

## CHAPTER-III

### **3.1 Types of Terrorism**

As pointed out by leading experts, there are many types of terrorism. However, experts have identified at least six different types of terrorism: they are

- Nationalist terrorism,
- Religious terrorism,
- State-sponsored terrorism,
- Left wing terrorism,
- Right wing terrorism,
- Anarchist terrorism.

#### **Nationalist terrorism:**

The Nationalist terrorists seek to form a separate state for their own national group, often by drawing attention to a fight for "national liberation" that they think the world has ignored. This sort of terrorism has been among the most

successful at winning international sympathy and concessions. Experts say that nationalist terror groups have tended to calibrate their use of violence, using enough to rivet world attention but not so much that they alienate supporters abroad or members of their base community. It is really difficult to define Nationalist terrorism. It is said that those who are engaged in nationalist movement in the age of the British rulers they are terrorist but to them they are freedom fighters.

### **Some examples of nationalist terrorist groups.**

The example of Nationalist terrorist groups is: The Irish Republican Army and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, both of which said during the 1990s that they had renounced terrorism. Other prominent examples are the Basque Fatherland and Liberty, which seeks to create a Basque homeland separate from Spain, and Kurdistan Workers' Party, which seeks to create a Kurdish state independent from Turkey. Earlier nationalist terror groups sought to expel colonial rulers; such groups included the Irgun and the Lehi (both Jews militias opposed to British rule in Palestine in the 1940s) and the National Liberation Front (opposed to French rule in Algeria in the 1950s).

### **Religious terrorism:**

Religious terrorists seek to use violence to further what they see as divinely commanded purposes, often targeting broad categories of foes in an attempt to

bring about sweeping changes. Religious terrorists usually come from many major faiths, as well as from small cults. This type of terrorism is growing very fast, notes Bruce Hoffman of the RAND think tank; in 1995 (the most recent year for which such statistics were available), nearly half of the 56 known, active international terrorist groups were religiously motivated. As because religious terrorists are concerned not with rallying a constituency of fellow nationalists or ideologues but with pursuing their own vision of the divine will, they lack one of the major constraints that historically has limited the scope of terror attacks. As Hoffman puts it, the extreme religious terrorists can sanction "almost limitless violence against a virtually open-ended category of targets: that is, anyone who is not a member of the terrorists' religion or religious sect."

### **Some examples of religious terrorist groups.**

Examples include Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda network, the Palestinian Sunni Muslim organization Hamas, the Lebanese Shiite group Hezbollah, the radical Jewish groups affiliated to the late Rabbi Meir Kahane, the Israeli extremists Baruch Goldstein. (Who machine-gunned Muslim worshipers in a Hebron mosque in 1994) and Yigal Amir (who assassinated then Prime Minister Yizhak Rabin in 1995.) some American white-supremacist militias, and the Aum Shinrikyo doomsday cult in Japan.

### **State-sponsored terrorism:**

When governments provide supplies, training, and other forms of support to non-state terrorist organizations then it known as state sponsored terrorism. One of the most valuable types of this support is the provision of safe haven or physical basing for the terrorists' organization. Another crucial service a state sponsor can provide is false documentation, not only for personal identification (passports, internal identification documents), but also for financial transactions and of weapons purchases. Other means of support are access to training facilities and expertise not readily available to groups without extensive resources. Finally, the extension of diplomatic protections and services, such as immunity from extradition, diplomatic passports, and use of embassies and other protected grounds, and diplomatic pouches to transport weapons or explosives have been significant to some groups.

An example of state sponsorship is the Syrian government's support of Hamas and Hizballah in Lebanon. Syrian resources and protection enable the huge training establishments in the Bek'aa Valley. On a smaller, more discreet scale, the East German Stasi provided support and safe-haven to members of the Red Army Faction (RAF or Baader Meinhof Gang) and neo-fascist groups that operated in West Germany. Publicly wanted members of the RAF were found resident in East Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. State-sponsored terrorist groups are deliberately used by radical states as foreign policy tool — as Hoffman puts it,

as "a cost-effective way of waging war covertly, though the use of surrogate warriors or 'guns for hire'." One important early case was the Iranian government's use of supposedly independent young militants to seize hostages at the American embassy in Tehran in 1979. With enhanced resources at their disposal, state-sponsored terrorist groups are often capable of carrying out more deadly attacks than other terrorists, including airplane bombings.

### **Which states sponsor terrorism?**

The state Department says *Iran* is the primary state sponsor of terrorism today. It also accuses *Cuba, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria* for sponsoring terrorism.

### **Some examples of state-sponsored terrorist groups.**

State-sponsored terrorist groups include Hezbollah (backed by Iran), the *Abu Nidal Organisation* (which has been backed by *Syria, Libya* and *Iraq*), and the *Japanese Red Army* (which often worked on contract for *Libya*)

### **Is al-Qaeda a state-sponsored terrorist group?**

Some experts saw the Taliban's rule in Afghanistan as a new wrinkle in the phenomenon of state-sponsored terrorism. Since the Taliban worked so closely

with al-Qaeda while in power, some experts considered Taliban-ruled Afghanistan to be a state that was, to some degree, run by a terrorist group.

### **Left-wing terrorism:**

Left-wing terrorists are out to destroy capitalism and replace it with a communist or socialist regime. Because they see most civilians as suffering from capitalist exploitation, left-wing terrorists sometimes have limited their use of violence to avoid hurting the victims they say they want to save. Left-wing terrorists sometimes focus instead on such tactics as kidnapping tycoons or bombing monuments.

### **Some examples of left-wing terrorist groups.**

*The Baadar-Meinhof Group* (Germany), the Japanese Red Army, the Weathermen (1970s America), and the Red Brigades (Italy) are examples of left-wing terrorist groups.

### **Right-wing Terrorism:**

Right-wing terrorists are among the least organized terrorists, often associated with neo-Nazi street rioting in Western Europe, especially in the 1980s. These groups, often dominated by skinheads, seek to do away with liberal democratic governments and create fascist states in their place. Neofascist

terrorists frequently attack immigrants and refugees from developing world and are both racist and anti-Semitic.

### **Anarchist terrorism:**

It is recorded in historical documents that from the 1870s until about 1920, anarchist terrorism was major global phenomenon. Revolutionaries seeking to overthrow established governments launched a wave of bombings and assassinated a series of heads of states. One such victim was President William McKinley who was killed in 1901 by a young Hungarian refugee influenced by anarchist sentiments. Some experts see signs of a new interest in anarchist violence arising out of the recent wave of protests against globalization.

### **Categories of Terrorist Incidents**

Apart from the six types of terrorism there are also five categories of terrorist incidents: They are:

- Biological
- Nuclear
- Incendiary
- Chemical
- Explosive

## **Biological Incidents**

Biological agents are microorganisms that can cause disease among persons, animals, or plants. They can also cause the deterioration of material. These agents fall into two broad categories-pathogens (usually called germs) and toxins. Pathogens are living microorganisms that cause lethal or incapacitating diseases. Bacteria, rickettsiae, fungi, and viruses are included in the pathogens. Toxins are poisons that plants, animals, or microorganisms produce naturally. Possible biological war-fare toxins include a variety of neurotoxic (affecting the central nervous system) and cytotoxic (causing cell death) compounds.

## **Nuclear Incidents**

There are two fundamentally different threats in the area of nuclear terrorism. One is the use, threatened use, or threatened detonation, of a nuclear bomb. The other is the detonation, or threatened detonation, of a conventional explosive incorporating nuclear materials. It is unlikely that any terrorist organization could acquire or build a nuclear device, or acquire and use a fully functional nuclear weapon. The greatest potential terrorist threat for a nuclear weapon would be to use such a device as a form of extortion.

The effects of nuclear weapons are classified as either initial or residual. Initial effects occur in the immediate area of the explosion and are hazardous in

the first minute after the explosion. Residual effects can last for days or years and cause death.

There are three types of nuclear bursts - airburst, surface burst, and subsurface burst. The type of burst directly affects your chances of survival. A subsurface burst occurs completely underground or underwater. Its effects remain beneath the surface or in the immediate area where the surface collapses into a crater over the burst's location. Subsurface bursts cause you little or no radioactive hazard unless you enter the immediate area of the crater. An airburst occurs in the air above its intended target. The airburst provides the maximum radiation effect on the target and is, therefore, most dangerous to you in terms of immediate nuclear effects. A surface burst occurs on the ground or water surface. Large amount of fallout result, with serious long-term effects. This type of burst is your greatest nuclear hazard.

### **Incendiary Incidents**

An incendiary device is any mechanical, electrical or chemical device used intentionally to initiate combustion and start a fire. Incendiary materials are materials that burn with a hot flame for a designated period of time. Their purpose is to set fire to other materials or structures. Incendiary devices may be simple or elaborate and come in all shapes and sizes. The type of device is limited only by the terrorist's imagination and ingenuity. An incendiary device can be a simple

match applied to a piece of paper, or a complicated self igniting chemical device. Normally an incendiary device is a material or mixture of materials designed to produce enough heat and flame to cause combustible material to burn once it reaches its ignition temperature.

Each device consists of three basic components:

- An igniter or fuse.
- A container or body.
- Incendiary material or filler.

A device containing chemical materials usually will be in a metal or other nonbreakable container. An incendiary device that uses a liquid accelerator usually will be in a breakable container.

## **Chemical Incidents**

Chemical agents fall into five classes:

- Nerve agents - disrupt nerve impulse transmissions.
- Blister agents - cause severe burns to the eyes, skin and tissues of the respiratory tract.
- Blood agents - interfere with the ability of blood to transport oxygen.
- Choking agents - severely stress respiratory system tissues.

- Irritating agents - cause respiratory distress and tearing designed to incapacitate.

### **Explosive Incidents**

Explosives are defined fitting into one of two categories:

- any substance or article, including a device, designed to function by explosion.
- any substance or article, including a device, which by chemical reaction within itself, can function in a similar manner even if not designed to function by explosion.

It may be said that 70% of all terrorist attacks worldwide involve explosives.

Therefore, it is apparent that bombs are the current weapon of choice among terrorists and terrorist groups.

Amongst the various types of terrorism faced by India (not necessarily all at the same time) the following types could be easily identified for studying the causes, options for countering them and possible solutions:

- Ethnic struggles for their rights, often leading to demands for secession, militant insurgency, terrorist acts against government targets and even innocent civilians.
- Linguistic, caste-based agitations and other parochial movements.
- Left wing (Naxalite) extremism, originally stemming from extreme deprivation.

- Cross-border terrorism mostly sponsored or tolerated by unfriendly or ineffective governments.
- Jihadi terrorism, spawned by pan-Islamic fundamentalism.
- Spill-over terrorism.

There is some confusion about the definition of terrorism and who is a terrorist that leads to a tendency to lump together terms like militants, insurgents, extremists, fundamentalists and (real) terrorists. While all kinds of people fighting for a cause may at times indulge in violent acts, a terrorist is one whose primary aim is to cause maximum destruction, often targeting totally unconnected persons, with the sole purpose of causing and promoting fear.

### **Ethnic Struggles**

India has experienced countless ethnic struggles and insurgencies, since independence. Most of these have had specific material objectives like independence or a separate state within India. Since the goal has been material and tangible, it has been possible in many cases to negotiate peaceful solutions, after containing the violence. The situation has been further complicated by the involvement of China in the insurgencies in the north-east in yester-years, and the continued involvement of the intelligence agencies of Pakistan and Bangladesh in sponsoring and assisting ethnic and other forms of terrorism in India. With the exception of some intransigent elements like the ULFA, the Bodos and some NSCN factions, viable solutions have been evolved in most cases.

### **Parochialism (Religious and Linguistic)**

It should be stated that some organizations like Shiv Sena, Bajrang Dal etc. believe in violent means to achieve their immediate and often-limited objectives. It may not be proper to classify them as terrorists, though the effects of their actions resemble those of terrorist incidents. They need to be dealt with under the law, the same as one would deal with, say, militant trade unions (for example). There is an increasing tendency to indulge in parochial acts of violence and the record in handling such instances is “bad” – mainly because of political considerations.

### **Left Wing Extremism**

In India terrorism inspired by Marxism could be traced to the “acid bulb revolution” of the late 1940s in the Telugu-speaking districts of the erstwhile Hyderabad State. However, the birth of Naxalism is credited to the incident of 25 May 1967, when a farmer was attacked by goons sent by a landlord in a remote West Bengal hamlet known as Naxalbari. The event sparked off a violent uprising, led by Maoist leaders Charu Majumdar and Kanu Sanyal. In the forty-one years since then, the left wing extremist movement has grown stronger, spread wider and has become arguably the most dangerous threat to national security. From Nepal to Andhra Pradesh, Maoists “rule” in large pockets where the governments fear to tread. In Chattisgarh, the Naxalites walked in thirty years back into a void created by an absence of governance in a difficult tribal terrain, and stayed on to gain in strength. In a recent report of the Union Home Ministry, it has been

referred to the state governments that naxalites typically operate in the vacuum created by functional inadequacy of field level governance. They take advantage of dissatisfaction and feelings of perceived neglect and injustice among “under-privileged” segments – a classic euphemism for “oppressed” segments. MHA pointed out that “While it is necessary to conduct pro-active and sustained operations against extremists, it is also necessary simultaneously to give focussed attention to the development and governance issues, particularly at the cutting edge level.” It is tragic to note that these lessons in effective governance are required to be emphasized more than sixty years after independence and fifty years after the vacuum in governance in border areas allowed the Chinese to build roads and make other encroachments into “Indian territory”. It cannot be a mere coincidence that ineffective land reforms (not really benefiting the landless), economic exploitation, caste-based discrimination etc. are widely prevalent in the districts worst affected by Maoism. The threat faced from the Naxalites is an ideological conflict through which the Maoists want to overthrow the entire system and replace it with one party rule as imposed by Stalin and Mao. It is not possible for a democratic State to negotiate its own destruction, but the State can act to remove or reduce the causes for disaffection and alienation.

### **Cross-Border Terrorism**

It is an undisputed fact of contemporary history that Pakistan has been exporting terrorism to India as a part of its national strategy of `thousand year

war'. Sponsorship, support and safe havens provided in Pakistan and Bangladesh have kept cross-border terrorism alive in Kashmir, north-east and elsewhere. A recent report of the Intelligence Bureau pointed out that the ISI has been stoking increased militancy in Punjab and the north-eastern states. The first stage involves low-level insurgency through operatives placed in key locations across the country, with a view to subverting the police force, communication networks, and financial institutions. Phase two, which is said to be under way, involves the stepping up of terrorist activities in the border areas and elsewhere, using former Afghan Mujahideen and Bangla militants. India has done quite well in its police and military responses to cross-border terrorism, but has made little progress in eliminating the scourge.

Government level diplomatic and back-channel approaches have not been very fruitful. There are many covert (pro-active and somewhat aggressive) measures that could and need to be taken, within the country and outside. Though it may not be in the interest of national security, India has to re-establish and activate a retaliatory capability and convince others of our will and determination to use such capability (when established and stabilized), if pushed into doing so.

### **Jihadi Terrorism**

The adjectives "Jihadi" or "Islamist" are often used in relation to certain terrorist incidents mainly because no other terror group invokes religious sanction

or quotes religious texts to justify its terrorist acts. Further, such groups do not shy away from admitting the religious nature of their ultimate goal, i.e. the Islamisation of society. Available literature found with activists of Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) talks of this goal seriously. As Jihadi terrorists cloak themselves in religious idiom, they can easily draw support from innocent Muslims. Jihadi terrorists are very active in India, not because India is the number one enemy of Islam, but because it is considered to be a soft target. If the State fails to curb minority terrorism, there is the risk of the majority being tempted to have its own terrorist units.

Jihadi terrorism that we see today was initially sponsored jointly by USA, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia in late 1970s, to meet their strategic interests in Afghanistan. After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Pakistan exported these “unemployed” jihadis to India under the sponsorship of the ISI. Many of them were and are used for mounting cross-border terrorist strikes in Kashmir. Some are used to help in the proxy war of terrorism by activating the sleeper cells.

Jihadi terrorism has maligned and defamed the Muslim community as a whole and it would behove its leaders to take the lead in fighting this global menace. It is for the Islamic religious leadership to prove that Islam is in fact a religion of peace. The ultimate battle against Jihadi terrorism has to be fought in the minds of Muslims themselves. Recent declarations against terrorism by their religious leadership may help in this fight. As B.Raman has said, “We, in India, do not

believe that a Muslim is born to be violent. We do not believe that the Muslims of the world constitute a monolithic community. We do not believe that if you know one Muslim, you know all Muslims. We do not believe that all Muslims behave alike. At the same time, we are worried by the emerging trend of some Muslim youth belonging to organizations such as the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) taking to terrorism in the name of jihad and projecting their so-called jihad as part of a global jihad.”

While laying a major part of the blame for cross-border terrorism and Jihadi terrorism on Pakistan and Bangladesh, one has to admit that a significant part of jihadi terrorism in India is indigenous. Angry individual Muslims, many of them well educated, not belonging to any organisation, have been very much active. Dr.Sageman, a retired officer of the CIA, calls them leaderless jihadis and Raman calls them citizen jihadis. They are terrorists born out of the anger of the moment, give vent to their anger through tactical strikes, but they have no strategic objective. As Raman says, they lack the capability to carry out terrorist strikes of a “strategic nature, which could cause mass casualties, mass economic damage, mass disruption and mass panic.”

Vote bank politics and minorityism are among the factors that inhibit significant action against Jihadi terrorists. There is already a creeping feeling that the majority is treated as “second class” citizens and this could blow up as a major

reaction, unless the government improves its performance in countering Jihadi terrorists.

### **Spillover Terrorism**

Terrorist culture and activities have in the past spilled over from the activities of Tamil militants in Sri Lanka. It is true that such activities were “tolerated” or “supported in Tamil Nadu for some time, but central and state governments have had considerable success in curbing the threat in recent years.

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### **3.2 Terrorism in India:**

Violence in the form of terrorism was a significant aspect of Indian resistance to British rule in 1900-47, despite the widespread impression that Mahatma Gandhi's nonviolent strategy dominated the independence movement. Political terrorism developed first in Bengal in the early 20th century and was then disseminated elsewhere in India. Terrorist acts by Bengali societies and other extremist groups helped compel the British to make concessions in negotiations with more moderate factions. Since independence in 1947, Indian terrorists have lacked the idealism of their predecessors.

Because the Image of Mahatma Gandhi and the ultimate success of his nonviolent methods have dominated western views of the movement for India's independence, many believe that India achieved its freedom without resorting to violence. In fact, violent resistance was preached and practiced throughout the independence movement and had a significant effect on its course and outcome. Gandhi himself was forced to acknowledge the sincerity of revolutionary terrorists. He claimed to admire the patriotism of the terrorists, though he had "no faith whatsoever in their method." Most scholars agree that the existence of terrorism made it easier for Gandhi's nonviolent movement to accomplish its goals. This study of Indian terrorism--its nature, sources, goals, and its relationship with nonviolent resistance--sheds light on both the Indian independence

movement in the first half of the twentieth century and the return of terrorism at the end of this century.

The effectiveness of the British in disarming the populace by means of the Arms Act of 1878 made it impossible for Indian revolutionaries to organize large-scale operations. As a result, those who favored violent resistance were drawn into terrorism. Many early writers on the movement preferred the unwieldy coinage "militant nationalism," which might have suited the sort of operation Indian revolutionaries dreamed of--an armed uprising throughout the country. However, they succeeded only once in putting together an organized military force in World War II when the Indian National Army took part in the Japanese invasion of Assam. All other attempts at armed resistance against the British were relatively small-scale acts of covert violence such as armed robberies and assassinations of officials and collaborators. Since 1970, most writers on the Indian freedom movement have used the term "revolutionary terrorism" or simply "terrorism" to describe the activities of Indian revolutionaries.

The first act of terrorism in India dearly associated with the freedom movement was the 1897 assassination of a British official in charge of enforcing anti-plague regulations in Poona near Bombay two brothers named Chapekar had found the official's methods offensive to Hindu sensibilities and killed him because "he made himself an enemy of our religion." According to one of the brothers, if the official had been "careful not to interfere with our religion ... we

would not have been compelled to perpetrate the deed." Such religious motivation led the British government to conclude that this "criminal conspiracy connected with the revolutionary movement in India had no definite political aims."

True political terrorism arose at the beginning of the twentieth century in Bengal and spread from there to other provinces. Terrorists from Bombay, Madras, Punjab, and the United Provinces were often more successful than their Bengali counterparts, yet terrorist activities in these regions were less prevalent. In Bengal they were commonplace for three decades. An official government report mentions 210 "revolutionary outrages" and 101 more attempts in Bengal involving over one thousand terrorists between 1906 and 1917. After a decade of relative quiet, terrorism again broke out in the province. An official list gives 189 incidents in Bengal during the years 1930-1934. Outside Bengal terrorist incidents were so infrequent that they were not even itemized in the official report.

### **Terrorist activities in different parts of India**

**Terrorism in India** can be attributed to India's many low intensity conflicts within its borders. If terrorism can be defined as "peacetime equivalent of war crime", then these sites of low intensity conflicts are prime spots for terrorism in India. The regions with long term terrorist activities today are Jammu and Kashmir, Central India (Naxalism) and Seven Sister States (independence and autonomy movements). In the past, the Punjab insurgency led to terrorist activities

in the Indian state of Punjab as well as the national capital Delhi (Delhi serial blasts, Anti-Sikh riots). The increased terrorist activities, all pointing to Islamic terrorism, have given rise of right-wing politics, leading to violence (Godhra Riots) and the Bombay bomb blasts. In recent times, the Delhi, Varanasi and Mumbai bomb blasts were aimed not against the Indian state but were aimed to trigger a Hindu-Muslim schism. The perpetrators of terrorism have been members of armed opposition groups. Allegations of the involvement of state agencies of foreign nations have been made. The terrorist activities have gone up significantly after 1990 following the involvement of Pakistan government under the cover of its intelligence agency ISI and Islamic militant groups armed, trained and financed by Pakistan.

### **Northeastern India**

Northeastern India consists 7 states (also known as *the seven sisters*): Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland. Tensions exist between these states and the central government as well as amongst the tribal people, who are natives of these states, and migrant peoples from other parts of India. The states have accused New Delhi of ignoring the issues concerning them. It is this feeling which has led the natives of these states to seek greater participation in self-governance. There are existing territorial disputes between Manipur and Nagaland. There is a rise of insurgent activities and regional movements in the northeast, especially in the states of Assam, Nagaland,

Mizoram and Tripura. Most of these organizations demand independent state status or increased regional autonomy and sovereignty.

### **Nagaland**

The first and perhaps the most significant insurgency were in Nagaland from the early 1950s until it was finally quelled in the early 1980s through a mixture of repression and cooptation. The *National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muivah* (NSCN-IM) demands an independent Nagaland and has carried out several attacks on Indian military installations in the region. On June 14, 2001, a cease-fire agreement was signed between the Government of India and the NSCN-IM which had received widespread approval and support in Nagaland. Terrorist outfits such as the Naga National Council-Federal (NNC-F) and the National Council of Nagaland-Khaplang (NSCN-K) also welcomed the development. Certain neighbouring states, especially Manipur, raised serious concerns over the cease-fire. They feared that NSCN would continue insurgent activities in its state and demanded New Delhi scrap the ceasefire deal and renew military action. Despite the cease-fire the NSCN has continued its insurgency. According to government officials, 599 civilians, 235 security forces and 862 terrorists have lost their lives between 1992 and 2000.

### **Assam**

So far as Assam is concerned it is perhaps one of the problem child of the Indian Union. Infact, agitation started right from the moment of the partition of the

country. Infact, thousands of thousands of refugees entered in the state of Assam from East Pakistan, which are greatly destabilized and disturbed the equilibrium. Infact, United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) came into existence with the aim of establishing an independent state under the leadership of Paresh Barua. Another organization can be seen composed of the tribes of Bodos who think themselves politically deprived. This organization is known as Democratic Front of Bodoland. In Assam, communalism, and terrorism are increasing day by day, thus causing a chronic problem in the country.

Leading the ULFA and ensuring its survival as an insurgent group has been no easy game for 44-year old Barua, who is of the same age as Osama Bin Laden. He has thrice escaped capture or death when encircled by hugely superior Indian or Burmese forces. And, since December 2000, he has survived four attempts on his life by ULFA renegades and Bangladeshi mercenaries allegedly backed by the Assam Police and Indian intelligence.

In the nearly five years of AGP rule (1985-1990), the ULFA grew into a hydra-headed dragon. Its tentacles spread far and wide in Assam and some neighbouring states; its sympathises were entrenched at all levels of administration and society, the number of its armed cadres swelling to around 2000 at one stage. Its tax collection machinery was perfected with a near-accurate database. Those served 'notices' usually found their company balance sheets and income tax returns attached to back the demand. By the time President's rule was imposed on Assam

in November 1990, the ULFA had set up a network of camps throughout Assam, a parallel administration and an extortion network never bettered by any rebel group in the region.

Paresh Barua was, however, not a believer in unrestrained terror. His military wing mixed selective terror with a Maoist form of rural populism. The ULFA, alive to its Maoist orientation, set up Unnayan Parishads (Development Committees), which would use government funds to expedite development projects.

By 1997-1998, the ULFA's transition from a rural Maoist style guerrilla organization into one that had come to depend on large-scale urban terrorism was complete. As it lost the physical space in Assam to an ever-dominating security apparatus, and faced large-scale desertions, the ULFA resorted to an ever-increasing use of terror to preserve its existence and keep the state at bay.

In the rundown to the violence it usually unleashes with other separatist groups in Northeast India on the eve of the Indian Independence Day celebrations, the ULFA struck an oil depot at Thekraguri in August 1997, and blew up rail tracks in several areas. Intelligence reports indicated that the ULFA had plans to blow up all the four oil refineries in Assam, ostensibly at the ISI's prodding. The Assam Police responded by unleashing 'secret killer teams' made up of surrendered militants, who began to kill close relatives of several senior ULFA

leaders like Arabinda Rajkhowa and Mithinga Daimary. The ULFA retaliated by firing rockets at a hideout of the surrendered ULFA militants (popularly known as SULFA) in Guwahati. They then assassinated Tapan Dutta who had once headed the ULFA's Dibrugarh district Unit before surrendering.

Before the 2001 Assam Assembly elections, the ULFA unleashed a violent campaign against the AGP-BJP alliance. Paresh Barua was determined to square up with Chief Minister Prafulla Kumar Mahanta and also keep the BJP out of power in Assam. Barua's detractors believe he has taken an anti-BJP and a pro-immigrant line to please his allies in Bangladesh and Pakistan. But those who have analysed the ULFA's political transition argue that it has consciously decided to project itself as a movement of all those residing in Assam.

Another organisation can be seen which is composed of the tribes of Bodos who think themselves politically deprived. This organisation is known as Democratic Front of Bodoland. Not only was the ULFA having a free run in Assam, but the Bodo agitation was also turning very violent. While the ULFA was beginning to control territory and dominate the state administration, resorting to a few select killings, the Bodos were freely using mass terror tactics, blowing up bridges, trains and buses. Hundreds died in the attacks.

Bodo Liberation Tiger Force (BLTF) was established on June 18, 1996, under the leadership of Prem Singh Brahma.

**BLTF's three major objectives are:**

- a) Creation of a separate State of Bodoland in the north bank of the Brahmaputra;
- b) Creation of an autonomous district council in the south bank of the Brahmaputra;
- c) Inclusion of the Bodos of Karbi Anglong district in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.

To achieve these objectives, BLTF has resorted to violence since its inception. However, in its bid to find an amicable solution to the vexed Bodoland issue, BLTF held six rounds of talks with the Central government in 1999, culminating in a cease-fire signed on March 29, 2000. The agreement stipulates some ground rules with centre agreeing to call off operation against the insurgent group and the latter agreeing to shun violence and desist from unlawful activities. After the signing of the cease-fire agreement, the BLTF leaders said, "We like to transform ourselves gradually into a successful social institution for taking up major social and economic initiatives to solve the various problems of Bodoland through pro-active participation in the society. We are attaching topmost priority to creation of congenial atmosphere for negotiated settlement of the issue concerning Bodoland and its people". BLTF's cadre strength is reported to be more than 500.

Governor Lt. Gen. (Retd.) S. K. Sinha said, "Insurgency in Assam was finished about five years ago. What we are now facing is terrorism. "The

Governor said after being isolated by the masses the insurgents had turned into terrorists in the state.

He further said, "We must appreciate that in a large State like Assam where ultras are enjoying sanctuary just across the border it is so easy for a small group of armed militants to go to any remote part of the State and kill vulnerable innocent people." He said although, the banned ULFA had been denying its involvement in the killings, the Government had definite information to believe that most of the killings were handiwork of the outfit. He gave several plausible reasons for the shift of ULFA's way of operation. He said the outfit which was going through a very difficult phase in the wake of killing of over 800 of its cadres, surrenders by nearly 3000 members during the last couple of years, was probably trying to boost the morale of its cadre through some 'high-profile' operations. He also said the ULFA through these mindless killings wanted to discredit the present regime in the state regarding its handling of law and order situation on the eve of the Assembly elections.

However, despite the escalation of violence, the Governor excluded confidence to tackle the situation effectively and stated that the Government was taking appropriate step to contain violence. He called for co-operation from the people in this regard.

After Nagaland, Assam is the most volatile state in the region. Beginning 1979, the indigenous people of Assam demanded that the illegal immigrants who had emigrated from Bangladesh to Assam be detected and deported. The movement lead by All Assam Students Union began non-violently with satyagraha, boycotts, picketing and courting arrests. Those protesting frequently came under police action. In 1983 an election was conducted which was opposed by the movement leaders. The election leads to widespread violence. The movement finally ended after the movement leaders signed an agreement (called Assam Accord) with the central government in August 15, 1985. Under the provisions of this accord, anyone who entered the state illegally between January 1966 and March 1971 were allowed to remain but were disenfranchised for ten years, while those who entered after 1971 faced expulsion. A November 1985 amendment to the Indian citizenship law allows non citizens who entered Assam between 1961 and 1971 to have all the rights of citizenship except the right to vote for a period of ten years. New Delhi also gave special administration autonomy to the Bodos in the state. However, the Bodos demanded for a separate Bodoland which led to a clash between the Bengalis, the Bodos and the Indian military resulting in hundreds of deaths.

There are several organizations which advocate the independence of Assam. The most prominent of which is the ULFA (United Liberation Front of Asom). Formed in 1971, the ULFA has two main goals, the independence of

Assam and the establishment of a socialist government. The ULFA has carried out several terrorist attacks in the region targeting the Indian Military and noncombatants. The group assassinates political opponents, attacks police and other security forces, blasts railroad tracks, and attacks other infrastructure facilities. The ULFA is believed to have strong links with *Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN)*, Maoists and the Naxalites. It is also believed that they carry out most of their operations from the Kingdom of Bhutan. Because of ULFA's increased visibility, the Indian government outlawed the group in 1986 and declared Assam a troubled area. Under pressure from New Delhi, Bhutan carried a massive operation to drive out the ULFA militants from its territory. Backed by the Indian Army, Thimphu was successful in killing more than a thousand terrorists and extraditing many more to India while sustaining only 120 casualties. The Indian military undertook several successful operations aimed at countering future ULFA terrorist attacks, but the ULFA continues to be active in the region. In 2004, the ULFA targeted a public school in Assam killing 19 children and 5 adults.

Assam remains the only state in the northeast where terrorism is still a major problem. The Indian Military was successful in dismantling terrorist outfits in other areas, but have been criticized by human rights groups for allegedly using harsh methods when dealing with terrorists.

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## **Tripura**

Tripura witnessed a surge in terrorist activities in the 1990s. New Delhi blamed Bangladesh for providing a safe haven to the insurgents operating from its territory. The area under control of the *Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council* was increased after a tripartite agreement between New Delhi, the state government of Tripura, and the Council. The government has since been brought the movement under control though certain rebellious factions still linger.

## **Manipur**

Terrorism gave rise its ugly head also in the state of Manipur. The state of Manipur was included in the Indian Union in the year of 1949 after India's independent. The major reason for this was the tribes known as Meiti who were economically deprived. The United National Liberation front was established in 1964 under the leadership of Samarendra Singh. The People's Liberation Army was developed in 1978. The other organizations were also developed on the ideological line of Naxalbari. Manipur was declared a disturbed state in 1980 due

to the rapid rise of terrorist activities. Military operations continued for a long time and the terrorist groups lost their morale significantly.

In Manipur, militants formed an organization known as the *People's Liberation Army*. Their main goal was to unite the Meitei tribes of Burma and establish an independent state of Manipur. However, the movement was thought to have been suppressed after a fierce clash with Indian security forces in the mid 1990s.

On September 18, 2005, six separatist rebels were killed in the fighting between Zomi Revolutionary Army and Zomi Revolutionary Front in the Churachandpur District.

On September 20, 2005, 14 Indian soldiers were ambushed and killed by 20 rebels from the Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL) terrorist organization, armed with AK-56 rifles, in the village of Nariang, 22 miles southwest of Manipur's capital Imphal. "Unidentified rebels using automatic weapons ambushed a road patrol of the army's Gorkha Rifles killing eight on the spot," said a spokesman for the Indian government. Currently there are 19 separate rebel groups operating in Manipur.

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## **Mizoram**

The *Mizo National Front* fought for over 2 decades with the Indian Military in an effort to gain independence. As in neighbouring states the insurgency was quelled by force.

## **North Indian States**

### **JAMMU & Kashmir**

Today Kashmir is the main concentration centre of India's political, military, administrative and social life. For centuries, from the days of Afghan rule, Kashmiri society has suffered from an acute and exaggerated need to belong a crisis of ethnic and religious identity, political insecurity and a deep sense of personal deprivation. Such insecurity has largely been responsible for goading young men into the waiting arms of militancy to seek group identity. In informal but structured discussions, captured militants exhibit well known traits of insecurity buttressed by high levels of pathological anxiety. The potential militant is trapped in a mental crossfire — the fear of two guns — one in the hand of security forces and the other held by active militants. The psychological dilemma intensifies till it becomes intolerable to live in the present. A low self-esteem, a weak ego and low frustration tolerance make matters worse. Sooner or late they die in cast; the Devil wins. To the new convert, the elder militants are now his kindred, his religion, and his hopes. When everything is lost, hope still lives on.

and therefore the choice is quite clear. He makes up his mind he crosses the Rubicon.

India is being targeted by all kinds of terrorist outfits whose only purpose seems to be to destroy its democratic values and throw the region into chaos. What is particularly sad is that our neighbour Pakistan to which we extended our warm hand of friendship is in the centre of the crime network. Unfortunately, they mistook our peace gesture for our weakness. So much so that to try our mettle they unleashed an unprovoked attack on our territory at the Kargil sector. The activities and machinations of Pakistan perpetrated through its Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) is making our choices rather limited. What is even more jeopardous is that the ISI is using its Islamic fundamentalist card to carry out its nefarious activities in several parts of India by misguiding certain sections of our citizenry.

After fighting three unsuccessful wars in 1947-48, 1965 and 1971, Pakistan realized that annexation of Kashmir through a conventional military operation was not possible. India's military power is superior both quantitatively and qualitatively as compared to Pakistan which stands as an impediment to their desire of annexing Kashmir. Therefore, it was sometime in 1984 that the Late President Zia-Ul Haq decided to launch a proxy war in Kashmir. Military confidants assured the President that with Pakistan's experience of massive infiltration into J & K (Operation GIBRALTAR) in 1965, and emerge templates from their current involvement in Afghanistan; the proxy war had a far greater

chance of success than the conventional option. With slight refinements, the Afghan model could be replicated in Kashmir, these zealots promised. This presumption was yet another blunder. All insurgencies have some common reference points, but in the final analysis, each one is different and there are no eternal or constants to see you through all of the Low Intensity Conflicts (LICs)

From 1985, the ISI started the training of the cadres of the extremist organizations of Jammu & Kashmir to in large numbers in camps in Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK). Till 1990, the ISI trained whoever went to the POK from Jammu & Kashmir irrespective of the organization to which he belonged and gave those arms and ammunitions.

Alarmed by the popularity of the JKLF, which advocated independence for Jammu & Kashmir. The ISI, with the approval of Nawaz Sharif, who had become the Prime Minister in late 1990, reduced assistance to the JKLF and started giving training and arms and ammunitions only to groups recommended by the Jamaat-e-Islami, which advocated Jammu & Kashmir's merger with Pakistan. The foremost amongst these groups was the Hizbul Mujahideen.

In 1992, small numbers of Pakistani and other foreign mercenaries had started infiltrating into Jammu & Kashmir, at the ISI's instance, to beef up the pro-Pakistan extremist groups. This trend increased after the collapse of the Najibullah Government in Kabul in April 1992. Pakistani mercenary groups such as the HUM

(then known as the Harkat-Ul-Ansar) and the Lashkar-e Taiba, the militant wing of the Markaz Dawa Al Irshad, shifted from Afghanistan to the POK and started intensifying the infiltration of the mercenaries into Jammu & Kashmir. The leadership of the movement started passing into the hands of these mercenaries.

Reports, however, suggest that Pakistan never stopped its aid to the terrorists in Kashmir. A report in the Washington Post, dated May 16, 1994, titled "Pakistan Aiding Rebels in Kashmir. Muslims Reportedly Armed and Trained" by John Ward Anderson, datelined Muzaffarabad, gives a firsthand account of such assistance by Pakistan to terrorists in Kashmir.

At the turn of the Millennium, almost 23,000 lives had been lost in Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) in a terrorist campaign that has been sustained for more than 10 years, and that has assumed the character of a proxy war by Pakistan against India. After significance and continuous decline over the preceding years, there was a sudden escalation and a dramatic shift in the character of terrorist violence in the wake of the Kargil War (May-July, 1999). The first incident that marked this shift was the attack on the Border Security Force (BSF) camp at Bandipore on July 31, 1999 — the first terrorist attack in Jammu & Kashmir directed against a major security forces (SF) base. Till the end of January 2000, there had been 12 further attacks on heavily guarded SF establishments, including the 15 Corps Army Headquarters at Badamibagh, the Army Headquarters at Baramulla, and the Jammu & Kashmir Police Special Operations Group (SOG) Headquarters at

Srinagar. Two attacks have also been carried out over this period on the centre of governance, the State Secretariat at Srinagar.

These attacks represent the adoption of high-risk strategy by Pakistan and the induction into Jammu & Kashmir of increasing fire-power and a new generation of terrorists with greater experience and better training. A majority of these are foreign mercenaries, most of whom have seen significant action in Afghanistan. An estimated 60 per cent of all terrorists operating in the State are now of foreign origin, a majority drawn from Pakistan and Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) and Afghanistan. There has also been a visible improvement in the firepower available to the terrorists. The Kalashnikov is now virtually standard issue for the terrorists and increasing numbers of rocket launchers are available and have been used in all major attacks. Arms seizures also register missile launchers, anti-aircraft guns, anti-tank and anti-personnel mines, and a significant number of flame throwers in addition to thousands of kilograms of explosives and a variety of sophisticated triggering mechanisms.

### **Some latest details of Pakistani aided terrorism in Kashmir**

October 1, 2001, an explosive laden car was blown up by militants near the entrance of the Jammu & Kashmir State legislature. At least 25 people were feared killed and 50 injured in the attack. Pakistan-based militant group, Jaish-e-Mohammad claimed responsibility for the attack, saying a suicide bomber drove

the explosive laden car to the legislature. The blast caused damage to at least 150 buildings or street stalls around the tightly guarded legislature, including a six-storey hotel.

In 2001 Hizb district commander was killed in Budgam 2 soldiers, 5 militants among 10 killed in a dare-devil militant attack on an army convoy in Baramulla outskirts of Janbazpora, troops retaliated and killed two militants of Lashkar-e-Toiba.

On November 23, 2002 nine persons, including five Army men were killed and 25 injured when militants blasted an improvised Explosive Device on Srinagar-Jammu Highway near Lower Munda, 75 km from Srinagar. Among the dead were two women and two children. Two militant groups, Harkat-Ul-Jihad-e-Islami and Jamaitul Mujahideen have owned the attack.

On November 24, 2002, in one of the most daring first ever twin attacks; terrorists attacked the historic Raghunath Temple yet again in the heart of Jammu City. Just 500 meters away around the same time they also targeted another temple complex Panjbakhtar and gunned down at least 14 persons, including two security personnel and injured 50 others in both these attacks. However, one of the terrorists, who stormed the Raghunath temple, was killed inside the temple complex. This is the second time this year that the temple has been attacked. On 20 March, ten persons, including four security personnel and two militants were

killed when terrorists threw grenades and sprayed bullets in Raghunath Chowk and later went inside the temple complex. The temple is visited by hundreds of thousands of Hindu pilgrims from across the country every year. The Lashkar-e-Toiba has claimed responsibility for the attack.

The nation quoted the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif as saying: "He (Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif) said that Kashmir would become part of Pakistan and thanks giving prayers would be offered in Srinagar..."

The study cites "numerous reports" that Pakistan powerful military intelligence agency, the Inter Services Intelligence Directorate, used drug money to fund groups it supports in neighbouring conflicts. The ISI use heroin profits to help finance the war in Afghanistan (against the former Soviet Union) and has developed similar funding arrangements with Sikh in India and Kashmiri insurgents in India-controlled Kashmir.

"Hundreds of Muslim militants from throughout the Middle East are in Kashmir to take part in an Islamic '*Jihad*' against Indian government, according to high ranking officers of the Hizb-UI-Mujahideen or party of Holy Warriors." Muslim militants are attempting to gain control of about two-thirds of Kashmir, which is ruled by India, and create fundamentalist Islamic State.

According to a former ISI official who spoke on condition of anonymity, Pakistani officials cultivated close ties to Indian Muslims who participated in the

Afghan Jihad. The official said Pakistan segregated them in special training camps and, after they returned to India, supplied help through them to insurgence in Kashmir, Punjab and northeastern state of Assam.

"ISI emphasis on promoting pro-Pakistan parties stems from Islamabad's eagerness to claim Kashmir for itself, a stress on Islam reflects the influence of Jamaat-e-Islami, a small but highly influential party that in part of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's ruling coalition. The party is convinced that the only legitimate uprising for Muslims is *Jehad*, a holy war based on Islamic teachings."

According to the BSF estimates, from January '92 Kashmiri militant groups had killed 1,585 men and women including 981 Muslims, 218 Hindus, 23 Sikhs and 363 Security personnel. Among the persons killed were 12 political leaders and 510 Government officials.

The approach, which Pakistan has apparently adopted in regard to Kashmir is an "Afghan Model", essentially a protracted war, which has made Kashmir into a bleeding wound for India, raising the political, military and psychological costs of its occupation.

There is also a message for Kashmir. The antidote for Islamic fundamentalism is secularism not Hindu fundamentalism. If unchecked, Hindutva may trigger off the Communal Bomb and polarise Indian society along religious lines. Hopefully, sanity will prevail, but the threat is very much there.

Though there had been instances of sporadic conflict in many regions for many years, intensified attacks occurred in the late 1980s, when Mujahideen fighters from Afghanistan slowly infiltrated the region, allegedly with Pakistan's help, following the end of the Soviet- Afghan War in 1989. Since then, violence has increased significantly in strength. Many separatists have carried out attacks on Indian civilians and Indian military installations in response to what they see as Indian military occupation.

India claims most of the separatist terrorist groups are based in Pakistan and Pakistan Administered Kashmir (also known as Azad Kashmir). Some like the All Parties Hurriyat Conference and the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation front demand an independent Kashmir. Other groups such as Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed favour a Pakistani-Kashmir. Both the organization no longer operates under these names after they were banned by the Indian and Pakistani government, and by other countries including the USA and UK. Of the larger militant groups, the Hizbul Mujahideen, a militant organization based in Indian administered Kashmir, unlike other groups, has only kept its name. Despite casualties, the militants are still believed to number thousands rather than hundreds. Several new separatist organizations have also emerged. According to US Intelligence, Al-Qaeda also has a main base in Pakistani Kashmir and is helping to foment terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir.

It is hard to determine the total number of casualties. According to a report of the Government of India in the year 2000, 31,000 Indian civilians had lost their lives due to the insurgency. Human rights groups and local NGOs put the total figure at more than 84,000 (2005 figure). Militancy had reached its peak in 1994 when the region saw more than 6,043 incidents and has since declined. However, Kashmir continues to remain as the most volatile region in the world with an average of 2,500 incidents every year. According to an Indian estimate in 2005 there were about 2,000 militants in the Kashmir valley alone; 1,200 of them belong to the Hizbul Mujahideen. Not all Kashmiri separatists and militant organizations share the same ideology. Some fight in the name of religion, some are pro-Pakistan and some favour an independent Kashmir. Furthermore, reports indicate that a minority of the fighters are Hindu mercenaries who have taken up arms for money.

India claims it is the presence of these numerous anti-India insurgent groups that has compelled New Delhi to deploy massive number of troops in Jammu and Kashmir for the task of counter insurgency. New Delhi has never made an official count, but military analysts estimate that anywhere from 30,000 to nearly 33,000 security personnel are more likely involved, supported by thousand of Indian paramilitary groups such as the Rashtriya rifles, and the Romeo Force. Further consolidating Indian control in Kashmir are hundreds of counter-insurgents known collectively as the Ikhwanis. Made up of former militants, the

groups were abandoned by India in the early part of this decade, allowing anti-Indian militants to kill some of the Ikhwanis, including the Ikhwanis leader, Kukka Parray.

### **Terrorist Groups**

According to India, a terrorist group Lashkar-e-Toiba has split into two factions: Al Mansurin and Al Nasirin. Another new group reported to have emerged is the save Kashmir Movement Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (formerly known as Harkat-ul-Ansar) and Lashkar-e-Toiba are believed to be operating from Muzaffarabad, Azad Kashmir and Muridke, Pakistan respectively. Other less well known groups are the Freedom Force and Farzandan-e-Milat. A smaller group, Al-Badr, has been active in Kashmir for many years and is still believed to be functioning. All parties Hurriyat Conference, an organization that uses moderate means to press for the rights of the Kashmiris, are often considered as the mediator between New Delhi and insurgent groups.

Not much is known about collaboration between the various groups, but most say they are members of an alliance known as the United Jihad Council (UJC). The two groups which India says were behind the December 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament in New Delhi- known then as Jaish-e-Mohammed and Lashkar-e-Toiba are believed to be members of the UJC. India says that it was Jaish-e-Mohammed that attacked the Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly in

Srinagar in October 2001. It is also known that the Jaish-e-Mohammed was responsible for the hijacking of Indian Airlines Flight IC-814 to Kandahar, which forced the Government of India to release Maulana Masood Azhar, the chief of the Jaish-e- Mahammed. Recruits from various part of the world have been sent to Pakistan-administered Kashmir for training and advice.

### **Involvement**

According to Indian authorities, Kashmiri terrorists are sponsored by Pakistan; an allegation which Islamabad strongly denies. However a report by Human Rights Watch group confirms the Indian view stating that "There is compelling evidence that elements of the Pakistani Government have sponsored a significant flow of arms to Kashmiri militants, as well as an extensive training programme." The US government has also supported the claim that anti-Indian terror groups exist in Pakistan India claims that there are also other Afghan, Egyptian, Yemeni and Bangladeshi terrorists active in Jammu and Kashmir. Other nonpartisan resources also concur stating that Pakistan's military and Inter services Intelligence (ISI) both include personnel who sympathize with- or even assist- Islamist militants adding that "ISI has provided covert but well-documented support to terrorist groups active in Kashmir, among other outfits." In a recent infiltration bid, a Pakistan Army officer was shot dead, with India citing that this was clear evidence of Pakistani involvement in the insurgency. The UN Security Council has also confirmed the existence of terrorist groups based in (Pakistan)

Kashmir and urged Pakistan to crack down on terrorist groups which had been operating in Kashmir and killing innocent people.

Pakistan describes some of these separatists as “freedom fighters” and says that it supports their effort for the cause of the Kashmiris only morally. Pakistan however admits that there has been ‘cross border infiltration of militants’ across the Line of Control (LOC). In 2002, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf tried to clamp down on the militants operating from Pakistan. India, however, claims that Islamabad supports these groups financially and militarily. Many sources have maintained that Pakistan’s intelligence organization, Inter-Service Intelligence, is the main supplier of funds and arms to these groups; a claim that Islamabad has dismissed. The British Government had stated there is a ‘clear link’ between Pakistan’s Inter-Service Intelligence and three major militant groups. An article in the Guardian had uncovered evidence that Pakistani militants were openly raising funds and training new recruits and that the ISI’s Kashmir cell was instrumental in funding and controlling the militant outfits. Richard Bennett, a British Military and intelligence analyst states that the ISI has armed and trained generations of Islamic extremists and has directed many of their terrorist attacks both within the Kashmir and in India’s major cities.

Indian sources also allege that there are between 2600 to 3000 militants receiving training in camps across Pakistan and POK. During a peace summit between Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Indian former Prime Minister

Atal Bihari Vajpayee in January 2004, Islamabad assured India that it would do everything possible to curb the activities any training camps on its territory. However, violence has continued in Kashmir despite a 3 year long peace process between India and Pakistan. There were as many as 166 incidents in June 2005 alone in which some 201 people have died.

A Pakistan based magazine Herald published a cover story on the training camps in Pakistan, which were training Kashmir and Afghan militants.

According to Indian sources there are about 37 training camps in Pakistan, 49 in Azad Kashmir and 22 in Afghanistan. The FBI also has produced images of camps operating in Pakistan. India claims that in every year thousand of armed insurgents infiltrate into Indian administered Kashmir and carry out attacks against Indian Security Forces and Kashmiri civilians. In June 2005, the Indian Army had foiled at least 72 infiltration attempts along the Line of Control in Kashmir. India alleges that despite the commitments made by Pervez Musharraf, Islamabad has done little to stop the training camps on its soil. According to India, most of the militants in Kashmir come from the Pakistan, Afghanistan, Egypt, Yemen and Bangladesh. Not all Kashmiri separatists and militant organizations share the same ideology. Some fight in the name of religion, some are pro-Pakistan and some favour an independent Kashmir. Furthermore, not all the militants are Muslims. Recent reports indicate that a growing minority of the fighters are Hindu militants who have taken up arms for money.

India has also accused Pakistan of a campaign of ethnic cleansing against Kashmiris using state-sponsored terrorism. It claims that starting from the 80's 70,000 to 120,000 Kashmiris have been killed.

### **Human rights violations**

Militants are accused of following a policy of ethnic cleansing against the Kashmir populace. Many Kashmiri Muslims and Pandits have been killed in Kashmir over the years. Human rights organizations put the figure of the number killed since the late 80's at 80,000. Tens of thousands of Kashmiri Pandits have emigrated as a result of the violence.

Estimates of the displaced vary from 170,000 to 700,000. Local politicians have suffered the brunt of aggression. The districts of Baramulla and Anantnag in the Kashmir valley, are the worst affected. Incidents of rape, kidnapping, looting, rioting, and money laundering have increased since insurgency intensified in the 1980's. The Jammu and Kashmir provincial government stated in 2003, that a total of 3744 people had 'disappeared' since 1989. However, human rights activities put the total figure at more than 8000. Those who are targeted mainly include women, children and local politicians.

More than 120 local politicians have lost their lives, 15 of whom were members of Kashmir State Assembly.

## Terrorist attacks

- Attack on Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly- A car bomb exploded near the Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly on October 1, 2001, killing 27 people on an attack that was blamed on Kashmiri separatist. It was one of the most prominent attacks against India apart from on the Indian Parliament in December 2001. No Kashmiri government official was killed or injured during the incident.
- Wandhama Massacre- In January 1998, 24 Kashmiri Pandits living in the city Wandhama was killed by Kashmiri militants. According to the testimony of one of the survivors, the militants dressed themselves as officers of the Indian Army, entered their houses and then started firing blindly. The incident was significant because it coincided with former US President Bill Clinton's visit to India and New Delhi used the massacre to present a case against the alleged Pakistan-supported terrorism in Kashmir.
- Sangrampora killings- On March 22, 1997, 7 Kashmiri Pandits were killed in Sangrampora village in the Budgam district.
- On October 1, 2001, a bombing at the legislative assembly in Srinagar killed 38.
- Qasim Nagar Attack- On July 13, 2003, armed militants believed to be a part of the Lashkar-e Toiba threw hand grenades at the Qasim Nagar

market in Srinagar and then fired on civilians standing nearby killing twenty seven and injuring many more.

- Assassination of Abdul Ghani Lone- Abdul Ghani Lone a prominent All Party Hurriyat Conference leader was assassinated by unidentified gunman during a memorial rally in Srinagar. The assassination resulted in wide-scale demonstration against the Indian forces for failing to provide enough security cover for Mr. Lone.
- July 20, 2005 Srinagar Bombing- A car bomb exploded near an armoured Indian Army vehicle in the famous Church Lane area in Srinagar killing 4 Indian Army personnel, one civilian and the suicide bomber. Militant group Hizbul Mujahideen, claimed responsibility for the attack.
- Budshah Chowk attack- A militant attack on July 29, 2005 at Srinagar's city centre, Budshah Chowk, killed 2 and more than 17 people injured. Most of those injured were media journalists.
- Murder of Ghulam Nabi Lone- On October 18, 2005 suspected Kashmiri militants killed Jammu and Kashmir's then education minister Ghulam Nabi Lone. Militant group called Al Mansurin claimed responsibility for the attack.
- On May 3, 2006 militants massacred 35 Hindus in Doda and Udhampur district in Jammu and Kashmir.

- On June 12, 2006 one person was killed and 31 were wounded when terrorists hurled three grenades on Vaishnodevi shrine-bound buses at the general bus stand here this morning.
- On July 7, 2006 over 190 people were killed and over 700 injured from bombs planted on 7 commuter trains in Mumbai by Lashkar-e-Toiba terrorists.

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## **Bihar**

Although terrorism is not considered a major issue in the state, existence of certain groups like the *CPI-ML*, *Peoples war*, *MCC*, *Ranvir Sena* and *Balbir militias* is a major concern as they frequently attack local policemen and politicians. Poor governance and the law and order system in Bihar have helped increase the menace caused by the militias. The *Ranvir Sena* is a militia of forward caste land owners which is taking on the might of powerful Naxalites in the area. The State has witnessed many massacres by these caste groups and retaliatory action by other groups. All the militias represent interest of some caste groups. The main victims of the violence by these groups are helpless people (including women, old and children) who are killed in caste massacres. The state police are ill equipped to take on the Ak-47, AK-56 of the militants with their vintage 303 rifles. The militants have used landmines to kill ambush police parties as well. The root cause of the militant activities in the state is huge disparity among different caste groups. After Independence, land reforms were supposed to be implemented, thereby giving the low caste and the poor a share in the lands which was till then held mostly by high caste people. However due to caste based divisive politics in the state land reforms were never implemented properly. This led to growing sense of alienation among the low caste. Communist groups like *CPI-ML*, *MCC* and *People's War* took advantage of this and instigated the low caste people to take up arms against establishment which was seen as a tool in the hands of rich. They

started taking up lands of rich by force killing the high caste people. The high caste people resorted to use of force by forming their own army *Ranvir Sena* to take on the naxalites. The State witnessed a bloody period in which the groups tried to prove their supremacy by mass killings. The Police remained a mute witness to these killings as it lacked the means to take any action. However now the Ranvir Sena has significantly weakened with the arrest of its top brass. The other groups are still active. Many a time's politicians use these groups for their advantage.

There have been arrests in various parts of the country, particularly those made by the Delhi and Mumbai police in the recent past, indicating that extremist/terrorist outfits have been spreading their networks in this State. There is a strong suspicion that Bihar is also being used as a transit point by the small-arms, fake currency and drug dealers entering from Nepal and terrorists reportedly infiltrating through Nepal and Bangladesh.

## **Punjab**

The Punjab experience can be applied to the Kashmir conflict — and there has always been an implied claim that such an assertion would be absurd. After all, a victory in the insignificant marshes of the Maud, an area of a few hundred square kilometers. Evidently cannot be translated into strategies in the mountainous terrain of, say the Doda district which extends over 12,000 square

kilometers and comprehends six towns and 655 sparsely inhabited, often inaccessible, villages dispersed across densely forested hills and snowbound mountains. To state this is to state the obvious. It is equally, to deliberately and incorrectly conceive of what precisely constitutes the 'Punjab experience'. At a tactical level, of course, the experience in Maud was as irrelevant to counter terrorist operations in, say Amritsar City, or Ludhiana or Jalandhar, as it is to Doda. Terrain demographic structures, the alignment of forces, the strength and pattern of terrorist organizations, their weapons and their activities the character of foreign support and the structure of routes of ingress and egress from and to safe havens within and across borders, are among the innumerable factor that demand tactical flexibility and a uniqueness of response, not only between theatres of conflict, but literally from action to action. This does not, however, mean that there are no lessons to be learned from the history of warfare in general, or from the experience of the counter terrorist campaign in Punjab, in particular.

The ISI training of Dal Khalsa activities in Pakistani camps started in 1980 and this assistance was extended in subsequent years to the recruits of other organisations also such as the Babbar Khalsa, the International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF), and the Khalistan Commando Force (KCF) etc. Between 1981 and 1984, the Dal Khalsa, acting either alone or in co-operation with other groups, hijacked five aircraft of the Indian Airlines to Lahore — one each in 1981 and 1984 and three in 1982. The Pakistani authorities to land in Lahore where they

terminated the hijacking and ostensibly arrested Gajender Singh and his associates allowed the plane of 1981, but they did not keep them in jail. They allowed them to stay in the Nankana Sahib gurudwara of Lahore and guide, from there, the activities of the Dal Khalsa in the Punjab.

The three planes hijacked in 1982 were denied permission to land in Lahore and returned to Amritsar, where the hijacking was terminated by the Indian authorities. The plane hijacked in 1984 was allowed to land in Lahore and, subsequently, the Pakistani authorities persuaded the hijackers to take it to Dubai where the hijacking was terminated. At Lahore, the ISI found that the hijackers had only a toy pistol with ammunition. The pistol was seized from the hijackers by the Dubai authorities and handed over to the Government of India.

The Government of India with the Reagan Administration took up the matter. It led to two results. First Gajendra Singh and his associates were removed from the Nankana Sahib to the Lahore jail, tried and sentenced to imprisonment, on the completion of which they were expelled from Pakistan. Second, all hijacking by Pakistan sponsored terrorist groups ceased till the recent hijacking of an IA plane by the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen(HUM).

However, this had no impact on the continued training of Sikh extremists belonging to different organizations in Pakistani camps and the supply of arms and ammunition to them. In fact, this was stepped up after the raid on the Golden

Temple in Amritsar by the Army under operation *Blue Star* in June 1984. Many leaders of the Sikh terrorist organizations were allowed to take up residence in Lahore and co-ordinate from the terrorist activities of their organizations in Punjab.

There is, however, one generalization that is borne out by empirical evidence — the motives of terrorists are seldom quite as elevated as many academics as well as human rights activists and other apologists<sup>4</sup> for terrorism, would have us believe them to be. This was more than apparent to those who were directly engaged in fighting terrorism. The venality of the terrorists was, for instance, uncovered in the wake of Operation *Black Thunder*, when evidence of routine torture, rape and a continuous succession of murders committed in the hallowed place of the Golden Temple in Amritsar were uncovered. This was borne out further by a confidential socio-economic profile of terrorists that the Intelligence Wing of the Punjab Police carried out in 1991.

Three academics of the Guru Nanak Dev University in Amritsar, Harish K. Puri, Paramjit Singh Judge and Jagrup Singh Sekhon, on the basis of a survey, determined that the 'fighters of Khalistan', after 1987, were largely social dropouts whose motives for joining the movement was described as "*Shaukia*" —for fun. They observed that hardly three per cent of cases surveyed were found to have taken to violence out of anger against some kind of justice... Virtually none appeared to have had a political or religious orientation or was concerned with

issue of injustices with the Sikhs and the problems facing the agriculturist farmers, which were normally associated with the "*Punjab Crisis*". The main cases identified for the terrorists joining the Khalistan movement had nothing to do with religion or ideology. At least 180 of the 300 terrorists joined "*out of fun*". The phrase that was often used was "*shaukia taur se*". They were happy if they had a motorcycle, a Hero Honda (the 350cc Enfield Bullet had been banned) and an AK-47, and if they got to eat almonds. Women, according to the study, were another big draw. Paramjit Singh Judge, one of the authors of this study, asserts 'I know one doctor in Majitha who terminated 10-15 pregnancies every Thursday. No one openly told you of the rapes. But in the villages, you often heard comments like, "*Itna badaam khayenge to kahin to niklayenge hi*". If they eat so many almonds, they have to find out an outlet for their energies. Often terrorists would enter a house just before dinner, and then force all the family members except the young women upto the terrace . . . . . The majority of the terrorists died within a year. In that time they had access to 50 to 55 women.

During the 1970s, the Green Revolution brought increased economic prosperity for the Sikh community in Punjab. This propensity kindled a fear in the Sikh community - that of being absorbed into the Hindu folds and led to the rise of Sikh extremists. The insurgency intensified during 1980s when the movement turned violent and the name Khalistan resurfaced and sought independence from the Indian Union. Led by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, a politically ambitious

itinerant Sikh preacher, they soon adopted violent methods to stress on their demands. Soon things turned bloody with the movement turning into terrorism, with India alleging that neighbouring Pakistan supported these rebels. In 1984, Operation Blue Star by the Indian government to stem out the movement. After intense clashes with the Indian military, Bhindranwale and his followers, who had taken refuge in the Golden Temple complex, Sikhism's most holy shrine, in Amritsar, Punjab. Indira Gandhi, India's then prime minister ordered the military to storm the temple. After a twenty-four-hour firefight, the army successfully took control of the temple. According to Indian government sources, eighty-three army personnel were killed and 249 injured. Insurgent casualties were 493 killed and eighty-six injured. Indian observers assert that the number of Sikh casualties was probably higher.

During same year, the assassination of Indira Gandhi by two Sikh bodyguards, believed to be driven by the Golden Temple affair, resulted in widespread anti-Sikh riots, especially in New Delhi. Several thousand sikhs were assassinated during the riots, often regarded as the worst in Indian history. New Delhi police did little to stop the anti-sikh mob. Law and order was restored in the capital only after deployment of the army. Fuelled by the riots, Sikh extremists are believed to have planted a bomb on Air India Flight 182 which exploded over the Irish Sea, killing all 329 aboard. The tragedy remained the biggest aviation disaster until the 9/11 attack. Since then the Punjab Police under K.P.S.Gill and

the Indian Army lead a successful series of campaigns to weed out the limited support base of the terrorists. By the mid-1990s, Punjab once again became peaceful and the economic boom of the nation quelled any lingering separatist ideas.

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### **New Delhi**

New Delhi is the Capital of India and only for this reason is it the most important city of the country. From the view point of terrorist organizations, New Delhi is very sensitive area and they always tried to do some destruction on it. On December 13, 2001 a terrorist group attacked the Parliament of India and as a

result 9 police men and parliament staffer were killed. All the five terrorists were killed by the security forces and were identified as Pakistani nationals. The suspected terrorists dressed in commando fatigues entered Parliament. They used Ak-47 rifles, explosives and grenades for the attack.

On October 29, 2005 in Delhi, three terrorist attack took place in three different part of Delhi and as a result 62 people have been killed and injuring at least 210 other innocent people. The bombs were triggered in two markets in central and south Delhi and in a bus in the Govindpuri area in the south of the city. The blast first took place in the main bazaar of Paharganj near the Delhi Railway Station and then near a bus in Govindpuri area and lastly in south Delhi's busy Sarojini Nagar market. The Pakistan based Islamist terrorist organization, the Islamic revolutionary Front or Islamic Inquilab Mahaz claimed responsibility for the Delhi terrorist attacks.

## **Uttar Pradesh**

### **Ayodhya crisis**

The long simmering Ayodhya crisis finally culminated in a terrorist attack on the site of the 16th century Babri Masjid -Ram Janmabhoomi Hindu temple in Ayodhya on July 5, 2005. Following the two-hour gunfight between Lashkar-e-Toiba terrorists based in Pakistan and Indian police, in which six terrorists were

killed, opposition parties called for a nationwide strike with the country's leaders condemning the attack, believed to have been masterminded by Dawood Ibrahim.

### **Varanasi blasts**

A series of blasts occurred across the Hindu holy city of Varanasi on 7 March 2006. Fifteen people are reported to have been killed and as many as 101 others were injured. No-one has accepted responsibility for the attacks, but it is speculated that the bombings were carried out in retaliation of the arrest of a Lashkar-e-Toiba agent in Varanasi earlier in February 2006. On April 5, 2006 the Indian police arrested six Islamic militants, including a cleric who helped plan bomb blasts. The cleric is believed to be a commander of a banned Bangladeshi Islamic militant group, Harkatul Jihad-al Islami and is linked to the Inter-Services Intelligence, the Pakistani spy agency.

### **South India**

#### **Andhra Pradesh**

Andhra Pradesh is one of the few southern states affected by terrorism, although of a far different kind and on a much smaller scale. The terrorism in Andhra Pradesh stems from the *People's War Group* or PWG, popularly known as Naxalites. The 'PWG, has been operating in India for over two decades with most of its operations in the Telangana region in Andhra Pradesh. The group is also active in Orissa and Bihar. Unlike the Kashmiri insurgents and ULFA, PWG is a

Maoist terrorist organization and labor rights are one of its primary goals. These ideological extremists aim to create equality in the society by attacking the rich and powerful landlords. Having failed to capture popular support in the elections, they resorted to violence as a means to voice their opinions. The group targets Indian Police, multinational companies, landlords and other influential institutions in the name of the rights of landless labor. PWG has also targeted senior government officials, including the attempted assassination of former Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister Chandrababu Naidu. It reportedly has strength of 800 to 1,000 well armed militias and is believed to have close links with the Maoists in Nepal and the LTTE of Sri Lanka. According to the Indian government, on an average, more than 60 civilians, 60 naxal rebels and a dozen policemen are killed every year because of PWG led insurgency. Currently the ban on the Naxalites has been lifted in the state which has led to a drastic drop in killings.

## **Mumbai**

The November 2008 Mumbai attacks were a series of coordinated terrorist attacks across Mumbai, India's financial capital and largest city. The attacks began on 26 November 2008 and ended on 29 November 2008 when Indian security forces, in Operation Black Tornado, regained control of all attack sites. At least 188 people, including at least 30 foreign nationals, were killed and at least 293 were injured in the attacks.

Eight of the attacks took place at sites in South Mumbai proper: the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus, the Oberoi Trident, the Taj Mahal Palace & Tower, Leopold Cafe, Cama Hospital, the Orthodox Jewish-owned Nariman House, the Metro Cinema, and a lane behind the Times of India building behind St. Xavier's College. There was also an explosion at the Mazagaon docks in Mumbai's port area. A possible tenth incident involved a taxi blast at Vile Parle near the airport, but it is uncertain whether this was connected to the other nine attacks.

The first attack occurred about 9:30 pm at the Cafe Leopold on November 26, 2008. A man was seen firing an AK-47 in the Taj Mahal Palace hotel lobby before fleeing into the kitchen. Another series of injuries was reported when a gunman opened fire at a central train station.

As the rampage progressed, gunmen opened fire at several locations throughout the city, including a crowded train station, a popular restaurant and several luxury hotels. The terrorists apparently sought victims with British or American passports.

By the early morning of 28 November, all sites except for the Taj Mahal Palace had been secured by police and security forces. Action by India's National Security Guards on 29 November resulted in the conclusion of the Taj Mahal Palace encounter, ending all fighting in the attacks.

A formerly unknown group that calls itself the Deccan Mujahideen has claimed responsibility for the attacks. Later, Azam Amir Kasav, the single terrorist who was captured alive, disclosed that the attackers were members of the Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba Islamic terrorist group. However, no official attribution of responsibility has been made by the Indian Government. However, some authorities believe that it is a front group for another organization. The Indian government believes that a terrorist group from Pakistan, possibly affiliated with Pakistani militant groups Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed, both of which have ties to Al Qaeda, may be responsible.

One of the terrorists, 21-year-old Azam Amir Kasav was caught at Girgaum Chowpatty Naka in Mumbai who was trying to escape in a car and taken to the Nair hospital. According to preliminary investigations by intelligence agencies, Azam is from Faridkot in Pakistan (near Multan, not to be confused with a town of the same name found in India) and had received arms training in Pakistan. Ammunition, a satellite phone and a layout plan of Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus was recovered from him. He has provided many clues to the investigation agencies and has reportedly described how they arrived at Mumbai from Karachi via Porbandar. He has reportedly said that he and other terrorists had received revolvers, AK-47s, ammunition and dried fruit, from their coordinator. Azam reportedly told the police that they wanted to replicate the Marriott hotel attack in Islamabad, and reduce the Taj Hotel to rubble, replicating the September 11

attacks in India. Kasab also told Indian police that the terrorists targeted Nariman House, where the Chabad center was located, because it was frequented by Israelis, who were targeted to "avenge atrocities on Palestinians."

A man named Ajmal Amir Kamal, from the Faridkot district of Pakistan's Punjab province, was arrested at the Taj Hotel, and has admitted to being part of the Lashkar-e-Taiba. That group has denied involvement.

Another possibility is that former crime boss Dawood Ibrahim, the man thought to have been responsible for the 1993 serial bombings in Mumbai, carried out the 2008 attacks in retaliation for the demolition of the Babri mosque. ID's found on the terrorists have included two British identifications and a Mauritius identity card.

188 people have died in the attacks, including 30 foreigners and six Americans.

Encounter specialist Vijay Salaskar and Additional Commissioner of Police Ashok Kamte were killed during the siege. Hemant Karkare, head of the Indian anti-terrorist squad, also died.

A Virginia man, Alan Scherr, and his 13-year-old daughter Naomi died during the Hotel Oberoi attack while attending a conference with fellow members of the Synchronicity Foundation. New York Rabbi Gavriel Holtzberg and his wife

Rivka Holtzberg were killed in the Nariman House attack after their two-year-old son had escaped with their Indian nanny.

### **Facts**

1. Attacks began on Wednesday, November 26, 2008 and ended Saturday, November 29, 2008
2. Mumbai formerly known as Bombay
3. 188 killed, over 300 injuries reported
4. Gunmen hijacked cars and police vehicles
5. Jewish families were held hostage at Nariman House, the center for Mumbai's Orthodox Jewish community.
6. BP Petrol pump blown up in Colaba
7. Nine gunmen killed in shootouts with police

### **Naxalite**

Naxalite or Naxalism is an informal name given to revolutionary communist groups that were born out of the Sino- Soviet split in the Indian communist movement. The term comes from Naxalbari, a small village in West Bengal, where a leftist section of Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI(M)) led by Charu Majumdar and Kanu Sanyal led a militant peasant uprising in 1967.

trying to develop a “revolutionary opposition” in order to establish “revolutionary rule” in India. Majumdar greatly admired Mao Zedong of China and advocated that Indian peasants and lower classes must follow in his footsteps and overthrow the government and upper classes whom he held responsible for their plight. In 1967 ‘Naxalites’ organized the All India Coordination Committee of Communist revolutionaries (AICCCR), and broke away from CPI (M). Uprisings were organized in several parts of the country. In 1969 AICCCR gave birth to Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). After the internal revolt led by Satyanarayan Singh in 1971 and the death of Majumdar in 1972, the movement was fragmented into many competing factions.

Practically all Naxalite groups trace their origin to the CPI (ML). A separate tendency from the beginning was the Maoist Communist Centre, which evolved out of the Dakshin Desh-group. Maoist Communist centre later fused with People’s War Group to form Communist Party of India (Maoist).

### **Indian Railways**

India has hundreds of thousands of miles of railway track, and over 14,000 trains criss-cross the country every day. These are tempting targets for many of the groups described above, and attacks on trains, whether direct assaults, bombings or deliberate derailing through sabotage are common. Some are listed below.

- Brahmaputra Mail train bombing - 1997

- Kurnool train crash - 2002
- Rafiganj rail disaster - 2002
- Godhra Train Burning - 27th Feb 2002
- Jaunpur train bombing - 2005
- Bombay Suburb Train Blasts - 7/11/2006

### **Chronology of Major Incidents**

- Oct 1, 2001 - Militants attack Jammu-Kashmir assembly complex, killing about 35.
- Dec 13, 2001 - Attack on the parliament complex in New Delhi.
- Sep 24, 2002 - Militants attack the Akshardham temple in Gujarat, killing 31.
- May 14, 2003 - Militants attack an army camp near Jammu, killing more than 30, including women and children.
- Aug 25, 2003 - Simultaneous car bombs kill about 60 in the Mumbai.
- Aug 15, 2004 - Bomb explodes in Assam, killing 16 people, mostly school children.
- Oct 29, 2005 - Three powerful serial blasts in New Delhi at different places. 1st bomb explodes at 5:38 pm in Paharganj, 2nd at 5:52 pm in a

DTC bus in Govindpuri and 3rd at Sarojini Nagar at 5:56 pm. The last blast is the worst. On this day the court was to hand out sentence to seven accused in Red Fort terrorist case. The explosions are widely believed to be as a result of retaliation. The Hindu festival of Deepawali is two days later on November 1 (Tuesday) and the Muslim festival of Eid on November 4 (Friday). The bombs dampen the festive spirit to a great extent. About 70 people died in this incident.

- Mar 7, 2006 - At least 21 people killed in three synchronized attacks in Varanasi.
- Jul 11, 2006 - At least 200 people killed in a series of 7 trains bombing during the evening rush hour near Bombay.
- September 8, 2006 - at least 37 people killed and 125 injured in a series of bomb blasts in the vicinity of a mosque in Malegaon, Maharashtra
- Nov. 26, 2008- Militants attack eight different places of Mumbai, at least 188 people killed and 293 injured.

Terrorism is often referred to as India's threat number one. Indeed, the country has seen serious assaults on its democratic institutions, including on the Red Fort and Parliament House; both symbols of independent democratic India. Two of her most protected Prime Ministers — Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi —

have been assassinated. Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh was blown to pieces while others like Farooq Abdullah in Jammu & Kashmir and Prafulla Kumar Mahanta in far away Assam has had narrow escapes.

Terrorism has spread its tentacles far and wide, be it through the groups operating in Kashmir in North India or the ULFA in the Northeast or even the LTTE whose lethal capabilities have ensured that J. Jayalalitha retains tight security irrespective of whether she is in power or not. Planes have been hijacked and blown up, foreigners kidnapped and killed and vital installations bombed. The lethal Chinese assault rifle has often given way to improvised explosive devices that have been used to blow up bridges and army convoys; just as suicide bombers have now raised the threat of terrorism to alarming proportions. The India Government has its own list of twenty 'Most wanted' terrorists whose extradition they are seeking from Pakistan.

Terrorism is a very broad concept. The role of typology is to subdivide the field into categories, which are more manageable for research and analysis. One basic distinction is between state and functional terror. There is of course a very considerable historical and social science literature on aspects of state terror. In view of the sheer scale of crimes against humanity, war crimes and mass terror that have been and are being committed by regimes, this is a more severe and intractable problem for humanity than the containment and reduction of functional terror by often very tiny groups. And it is important to observe that historically

state terror has often been an antecedent to and to varying degrees, a contributory cause of campaigns of sub-state terrorism. And once regimes come to assume that their ends justify the means they tend to get locked into a spiral of terror and counter terror against their adversaries.

Pakistan has been the main source of arms, ammunition and training for religious terrorist groups which operated in the Punjab in the past and for those which are operating presently in J&K and other parts of India. The training is given by the ISI, either directly or through religious fundamentalist and pan-Islamic jihadi organizations, in various makeshift camps located in PoK, the Northern Areas (Gilgit and Baltistan) and the North-West Frontier Province.

Before September 11, 2001, the ISI had located the training camps of the Pakistani jihadi organizations, which are members of the IIF, in Afghan territory, but have since shifted them to PoK and the Northern Areas. Five Pakistani jihadi organizations are members of bin Laden's IIF - HUM, Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami, Lashkar-e-Toiba, Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. The first four operate in India. LEJ, which is an anti-Shia organization, operates only in Pakistan.

Under US pressure, President Musharraf has banned the activities of LET, JEM and LEJ in Sindh, Punjab, the NWFP and Balochistan, but not in PoK, the Northern Areas and the Federally-Administered Tribal Areas. The activities of

HUM and HUJI, which are closest to Pakistan's military-intelligence establishment, have not been banned anywhere.

In a recent judgement against some Pakistani doctors accused of providing sanctuaries and medical assistance to Al Qaeda members, the Pakistani supreme court pointed out that the Pakistan government has not, till now, declared Al Qaeda a terrorist organization and banned its activities in Pakistan as required under the Anti-Terrorism Act.

### **The role of Pakistani mercenaries**

Between 1989 and 1993, terrorism in J&K was mainly due to the activities of indigenous Kashmiri organisations. When they were unable to succeed, the ISI started infiltrating trained jihadi cadres of the Pakistani pan-Islamic organizations, who had fought against the Soviet troops in Afghanistan in the 1980s, into J&K for beefing up indigenous organizations. Since 1999, the Pakistani jihadi organizations have taken over the leadership of the anti-government of India movement and have been operating in Indian Territory under the guise of Kashmiris.

As already mentioned above, out of the 46 suicide terrorist attacks reported since 1999, 44 have been by Pakistanis belonging to these jihadi organisations. The principal leaders of these organizations are Pakistani Punjabis and the majority of their cadres are Pakistani nationals.

These Pakistani jihadi organizations project J&K as the gateway to India and say that, after 'liberating' J&K from the control of the Hindus, they will 'liberate' the Muslims in other parts of India and set up two more independent 'homelands' for Muslims -- one in north India and the other in south India. As part of this long-term aim, they have been setting up clandestine cells in other parts of India and have launched some major operations such as the attack inside the Red Fort in New Delhi in January 2001, the attack on the Indian Parliament in December, 2001, and the attack on Hindu worshippers in a temple in Gandhinagar, Gujarat, in September 2002.

There have also been a number of terrorist incidents in other parts of India such as the attack on the security guards outside the US consulate in Kolkata in January 2002, the four explosions in Mumbai in 2002-03 -- the latest on March 13, 2003, killed 12 innocent train passengers -- and the explosion in a Hindu religious place in Hyderabad last year.

### **The role of Al Qaeda in India**

Till now, Al Qaeda's Arab members have not operated in Indian Territory. Some Arabs were arrested in J&K during counter-terrorism operations, but they were members of Pakistani pan-Islamic jihadi organizations and not of Al Qaeda as such. However, HUM, HUJI, LET and JEM, the Pakistani jihadi organizations which are members of bin Laden's IIF along with Al Qaeda and the Taliban, have

been responsible for most of the religious terrorist incidents in J&K and other places in India.

### **The impact of Bin Laden & Al Qaeda on the Indian Muslim community**

India has a little over 140 million Muslims -- the second largest Muslim community in the world after Indonesia. Only a very small section of the community has taken to terrorism due to various grievances and instigation by the ISI and Pakistan's religious, fundamentalist and jihadi organizations.

The overwhelming majority of Indian Muslims are loyal, law-abiding citizens. They have not allowed their anger against the Indian government or the Hindus for any reason to drive them into the arms of terrorist organisations. India has the most modern, peaceful and forward-looking Muslim community in the world.

If one keeps J&K aside, the following factors are significant:

During the 1980s, over 6,000 Muslims from different parts of the world went to Afghanistan to join the Afghan Mujahideen groups in their fight against the Soviet troops. Not a single Indian Muslim joined them.

There are hundreds of Muslims from various parts of the world undergoing jihad training in Pakistan's various madrasas. But there are no reports of any Indian Muslims studying there.

Bin Laden's IIF has 13 member-organizations from different parts of the world -- five of them are from Pakistan. Not a single Indian Muslim organization - - not even from J&K -- has joined the IIF.

When the US started its air strikes on Al Qaeda and the Taliban training camps in Afghan territory on October 7, 2001, there were demonstrations by Muslims in many parts of the world. There was hardly any demonstration in India.

After the US-led coalition started its war on terrorism in Afghanistan, hundreds of Muslims from many countries went to Pakistan and Afghanistan to join the Taliban and Al Qaeda in their fight against the coalition troops. There were no Indian Muslims among them.

At its detention centres at Gauntanamo Bay in Cuba, Diego Garcia and Bagran in Afghanistan, the US has been interrogating hundreds of Muslims from different countries caught helping Al Qaeda in Afghanistan. There is not a single Indian Muslim amongst them.

As many foreign Muslims, if not more, come to India for higher education as they go to Pakistan. Those studying in Pakistan go back to their countries as terrorists, narcotics smugglers or other law-breakers. There was only one instance of a Palestinian, who studied in India, taking to terrorism after he returned to his country in 1992. Foreign Muslim students studying in India go back to their countries as constructive citizens --bureaucrats, academics, IT experts, etc.

President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan, who is the toast of the world today for his courage, vision and modern outlook, is a product of the Indian education system.

These factors show Bin Laden and his Al Qaeda have had little impact on the Muslim community in India. The Indian Muslims, including the aggrieved sections of the Kashmiris, have kept away from them. The attempts of the Pakistani pan-Islamic jihadi organizations to rally the support of the Indian Muslims in the name of bin Laden have, thus far, been unsuccessful.