton says that terrorism emerges due to poverty and oppressive attitude but Clutter Buck and Lacquer feel that terrorism do not arise due to poverty and oppressive attitude but emerges due to ideal elites and unparallel affluence. Sudhir Hindwan says that terrorism rise due to widespread unemployment, poverty and continuing feudal order and growing corruption among political and bureaucrats. There are also other factors i.e. illiteracy, wrong policies of government, the humiliation of people and deprivation of basic human rights.\textsuperscript{51} Political frustration is another factor for emergence of terrorism. According to Ted Robert Gurr political violence is a consequence of a significant gap developing between the value expectations of a group of people and value capabilities of group. He further points in this regard that the violence caused by Black Americans in the 1960's is an example of violence caused by aspirational deprivation group. Another factor for emergence of terrorism is undue political interference in administrative and police functioning. The soft attitude and incapability for taking hard decisions is also considered as a factor for the emergence of terrorism.\textsuperscript{52}

The regional disparities are also regarded as the cause of terrorism. The ignored peoples demands the regional autonomies and failure to fulfill their demands may lead to terrorism. Many autonomit and separatist movements are, at present, active in many countries according to their geographical location. They try to trap or lure the people by their attractive slogans and reminding the glorious past of history of their people. They also instigate them to over throw the existence of government of state and establish their own regime according to their wills.\textsuperscript{53}

Former Prime Minister Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee asked why do some people choose the path of terrorism? Why do they will and are ready to be killed?

\textsuperscript{50} Supra nn. 11,12.
\textsuperscript{51} Supra nn. 21,22, 25-28.
\textsuperscript{52} Supra nn. 37-42.
\textsuperscript{53} Supra nn. 44,45, 50 - 52.
How are they able to create a religious frenzy in support of terrorism when no religion permit the terrorism? He admits that some people who are dissatisfied with prevailing state of affairs or are angry having a sense of injustice or deprivation may strive to establish a different social order. This is acceptable as long as such idealists do not resort to the path of terrorists whose ways are different. General Musharraf, President of Pakistan pointed out that denial of rights, unsettled disputes, political oppression and poverty are the factors of terrorism. But Vajpayee disagrees with Musharraf that face the problem of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, unsettled disputes and political oppression, does not always lead to terrorism. All these problems may be solved through the way of peace and dialogue and not through the armed revolts. Every section of society hate the terrorism and it is product of a sick mind.\textsuperscript{54} It is also hard fact that terror breeds terror.

Terrorism produces many harmful effects. It disturbs the normal life and peace of the societies. It also breaks the social, economic, political and legal structure of the countries and entire process of development comes to halt.\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Supra} nn. 3-7.

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Supra} nn. 53-54.