



Research Paper

Changing Contours of Modern Terrorism and Combating Strategies

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Abstract

Although the structural adjustment and condition of society are responsible for growth of terrorism, the psychological postulates provide a vivid and deeper insight into the problem of terrorism and its causes. The research paper is an attempt to examine and analyse the genesis and changing nature of the problem of terrorism and its causes. Besides, the paper attempts analyse and suggest: -

(1) some preventive methods for the removal of the grievances of the people, thus striking at the roots of the problem.

(2) security constraints in dealing with the problem of terrorism? In this regard a careful analysis of the causes of suicidal squad of terrorism could be great use.

(3) to answer the questions arising out of social pluralism.

(4) to find answer to the main question-why have been people searching for religious and cultural safeguards against the stark realities of hunger, deprivation and poverty?

Key Words: Terrorism, International Strategic Affairs, Security, Violence, Ethnicity, Political Science

THE CHANGING NATURE OF TRAN-NATIONAL TERRORISM AND RAMIFICATIONS:

At a time when the world political landscape is dealing with a number of regional conflicts such as Israel-Palestine, Russia-Ukraine, skirmishes in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran, trans-national terrorism has hogged the limelight world over during the last few years. Similarly, at the domestic level terror organizations from across the border have unleashed a wave of terror in Kashmir to attract attention from the media to upturn the diminishing morale of the mercenaries. Seen in this recent perspective are the latest sinister designs of the terror forces in different parts of the world whether in Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Red Sea, Israel, Palestine, Scandinavian Countries, Central Asia or Russia. In the past few days, the insurgency has resulted in numerous killings of innocents and the martyrdom of several Army soldiers in different parts of Jammu and Kashmir on the domestic front in India. The recent ISIS-K (Khorasan) claimed attack outside Moscow, resulting in over 130 deaths and more than 100 injuries, warrants strong condemnation. Khorasan, a splinter unit of ISIS with roots in Iran, Turkmenistan, and Afghanistan, highlights four critical lessons. Firstly, politics, as observed by Thomas Hobbes in Leviathan, remains deeply intertwined with human nature, with greed and fear driving conflicts. Despite global changes, power struggles persist, leading to conflicts like World War I and II. The post-World War II era witnessed the emergence of non-state actors, exacerbated by the Cold War and subsequent conflicts.

Secondly, intervening in internal conflicts, such as Russia support for Assad against ISIS, can breed enmity and fuel terrorism. Thirdly, while international terror groups may appear subdued, they can resurge with renewed vigour, forming clandestine links in Central Asian Republics. Lastly, any retaliation against ISIS should involve cooperation with neighbouring countries to prevent spill over effects. This attack is reminiscent

of past incidents in Russia, such as the 2002 Moscow theatre hostage crisis and the 2004 Caucasus hostage tragedy. The recent attack underscores vulnerabilities in Russia's security apparatus, with terrorists exploiting the ability to choose the time and place of their attacks for maximum media impact.

The global criticism of the attack reflects widespread concern over combating international terrorism. The US, despite geopolitical tensions, has shown commitment to addressing terror threats worldwide. However, trust deficits between major powers hinder cooperation efforts. While Ukraine denies involvement, the Federal Security Agency (FSB) is apprehensive about Ukrainian links to the attack, potentially complicating the ongoing conflict. China's expanding influence in Central Asia further complicates regional dynamics.

Central Asian Republics (CAR) face increasing terrorism threats, with non-state actors exploiting cultural ties for nefarious purposes. This underscores the need for multi-layered security cooperation and technological innovation to combat terrorism effectively. Despite efforts by intelligence and security agencies, challenges remain in dealing with terrorists driven by religious misinterpretations. The influx of refugees from neighbouring countries adds complexity to the security landscape. Efforts to combat terrorism through collaboration, such as the Samarkand meeting, offer hope for regional stability. However, economic disparities and inconsistent Government policies contribute to vulnerabilities in the region. The presence of international Islamist terrorist organizations like Hiab Ut-Tahrir poses significant security challenges. Despite anti-terrorist drives, Central Asian states have attempted to export terrorism to conflict zones like Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria. The recent influx of illegal migrants and increased terrorist activities have compelled China and Russia to seek cooperation in tackling transnational terrorism. Rise of fundamentalism in Central Asia poses an international reality, fuelled by disgruntled groups and external influences. Central Asia's strategic importance and rich resources make it crucial for global security. The US has recognized CAR's strategic significance for regional stability. Efforts to improve economic prowess and security capabilities in Russia and CAR require coordinated action and cooperation. Economic transformation hinges on fighting inflation and developing robust anti-terrorism mechanisms. It is crucial to recognize that the issues of law and order differ from those of terrorism, despite often being conflated. Policymakers must understand the diverse security threats facing nations today and adapt strategic policies accordingly. Modern terrorists are highly organized and professional, necessitating a shift towards more vigilant and assertive intelligence, police, and paramilitary networks. This is a game which either an individual or group cannot carry out alone unless it has tremendous outside support. The strategy to ignite religious sentiments of the Islamic identity by harping on the issue of numerical preponderance of the Muslim community has helped certain terrorist organizations in creating base for its claims and fighting proxy war for quite some time. The major question now arises is whether the anti-terrorist operations are merely a work of simple Police and Paramilitary network or that of a special force trained for counter-terrorist activities? The deployment of special forces in countering terrorist activities has become a reality in many countries. In this regard, the experience of different countries can help. For Example, the way the West German Police defeated terrorist faction, the way the French Army took measures to improve their anti-terrorist capabilities. The Italian Police too had to combat large-scale terrorist violence from new-fascist groups and the left-wing challenges of the Red Brigades. It is commendable that the US security and intelligence network could control any further terrorist attack after September 11. India can learn a lesson or two from this. Unless we develop a high-level intelligence network to anticipate any such threats the talk of combating strategies would only remain as chimera. There is a need for truly effective preparedness programme at the government level. First of all, we must know about the people involved in terrorist activities and their motivation. The relationship dealing with terrorist incident and mitigating its consequences need to be carefully thought out. Sufficient data about the area within which the event is unfolding could be of immense use. This is simple work of good intelligence and police. The intelligence should be able to provide the information about terrorist's targets, timings and sites in advance. But government alone cannot do much to stop it. Individuals and groups can make a significant contribution towards improving the general security environment.

In addition to strict anti-terrorist acts some kind of positive programmes which can replace the frustration of terrorists can prove effective. There is also a need to promote open institutions, including political institution to absorb the ethnic, religious and political pressure and allow them (the terrorists) to vent their feelings in a proper way. This will change their mind and thus encourage them to settle their differences in some

peaceful way. Many efforts have been made by a number of nations to control state-sponsored terrorism, such as through economic sanctions, but so far, they have not reached a consensus either at the national or international level. During the last two decades, the increasing drug smuggling and the obnoxious nexus between drug smugglers and terrorists have posed a serious problem to the internal state-security networks and compelled various nations to organize themselves and wage a relentless war against such a nexus. But mere implementation of vigorous drug laws cannot become effective unless the judicial procedure is modified for ensuring speedy trials.

The concept that one man's terrorist can be another man's freedom fighter must be done away with; local populace should cooperate with law enforcement machinery even at the cost of personal misery; prompt and strict decisions should be undertaken by various nations for controlling terrorist psychologically.

While it is desirable to allow police and the armed forces to employ better informed judgement about the local problems, there is of course a danger that this attempt of the government could dilute the benefits to those deemed deserving and, thus, any possibility of peace and negotiation.

Chemical weapons are normally not so easily detectable by anti-terrorist squads. They are easily transportable compared with conventional weapons. There is a lack of serious law and regulation that prevents the acquisition of such chemical weapons. International cooperation and treaties for avoiding the use of nuclear weapons could prove an important strategy in management of nuclear terrorism. Implementation of draconian

Law in the past too has created the problem of human rights violation. Present laws are sufficient enough in handling the problem provided they are implemented promptly and effectively. It is true that war against terrorism should not be treated as war against Islam. Besides, Intelligence, Interception and close surveillance are the most effective ways of combating the modern terrorism. In this regard the following suggestions may be worth considering:

Carefully examining important incidents and preparing detailed action-oriented reports on terrorist affected areas.

Building a sophisticated communication network as part of a wider modernization drive which gives access to the latest technology. #Better management of local contacts and sources of assistance. #Developing new techniques of security and maintenance of secrecy. # Developing capability to anticipate security needs. This is

possible by conducting specialized courses for monitoring security situations

In changing environment, the security apparatus and police need to diversify its activities by bringing together technical and professional expertise based on many decades of experience in maintaining internal security. In this regard the most crucial thing is to develop capability to anticipate security needs. This is possible by conducting specialized courses for monitoring security situations.

THE PROBLEM

Although violence in itself is condemnable, very rarely, terrorist violence is a nihilistic act bereft of any deeper undercurrents. And the structure of violence is more often than not, located in society and social conditions which not only create them but also nourish and reinforce them. Recurrence of violence is symptomatic of a society's body politic, torn asunder by varied threats and tensions. Very often, the social conditions that generate conflict (and the cause for violence) have external coordinates. In a globalized world, the matrices of power turn on the highly visible, inequalitarian structure of international economy and as such inter-relations between socio-economic conditions in different parts of the world are becoming more and more obvious day by day. At another level the post-cold-war international political-economic order is still a victim of the power game that was trust on the world by the then Big Powers. The power-network woven by the US and its allies in the entire West Asian region has provoked the ire of the opposition forces in almost every state where US has had an interest-based relation-ship. Thus, as the societies globalize and the curtains of opacity are raised through increased inter-societal inter-action at the international level, people in the underdeveloped countries are holding the Big Powers responsible for their inferior socio-economic positions.¹

The major power of the world needs to realize that to a great extent they are gradually becoming victims of their own game. The post second world war ideological rivalries between the capitalist countries and Socialist block have created many problems. Years of interference in crucial areas such as Afghanistan, South-East Asia, Gulf and Latin American countries has resulted in the development of peculiar trends which provided breeding grounds for terrorist activities. It goes without saying that Talibanization of Afghanistan would never have taken place had the powerful nations handled the situation well in the beginning. Consequences of the failure to diagnose this social disease (terrorism) at the early stage can be pernicious for the various countries. The strategies of imposing arms and economic sanctions on the so-called rogue nations during the last few years have been counter-productive, and rather helped these nations to gain international sympathy. Although the hope of a permanent solution of the problem of terrorism is still far away, one hopes that the powerful nations will develop a more mature understanding of the phenomenon of terrorism that has assumed alarming proportions.

The rapid international transportation and use of sophisticated weapons like AK 47 assault rifles and plastic explosives (RDX) have helped to facilitate the expansion of terrorist networks around the world. Besides, the new suicide squads of terrorist have left the entire security apparatus of the affected states in a state of shock. The recent incidents cannot be viewed in isolation. History bears testimony to various such tragic events. Few years ago the gruesome bombing against innocent civilians in Oklahoma city (which left more than 200 people dead or missing) sent shock waves around the world. In a mysterious gas attack at the main train station in Yokohama, Tokyo Subway that killed 12 people and left nearly 5,000 hospitalized also sent dangerous signals. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam's terrorist activities has already caused Sri Lankan Government huge loss of life and property. The suicide terrorist attacks on the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly and incredible attempt to sabotage the Indian Parliament closely on the heels of the September 11 blasts revealed the sinister face of terrorism in India. The series of post Agra summit bombing in Jammu Kashmir and

hijacking case of IC 814 from Kathmandu have exposed Pakistani machinations in the terrorist acts in India. All such acts are violent culmination of terrorist plans that were carefully executed. Similarly, most countries of the world including Russia, Spain, U.K. Italy, Israel, and China are suffering due to terrorist activities in one way or another. Experience has taught that complacency and lack of immediate reaction to terrorist threat has paralyzed the security systems of the various affected countries on the face of trouble.

A leading anti-terrorism expert Mr. Brian Jenkins believes that though more articulate and multiplied effort by police and intelligence can tell us about a possible terrorist attack, there is still confusion over whether such a mechanism is successful in dealing with terrorists driven by fundamentalism. Gradually, religion is becoming the main motivating force for terrorism across the globe. During the mid-90s in the nerve gas attack on Tokyo subway, police suspected the hand of apocalyptic sect Aum Shinrikyo. Few Years earlier, Moscow intensified its efforts to set up "Troika" alliance to drive away the spectra of Islamic militants. The problem of Refugees who have fled due to disturbances in Afghanistan, Kirghizstan and Uzbekistan has added a new dimension to the existing problem. Whether terrorism is unleashed at local, regional national or international level it cannot survive for long without international support and collaboration. There is a growing nexus between terrorists and internationally organized crime networks. Mr. Alison Jamieson, a British analyst on organized crime and political violence commented that a distinction between terrorism and organized crime has become very blurred recently. Italian organized crime expert Professor Ernesto says "the goal is different. The terrorist's goal is an ideological one, while organized crime's goal is financial, but the instrument is same. They both need money and arms". In Sri Lanka, the Tamil Tigers engage in drug trafficking to finance their struggle, in north-eastern India guerrillas kidnap tea planters and hold them to ransom to help fund their fight for independence. In Chechnya, the secessionists were heavily involved in drug distribution.

These days terrorists are more confident than ever before of their access to the vulnerable points before carrying out any of their attack and they plan their attack in a heroic manner for the justification and fulfilment of a cause which they think is just. Thus, they attempt, by their acts, to inspire and manipulate fear to achieve a variety of purposes. Therefore, jostling crowds, busy hotels, crowded trains, high-ways, country side an rural area are increasingly becoming targets of terrorism.

DEFINING TERRORISM

Terrorism is not a recent phenomenon. It is older than the ancient civilization of Greece and Rome. Early examples include the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BC. During the first century A.D Zealot struggle in Palestine; and the acts of Secret Islamic armed bands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²

One of the earliest attempts to clarify the concept of terrorism in modern social science defined it as "the method of theory behind the method whereby an organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through the systematic use of violence".³

Another important attempt at the definition of terrorism is of Thornton's. Thornton's definition includes symbolic charter of terrorist acts. Therefore, terrorism is a symbolic act intend to influence political behaviour of the country by extra normal means, entailing the use or threat of Violence.⁴ The most important element in Thornton's definition is the claim that all acts of terror in an internal war are deliberately propagandist acts, which are always designed to convey a message, sign or warning to either their opponents, the „neutral“ population or to those who belong to or sympathizes with the terrorist movement.⁵

Therefore, it is clear that all kinds of violence do not involve political terrorism. But most acts of violence such as wounding, arson, assassination, destruction of property, etc., are defined as crimes under the legal codes of all states.

Professor Paul Wilkinson has classified terrorism in the following ways:

- (1) Repressive terror {complete suppression};
- (2) Revolutionary terror;
- (3) War terror (in which terrorists apply all kinds of arms and weapons to terrorize people; and
- (4) Sub revolutionary terror (acts committed out of political and ideological consideration)⁶

"The word Terrorism was firstly used at the Third Conference for the unification of Penal Law held at Brussels in 1931. In this conference terrorism was defined as "The deliberate use of means capable of producing a common danger" to commit „an act of imperilling life, physical integrity or human health or threatening to destroy substantial property “. ⁷ Such acts included :” Arson; explosion; flooding or submersion; ignition of asphyxiating or noxious substances: interruption of the normal operation of means of transport or communication: damage to or destruction of government property and public utilities: pollution: fouling, or deliberate poisoning of drinking water or staple foods, causing or propagating contagious or epidemic disease any wilful act which endangers human lives and the community and so on.”⁸

The growing fear of terrorism compelled the League of Nations to form a Committee of some experts „to assure the repression of conspiracies or crimes committee with political or terrorist purpose.⁹ These efforts of the League of Nations were included in the adoption of two conventions: The first one was on 16 November,

1937 at the Diplomatic Conference attended by 35 states, one was on the prevention and punishment of terrorism and the other one was on these creations of an International Criminal Court,¹⁰

Although people have given different definitions of terrorism and in spite of immense inclination of the world community in the problem of terrorism, there has not been any agreement on its satisfactory definition.¹¹

For example, the Government of France has given different arguments in term of defining terrorism. According to it “any act of barbarism committed in the territory of third state by a foreigner against a person who has a nationality – other than of the offenders for the purpose of exerting a pressure on a conflict not strictly internal in nature is called an act of terrorism and that foreigner is terrorist”.¹²

On the other hand, government of Haiti defines terrorism as an act of violence committed by a person or a group under international jurisdiction against any one for political purpose.¹³

Grant Wardlow defines political terrorism as “the use of violence by an individual or a group, whether acting for or in opposition to established authority, when such action is designed to create extreme anxiety or fear indicating effects in a target group larger than the immediate victims with the purpose of coercing that group into the acceding to the political demands of perpetrators”.¹⁴

This definition gives an elaborate commentary on various aspects such as state terrorism, state sponsored terrorism and terrorism by non-state actors, like the various factions of the Palestine Liberation

Organization. The Baader Meinhof Gang of West Germany, the Sikh extremists, the Red Brigade of Italy, etc.¹⁵
An incident of violence can be judged to have an international terrorism dimension if it signifies that

(1) the terrorist action is supported by one or more foreign pro-terrorist regime: (2) the act was aimed to influence international opinion and whether the attack is on foreign personnel or it is aimed at overthrowing a foreign government.¹⁶

Although individual counter measures have been taken against terrorism, the world is not yet in a position to eliminate this curse of human civilization. But perhaps the most important task is to find out the cause of terrorism.

CAUSES OF TERRORISM

It goes without saying that human nature is a very complex phenomenon¹⁷ and human relations on different levels have been characterized by “decisions demonstration the Lasswellian method “who gets what, when and how”, often accompanied by the threat and use of force. Political and ideological violence, which sometimes arises from and contribute to such conflict, includes what is commonly known as “terrorism”.¹⁸ It is also said that “terrorists are not born but created by particular, sociological, economic and political conditioning process. Unlike ordinary criminals’ terrorists are ostensibly dedicated to some ideological or political cause”.¹⁹

Misery, Zionism, frustration, fundamentalism, racialism, political intolerance, religious motivated crusades, insecurity, grievances, confusion and Political moral informative- are growing in this world which consequently contribute psychological conditions for the growth of violence and terrorism. State and government are unable to agree how to arrest the escalation of violence and plunge into chaos.

The underlying reason for the terrorism lies in the important political and economic interest of the powerful groups who are in a position to support the acts of terrorism through powerful governments. The linkages between domestic political powers and processes with identical forces abroad are known to subsist.²⁰

The “decolonization process has led to the formation of many mini and micro-sovereign states with populations of a million and less. This has resulted in stirring of ambitions of many small ethnic groups in various nations to recognize their separate identities and seek separate nationhood.”²¹ Section of Quebecors in Canada, Basques in Spain, Croatians in Yugoslavia, Armenian in Turkey, Tamil in Sri Lanka, JKLF& in India and Marcos in the Philippines are a few among such secessionist groups resorting to political violence as a method for the realization of their aims.²²

Sometime terrorism is being sponsored by the economically powerful nations. They resort to violence and indulge in blatant coercive diplomacy with a view to intimidation the poor and less powerful developing countries. One of the resultant impacts of such action is the retaliatory action by small developing nations against such malevolent tactics of the powerful nations in the form of state sponsored international terrorism.²³

Different types of violence are spread in various sections and segments of our society. There are political, religious, educational and other social organizations functioning in a corporate way. All these institutions, and organizations are integrated in a framework and primarily promote the main policies and programmes of the welfare state.²⁴ Many of these entities survival

depends upon the recognition and patronage extended by the state. Although there are various factors which are responsible for terrorism but many acts of terrorism are the outcome of a deeply ideological conviction or dedication to a certain political cause.²⁵

The terror and terrorism is also an outcome of many years of brutal suppression, physical torture and cultural dehumanization which is used by the colonial power in a foreign country. In the process of anti-colonial struggle for national liberation, violence and terrorism became the ultimate tactics. Terrorism is brought about where and when an open political participation is not possible on account of severe oppression, Frantz Fanon has analysed this kind of problem which brings about a well thought of picture of terrorism.

Frantz Fanon observes that:

“In the colonies it is the soldier a policeman who are the official instituted to go between the spokesman of settler and his rule of oppression-on the other hand, in colonial countries-the policeman and the soldier by their immediate presence and their frequent and direct actions maintain contact with native and advise him by means of rifle and napalm not to budge. It is quite obvious that the agents of the governments use pure force only. The intermediary does not lighten the oppression, nor seek to hide the domination, he shows them up and puts them into practice with the clear conscience of an upholder of peace, yet he is the bringer of violence into the home into the mind of native”.²⁶

The causes of terrorism are more or less the same, like unredressed grievances by the government, denial of legitimated political, economic and civil rights, frustration because of unemployment, social and political injustice. Terrorists do not respect the law or the normal rules of political conduct. In fact, they look upon laws as unjust impositions by the powerful syndicate to occupy the seats of power.

Nevertheless, despite these connections and causes of terrorism, the struggle for liberation from foreign rule brings about another important dimension of terrorism which is” systematically deployed by revolutionary leaders as an extension of guerrilla strategy”.²⁷

Almost in all the nation liberation movements, guerrilla tactics played very important role. But this does not mean guerrilla “always employ terrorism, or even agree with the principle unless it is extremely carefully supervised. It can rebound on the guerrillas by alienating the popular support which they depend upon”.²⁸ Sometimes terrorism gets provoked by security forces which could wipe out guerrilla cells and capture supplies that have been possible by enormous number of efforts of the revolutionaries.²⁹

Although terrorists belongs to different nationalities, religions, ideologies, societies and ethnic groups yet they have certain things in common like: dissatisfaction with the political set up and they use unacceptable and illegal means to achieve certain goals which they consider legitimate and they seriously believe in some kind of ideology.

MAJOR TERRORIST GROUPS

There are many terrorist groups operating across the globe and creating an atmosphere of fear and anxiety. In past there were revolutionary groups which had left oriented ideology, such as the Direct Action of France, the Japanese Red Army, the Baader Meinhof of West Germany who mainly aimed at uprooting the capitalist form of international order based on inequality.

“Separatists” form another type of terrorist group; they aim to spread terror to achieve their political goals either at local or regional level. Typically, this group is represented by the Irish Republican Army and its unrelenting terror campaign against the British.

The Irish Republican movement traces the cause of Ireland’s woes in British occupation of the six counties. Although many Irish Republican groups have stepped up cooperation with the British in an effort to control terrorism, the violence continues due to many factions among the negotiating parties.

Another important terrorist group is the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) in Spain. Attempts by the Spanish Government to crush this Marxist organization have turned abortive, Meanwhile the ETA continues with bombing, bank robberies, murder of policemen and kidnapping of businessmen and officials. During the last few years or so, the Basque terrorists have been caught in plots to assassinate the pope. With the recent upsurge in their activities, it is unlikely that Spain will be able to experience peace in a long time to come.

Similar terrorism exists in Italy in the form of Red Brigade. The Red Brigade sees itself as a part of a Communist struggle against the NATO forces and western Europe. In recent years the Italian Government has

made a number of attempts to stop Red Brigade from Kidnapping and bombing with a fair degree of success and its violence has fallen down dramatically as most of its top leaders have been arrested.³⁰

In India political violence has been the chief feature of terrorist activities as evident in the violence in Nagaland, Mizoram, Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. Examination of terrorist incidents in various parts of India reveals a four-fold threat. First, the threat from Kashmiri militants who are demanding a separate state on the basis of historical, geographical and religious differences. Secondly, militant threat launched by the Khalistan supporters in Punjab during 1980's. Thirdly, terrorism has assumed a nightmarish proportion in the northeast. The proclaimed goal of over last three decades of secessionist campaign in the North-East has been to get more autonomy. Militant outfits like, the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), the Bodo Ultras, the Nationalist

Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), etc. are posing serious threat to the entire security apparatus. Lastly, the recent upsurge in serial bomb blasts has marked the beginning of the pernicious era of terrorism.

The conflict between Tamils and Sinhala has dominated the affairs of Sri Lanka. It has already caused enormous loss of life and posed serious threat to national security. The liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) led by Velupillai Prabhakaran, emerged as the strongest Tamil militant organization demanding a Tamil homeland in the northern districts of Jaffna and the eastern districts.

Sometime, terrorism can be revolutionary. Revolutionary terrorists may also take over and replace existing structures of governance. Hitler was a revolutionary before he came to power and on the strength of the organization he mobilized and manipulated the masses to form a strong base. Publicity plays an important role in the process and without it they cannot expand the field of influence. Targets are significant for revolutionary terrorists and are mainly selected as a means to spread messages to change or shape public attitudes and behaviour.

AIMS

TR Gur's proposition that "the most intensely people are motivated towards a goal or popularize themselves as a national movement, they always utilize violence to achieve their goals" seems to be right. This also represents a supreme act of commitment and sacrifice. William Hennery rightly said that "some politically motivated acts are rooted so deeply in dedication to a cause that no sanction can deter them, other acts of terrorism spring from frustration of legitimate means, causes in turn by act of government repression and terrorism."

Professor Yonah Alexander, an international expert on terrorism comments that quite contrary to the historical terrorists present day terrorists have introduced into contemporary life, a new breed of violence in terms of threat, victimization, response and technology. It indicates that there are many differences in the nature of past and present terrorists groups. The sophisticated and small groups use increasingly violent tactics to create fear psychosis among people and governments.

The aims of almost all categories of terrorism is to pose a threat to those they consider oppressors, enemies and obstacles in the achievement of their goals. Their tactics includes hijacking, black-mail, ruthless killing by shooting and use of bombs, etc. Terrorist groups are generally too small and weak to operate successfully against governments. Therefore, violence is not their immediate goal and that's why they insist upon psychological rather than practical results. The purpose of terrorism, therefore, is to create an emotional state of extreme fear among specific groups, and thereby, ultimately alter their behaviour and bring about general or particular changes in the structure of society and government. For example, the aim of Palestinian terrorist attacks in Jerusalem in 1975 was to gain popularity. Therefore, terrorists are generally dedicated to a cause, for the achievement of which even the sacrifice of human life including their own lives are not considered so important. A terrorist wants to be an example for others. Although his acts are criminal they become a sign of courage to be followed by the rest of the group's followers. Thus, jostling crowds, busy hotels, crowded trains, water highways, countryside, even small rural areas are increasingly becoming targets of modern terrorists. The meek nature of the general masses at large has prevented cognate efforts by security forces to identify terrorists immediately.

COMBATING STRATEGIES

For effective administrative measures, various sources of terrorism must be found first. There is a need for truly effective preparedness programme at the government level. First of all we must know about the people involved in terrorist activities and their motivation. The relationship dealing with terrorist incident and mitigating its consequences need to be carefully thought out. Sufficient data about the area within which the event is unfolding could be of immense use. This is simple work of good intelligence and police. The intelligence should be able to provide the information about terrorist's targets, timings and sites in advance. But government alone cannot do much to stop it. Individuals and groups can make a significant contribution towards improving the general security environment.

On the other hand, there is a need for the sophisticated security procedures which can go all the way from airport screening to the border area. Some kind of positive programmes which can replace the frustration of terrorists can prove effective. There is also a need to promote open institutions, including political institution

to absorb the ethnic, religious and political pressure and allow them (the terrorists) to vent their feelings in a proper way. This will change their mind and thus encourage them to settle their differences in some peaceful way.

Since the present-day terrorists are very well organized and more professional than their counterparts a decade ago, new conceptions of safety and security should arise. Vigilant and assertive police and

paramilitary network should replace the old one. Many of the important suggestions and recommendations of the various committees are not in tune with the exiting circumstances. There is an apprehension that with the availability of biological and chemical weapons the terrorists will start their campaign with renewed vigour and pursue their mission of destruction which will be virtually unstoppable.³¹

There is a smooth international network of collaboration among the various terrorist groups supported by a few countries throughout the world. For example, Pakistan's involvement in orchestrating terrorism in Kashmir and the Japanese Red Army's collaboration with Italy's Red Brigade. It is sometimes the wide converge by the media which provides the rationale for terrorism and increases the problem by stimulating it. This is a classic example of how astute media management can reduce the level of moral opposition to counter terrorism.

European nations alone have witnessed more than 11,234 terrorist incidents since 1969, representing about 37 per cent of the total incidents. The rise of modern terrorism with frightening ramifications has resulted in a demand for strengthening the national law and order machinery. Of late, the pressure on the police and security agencies has been mounting. But the existing laws still pose many problems. The use of police and paramilitary forces for combating terrorism has created an apprehension that it might lead to the oppression of the general populace. Surprisingly, a proper legal definition of terrorism is yet to be found.

The widening gap between the various governments regarding evolving common strategy for suppression of terrorism needs to be viewed in the context of the potential for threat that it holds. Even the European convention on suppression of terrorism is restricted by Article 5 and Article 13, which refuse the extradition of a terrorist on many grounds. In an environment where terrorist violence is endemic and the world stands hopelessly divided on various laws, all countries should shun their national prerogatives for dealing with terrorism. Many efforts have been made by a number of nations to control state-sponsored terrorism, such as through economic sanctions, but so far, they have not reached a consensus either at the national or international level. During the last two decades, the increasing drug smuggling and the obnoxious nexus between drug smugglers and terrorists have posed a serious problem to the internal state-security networks and compelled various nations to organize themselves and wage a relentless war against such a nexus. But mere implementation of vigorous drug laws cannot become effective unless the judicial procedure is modified for ensuring speedy trials.

The continuing uncertainties with regard to terrorism have encouraged various countries to launch psychological warfare against terrorism. To find encountering strategies an international conference was organized in Washington by the Jonathan Institute a few years ago. Some consensus began to emerge among the various scholars, politicians and decision-makers the world over. Some of the important suggestions were: the concept that one man's terrorist can be another man's freedom fighter must be done away with; local populace should cooperate with law enforcement machinery even at the cost of personal misery; prompt and strict decisions should be undertaken by various nations for controlling terrorist psychologically.

The London Economic Summit Conference organized by NATO States and Japan a few years ago proved to be another landmark for the eradication of terrorism which decided that unless we attack the roots of terrorism, only superficial relief could be seen but terrorism would increase in the total quantum of its impact. Creation of general awareness and organization of public support against terrorist acts could be of immense use. While it is desirable to allow police and the armed forces to employ better informed judgement about the local problems, there is of course a danger that this attempt of the government could dilute the benefits to those deemed deserving and, thus, any possibility of peace and negotiation.

Many governments across the world have formulated reform measures to improve the situation. But terrorists interpret these steps as a surrender by the state to international criticism. In such a situation, the role of the military and the security forces has become crucial because most of their operations in terrorist-affected areas require a multi-layered approach. Although military actions have normally been accorded the highest priority for the maintenance of security, sometimes such action damages the deep layers of social and individual interests. For example, the role of the security forces in tackling the problem of terrorism in Punjab, Kashmir and the North-East has opened a controversial debate. This creates a dilemma. Is this merely a work of simple Police and Paramilitary network or that of a special force trained for counter-terrorist activities? The deployment of special forces in countering terrorist activities has become a reality in many countries. In this regard, the experience of different countries can help. For Example, the way the West German Police defeated terrorist faction, the way the French Army took measures to improve their anti-terrorist capabilities. The Italian

Police too had to combat large-scale terrorist violence from new-fascist groups and the left-wing challenges of the Red Brigades.

No civilized political system can progress until terrorism is wiped out, but terrorism cannot be eliminated unless there is a political solution. The need of the hour is the political will to solve the problems that generate terrorism. The states affected by terrorism should open the avenues for negotiated settlement of

disputes and exhibit genuine willingness to resolve long festering problems. The efforts of the state to maintain security on the face of terrorist threats should go hand in hand with increased devolution of power to the people and greater democratization of the system of power and administration. This threat can be encountered by training and development of a new mechanism bolstered up of a multidimensional and multi-layered approach based on checks and balances. Many recommendations from various committees may not align with current realities, especially considering India's struggles with terrorism, naxalism, and insurgency. It is outdated to attribute terrorism solely to societal conditions or structural adjustments. Instead, a thorough analysis of the psychological factors driving terrorism can offer deeper insights and guide effective counterterrorism strategies. Understanding the financial links between terrorism, organized crime, arms dealers, drug traffickers, and smugglers is crucial. Special forces should be deployed to counter terrorist activities in regions where violence is endemic. Collaborative efforts among nations are essential to develop strategic mechanisms for combating international terrorism, with the United States and India playing pivotal roles.

Addressing the multifaceted challenges posed by terrorism demands a nuanced approach that differentiates between law-and-order issues and acts of terrorism. Policymakers must acknowledge the evolving nature of security threats and adapt strategic policies accordingly. Vigilant and assertive intelligence, police, and paramilitary networks are vital in countering the sophisticated tactics employed by modern terrorists. Understanding the financial networks that sustain terrorism is equally crucial for effective counterterrorism efforts. As terrorism continues to pose a global threat, collaborative efforts among nations are essential. In this endeavour, the US and India can play pivotal roles, leveraging their resources and expertise in the fight against terrorism.

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