

Coping with the Challenges of Terrorism in India

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Abstract

Terrorism is a crime against humanity and poses serious threat to peace, security and development. There is a growing concern over terrorism, extremism and religious fundamentalism. The history of terrorism is as old as the history of mankind itself. Terrorism is one of the oldest tools of violence and terror in the society. Terrorist' organisations and some nation-states are using this tool against the legally established nation-states, their purpose could be political, religious, social, etc. They carry out such clandestine operations through the people who are highly motivated and convinced to undertake such actions disregard to their personal safety. Such activities cause psychological and morale fear among the targeted population. Present day terrorism is different from criminal activities. But the collusion between terrorists and criminals is very deadly and causes more damage to the society. Certain actions such as murder, sabotage, ransom, kidnapping, etc of terrorists are similar to those of criminals' activities. The ultimate goal of the terrorism is political.

India is facing the problem of terrorism ever since the Indian Subcontinent has been divided in Aug, 1947 on two nation theory. When Pakistan failed in her attempt to grab Jammu & Kashmir in 1947-48 then took to proxy-war. By mid of 1950s the Northeast states came under the shadow of terrorism and then it was dispersed to other parts of India including Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. Challenges of terrorism faced by India are many especially threat to national security and sovereignty.

To tackle terrorism effectively, it is imperative to reach at a definition of terrorism, various definitions have been floated by various countries

but still we don't have a common definition of terrorism. Stringent legislative measure and administrative reforms are required to check the menace of terrorism. The aim of this paper is to look into the literature on terrorism available, evaluate the challenges posed by terrorism to world including India and suggest the measures to tackle terrorism. Terrorism could better be tackled under the aegis of United Nation with coordinated efforts and global response. Protection and promotion of human rights require institutional mechanism at place. It is imperative that counter-terrorism and protection of human rights must go side by side.

Key Words: Terrorism, Proxy War, Challenges of Terrorism, Counterterrorism, Violence, State-sponsored Terrorism, Instrument of Accession, Narcoterrorism

Introduction

The act of terrorism is an act of war during peacetime and mostly non-combatants become the targets of these attacks. The term terrorism and terrorist originated from the French Revolution in 1794 but came to the limelight during 1970s in Northern Ireland and after 11 Sept, 2001 attack on U S A this has become a fancy word with media both electronic and print. These terrorist' organisations are also known by different names such as left-wing groups, right-wing groups, nationalist group, religious groups, revolutionary groups, etc. Terrorism continues to pose a serious threat to international peace and security environment. It undermines the core values of the humanity. In addition to creating devastating effects on human lives, it aims at destroying and destabilising the legally established nation-states in the world. Great disruptions and destructions are carried out in socio-economic sectors. Terrorism is a complex phenomenon, evolving time and difficult to contain. Factors motivating the terrorists are also changing. The acts of terrorism don't respect the borders and are capable to act globally. Keeping this complexity in view, it is imperative to cooperate and coordinate the efforts to combat-terrorism.

The roots of terrorism in India can be traced back to 1947-48, when 'kabalis' were sent by Pakistan to coerce the Indian state i.e. The Jammu and Kashmir, which had legally joined India through the **Instrument of Accession**. When Pakistan couldn't succeed through coerce actions then launched the full-fledged war against India but was defeated. Meantime Pakistan started encouraging terrorist's activities in Assam, Manipur and Tripura in northeast parts of India. In 1965 Pakistan once again tried her luck to grab Jammu and Kashmir by force but failed miserably. In 1971, when Bangladesh was created out of the erstwhile East-Pakistan then Pakistan launched the naked aggression against India but again failed. When Pakistan realised her capability and capacity, then after the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971 launched a policy **'to bleed India through thousand cuts'** and this is the root cause of terrorism in India. States of the Northeast of India have a long history of violence and conflict among the tribal groups within the state and with neighbouring states. Illegal immigration is the major issue in these states. The quest for a separate Sikh identity manifested itself, after Partition, in their demand for a separate State in India. Even after the formation, when a separate State of Punjab was carved but some related issues remained unresolved pertaining inter-alia to their demand for Chandigarh as the State capital, sharing of river waters etc. The situation was further aggravated when terrorist elements demanded secession in the form of **'Khalistan'** in early 1980s but quelled with an iron hand by end 1980s. Left-wing extremists in India, as elsewhere, are known for resorting to violence in pursuance of their ideology of peoples' revolutionary movement. In West Bengal, this movement was started in 1967 by an extremists' break-away faction of the CPM.

Till the end of 20th century, the terrorism in India remained more or so local in nature but emergence of world terrorist' organisations such as Al-Qaeda, Taliban, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), etc the scenario has changed. Various organisations are spreading their roots in India. The biggest worry is cooperation and coordination among various terrorist's outfits for their operational activities. With modern technology, specially information technology, globalisation, fast moving of men and material, the terrorism of the day has become deadlier. The accessibility to material and technology has added

lethality in the hands of terrorists. The existence of a large migrant population, porous borders, multicultural world, etc helps the terrorism to grow and prosper through sleeping cells. This can become the fifth column threatening the national fabric of democratic countries. Integration of national economies, banking and financial systems coupled with faster movement of money across national borders also make it easier to fund terrorist activities around the globe.

To tackle the menace of terrorism, a multi-pronged approach is needed. In this context, socio-economic development is a priority so that vulnerable sections of society do not fall prey to the propaganda of terrorists promising them wealth and equity; and the administration, particularly the service delivery mechanisms need to be responsive to the legitimate and long standing grievances of people so that these are redressed promptly and cannot be exploited by terrorist groups. Strong measures are required to deal with criminal elements but with respect for human rights. To ensure this, the law enforcement agencies have to be supported with an appropriate legal framework, adequate training infrastructure, equipment and intelligence.

History of terrorism

“Scholars dispute whether the roots of terrorism date back to the 1st Century and the Sicarri Zealots, to the 11st Century and Al-Hashshasin, to the 19th and the Fenian Brotherhood and Narodnaya, or to other areas.”

[1] During the first century CE the Jewish zealots in Judaea province rebelled, killing prominent collaborators with Roman rule. The modern term zealot-which means a fanatical partisan is driven from these zealots. Such killings used to take in a public place in front of many witnesses and the aim was to send the clear message to Roman authorities and those Jews who were siding with Roman officials. And presently many terrorists’ organisations use such tactic.

If we go back to history then we can say that ‘Society of the Assassins’ was the first organised group to carry out the terrorism like acts almost

1000 years ago. “The Assassins (Persian Hashashiyans, Arabic Hashishiyya or Hashishiyyin or singular Hashishi) were a Nizari Isma’ili sect who lived in the mountains of Persia and Syria between 1090 AD to 1275 AD. During that period the sect spread the terror throughout the Middle East through covert murder first Muslims and then Christian leaders. The modern term assassination is based on the tactics used by the Assassins. Nizari Isma’ili was formed in late eleventh century after a succession crisis within the Fatimid Caliphate between Nizar ibn al-Mustansir and his half-brother caliph al-Musta’ili.” [2] The word terror was widely used during the French Revolution and term Terrorism has been driven out the word terror. The Reign of Terror was a dark and violent period during French Revolution. Radicals took control of revolutionary government. They arrested and executed anyone who they suspected might not be loyal to the revolution. French Revolution had begun four years with the storming of the Bastille. By 1793, the revolution government was in crisis, France was being attacked from all sides by the foreign countries. Radicals led by Maximilien Robespierre took over the government and leashed the reign of terror. It began on September 5, 1793 with the declaration by Robespierre that terror would be ‘the order of the day’. During the reign of terror, France was ruled by men so called as the Committee of Public Safety. Robespierre was also the leader of a radical group called Jacobins. They believed in violence and terror. It ended on July 27, 1794 when Robespierre was removed from the power and executed. Fromkin described the Reign of Terror as under:

Robespierre had coerced a nation of 27 million people into accepting his dictatorship. His followers sent many thousands to jail or to their deaths; one scholar’s estimate is 40,000 deaths and 3,000,000 arrests. Yet when retribution came and Robespierre and his group of supporters were executed, it turned out that in all there were only 22 of them.[3]

The ‘Sons of liberty’ was a clandestine group that was formed in Boston and New York City in the 1770s. It had a political agenda of independence of Britain’s American colonies. The groups emerged in several acts that could be considered terroristic and used the deeds for the propaganda purpose. [4]

Modern terrorism, which implies the systematic use of violence against the state, rather than by it, emerged in Europe in the 1870s. The person generally recognised as the first terrorist was the 26-year-old social revolutionary Vera Zasulich, who shot the Governor of St. Petersburg in 1878 to protest the Russian state's repression of domestic political protest.[5]

Terrorism of the second half of the 20th century, with a particularly diversified character, including both national, liberation and separatist movements, as well as far left and far right; in the 1960s and 1970s, the beginnings of its internationalization; the 1980s terrorism sponsored by states; late 1990s which saw the rise of the role of religious background. Contemporary (post-modern) terrorism, the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, characterized by the growth of its internationalization, with the wide use of religious grounds, used especially by Islamic fundamentalists, with the domination of suicide attacks.[6]

Defining Terrorism:

There are two reasons why it is important to define the term 'terrorism'. One, it helps to understand the basic of terrorism. Second, the understanding the term terrorism will further facilitate to suggest and take counter measures to fight the terrorism. Thus, defining terrorism, itself envisage war on terror. The very fact that lack of definition of terrorism is when preparators carryout any act of violence they are referred by different terminology such as 'extremists', 'terrorists', 'militants', 'freedom fighters', 'revolutionaries', etc. All depends upon the agencies who are handling counter-terrorism and interests of the country fighting terrorism. Terrorism is a worldwide phenomenon, easy to describe but difficult to define, various scholars have defined the term terrorism keeping in view the various background in mind such as political, social, religious, ethnic, etc. There are innumerable definitions of terrorism each appears to be true but actually lack the material substance in it. Due to lack of definition of terrorism it remains in arena of political circle.

International efforts to eliminate terrorism started years before the United Nations was established. Terrorism was of concern to the international community as early as 1937, when the League of Nations prepared a draft convention for the prevention and punishment of terrorism. The draft convention defined terrorism as:

"All criminal acts directed against a State and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public." [7]

"Indeed, since 1996, the General Assembly has been considering a draft which had its origin in a proposal by India and which, in practice, would be close to finalisation were it not for continuing disagreement over this issue. The difficulties are well known: for a significant number of Member States, recourse to terrorism cannot be justified under any reason or circumstance. That position has been reiterated in United Nations documents and in statements by the Secretary-General, the Security Council and the General Assembly, including the Summit Declaration of September 2005." [8]

In the United State of America, terrorism is defined in Title 22 Chapter 38 U.S. Code § 2656f as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents".

International Terrorism: Violent, criminal acts committed by individuals and/or groups who are inspired by, or associated with, designated foreign terrorist organizations or nations (state-sponsored). **Domestic Terrorism:** Violent, criminal acts committed by individuals and/or groups to further ideological goals stemming from domestic influences, such as those of a political, religious, social, racial, or environmental nature." [9]

"According to Brain-Jenkins, if we look at terrorism as crime, we will need to gather evidence, arrest the criminals, and put them on trial. This

approach provokes problems of international cooperation and is not suitable response for acts of terrorism perpetrated by distant organisation or a country involved in terrorism. In contrast, if we approach terrorism as warfare, we can be less concerned with the aspect of individual guilt, and approximate assessment of guilt and intelligence is sufficient. The focus is not on a single preparator, but rather on proper identification of the enemy.” [10]

“Terrorism is a form of violent struggle in which violence is deliberately used against civilians in order to achieve the political goals (nationalistic, socioeconomic, ideological, religious, etc).” [11]

“The Council of Europe Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism (CETS No 196), adopted in 2005, does not provide a definition of terrorism, but does criminalise public provocation to commit a terrorist offence and recruitment and training for terrorism. The Additional Protocol to the Convention was adopted by the Committee of Ministers in May 2015 and opened for signature in October 2015. The Protocol criminalises being recruited for terrorism, receiving training for terrorism, travelling to another state for purposes related to terrorism, and providing or collecting funds for such travel. The EU and twelve Member States signed the Protocol on 22 October 2015. The same day, the Presidency of Luxembourg signed the Convention on behalf of the EU.” [12]

In India, Terrorism as an offence doesn't figure in the Indian Penal Code of 1860 which was amended from time to time. For the first time the term 'terrorism' was described in Terrorist and Disruptive (Prevention) Act, 1987 but this act was repealed in 1993. Again, the word 'terrorism' found its place in Prevention of Terrorist Act, 2002. This act also got repealed in 2004. Finally, on 02 Aug, 2019 Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 was amended and passed which contains the definition of terrorist act. “Under this Act, the Central government may designate an organisation as a terrorist organisation if it:

- Commits or participate in act terrorism or

- Prepares for terrorism or
- Promotes terrorism or
- Otherwise involved in terrorism.

The act additionally empowers to designate individuals as terrorists on the above mention grounds.”

“It is somewhat surprising that despite terrorism being recognised as a global phenomenon, attempts in the past for arriving at an internationally accepted definition of terrorism have proved futile. According to some observers, this ambivalence is primarily due to two reasons: firstly, a ‘terrorist’ in one country may be viewed as a ‘freedom fighter’ in another; secondly, it is known that some States resort to or encourage various kinds of criminal acts, clandestinely, through their own agencies or hired agents to subvert or to otherwise destabilize another lawfully established government or in extreme cases get important political or governmental personalities of another State assassinated. History is replete with instances of acts of this nature. Hence, there is an obvious lack of political will, if not resistance to any universally acceptable definition of terrorism”. [13]

And I think the most appropriate definition of the terrorism proposed so far is: “An act of terrorism=Peacetime Equivalent of War Crime” This short but most appropriate definition was proposed by Alex. P Schmid to United Nation Crime Branch in 1992.[14]

Modern terrorism is mostly a complex phenomenon, most of the terrorist’ organisations are depended upon the nation-states sponsoring them for all kinds of support-manpower, material, finance,

etc. In return these organisations are ready to do anything for their masters. In some cases, certain failed nation-states are depended on theses terrorist’ organisations much that they are at their mercy and dictate their policies. Some terrorist’ organisations are hand in gloves with criminals and carry out the illicit activities. Unless we break the nexus between terrorist’ organisations and stakeholders, it is very

difficult to combat the terrorism. To separate terrorist' organisations from other players the exact definition of terrorism is very essential. There can't be 'good-terrorism' or 'bad-terrorism' or 'acceptable-terrorism' or 'un-acceptable-terrorism'. Terrorism is terrorism in whatever form or shape does it take, it is material. And it has no religion but unfortunately takes shelter in religion only because religion provides camouflage and concealment.

Types of Terrorism.

It is believed that terrorists are motivated by various goals and objectives of the terrorist' organisations and these outfits have different aims. Persons who join them these terrorist' organisations are generally unemployed, poor, socially alienated, mentally sick, etc. They are also motivated by feeding falsehood to them about the targeted nation-states. Sometimes they join out of boredom, desire, passion, cause, etc. But those who are bit educated join such organisations primarily for political or social or culture or religious cause. Furthermore, when these terrorists come in close/violent contact with security either they killed or survive such encounter. If they are killed then they motivate by becoming martyrs for the organisation and if they survive, they motivate by becoming heroes of their organisations.

The lure of terror. [15] For years, psychologists examined terrorists' individual characteristics, mining for clues that could explain their willingness to engage in violence. While researchers now agree that most terrorists are not "pathological" in any traditional sense, several important insights have been gleaned though interviews with some 60 former terrorists conducted by psychologist John Horgan, PhD, who directs the Pennsylvania State University's International Centre for the Study of Terrorism. Horgan found that people who are more open to terrorist recruitment and radicalization tend to:

- Feel angry, alienated or disenfranchised.

- Believe that their current political involvement does not give them the power to effect real change.
- Identify with perceived victims of the social injustice they are fighting.
- Feel the need to take action rather than just talking about the problem.
- Believe that engaging in violence against the state is not immoral.
- Have friends or family sympathetic to the cause.
- Believe that joining a movement offers social and psychological rewards such as adventure, camaraderie and a heightened sense of identity.

The major types terrorist outfits based on their operations could be grouped into following headings:

1. Ethno-Nationalist Terrorism. After World War-II, for more than five decades this type of terrorism dominated the world scenario. Ethnonationalism and separatism aspirations became predominately very popular and many nation-states desired to become independent. Many such countries gained freedom also. "Ethnic terrorists often seek to influence their own constituencies more than the country as a whole. Ethnic terrorists frequently seek to foster communal identity, in contrast to an identity proposed by the state. Ethnic terrorists often target potential intermediaries, who might otherwise compromise on identity issues." [16] Tamil Nationalist groups in Sri-Lanka and Terrorist groups operating in North East States of India are the fine examples of such terrorism.

2. Religious Terrorism. It is kind of religious violence, wherein terrorism is used to furtherance of cause of religion. "In the modern age, after the decline of ideas such as the divine right of kings and with the rise of nationalism, terrorism has more often been based on anarchism, and revolutionary politics. Since 1980, however, there has been an increase in terrorist activity motivated by religion." [17] To my point of view religious can't be the sole cause of any kind of religious terrorism but yes it could be one of the causes for terrorism in modern terrorism.

3. Ideology driven terrorism. [18] Any ideology can be used to support the use of violence and terrorism. Ideology oriented terrorism is generally classified into two: Left-wing and Right-wing terrorism.

- **Left-wing Terrorism**-Violence against the ruling elite mostly by the peasant class motivated by what are called leftist ideologies have occurred time and again in history. However, the ideological basis for the left and subsequent violent movements was provided by the writings of Marx and Engels. This was supported by the writings and speeches of later communists like Lenin and Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong). Leftist ideologies believe that all the existing social relations and state structures in the capitalist society are exploitative in character and a revolutionary change through violent means are essential. Examples of leftist ideologies that have resorted to the use of terror are numerous. These include; the Red Army Faction or Baader Meinhof Gang in the former West Germany, the Red Brigades in Italy, the 17 November Movement in Greece, the Shining Path of Peru, People's Revolutionary Army and the Motoneurons of Argentina. The Maoist groups in India and Nepal are the most easily identifiable groups closer home.
- **Right-wing Terrorism**- Right-wing groups generally seek to maintain the status-quo or to return to some past situation that they feel should have been conserved. Sometimes, groups espousing rightist ideologies might assume ethnic/racist character too. They may force the government to acquire a territory or to intervene to protect the rights of an 'oppressed' minority in a neighbouring country (i.e.: the Nazi Party in Germany).
- **Violence against migrant communities also comes under this category of terrorist violence.** It is to be noted here that religion can play a supportive role to rightist violence. Examples of these are: Nazism in Germany, Fascists in Italy, white supremacy movements in the US known as Ku Klux Klan (KKK), the Green Jackets of Denmark in the 1980s etc.

4. State-sponsored Terrorism. It is government non-state supported violent act of terrorism. By mid-20th century the use of terrorist organisations as proxies by one nation-state against another nation-state became prevalent specially after World War-II. This happened because of heavy costs involved in all out wars. The nation-state which suffer remains in 'No-War, No- Peace' situation for very long time. Various state sponsored non-state actors funded and supported by our adversary are operating in Jammu and Kashmir in India. Also, organisations like Hamas, Hezbollah and Palestinian Islamic Jihad are supported and funded by various countries. Pakistan has been repeatedly accused by India, Afghanistan, Iran, UK, USA and many other countries in the world for supporting terrorist' organisations and their operations. Without referring Pakistan directly Defence Minister Rajnath Singh said, "state support to terrorism by a neighbouring country poses a serious challenge to India, but it has displayed capability to "disrupt and deter" terror networks and their patrons." [19] The governments which sponsor state terrorism either by engaging in terrorist' activities themselves or providing them with weapons, training, safe haven, diplomatic support, financial support, logistic support, etc. Involvement of these may results from both practical and ideological point of views.

5. Narcoterrorism. This term was first used by former president of Peru, President Fernando Belaunde Terry of Peru in 1983 when he was describing the types of terrorists' attacks. Narcoterrorism is understood to mean the attempts of narcotics traffickers to influence the policies of a government or a society through violence and intimidation, and to hinder the enforcement of anti-drug laws by the systematic threat or use of such violence. Pablo Escobar's violence in dealing with Colombian govt is the finest example of narcoterrorism, he was also known as king of cocaine. Now this term is basically used for the terrorist' organisations indulging in drug-trafficking to fund their organisations. The United States Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) has described the term narco-terrorism in their definition of narco-terrorism which states "narco-terrorism may be characterized by the participation of groups or associated individuals in taxing, providing security for, or otherwise aiding or

abetting drug trafficking endeavours in an effort to further, or fund, terrorist activities.”[20] Terrorism and drug traffickers have same logistical needs in terms of movement of drugs, money, people and other material. The relationship between these two entities is mutually beneficial to both. Also, it is believed that enemies could be weakened through usage of drugs. “Punjab Chief Minister Amarinder Singh warned Pakistan against its **persistent attempts** to spread narco-terrorism in India, asserting that the police force was keeping a close watch on anti-national activities across the border even during a crisis. **Our eyes are open to what Pakistan is doing**, Singh said, hours after the **NIA arrested a notorious narco-terrorist** who acted as a conduit for Pakistan-based terror groups.” [21] Terrorists and drug traffickers thought to exploit the gap created by COVID-19 but couldn't succeed in their evil design.

Challenges posed by terrorism.

In today's world no nation is immune to the threat of terrorism. Many nations in South Asia including India, have been facing the challenges of terrorism and in the recent past these problems have been on increase. India is facing this challenge for 70 years plus. Many incidents of terrorism have found their links to foreign countries including Pakistan. Perhaps this is the phase of transnational organised crime due to development of digital infrastructure. Terrorism, ever evolving phenomenon, as terrorist' organisations are changing their modus operandi very quickly and swiftly. Thus, adding complexities for the law enforcing and counter-terrorism agencies in India as well as in the world over.

Terrorism in India posing a great threat to the people of India. There are many terrorist' organisations with different ideologies which are functioning in India. Broadly, terrorism in India could be categorised in three main segments: Religious Terrorism mainly dominated by Islamic Terrorism, Ethnic terrorism and Ideological Terrorism dominated by Left-wing terrorism.

Jammu and Kashmir.

The roots of terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir can be traced to late 1940s, when Pakistan launched a naked aggression on Jammu and Kashmir. Based on two-nations theory when Indian Subcontinent was divided, Jammu and Kashmir joined India through an **Instrument of Accession signed on 26 Oct, 1947 between Maharaja Hari Singh and Union of India**. Jammu and Kashmir are a place where India shares borders with Pakistan, Afghanistan, Russia, China but due to illegal occupation by Pakistan direct sharing of border with Afghanistan and Russia is temporarily not existing. The state is rich in natural resources specially water resources and India and Pakistan share water as per **Indus Waters Treaty of 1960**. For irrigation purpose, Pakistan need the water from Indus and its tributaries flowing through the state. This is the main reason why Pakistan want Jammu and Kashmir.

Pakistan so far has failed to grab the state in all out wars in 1947-48, 1965, 1971 and limited Kargil war in 1999. In 1971, East Pakistan became a new nation called Bangladesh and to punish India for her role in creation of Bangladesh, Pakistan once launched aggression against India. In Indo-Pak war of 1971 Pakistan was defeated badly but after this war Pakistan launched a new policy called **'to bleed India by thousand cuts'** and present terrorism in J&K is furtherance of this policy. In eighties witnessed the large scale of infiltration across the border and sudden increase in terrorist' related activities. In late 1989 and early 1990, terrorist' organisations abetted and supported mainly by Pakistan who unleashed the reign of terror and forced Kashmiri Pandits to flee from the Kashmir Valley. "According to a number of authors, approximately 1,00,000 of total Kashmiri Pandit population of 1,40,000 left the valley during 1990s." [22] These KPs were given three options: either convert to Islam or leave the Kashmir Valley or be ready for the death. There are numerous incidents in Kashmir Valley which indicate the barbaric nature of the terrorist' organisations both home grown and foreigners.

The rise of Islamist fundamentalism and emergence of Al-Qaeda, Taliban, ISIS, etc has added a new dimension to terrorism in Jammu

and Kashmir. Threat is not directly from these organisations but regional and internal forces influenced by these organisations. They merge with the local population and indulge in antinational activities as and when situation arises. “Pakistan based terrorist’ organisation called Lashkar-e-Tayyaba (LeT) is known to have developed sleeper cells not only in India but also in about 18 countries, including U S A, UK, France, Singapore, Australia, etc.” [23] The detail of terrorists’ incidents in Jammu and Kashmir from the year 2014 and up to 31 Dec, 2018 are as following:

Jammu & Kashmir

Year	No. of terrorist incidents	No. of civilian killed	No. of Security Force personnel killed	No. of terrorist killed
2014	222	28	47	110
2015	208	17	39	108
2016	322	15	82	150
2017	342	40	80	213
2018	614	38	91	257

(Source: Press Information Bureau, dated 05 Feb 2019, Delhi, India).

There has been sudden rise in terrorist’ activities in the year 2018. Number of terrorists both home grown and foreigners killed indicates the state of terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir aided and abated by our adversary from across the border. On 05 Aug, 2019, India took a historical step and abolished Article 370 which granted special status to erstwhile the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This act was a stumbling block in the progress of the state as well as in the carrying counter-terrorism operations. “Altogether 79 terrorist incidents have taken

place in Jammu and Kashmir during the period from 05 Aug, 2019 to 10 Mar, 2020, in which 49 terrorists were neutralised, Union Minister of State, Home, India G Kishan Reddy said.” [24]). After the abrogation of Article 370 and 35-A of Indian Constitution, Pakistan was rattled and didn't know what to do? Keeping up her tradition, Pakistan quickly launched a new outfit called 'The Resistance Front' suspected to links with the banned organisation called Lashkar-Tyyaba (LeT). This is a very significant development in the history of terrorism in India especially in J&K. Terrorist' organisations of yesteryears are fast becoming institutionalised to avoid ban from the international agencies. TRF which is now owning up the responsibilities for terrorist' attacks in J&K is a fine example of such transition. Other than LeT this organisation has established links with other terrorist' organisations such as Hizbul Mujahideen (HM), Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), etc. “Indian Army Chief, General M M Narvane, said that Pakistan has created a new terror outfit group in Kashmir 'The Resistance Front'. He referred this group as Terror Revival Front as being supported by proxies from across the border.” [25]

North Eastern States:

North-eastern states of India have a long history of terrorism within and outside of each state. Initially, these states were part of the state of Assam. Northeast India is the easternmost region of India. It comprises of eight state-Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura. This region shares an international border with Tibet, China, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Nepal. It constitutes about 8% of total areas of India. “The states are officially recognised under North Eastern Council constituted in 1971. It is linked with India heartland through the 'Siliguri Corridor', which is commonly known as 'chicken neck' and created by Redcliffe line. This corridor is flanked by Bhutan, Bangladesh and Nepal. The region has 475 ethnic groups and people speak more than 400 languages.

According to the report of the 2nd Administrative Reform Commission, the northeast states represent a state of stable anarchy where the rule of law and administrative institutions are subverted directly or indirectly or through collusion to serve the terrorist/militant outfits. This region is facing following problems:

- **Regional issues.** Issues such as inter-tribal, unemployment, conflict between tribal and non-tribal peoples are dominating in the region and is the major source of conflict.
- **Ethnic tension.** As said earlier there are about 475 ethnic groups and more than 400 languages in this region. Many terrorist/militant' organisations take its roots to ethnic, social and other tribal customs & traditions. They fight for ethnic identities and extract money and resources from the outsiders for the welfare and development of their communities. Militancy during the early phase was very successful because it was for the local population but over a period due to many development projects started by the govt has forced these outfits to rethink about their strategies.
- **Alienation.** The broad differences between local populace and main heartland of the nation in terms of language, customs, traditions, cultural, etc led to further alienation of the people from this region.
- **Illegal migration.** There is a huge influx of population to the northeast region from the neighbouring countries for over a period of time. These migrants, slowly but surely expanded their roots and threatened the very existence of abigenies. These migrants looted and grabbed their land and other resources through coercion. No other region in India has been exploited the way migrants have exploited the northeast region. This migration was huge, prolonged and continuous. These illegal migrants are now threat to security and safety of the region. It is affecting the stability of India.

Northeast India is the most volatile and terrorism affected area of India after Jammu and Kashmir. The demand of the various outfits

rage from autonomy to secession. Such movements were initially started with mainland movement of freedom in 1947. At one point of time this region had 120 militants' outfits. Violence and conflict have been the tradition of northeast India. Roots of terrorism are embedded in geography, history and socio-economic conditions. These terrorists; organisations firmly established their basic ingredients of continuity of struggle Viz territorial and community based.

North Eastern Region

Year	Number of incidents relating to insurgency in the North East	No. of civilian killed	No. of Security Force personnel killed	No. of extremist killed
2014	824	212	20	181
2015	574	46	46	149
2016	484	48	17	87
2017	308	37	12	57
2018	252	23	14	34

(Source: Press Information Bureau, dated 05 Feb 2019, Delhi, India).

Left-wing extremism.

A large number of left-wing extremist outfits, have been operating in certain remote & poorly connected areas of India. This has been for a few decades now. "In a significant development in the year 2004, the People's War (PW) then operating in Andhra Pradesh and the Moist Communist Centre of India then operating in Bihar and certain

adjoining areas merged together to form a new group called Communist Party of India (Moist) party.” [26] This new outfit which is popularly known as Left-wing extremist, responsible for major incidents of violence and killing of security forces and civilians. “Between 2004 to 2019 during last fifteen years 8197 persons have been killed by Left-wing Group in different parts of India. Unfortunately, the tribal and economically under-privileged for whom these outfits are fighting are the major victims of these attacks.” [27]

The central theme of the Moist ideology is violence and it is glorified as an achievement. The People Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) is the armed outfit of CPI(Moist) has been created keeping violence and killing in view. In the first stage of militancy, the CPI(Moist) is trying to create a vacuum at the grassroot levels by eliminating the lower level govt officials, security personnel, political leaders of main political parties and panchayat officials. Then they want to carry propaganda highlighting the inadequacies of the Govt. Many frontline organisations are created to carry out the agenda of CPI(Moist). They falsely highlight the excessive committed on them and the local populace. They stridently, rack up the issues of ‘human rights’, ‘corporate exploitation’, ‘displacement of tribes’, etc. These frontline organisations use govt machinery and legal system to protect the CPI(Moist) cadres, carryout the recruitment, fundraising, etc. Many such organisations are being supported and funded by foreign forces who are inimical to India.

Left Wing Extremism (LWE)

Year	Number of incidents relating	No. of civilian killed	No. of Security Force personnel killed	No. of Left-Wing
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	to Left Wing Extremism			extremists killed
2014	1091	222	88	63
2015	1089	171	59	89
2016	1048	213	65	222
2017	908	188	75	136
2018	833	173	67	225

(Source: Press Information Bureau, dated 05 Feb 2019, Delhi, India).

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Terrorism in hinterland in India.

Terrorism in hinterland of India is an outcome of various interconnected factors. Jihad culture was propagated in Afghanistan by Pakistan in 1980s against USSR (now Russia), fully funded and supported by USA. Subsequently this was shifted to India and obvious choice was Jammu and Kashmir. Initially, so called nationalists terrorist' organisations were supported and funded but very soon realised the futility then shifted focus towards Islamists organisation. Now with the rise of Al-Qaeda, Taliban, ISIS, etc and religious fundamentalism the problem of terrorism is becoming more intricate. "In Jan, 1994, Mohammed Masood Azar Alvi arrived in India with the task of working out the reconciliation of the cadre of Harkat Mujahidin and Harkat-ul Jihad Islamism whose parent organisation had merged

to form part 'Harkat-ul Ansar'. The organisation's objective was to liberate Jammu and Kashmir from Indian rule and establish Islamic rule in Jammu and Kashmir. He also interacted extensively with leading figures of Deoband Ulema." [28]. Around 1996, ISI of Pakistan created Jammu and Kashmir Islamic Front and was responsible for bomb blasts attack in Lajpat Nagar, Delhi, India.

"In 2001, several Islamic terrorist attacks took place in New Delhi, the most important being the attack on the Parliament House in December 2001. The attack on Akshardham temple and the killing of Haren Pandya, the former Home Minister of Gujarat State, were the major operations of Islamist terrorists in 2002 and 2003. In July 2005, there was an attack at Ajothya which the Security Forces succeeded in repulsing. This was followed by the Sarojini Nagar market blast in November, at New Delhi. The heinous serial bomb blasts in Mumbai took place in July 2006. A suicide attack (in which only the Bangladeshi suicide killer died) near the Office of the Commissioner of Police, Hyderabad; an attack on the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore in which an eminent scientist was killed and the Aurangabad arms seizure case were the other major terrorist incidents of 2006. The latest in the spate of such terrorist attacks has been the serial bomb blasts in Jaipur on 13th May, 2008. in which a number of innocent lives were lost." [29] It is pertinent to mention that Student Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) was created somewhere in 1993 to promote and spread Islamism in India. Funded mainly by Islamists' charities. SIMI cadres were linked to the abduction of five foreign nationals who were rescued from Saharanpur in 1994. "One of the accused in this case was the British national Syed Mohammed Omar Sheikh, who was later released in exchange for the IC-814 hostages. He is currently in prison in Pakistan for his role in the killing of the American journalist, Daniel Pearl). SIMI's then President CAM Basheer, hailing from Kerala, was the first Indian Muslim known to have gone to Pakistan for arms training." [30] SIMI was banned by the Government of India under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967, in September, 2001. The challenges of terrorism confronting India in the hinterland originates from multiple intricately sources. It is posing a grave threat to the security and safety of India.

Hinterland of the country

Year	No. of terrorist attack	No. of civilian killed	No. of Security Force personnel killed	No. of terrorist killed
2014	03	04	Nil	Nil
2015	01	03	04	03
2016	01	01	07	04
2017	-	-	-	-
2018	1	3	-	-

(Source: Press Information Bureau, dated 05 Feb 2019, Delhi, India).

The aim of the terrorism in India is to destroy the democratic set-up, disobey the rule of law and imping on human rights of the countrymen. These terrorists don't believe in human rights, rules and regulations, tolerance among the people, peaceful resolution of conflict, disruptions in economic, social and cultural development, etc. The destructive impact of Terrorism on fundamental human rights has been recognised by United Nation Security Council also. They take innocent lives and instil fear in the minds of targeted population. They undermine the security and sovereignty of the nation.

Finally, there are number of factors which are responsible for sustenance of terrorism and these factors have inherited strengths & capabilities which have pose serious threat to India.

- **Ethnic and religious affinities.** People staying near the border have affinities to the people staying in neighbouring nations. They get influenced by the propaganda of inimical elements. Inimical elements can merge with the population very easily.

- **Suitability of terrain.** This is the biggest factor for survival of terrorism. Wherever terrorism is affective in India terrain has a role to play. Unguarded coastal areas, mountains, vastness of desert areas, etc are facilitators of terrorism.
- **Sympathisers.** Disgruntle people, unemployed youth, mentally sick, religious zealots, etc create cleavages within the society and are the sympathisers to the people who work against the nation. Cleavages exists in every society and India is no exception. Terrorists for their survival do exploits such cleavages.
- **Lack of stability in neighbouring nations.** Instability in our neighbouring nations is the main sources of terrorism in India, Pakistan is a fine example of this, it is almost a failed nation and export terrorism, drugs, weapons and ammunicions to inimical elements operating against other nation.
- **Digital world.** Internet has grown, primarily unregulated & unstructured and it has given a new lease of life to terrorism There has been exponential growth in data transfer rates and volume. We face a new threat of cyber terror related activities not only from our adversaries only, but amateur hackers, disgruntle people within the society, unemployed youth etc. With the help of digital world terrorist' organisations can reach to the targeted population with speed and volume of information. By using the digital infrastructure terrorists can spread their propaganda, carryout recruitment and training, lure young people to join their outfits and reach out to people for fund raising and launching pads. They collude with criminals for conception and implementation of clandestine operations which generally result in killing of people and destruction of resources. Criminal activities help these terrorists to hide their true identities and divert the attention of law enforcing agencies.
- **Nexus between Terrorist and Criminals.** This type of nexus poses a grave challenge to India, country has the long history of fighting terrorism and criminals. They mutually help each other and carry out kidnapping, rape, abduction, hawala, robbery, smuggling, etc. Terrorist' organisations need steady flow of money to sustain. Crimes and terrorism have symbiotic relationship with organisational, operational, and ideological,

which is cultivated through close and frequent interactions. In India the linkage between these two exists at national as well as international levels. Cyberworld and advancement in information technology have made their task easier.

- **Radicalisation.** The outcome of radicalisation is shaped by the ideas and ideology of the indulged in radicalisation. This is the process vide which a person is transformed from a law-abiding citizen to a law-breaking citizen. The radicalisation can mould the human minds toward violent or nonviolent actions. Radicalisation into violent extremism (RVE) is the most dangerous thing. Religion plays the role this process of radicalisation. Internally, Jihadis radicalisation in India is due to sociological, economic, political problems and extremely influence of organisations such Al-Qaida, Taliban, ISIS, etc.

Combating Terrorism.

“Take time to deliberate, but when the time for action comes, stop thinking and go in.”

-Napoleon Bonaparte

Developing a serious global response to the scourge is very essential. Although it is difficult to achieve yet it must be done at any cost. United Nation Security Council resolution number 1373(2001) had called the member states to “take the necessary steps to prevent the commission of terrorist attacks/acts including by provisioning of early warning to other states by exchange of information. The human cost of the terrorism has been felt clearly has very real, direct and serious impact on human lives and their rights. Its severity has serious consequences on the enjoyment of right of life, liberty and physical integrity of victims. Effective counter-measures and the protection of human rights are complementary and must be enforced to safeguard the human rights.

“A strategy for fighting terror in India has to be evolved in the overall context of a national security strategy. National security in its broadest sense, means security of life & property of every citizen in the country, as well as the common wealth of the nation, which belongs to all. The objective of the national security strategy has to be the creation and maintenance of security environment which would enable the nation to provide opportunities to all individuals to develop their full potential.” [31]

Laying emphasis on the importance of countering the terrorism, on 02 July, 2018 United Nation General Assembly adopted a resolution number A/RES/72/284 and suggested that member states should consider the following factors when formulating policy on counter-terrorism:

- tackling the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism
- preventing and combating terrorism
- building capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and strengthen the role of U N
- and ensuring respect for human rights for all and the rule of law while countering terrorism

To tackle the terrorism a multi-pronged holistic approach is required. In this context, socio-economic development is must and should get priority while formulating the counter-terrorism policy. This will protect the vulnerable sections of population from falling in their trap. Administrative setup especially delivery system must be very efficient to reach out the vulnerable section of the society. These officials should act as the link between govt and such populace. Also, the law enforcing agencies must be armed with legal framework to deal with the situations effectively and efficiently. Dealing with the serious problem such as terrorism a comprehensive policy involving all the stakeholders such as the Government, Political Parties, Security Agencies, Civil Society, Media, etc is paramount. The existing framework of the policy dealing with terrorism in India is as under:

1. **The legal framework.** Terrorism is forceful and unlawful means of achieving the desired goals and it adversely affects every

sphere of human life be it freedom, social, economic or political. The worst is, it affects psychological. It is an antithesis of independence and freedom. India is not only facing terrorism but proxy war initiated by Pakistan. Our adversary is trying her level best to destabilise India. To counter such moves of our enemy we must enact stringent laws to deal with such intricately problem. Presently, India has following acts of law:

- **Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967.** This is the primary law to deal with terrorism in India as of now. This was enacted by Parliament in 1967 to enable the imposition of certain restrictions on the rights to freedom of speech and expression, peaceful assembly and formation of associations or unions in the interest of sovereignty and integrity of India. In 2008 it was amended and incorporated the definition of 'terrorist act' and created a new 'terrorist offence'. The amendment in 2103 in this act was carried out basically to deal economic and financial aspects of terrorism. Under this a person may be punished for the act committed outside India. Again, on 02 Aug, 2019 this act was amended to deal with terrorists' activities and groups that foster terrorism in India. Under this amendment now central govt will have the power to ban any person or organisation indulging in antinational activities. And National Investigation Agency (NIA) was given more powers to deal with terrorist' related activities.
- **Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act 1958.** This is the effective law to deal any kind of terrorism, militancy or proxy war. This gives the powers to armed forces to deal the nefarious antinational activities of preparators of violence. Terrorism has to be dealt with iron hand.
- **National Security Act 1980.** This act empowers the Central govt as well as the state govts to detain a person to prevent him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the defence of India, the relations of India with foreign

powers, or the security of India as well as of states, or with respect to any foreigner with a view to regulating his continued presence in India.

- **Some laws enacted by states.** As per the constitution of India, security is the state subject. Each state has liberty to enact its law to deal with security situation including act of terrorism. **Maharashtra Control of Organised Crimes Act (MCOCA)** is applicable to Maharashtra and Delhi. **Karnataka Control of Organised Crime Act (KCOCA).** **Chhattisgarh Special Public Safety Act (CSPSA).**
- **India has been tough on terrorism and to counter cyberterrorism she brought out the amendments in Information Technology Act 2000 in the year 2008.**
66F. Punishment for cyber terrorism (1) Whoever,
- (A) with intent to threaten the unity, integrity, security or sovereignty of India or to strike terror in the people or any section of the people by – (i) denying or cause the denial of access to any person authorized to access computer resource; or (ii) attempting to penetrate or access a computer resource without authorisation or exceeding authorized access;
or (iii) introducing or causing to introduce any Computer Contaminant. and by means of such conduct causes or is likely to cause death or injuries to persons or damage to or destruction of property or disrupts or knowing that it is likely to cause damage or disruption of supplies or services essential to the life of the community or adversely affect the critical information infrastructure specified under section 70, or (B) knowingly or intentionally penetrates or accesses a computer resource without authorisation or exceeding authorized access, and by means of such conduct obtains access to information, data or

computer database that is restricted for reasons of the security of the State or foreign relations; or any restricted information, data or computer database, with reasons to believe that such information, data or computer database so obtained may be used to cause or likely to cause injury to the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the State, friendly 26 relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence, or to the advantage of any foreign nation, group of individuals or otherwise, commits the offence of cyber terrorism.

(2) Whoever commits or conspires to commit cyber terrorism shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to imprisonment for life’.

2. **Administrative Measures**: Article 355 of Indian Constitution enjoins the centre to protect each state and union territories from external aggression as well as internal disturbance. In discharging its duties centre continuous monitoring internal security through agencies. And help the states and UTs in maintenance security, peace and harmony without causing any harm to the constitutional rights of the states and UTs. Internal Security issues in the country can be broadly described in following categories:

- Terrorism in hinterland of the country
- Left-Wing Extremism in certain parts of the country.
- Security situation in Jammu and Kashmir
- Insurgency in the North-Eastern States.

As per the Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt of India annual report of 2018-19 following measures were undertaken to control the internal security situation in the country:

- The main focus remained on countering of terrorism in J&K and NE, combating LWE and maintaining peace in the hinterland of the country.

- In J&K, working with government, adopted a multipronged approach to contain cross border infiltration, provide relief to the victims and strengthening the security apparatus.
- In North East Region, govt adopted security initiatives, development works, negotiation with various groups who are willing to return in the mainstream, deployment of central paramilitary forces to augment the state police forces and security of vital installations.
- Since state police forces bear the first brunt of terrorist' attacks therefore their personnel were trained by the various central agencies.
- The govt of India added the following names in banned organisation as per the provisions provided in Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Activities Act 1967:
 - a. Al-Qaida in Indian Subcontinent (AQIS)
 - b. Islamic State in Khorasan Province (ISKP)/ISIS Wilayat Khorasan (ISIS-K)
 - c. Khalistan Liberation Force (KLF)
 - d. Tehreek-ul-Mujahideen
- Govt of India participated in various Joint Working Group meeting on Countering Terrorism, with foreign countries like France, Canada, USA, Australia, Russia, China, UK, EU, Netherlands, Indonesia, Tunisia, Egypt, Uzbekistan and also at BRICS and BIMSTEC, etc.

3. Agencies dealing with terrorism.

- **National Investigation Agency (NIA)**. It was constituted under NIA Act 2008 as special agency for investigation and prosecution of persons who commits offences related terrorist' activities. It is a premier investigation agency at central level can also look into terrorists' funding cases. As per the latest amendment it can file the FIR against the person(s) who commits crimes against Indian in foreign land.

- **Multi Agency Centre (MAC)**. It shares the input received with various agencies for better coordination. It maintains National Memory Bank integrated with Threat Management System.
- **National Intelligence Grid (NATGRID)**. It is an integrated master databased structure for counter-terrorism. It is collecting, connecting and analysing information from various agencies. It was established after Mumbai attack.
- **Combat Financing Terrorism (CFT)**. It deals with matters on combating financing and Fake Indian Currency Notes. It shares the information with other agencies both at centre and state levels. India is the founding member of Financial Action Task Force (FATF), an inter-governmental organisation, which makes the recommendations relating to combating of financing of terrorism, money laundering, etc.
- **Directorate of Revenue Intelligence (DRI)**. India's chief anti-smuggling agency, which collect intelligence, investigate and act up on the inputs gathered.
- **Enforcement Directorate**. It is law enforcement and economic intelligence agency. Basically, to enforce the provisions laid down in Foreign Exchange Management Act-1999(FEMA) and Prevention of Money Laundering Act-2002(PMLA).
- **Narcotic Control Bureau (NCB)**. It is drug law enforcement and intelligence agency of India, fighting drug-trafficking and illegal use of substances.

4. **Border area development programme (BADP)**. This is to meet the special developmental needs and well-being of the people living in remote and inaccessible areas situated near International borders and to saturate the border areas with critical infrastructure and sustainable livelihood opportunities in maintaining the border population, integrating border areas with hinterland and create a conducive environment that would encouraged to stay in the border areas and contribute in the Nation Building Process. This scheme is implemented through

states and union territories in 396 border blocks of 111 districts in Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujrat, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Punjab, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand and West Bengal.

5. **Rehabilitation of ex-terrorists.** The aim is to give them opportunities to return to the mainstream of the nation. The misguided youth who picked up the gun under the influence of our adversary and its functionaries have the options to surrender and lead a normal life. India has implanted the various policies to rehabilitate such persons. Even they have been absorbed in various security forces and they are doing yeoman service to the nation. No one is born terrorist but circumstances do influence some people to become terrorists. Terrorist ideologies tend to provide a set of beliefs that justify and mandate certain behaviours. Such beliefs are regarded as absolute and the behaviours are seen as serving the righteous cause. Rehabilitation centres are set in terrorisms affected areas in India where these terrorists are brought and is given psychological counselling.

6. **Checking the infiltration.** India is a vast country and share borders with Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Afghanistan. The total length of the border is 15,200 km. It was delineated according to the Radcliffe Line, which was created in 1947. This border is maintained by various security/para military forces:

- Indo-China and Indo- Tibet borders are maintained by Indian Army and Indo-Tibet Border Police (ITBP)
- Indo-Nepal and Indo-Bhutan borders are manned by Special Service Bureau (SSB).
- Indo-Myanmar border is manned by Assam Rifle.
- Indo-Pakistan and Indo-Bangladesh borders are manned by Border Security Force (BSF).
- Indo-Afghanistan border (**de jure**) is presently under illegal occupation of Pakistan. India claim 106 Km border with

Afghanistan in Wakhan-sector in Gilgit-Baltistan as part of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK)

Effective measures by India as Press Information Bureau (PIB), Infiltration of Terrorists dt 08 Jan, 2019.

- Effective domination of borders by Security Forces and Para Military Forces through round the clock surveillance viz patrolling, laying nakas, establishing Observation Post and strengthening of existing Border Out Posts (BOPs)
- The riverine segments of International Border (IB) of the country are being patrolled and dominated by with the help of rafts/speed boats/floating BOPs.
- Usage of Hitech surveillance equipment along with Night Vision Devices (NVD)

Coastal Security. India has 7516.6 Km coastline including 5,422 Km of coastline in mainland and 2,094 km of coastline bordering around 1382 islands. The peninsular coastline of India is shaped by the Bay of Bengal in east, Indian Ocean in south and Arabian Sea in the west and spread over 10 States and 4 Union Territories; Gujrat, Daman & Diu. Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Naidu, Puduchchery, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Odisha and West Bengal. There are two Island groups: Lakshadweep & Minicoy in Arabian Sea and Andaman & Nicobar in Bay of Bengal.[32]

Line of control. It refers to military control line between India and Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh. As mentioned earlier erstwhile Maharaja Hari Singh of princely state Jammu and Kashmir, joined India on 26 Oct, 1947 through an Instrument of Accession. But taking advantage of the fluid situation in Jammu and Kashmir Pakistan launched a covert operation in Aug, 1947 against the state. Pakistan was pushed back and meantime matter was referred to United Nation Security Council and immediately asked to stop fighting. So, a temporary line called 'Ceasefire Line' was drawn in 1949. Thereafter under Shimla Agreement in 1972 between India and Pakistan, this line converted in Line of Control (L of C). It about 740 Km and about 500 km it is properly fenced to check the infiltration. To sustain

proxy war with India in J&K, Pakistan keep sending terrorists across the L of C.

External challenges such as terrorism, illegal migrants, smuggling, etc emanate from across the IB, L of C and through coastline. This aggravate the internal security situation. Speaking at a seminar in New Delhi in October 2011, Mr UK Bansal, Secretary (Internal Security) in the Union Home Ministry stated, “This (jihadi) brand of terrorism is primarily sponsored by our neighbouring country in the west whose... policy is to conduct war against India by all other means and bleed us through a thousand cuts. This naturally includes the targeting of anything...with a view to damaging, degrading or destroying the engines of economic growth and critical centres of power and strength of our country.” [32]

7. **Military operations against terrorism.** Indian Army has rich and varied experience in fighting terrorism and militancy both in different terrains and against different groups based on ideologies. It has been involved in counter insurgency operations since 1947. Indian Army is a premier organisation and capable of fighting with enemies across the borders and from within the borders. “In 2019, 152 terrorists were killed in J&K as against 215 in 2018, official figures stated.” [33]. “The declining trend of insurgency-linked fatalities in the Northeast, established since 2015, continued through 2019 as well. According to partial data compiled by the South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP), the Northeast recorded a total of 34 fatalities (18 civilians, five Security Force (SF) personnel and 11 insurgents) in 2019, as against 73 fatalities (20 civilians, 15 SF personnel, and 38 insurgents) recorded in 2018.” [34]

Recommendations.

Ever since Indian Subcontinent has been divided in 1947, on the basis of two nation theory, Pakistan has been active in fermenting trouble in

various parts of India. Footprints of our adversary can be traced in Jammu & Kashmir, Northeast States, Punjab, Gujrat, Maharashtra, LWE affected areas. “Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) has posed internal security threat to India since 1950s.” [35] “Before creation of Bangladesh, ISI used East-Pakistan as a launching pad for various terrorist’ organisations operating in Assam, Manipur and Tripura.”[36] If we look at the situation in a holistic way then we can definitely say it is not just terrorism but more than that to my mind it is proxy war and has to tackled differently. It is a security threat to our nation and should not be protracted for long. Peace is essential for development of a nation and these inimical elements pose threat to peace therefore they have to be eliminated. Terrorists networks today is widespread, dispersed and less centralised. They are reliant on sleeper cells/underground workers and other terrorist’ outfits sharing same ideology. Following are certain recommendations, which could be helpful in meeting the challenges of terrorism in India.

1. **National policy document to deal with terrorism.** India is facing the brunt of terrorism since very long. Initially, the terrorism was confined to North East States then it came down to Punjab then Jammu & Kashmir now it is spread in LWE affected areas and in hinterland. If we analyse the problem of terrorism properly then we can say it has abetted and supported by our adversary across the border and generally populace which is different from mainland is targeted. Earlier terrorism was limited to one/two states only but now it is well dispersed. The ‘police’ and ‘public order’ being the state subjects, actions with respect to maintenance of law and order lies primarily in the domain of affect state(s). So, the affected state(s) deals with problem of terrorism as law and order problem at beginning. When situation goes out hand then central para military forces are deployed and army is deployed as a last resort. By the time actual counterterrorism initiatives are undertaken it is already late.

Presently, terrorism in India is a serious threat to Internal Security. To deal with such situation we should a national policy document to deal

with terrorism/militancy/proxy war. Since states have different govts so they have different political aspirations to have such a policy political consensus is must. India is a democratic country and certainly it's tough to enact such policy on paper. After having discussion with all political parties in centre a national policy document on counterterrorism has to worked out. This document will spell out the aims and objectives of the nation while countering terrorism. Actions on ground flows out of the national policies. Definitely, the use or threat to use of force will come out this document. We must remember that in the absence of such policy document, we could not take any action against Pakistan one two occasion; one, after, attack on Indian Parliament in 2001 and in the wake up of Mumbai Attack on 26 Nov, 2008.

2. **Proactive posture than defensive posture.** Threat of terrorism to India is self-evident. So far, we have adopted defensive posture on counterterrorism, this is a self-defeating policy. On 13 Dec, 2001 there was an attack on Indian Parliament and India mobilised its armed forces on western sector under Operation Prakaram but rolled back after sitting there for one year. India's response to such an attack on the temple of Indian Democracy was not punitive enough and then on 26 Nov, 2008 Mumbai attack happened. As of now India is tackling terrorism only on Indian soils. Terrorism cannot rout out from the soils of India, for this India has change her policy from defensive posture to pro-active approach, it aims to prevent terrorism before it actually happens. For this approach a synergy is required between security agencies operating within and outside the country and defence forces. For this a new kind of warfare strategy has to evolved. Counterterrorism cannot be merely reactive, otherwise we land up creating a bunker mentality, triggering resentment and backlash that risks the growth of terrorist' organisations. So, our policy of counterterrorism should be pro-active, persuasive, looking ahead to out-smart the terrorists.

3. **Terrorism as a national strategic threat.** It is imperative to recognise the threat of terrorism as national strategic threat considering its ability

to cause a serious influence and damage to psyche of the people, democratic values and violation of human rights. These days terrorists are expert professionals in various of tactics of terrorism and militancy operations. They are well motivated and have strong belief in religious values. They don't fear taking aggressive actions to achieve their clandestine aims and objectives and even ready to die for such a cause. They are using all types non-conventional asymmetrical warfare tactics to take their agenda forward. Keeping in view the seriousness of threat posed by the terrorists, must be declared as **National Strategic Threat**. It will help to formulate the policies to tackle terrorism accordingly.

4. **Dealing with proxy-war.** A proxy war is an act of war instigated by a nation-state against another nation-state but without involving directly in it. This is done with a specific aim to weaken the targeted nation militarily, economically, socially and politically. This is done with full knowledge and consequences. To India it is very clear who is supporting this proxy-war. As a victim state India has full right to punish such preparators and India should evolve a policy to deal with such nation overtly, covertly, diplomatically, publicly, etc. Pre-emptive and pro-active actions will certainly help the state to deal with terrorism patronised from across the border. This can be dealt with by adopting two-pronged policy Political as well as Militarily. Military should be used for short and surgical like operations and once the situation is stabilised then political set up should be encouraged. Military should be used for a protracted period because it is meant for conventional warfare. Proxy-war is a costly, India must expose its adversary at international level and make it as costlier game for the adversary.

5. **Modernisation of state-police.** State police is the first force which comes into fray to tackle the initial stage of terrorism. When the situation goes out of their control then Para Military Forces are called to deal with the situation and military is called as last resort. Our state police forces are neither trained nor fully equipped to deal with any kind of terrorism. So, it is important to equip our state police forces with modern weapon and equipment and training. We have the

manpower which can be trained for counter-terrorism operations. Broadly, reforms are needed on three fronts: first improvement in capacity and infrastructure of police forces, second revisiting the constitution of police forces in the country through legislative/administrative changes, and third technological scaling-up. Within each of these three heads, changes are required at several levels. The needs for a fast-growing economy like India for safe environment particularly in light of the complex security threats in present times are imminent. Terrorism, Left Wing Extremism, crimes including cyber-crimes, law and order issues threats which call for strong and efficient police for Internal Security.

6. **Actionable intelligence.** The primary objective of the intelligence agencies to provide an actionable intelligence to the security forces engaged in counter-terrorism. Intelligence community personnel are the first front in any military/counter-terrorism operations. It is an information that can be followed up on with a further implication on strategic plan. Effective counterterrorism operations depend up on the actionable intelligence. It helps to assess the situation correctly & accurately and plan counterterrorism operations accordingly. The aim of the security apparatus is to enhance the intelligence collection, integration, analysis and sharing of the information at lightning speed. There is a requirement of an integrated intelligence networks to focus on mission related operations. In order to have an accurate intelligence it essential to trace the source of recruitment of terrorist' organisations. Nothing can beat the human int (HUMINT), it uses both covert and over means to collect the intelligence. "Spies are the most important asset, because on them depends an army's ability to march." - Sun Tzu, The Art of War.

7. **Media management.** Media (both print and electronic) plays a very important role in perception management. It feels the pulse of society. Terrorist' attacks are aimed at garnering maximum coverage to influence the targeted populace and put pressure on the nation to heed to the demands of these terrorists. Terrorist' organisations are aware of

role played by the media in influencing the minds of people. This way media generates the public interest in the terrorist' organisations and to make it more sensationalised, terrorists carry out frequent deadly attacks. Violent acts in the society especially acts of terrorism help to sell the newspapers as well as channels on TVs like hot cake. Both, readerships as well as viewership are increased thus generates the revenue.

As already mentioned above, media plays a very great role in perception management. It acts as ears and eyes for the public. Media should be responsible enough to act in an impartial manner. Media should be regulated through 'self-media code of conduct'. Media should form part of the 'counterterrorism strategy'. Media is an essential part of democratic society. It has its responsibility to inform public the truth. Media shouldn't play in hands of terrorists.

8. **Building psychological resilience.** Psychological resilience is the ability to mentally or emotionally cope with a crisis or to return to pre-crisis status quickly. Resilience exists when the person uses "mental processes and behaviours in promoting personal assets and protecting self from the potential negative effects of stressors". Terrorism can have a highly demoralising effect on the minds of the targeted populace. Self-confidence is eroded and feeling of self-defeatism sets in. The aim of the terrorists is to undermine the sense of security and put pressure on the govt to accept the demands of terrorists.

To defeat the fear of terrorism in our mind antibodies in the form of successful eliminations of terrorists, destroying their launching pads, weapons, ammunition, etc is must. People should be informed about the psyche of the terrorism, their aims and objectives.

Conclusion:

Terrorism is very dynamic in nature and these terrorist' organisations are continuously changing their 'modus operandi' to avoid their detection and apprehension. The evolving phenomenon is adding complexities for the functionaries responsible for counterterrorism operations. The problem of terrorism is not new to society. It is existing there in the society in one form or other. Presently, terrorism is driven by extreme ideologies, which is disseminated widely through various ways and means, sometimes violent. The best way to counter an ideology is to put the real facts in front of the public with proof. Most of the terrorist organisations are selling the falsehood to attract the people. People act collectively, when they share common interests, beliefs, feel deprived, etc. To counter such moves govt should aim at inclusive growth of all sections of the society.

Indian society is very diverse, we have different faiths, ideologies, religions, customs & tradition, etc, it is a double-edged weapon and if not handled properly then work against the nation. Politics of communalism and criminalisation, religions-based fundamentalism, vote bank politics, human rights violations, unemployment, marginalisation of the sections of the society. etc are the few breeding grounds wherein terrorism survive and thrive.

In India it is not just terrorism but a proxy-war initiated by Pakistan to weaken India. Nation has successfully contained the threat of terrorism/militancy/proxy-war and definitely has the capacity and capability to withstand such menace. Since terrorism has now evolved and has become international phenomenon therefore it has to be defeated collectively.

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