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Editorial

The specter of terrorism has been haunting world in general and India in particular for the last few decades. It has come to forefront in new millennium with 'catalytic' terrorist attack on USA in September, 2001, what is known as 9/11. Though our country has been subjected to series of terrorist attacks for more than two decades, resulting from our neighbours pursuing terrorism as instrument of state's policy, it caught Nation's attention in wake of attack on Parliament on 13th December, 2001. However, the Mumbai Attack on 26th November, 2008, which is known as 26/11 shook not only entire nation but its tremors were felt across the world also.

Nevertheless, there are some positive trends so far as terrorism is concerned. According to RAND- MIPT, while there is no "upward trend in international incidents of terrorism, domestic terrorism incidents are much more numerous than international incidents." Despite this pragmatic optimism, terrorism has no borderline and it is very difficult to categorize it as domestic and international. Even so called domestic incidents have international inputs and players, as was the case in Mumbai attack, and even international act of terrorism might have domestic ramifications. Even 9/11, 26/11, London or Madrid or Lahore may be termed international as well as domestic.

This type of spatial classification of terrorism is akin to terming and classifying 'good' and 'bad' terrorist as is being done by some nations to suit their geo-political interests. This kind of 'piecemeal' and 'ad hoc' approach is not going to help in curbing terrorism. Terrorism has both domestic and international ramifications as well as players and inputs. It is misnomer to categorize it into domestic and international or 'good' and 'bad' or 'Freedom-Fighter' and 'Jihadi'.

The terrorism must be seen as terrorism, nothing else whatever justification or provocation may be. A terrorist is the terrorist, terrorism is the terrorism, whether domestic or international or good or bad. This compartmentalized approach to terrorism has done much harm to our campaign against terrorism, and has demoralized our forces and policy makers.

Moreover, we must act ourselves instead of hoping that some other nation or world entity shall do our bidding in containing terrorism. If we continue to try half-hearted measures to contain terrorism, we shall get what we have been getting so far: 'Sympathy', hyperbole, crocodile tears, 'sermons on patience'. Meanwhile we shall continue to bleed profusely.

Another misnomer regarding terrorism is containment vs. engagement. The terrorist must be contained, their network smashed and leadership neutralized. Engagement, on the other hand, would give them time and breathing space to regroup as happened in case of Taliban and terrorist or insurgents operating in North East. Engagement as policy succeeds only when the actor is rational to some extent and open to some sort of negotiation and dialogues.

However, we must formulate long-term as well as short-term strategy to contain terrorism. Moreover, we should be prepared to sacrifice short-term gain for long-term windfall so far as terrorism is concerned. Apart from implementing police Reform and Police Modernization, there should be concerted efforts to involve community and society in this campaign. The coalescing and synergization of other stakeholders is a must for this purpose.

It is heartening to note that world in general and India in particular has woken up to the challenges that terrorism poses. The first step in this regard has been in respect of setting up Multi- Agency Centre (MAC) to neutralize terrorists and insurgents with a mechanism for intelligence sharing and operational coordination among the police forces of the country. It has a network of 29 Subsidiary MAC & SMACS spread all over country. 24X7 control rooms in all 29 SMACS have become operational. Moreover, data centers are also being set up in state capitals, and MAC, SMACS and special branch units are being e-connected. Other measures that have been taken to deal with terrorism are: Setting up of National Investigation Agency (NIA), enactment of Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment (UAPA) Bill, 2008; implementation of National Police Missions, enactment of a Model Police Act, pushing Mega-City policing, upgrading forensic science laboratories to global standards and overall reform in Criminal Justice System.

In this issue of Indian Police Journal (July-September, 2010) we have discussed various aspects, types and modes of terrorism. We hope our esteemed readers would appreciate efforts and give their feedback.

Gopal K.N. Chowdhary
Editor

Abstracts & Key Words

Terrorism: Problem and Prospects

Dr. Subhash Sharma & Devendra Mishra

Key Words

Terrorist, Unethical, WMD, Global Capitalism, Cross Border Terrorism, Blue Box, Organised Crime, Rightist Ideology, Media Exposure.

Abstract

Here we would deal with following aspects of terrorism. First and foremost we would deal with the various dimensions of terrorism. Second, we would deal with the causes of terrorism. Third, we would deal with the measures to combat terrorism.

Terrorism - A Challenge before the Nation

Dr. P. Mohan Rao

Key Words

Global Dimension, Invisible Enemy, Politically Motivated Action, Cult of Pistol and Bomb, Sinister Design, Fundamentals, Regions, Goal-oriented Action, Worldwide Network, NIA

Abstract

Terrorism is a politically motivated action combining psychological (fear inducing) and physical (violent action) components carried out by individuals or small groups, with the aim of' forcing or compelling the state or the authorities to meet their demands. That is, political terrorism can be thought of as the use of violence by a group acting either on behalf of, or in opposition to, an established authority. The key element is the execution of activities with a view to wear out the established authority by causing panic, destruction, distrust and demoralization among the people at large. Thus, the range of such activities covers cases of hijacking of buses and planes, taking of any person or persons as hostage, abduction of the leaders or their family members, assassination of heads of states or government or of important political personalities, explosion of bombs to destroy public buildings and kill innocent people living or assembled therein and the like.

Strategy & Tactics on Trial in the Conflict of Left Wing extremists

Giridhari Nayak

Key Words

Strategy, Tactics, Guerrilla Warfare, Mechanism, Dynamics, Enigma, External Environment, Internal Capacity, Flunk Strategy, Piecemeal Approach.

Abstract

Strategy & tactics are overused words, and less understood concepts. The words seem honorific, attractive, but most of the time the concepts are used content-free and ambiguously. People cannot be blamed for it. Originating from the Greek word 'Strategos' meaning General, tactics from the Greek word 'takitas' meaning foot soldier, both the words strategy and tactics have marched a very long journey of more than two millennia. Strategy and tactics as concepts are used by multiple disciplines ranging from military to medicine. Volumes have been written about strategy and tactics. Even then people use it loosely and inappropriately. Therefore, one has to understand the meaning, mechanism and dynamics of strategy & tactics.

Left Extremism in India Causes and Remedies

Dr. S.K. Kataria

Key Words

Realistic Strategy, Internal Seurity, Multidimensional Strategy, Insurgents, Special infrastructure, Lalgarh Episode, Developmental Infrastructure, Balkanization, Holistic Approch, COBRA, VVIPS, VIPs

Abstract

The left wing extremism in India has become a serious concern for internal security and socio-economic development of tribal communities of 13

states. This is the first time in the history of independent India that the central government and naxal infested state governments are all set to contain extremism through a holistic approach. The 'Lalgarh Experience' has not only increased the motivational level of the governments but also the naxal affected tribal communities to fight a decisive war against ultras. Since, the basic causes of the extremism in India are varied in nature, hence a well-thought multi-dimensional strategy is the need of the hour. The union government's decision to stand a special anti-naxal force- the COBRA-implementation of NREGA, protection of forest rights of tribals, rehabilitation of surrendered naxals and counter publicity of naxalism, etc. are being appreciated by all the concerned segments.

The Red Ink bloodies the Land India Colored

Dr. Manan Dwivedi

Key Words

Political Contest, Model, Blitzkrieg, Gladiatorial, Democracy, Praxis, Status quo, Salwa Judam.

Abstract

Rebellion is a mindset which pervades the thought process of the youth in any section of the Globe and it can be extremely potent which makes its channelising as pertinent as its containment. Tanto Paggio and Tanto Megilo are the twin tenets of the revolutionary mind, which sustain its diatribes against the State and anything which faintly resembles the Status Quo, has to be eliminated. According to one observation, Telengana too suffers in the sphere of Developmental parameters thus, establishing another rationale for the Naxal movement in the scarred region. The subjects face a strange but severely felt Security Dilemma. People are left with two alternatives: Either, they have to fight along with the State forces and become martyrs, or, they have the ubiquitous choice of joining the ranks of the rebels and continue to be in the good books of the local warlords who provide aid and succor to the Naxal elements operating from clandestine locations.

Tackling Terror in India-A Denovo Look

Brig. M.S. Khara

Key Words

Strategic Deafness, Pre-emptive Actions, Proxy war, Crisis Management, Centralisation, Maritime Security.

Abstract

In India, it is apparent that 'Crisis Management' has never been given any serious thought taking into consideration our 'knee jerk' reactions to crisis situations that have arisen ever since Independence. The country's 'Nelson's Eye' to this particular aspect of state craft has been repeatedly and vividly exposed in the past. There is, therefore, a need to create a body of experts from diverse fields who can address security related issues in an integrated manner, advise the decision maker on the ramifications of a particular decision, generate options for the decision maker to choose from and expedite the decision making process.

International Terrorism and India

Ashwini Kumar

Key Words

Cancer, Inexorable End, Innocent Civilian Life, Instrument of State Policy, Surrogate Warrior, Hegemonistic.

Abstract

Terrorism, it appears, has found a permanent place on the International political scene–and International terrorism though less in its incidence, than its domestic kind is now being practiced freely in many countries in the world–like in America, Ireland, Spain, Africa, Russia, Afghanistan, Central Asian Republic, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Colornbia and Philippines, etc. The pattern is about the same, although the perpetrators have varied motives, ranging from ethnic, religious, drugs, territorial and Right Wing fanaticism–blowing up of Airliners in the air, Trade Centers in the US, Oklahoma, and civilians in Kashmir and democratic symbols like houses of Parliament. This variety of International violence appeared on the world stage in the 1960's and continues unabated. There is a loose sort of an inter-nation framework to combat this new violence,

globally - though excepting the Islamist al-Qaida there is no visible link between the other various barbarous outfits. The Shiate groups work semi-independently and sometimes with the Hamas but have lately started working with Al Qaida. The I.R.A has a weak linkage with E.T.A (Spain), and the North-East Indian secessionists with the ISI of Pakistan. The Al-Qaida has close ties with the Philippines minority groups and the Indonesian Jamait-E-Isliamiah. Some of the groups are also sponsored by ISI, which has often attracted International odium - like the attack on the Indian Parliament in 2002.

Maritime Security : A Conceptual Framework and Developing a Possible Typology for a Policy maker

Rajnish Kumar Rai

Key Words

Maritime Security, Risk Factors, Containerized Goods, Maritime Transportation System, Good Border Management .

Abstract

The recent 26/11 terrorist attacks in Mumbai has once again brought the issue of border and transportation security, especially the maritime security, at the forefront. Maritime security has emerged as a significant part of the overall debate in India as it poses maximum challenge to the national security. The 26/11 terrorist attacks in Mumbai heightened awareness about the vulnerability of all modes of transportation to terrorist attacks, including the maritime transportation system, but unfortunately, India does not have an integrated and comprehensive maritime security policy to effectively address this important issue. This paper explores the risk posed to the maritime security that are confronting the security experts with immense challenge of neutralizing new kind of asymmetrical, non-conventional security threats against maritime transport infrastructures and components. This paper attempts to evolve a conceptual framework for addressing the issue of maritime security in a more comprehensive manner. This paper also endeavours to develop a possible typology for a policymaker that might assist policy elite in India in understanding the complex nature of the maritime transportation, and make use of these analytical frameworks to cast them in terms that facilitate the consideration of alternative policies and practices to improve the maritime security.

War on Terror : The Road Ahead

Arvind Verma

Key Words

Police Reform, Mumbai Terrorism, Public Policy.

Abstract

The terrorist attack on Mumbai in November 2008 marks a watershed for the police in India. The ensuing public anger and vocal demand for action forced the resignation of Home Minister as well as the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. A large number of recommendations from concerned citizens and police officers flowed in to address this challenge of terrorism confronting the nation. However, once the crisis was over police reforms appear to have been stalled as before. In this situation the role of police leadership seems crucial in moving ahead suo motto with many policy and executive measures. This paper argues that there is considerable scope for the IPS to use its authority and power to usher in meaningful steps that can help reform some of the major deficiencies in the police operations. The paper recommends a number of issues that fall within the purview of the IPS and that can be done without waiting for the government. The paper also outlines several policy measures that need to be demanded from the government.

International Co-operation to Combat Cyberterrorism & Misuse of Internet by Terrorists

Krishna Sastry Pendyala & K S R Charan Reddy

Key Words

Cyber Terrorism, DDOS, Trojan horse, Worm, OECD, Interpol, CoE, APEC, G-8.

Abstract

Cyberterrorism presented new challenges for law enforcement and policy makers. Due to its transnational nature, a real and sound response to such a threat requires International co-operation involving participation of all concerned parties in the International community. The disparity of legal environments and practices, the disparity in the law enforcement capabilities, Jurisdictional issues,

recognition of judgments, mutual assistance, extradition, etc. are the major obstacles for International co-operation. Cyberterrorism is global problem which requires global solutions. Sharing of information between Governments, making every country to ratify the International conventions is very much essential. Strengthening the International legal framework, strengthening International legal co-operation in criminal matters related to terrorism, promoting the exchange of information and good practices, strengthening law enforcement Forensic capabilities, promoting speedy information exchange and intelligence sharing, Effectively monitoring the Internet and exploiting relevant online material, promoting models for advanced co-operation in criminal matters, promoting public private partnerships, and developing Cyber Arms Control Treaty & Cyber Police Coordination Treaty are the need of the hour.

Evolving Trends in Terrorist Crimes

Dr. J.R. Gaur

Key Words

Ammunition, Biological Warfare Weapons, Bombs, Chemical Warfare Weapons, Detonation, Explosives, Firearms, Terrorism, Weapons.

Abstract

Terrorism perpetuated in the world since long for multiple reasons, however, no definite date or time can be assigned for it's initiation. It raised it's head in different regions and the countries of the world at different times as is evident from the terrorist activities of the past several years. It intensified approximately five decades ago in the world and with the developments in science & technology the terrorists also switched on to different technologies to commit terrorist crimes. They started committing crimes with simple conventional weapons, switched on to more sophisticated technologies for committing terrorist crimes; it may be firearms, explosives and improvised explosive devices. The possibility of the use of chemical and biological warfare weapons by the terrorists cannot be ruled out in future.

Keeping in view the same, the present article has been written to highlight technological changes adopted by terrorists and which possibly can be adopted in more sophisticated ways in committing terrorist crimes in the world in future. There is a need to keep preparedness to fight out the same with stern hand and evolved scientific techniques.

Intractable Communal Violence in India

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Prof. K.K. Aggarwal*

Key Words

Communal Violence, Intractable, Cauldrons of civilizatoion, Culture of Tolerance, Religious Diversities, Accommodative Polity of India, Unity in Diversity.

Abstract

India as a secular democratic Republic has been facing communal and ethnic violence of intractable nature long before and after its Independence. Social scientists, Government Agencies and Commissions, Non- Government Organisations & Police Officers have been dealing with communal violence in various parts of India by carrying out in-depth analysis of this malaise, the outcome being volumes of invaluable observations, theories and recommendations to tackle this problem. However, the reality is that communal violence in this country remains intractable, even now.

The purpose of this paper is three fold. Firstly, to carry out an in-depth & dispassionate analysis of tracing all communal violence in this country in chronological order with reference to the emerging social, economic and political norms relevant to the relevant period and to comprehensibly capture the complexity of this conflict and bring out the salient reasons and causes of such conflict. Secondly, to correlate these causes, conditions and complexities of conflict, to various multi level Conflict Theories and bring out a logical, factual and scientific theory, by bringing into perspective, the complexity of this intractable conflict. Thirdly, it attempts to utilize these concepts and findings, and suggest possible ways, to make the conflict tractable in India.

Terrorism: Problem and Prospects

Dr. Subhash Sharma* & Devendra Mishra

Key Words

Terrorist
Unethical
WMD
Global Capitalism
Cross Border
Terrorism
Blue Box
Organised Crime
Rightist Ideology
Media Exposure

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Introduction

Usually terrorism originates from fear, horror & shock all of a sudden. A terrorist is a passionate, but unethical, believer in his task and therefore, operates in isolation from the mainstream society. He has no tolerance for other groups, organisations, communities, and faiths and so on because of constant demonisation of 'other'. He oversimplifies the core problem and its solution is thought to be achieved in a short cut and misplaced way through brain washing. He tries to take revenge for perceived discrimination and injustice from the perceived enemy-other-in no time in order to correct an allegedly collective wrong. Unfortunately, terrorist groups have no specifically established boundaries, therefore it becomes difficult to deal with them easily. Cross border terrorism in countries like India becomes a big challenge to tackle.

Here we would deal with following aspects of terrorism. First and foremost we would deal with the various dimensions of terrorism. Second, we would deal with the causes of terrorism. Third, we would deal with the measures to combat terrorism.

When 9/11 (11th September 2001) terror attack occurred on the twin towers of World Trade Centre, New York, it was branded by US President George W. Bush as the 'first war of the 21st century' as about five thousand persons died therein - involving nationals of many countries. Osama bin Laden was the villain who orchestrated this inhuman activity at a global stage in order to teach a lesson to US for its anti-Islamic (like aggression) stand in Muslim countries and support to Israel vis-a-vis Palestine. George W. Bush made a famous statement "you are either with us or with them {terrorists)"- though reality is not so clear 'either-or', black and white, rather it is usually grey. Needless to say that in 1993 a terrorist attack occurred in Mumbai, killing more than 200 persons; further in 2005 (26 July) another attack in Mumbai killed about 200 persons and, finally, on 26th November 2008 in Mumbai terrorist attacks on Taj Hotel, Trident-Oberoi, Leopold Caffe, Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminal and Nariman House killed about 200 persons (Indians & foreigners from US, UK, Israel, Japan) and injured about 300 persons. In this many police officials (including head of Anti-Terrorist Squad) were also killed along with 9 terrorists. One terrorist Mohammad Kasab was caught injured. Further there have also been terrorist attacks in different parts of the country like Jaipur, Delhi, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Lucknow, Ayodhya, Guwahati, Ahmedabad, Kolkata and so on. Unfortunately, except in case of Mumbai attack on 26th November (2008) terrorist attacks in India could not draw adequate attention of international media, communities & UN. UN has banned Jamat-ud-Dawa, which masterminded this attack. Once Osama bin Laden had declared that he would target US, Israel & India for their anti-Muslim stances. Thus, we find that the terrorism has taken a global form/network covering both developed and developing countries.

Further another dimension of global terrorism today is the commodification of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). These weapons are imported exported in a clandestine manner across the borders Globalisation of capital and market has also facilitated this illegal business of arms and ammunitions.

Causes of Terrorism

Now we may ask: what are the causes of terrorism? First and foremost cause of terrorism is the poverty and inequality of wealth & assets in different parts of the World. Now it is perceived by a large section of people in developing countries that global capitalism led by US is responsible for such income disparity, poverty, inequality & uneven development primarily due to adverse terms of trade - tilting the balance in favour of the developed counties. World

Trade Organisation's policies & processes have further deteriorated the situation. Under Blue Box developed countries have got various kinds of protection for their farmers and therefore, they are continuing huge subsidy to them though they pressurize developing countries to eliminate or substantially reduce subsidy. Developing countries share in global trade declined from 0.8% to 0.4% during 1980-2000. World Development Report (2000-2001) revealed that out of the world's total population of six billion, 1.2 billion people survive on an income of merely one dollar a day and 2.8 billion people live on two dollars a day. Further, six infants out of every 100 die within one year and eight die before fifth year; out of all the children of school going age 9 boys and 14 girls for every 100 do not go to primary school.

Interestingly, developed countries (US & Western Europe) have often blamed developing countries for bad governance, fiscal deficit, wasteful expenditure on avoidable items, excessive interference of State (public sector) leading to growing unemployment and neglect of private sector. But since mid 2008 global recession and failure of private financial institutions, originating in developed countries, have turned the tide against them and their so-called focus on skills, better financial management, booming of private sector, etc are glaring examples of failures of global capitalism in range and depth.

Organized Crime

Second major cause of growing terrorism is the flourishing organised crime, especially in field of drugs & narcotics. For instance, global drug industry accounts for 2% of world economy. Opium agriculture in Afghanistan and Pakistan has flourished over the years. World Bank assessed (in 1999) that the smuggling trade between Taliban-controlled Afghanistan and Pakistan was worth more than $2.5 billions in 1997. To add some other neighbouring countries, it amounts to $5 billions. During the last ten years, the nexus of opium producers and Taliban has strengthened due to political instability –Taliban is lending advances with interest to poor farmers to cultivate opium in most of the fields and thus taking

the huge benefits. Further UN Drug Control Programme assessed that Afghanistan produced 4600 metric tons of opium in 1999 – three times more than the total opium production in the rest of the world. Thus, easy and ill-gotten money fuels terrorism through a global network. In addition, there are about fifty nation-states in the world like Bahamas, Nauru, Dominia, Yugoslavia, Montenegro and so on who auction their nations to outsiders in order to make their business deals inconspicuous – through allowing passports even to criminals, though with a high price. Thus, the 'network enterprise' (as Manual Castles calls) operates. So United Nations Conference on Global Organised Crime (1994) estimated that global trade in drugs amounted to $ 500 billion annually – larger than the global trade in oil. Profits from all types of illegal activities were estimated to be $ one trillion in 1993 – equal to US federal budget. In 1995, IMF also estimated global money laundering ranging between 500 billion and 1.5 trillion dollars annually, amounting to 5% of global GDP. This is growing fast day-by-day.

Rightist Ideology

Third cause of global terrorism is the hate campaign based on rightist ideology or faith. When Osama bin Laden spoke to destroy US, Israel and India, he had Christianity, Jew & Hinduism in mind vis-a-vis his Islamic faith. Hardcore Muslims perceive that US has attacked many Muslim countries like Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon; Israel has attacked Palestine many times, and India has long standing dispute with Pakistan (Muslim country) over Kashmir. Thus, they perceive US, Israel & India as a threat to their pan-Islamism. But it is not simply a 'clash of civilisations' (as S. Huntington has termed) rather it is a 'clash about civilisation' as Tony Blair has termed rightly. It is strange but true that in modern twenty first century traditional means of faith is used – Islam as a unifying force. By invoking religious appeals terrorists create a radical collective identity on religious lines and live in their own world. Hence, a global Islamic terrorism has come up without a single command & control structure. Further the backward looking *madarsa* education (in a large number but not in all) of the young persons brainwashes them

Abstract

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fully for group polarisation. Unfortunately, many of the failed nation-states have common faith of Islam and failed nation-states are unable to command over religious fanatics. Some Pak intellectuals distinguish between good and bad Talibans. The so-called good Talibans are those (Zalaluddin Haqqani & other Jihadis) who attack on US, Israel & India, while bad Talibans are those (Baitullah Mehsud and Fazlullah) who attack Pak army, police and state. But this is a false distinction – all Talibans are bad because they are fundamentalist, violent and irrational. As Parvez Hoodbhoy of Quaid-e-Azam University (Pakistan) perceptively remarks: "This false differentiation (between good and bad Talibans) is the real reason for the Army's ambivalence and inability to deal effectively with the Taliban menace." He further adds: "Over the years officers and soldiers were recruited into the Army on the basis that they were defenders of Islam and would always fight India". And the worst and ugliest combination of ISI, Taliban and Pak Army has complicated the whole scenario.

All of them have been training and supporting about fifty terrorist camps on Pakistani soil.

Closed Societies

Fourth cause is that the closed societies of many Islamic countries do not like and tolerate democratic institutions. Therefore terrorist groups attack on Parliament (India) as well as prestigious economic/ financial institutions (WTC (US), Taj Palace, Nariman House (Mumbai). Moreover, India's better strategic relations as well as nuclear energy partnership with US has been perceived by many Islamic countries and terrorist organisations as an anti-Islamic alliance. Since due to US attacks on Iraq, Afghanistan and other Arab countries US is seen as enemy par excellence of Islamic ethos. India, too, is being seen as an enemy of Islamic religion, culture and ethos.

Fifth, in the past some anti-Muslim activities like killing of Muslims in Gujarat riots (in 2002) as well as demolition of Babri mosque (in 1992) or communal riots in Mumbai and elsewhere in India have perpetrated anti-India stand among a section of Muslims. These have sidelined the liberal Muslims vis-a-vis the hardcore militants.

Proxy War

Finally, it is also true that US and its agencies have time and again helped the creation and sustenance of some terrorist organisatons. For instance, in order to defeat the USSR in its occupation of Afghanistan, US agencies directly and indirectly encouraged, financed and armed the fanatics in Afghanistan and Pakistan (thinking enemy of enemy is friend) but these ISI and Al Qaida Jihadis slowly but surely developed a larger and stronger plan of terrorism on a global scale. In the name of fighting terrorism, Pakistan (under the martial rule of Parvez Musharraf) got about 2 billion dollars annually from US as an aid but Pakistan did not fight out terrorism, rather used it for strengthening of military forces against India. Parvez Musharraf admitted it frankly on 13th September, 2009 in Saudi Arabia and boasted that he was not afraid of US on this count. Unfortunately, the new government, formed on the basis of general elections, has not been able to take a tough stand against terrorists' camps there.

Strategy to Fight Terrorism

Fighting terrorism would require a long term planning and sustained multi-dimensional action. Following strategies/measures need to be taken to stamp out terrorism:

First, better governance and law enforcement is the real need of the hour. It is appreciable that recently Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1979 has been amended to incorporate more stringent provisions for search and arrest of suspected terrorists, filing of charge sheet, speedy trial in a special court, power of detention (up to 180 days), public prosecutor's plea to be heard before granting bail, and so on. That is police officers handling such cases have been given more power. Further creation of National Investigation Agency (NIA) is a step in right direction. Again it is good to decentralise National Security Guards at four places (Kolkata, Chennai, Hyderabad and Mumbai, in addition to its HQ at Delhi). But its quality should not suffer due to such decentralisation. Moreover, we have to streamline both the prosecution and criminal justice system in terms of transparency and accountability on the part

of investigating officers, prosecution officers and judicial officers, on the one hand, and training for skill upgradation and sensitisation of all such officers on the other.

Second, our multiple intelligence machinery needs to be activated through training and rejuvenated at different levels and stages in a concerted manner. During attacks on 26th November (2008) in Mumbai there was no actionable intelligence, on the one hand, and there was no rigorous screening and follow-up of the raw intelligence available in advance, on the other. In fact, over the years there has developed an inertia primarily due to lack of fixing responsibility and not taking action, on available intelligence, to the logical conclusion. Further central government and its agencies should share trustable and actionable intelligence with state governments and their agencies, and vice versa. Moreover, critical responsibility should be fixed on non-initiation, non-acting and non-responsive officials of both central and State governments dealing such issues/problems. Undoubtedly, unified command system is of paramount significance for effective response to crisis situation – in Mumbai attacks (26th November 2000) there was lack of it, hence resulting into more loss of lives. Even there was no common spokesperson to brief media. We should learn from our past in a fruitful way.

Third, there should be advanced vigilance apparatuses (like CCTV, checking by metal detectors, tapping of phones, screening of computers, physical movement, etc) installed at sensitive locations / installations. Further, more advanced technologies must be used for communication among law enforcement agencies. On the other hand, during the crisis situation anti-terror squads should co-ordinate more efficiently, effectively and responsibly. Multiple checking at public places of importance should be done rigorously and regularly. We should learn from US that has adopted a 'tough love' strategy (checking of body, luggage and even shoes, not allowing even water and cold drinks in flights) and, therefore, after 9/11 (2001) no terrorist activity has taken place in US; whereas in India since 1993, dozens of terrorist attacks have taken place. Various

key players of crisis response system like seasoned negotiators, expert doctors, trained fire extinguishers, anti-terror squads with weapons of advanced varieties should be well-trained for perfect coordination with high level of motivation. In addition, anti-terrorist squad should have capability to disrupt cell phones of terrorists so that they may not be able to take undue advantage. Further terror attack sites should be duly protected for collecting evidence to identify the perpetrators.

Fourth, media should be reasonably restrained from within and without because over-exposure of an incident leads to loss of lives of key players of crisis response system (as happened in Mumbai where Hemant Karkare, head of anti-terror squad, was targeted by terrorists because their networks passed on information about his team's preparation to counter terrorists). Moreover, there should also not be media exposure to action taken against captured terrorists i.e., capturing of terrorists and effective police action should not be celebrated on media because it gets radical reaction. Rather best course is to rigorously but quietly arrest and prosecute the terrorists in accordance with the law of the land, bringing the guilty fast to the book. It would be highly effective and deterrent.

Pro-active Approach

Fifth, there should be a genuine effort not to identify the individual (or group) terrorists with their religious, linguistic or ethnic communities. Rather grain should be separated from the chaff at the earliest, otherwise the situation may get communalised and this would serve the very bad intention and ill design of terrorists in creating social distance & distrust between two communities. As LeT head, Hafeez Saeed had spoken with poison at a rally at Karachi in 2000: "There can't be any peace while India remains intact. Cut them, cut them - cut them so much that they kneel before you and ask for mercy."

Sixth, It is clear that terrorism has also links with underdevelopment of a group or community or region or nation and the bad elements exploit the sentiments of the poor to join against the injustice as it a weak link. Therefore, it is required that poverty and inequality are removed in a transparent manner by

giving them due opportunity and participation in economic activities in a fair manner. This also demands a fair treatment in terms of trade and protection by the state, not leaving the poor to the agonies of market that is not a level-playing field for all.

Finally, this crisis may be turned into an opportunity only when there is no politicking of terrorist activities. On the Mumbai terror, the ruling UPA and opposition NDA were more or less united with one voice demanding from Pakistan to hand over the terrorists who conspired in Pakistan for Mumbai attacks. But a demand from a Minister of UPA (I) itself for conducting a judicial inquiry into the killing of Hemant Karkare and suspecting the hands of Pragya Thakur's group (accused in Malegaon attack) therein spoiled the short-lived national unity on the issue. Later, Home Minister clarified in the Lok Sabha that Hemant Karkare was killed by the Pak terrorists. Similarly (in October 2008) on the police encounter of two terrorists at Jamia Nagar, New Delhi (in which a police inspector M.C. Sharma sacrificed his life and other police officers were injured) doubt was raised and judicial inquiry was demanded by a Samajwadi Party M.P. as well as some Muslim political and religious leaders who termed it a fake encounter. Later Government of India awarded M.C. Sharma with Ashoka Chakra on the next Republic Day (26th January, 2009) and thus Union government rightly did not yield to the political pressure from a supporting political party. But some individuals and groups were still not satisfied as they filed a Public Interest Litigation in High Court of Delhi that entrusted an inquiry by National Human Rights Commission and the latter found the encounter real and hence exonerated Delhi police. Therefore, it is need of the hour that all political parties should rise above narrow political interests and vote bank politics in the interest of the integrity and sovereignty of Indian nation that is more than the sum total of individuals as well as political parties.

From above, it transpires that we should pursue the principle that every problem has a solution, though it may require well-planned strategy and execution in a sustained manner.

Terrorism - A Challenge before the Nation

Dr. P. Mohan Rao*

The year 2008 will go down as a period when India was held hostage by terror. It began on 15th January 2008 itself with an attack by Lashkar on CRPF camp in Uttar Pradesh and virtually every month in 2008, news of terrorist attacks were pouring in. By the time 2008 drew to a close with Mumbai's 60-hour horror, India had lost 434 precious lives in nine major terror attacks. Terrorist attacks took place in almost all corners of our country and in all our major cities. In addition to this, the continuing insurgencies in Kashmir and the North-East claimed 1,157 lives this year. Be it the rich or the poor terrorism affected all of us equally. It was found that a large number of incidents of terrorism was perpetrated by those having complex interstate and international linkages and connection with anti-national activities such as smuggling of arms, drugs, infiltration, pushing in and circulation of fake currency.

Global Dimension

After the destruction of the Twin towers of the World Trade Centre (WTC) in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, terrorism acquired a global dimension. The terrorist attack on U.S.A. had brought the subject into sharp focus receiving the attention of the best brains all over the world. It is realized that a war on terrorism is a war on invisible enemy because it is difficult to imagine who strikes when, where and how. Terrorist actions are difficult to predict in spite of extensive intelligence gathering. Threat of terrorist acts creates fear and unrest in the victim society. Economic activity is adversely affected and disaffection between different ethnic groups would develop.

Today terrorism has become an ultimate weapon of the weak to take on strong, prosperous and powerful establishments. No rules of war are involved and there is no place for armies and sophisticated weapons. American experience at WTC shows how a single pilot can convert a commercial flight into a destructive missile. Worse is the experience in Kashmir where a school-boy terrorist had driven an explosives laden truck into a military establishment, causing large scale destruction of persons and property. In the aftermath of WTC incident, the USA initiated a full scale war on terrorism starting with Afghanistan. Ironically, among the allies the US had chosen was a country with terrorism as its state policy and has set up permanent machinery and structures to train, abet and perpetuate terrorism in its vicinity.

Politically Motivated Action

Terrorism is a politically motivated action combining psychological (fear inducing) and physical (violent action) components carried out by individuals or small groups, with the aim of forcing or compelling the state or the authorities to meet their demands. That is, political terrorism can be thought of as the use of violence by a group acting either on behalf of, or in opposition to, an established authority. The key element is the execution of activities with a view to wear out the established authority by causing panic, destruction, distrust and demoralization among the people at large. Thus, the range of such activities covers cases of hijacking of buses and planes, taking of any person or persons as hostage, abduction of the leaders or their family members, assassination of heads of states or government or of important political personalities, explosion of bombs to destroy public buildings and kill innocent people living or assembled therein and the like. Thus, the terrorists believe in the 'cult of the pistol and the bomb'. In short, terrorism "is a political goal-oriented action, involving the use or threat of extra ordinary violence performed for psychological rather than

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Abstract

Terrorism is a politically motivated action combining psychological (fear inducing) and physical (violent action) components carried out by individuals or small groups, with the aim of' forcing or compelling the state or the authorities to meet their demands. That is, political terrorism can be thought of as the use of violence by a group acting either on behalf of, or in

material effect." The victims, mostly innocent, are symbolic sacrificial goats for the sinister design of the terrorist. With some rogue states supporting the terrorist elements and even providing men, material, training and brazen support, international terrorism of late acquired dangerous propositions.

It is just not possible to separate international terrorism from national terrorism in India or elsewhere. The Chinese and Bangladesh help to insurgents and terrorists in North-East has been an important factor. The Naxalite violence as far back in 1969-71 in West Bengal was daily incited by Beijing press, which was rated like a divine oracle by those who regarded Mao Ze-Dong as the leader of the world revolution. Pakistan, over the years, had been not only inciting terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir, earlier even in Punjab, but also helping the terrorists with training, equipment, advice, false passports and funds. Presently, in Pakistan, there is a fully developed terrorist infrastructure integrated into their foreign policy machine. Helping terrorists in a hostile country is a fact of life which no civilized and sensible government can ignore. Moreover, one glaring and important aspect of the terrorist and militant organizations is that they are mostly backed and buttressed by totalitarian or fundamentalist or dictatorial regimes up against pluralist, popular and progressive democracies because of their general temperament to accommodate rather than crush the adversary with brute force. Hence, every democratic country has to evolve its own system to deal with terrorism.

Nexus and Network

There is systematic and worldwide network of collaboration among terrorist organizations, whatever may be their individual objectives. Whether their aims are political or religious or ethnic or nationalist, they have links all over the world. We have reached the stage where countries with no connection at all with the objective of the terrorists have become their battle-ground.

A democratically elected government must uphold the Rule of Law and it is the duty of the constitutional authority to defend the life and limb of its subjects.

There is abundant evidence that weakness and soft handling of terrorists provokes a rapid spread of terrorism by other groups as well. Vacillation in counter terrorist measures by the government on vote bank considerations must be avoided as it undermines public confidence and emboldens terrorists.

Broad Mesures

Though there is no blue print for meeting problems arising out of terrorism and reliance on a previous experience may mislead, yet an appreciation of the many likely difficulties will help one a long way towards being prepared for whatever the future may hold. In the light of experience gained by those professionally engaged in the war against terrorism in all its manifestations, some of the basic anti-terrorist measures that emerge are as follows.

❖ Sound public opinion has to be built up against terrorism. It has to be explained to the public that terrorism has cost the lives of many innocent people, innumerable women became widows and several children have become orphans. Trade, commerce and industry have been ruined and education of children has suffered. Anti-terrorist operations will become easy with public cooperation and support.

❖ Another valuable way of mobilizing public opinion against terrorism is through a concerted programme of public information and education about how to recognize bombs and terrorist weapons, the procedure to be adopted when a suspected object is sighted, the kind of information that might be valuable to the police, the speediest method of communication with the police, etc. Press, radio and television should be used to convey these information. The aim of these measures is to make the public more security conscious.

❖ Collection of funds by the extremist organizations and groups from within the country and from abroad must be prevented at all costs. Without sufficient funds these organizations and groups will be impotent since recruitment, purchase of weapons and maintenance of these organizations cost enormous funds.

❖ Criminal elements operating within the terrorist organizations and groups should be identified and strong measures taken against them within the purview of law.

❖ Unemployed youth should be enlisted in to the police and armed forces, industries, trades, etc. to prevent their joining militant organizations for earning their livelihood.

❖ Periodical screening of the police personnel is necessary to prevent infiltration of extremists into the police forces. Policemen with doubtful integrity should be removed from the ranks.

❖ Smuggling and gun running on the border must be stopped by strengthening security measures.

❖ Police and security forces engaged in fighting terrorism should be provided with firearms superior to that of the extremists.

❖ In an aircraft hijacking, the threat which is used to achieve the aim is against the lives of the passengers and crew, not against the aircraft. The vital line of defence against aircraft hijack lies at the point of boarding. Airport and aircraft security needs to be strengthened. Most hijacks are from airports with poor security arrangements.

❖ The media always plays a crucial role which can be of positive assistance. Therefore, the media should be properly briefed so that sensational terrorist deeds do not gain publicity. Also, news likely to damage the morale of the police and security forces should be blocked.

Keeping in view the growing incidence of terrorism, it has for long been felt that there is need for setting up an agency at the central level for investigation of offences related to terrorist and certain other acts, which have national ramifications.

ARC on FIA

The second administration reforms commission (ARC) headed by Veerappa Moily recommended in its 7th/8th report submitted to the government in September, 2008 the creation of Federal Intelligence Agency (FIA) which could be set up by ordinance or through a institutional amendment to the National Security Act of 1980. Earlier a similar proposal was put forward by the Subrahmanyam Committee on security reforms set up by the NDA government. The proposal was acted upon, in part, according to Moily, because the states are apprehensive that this might infringe upon their rights in the federation. While this is an important concern, it is possible to accommodate it in another way, for example through some consultative machinery with advisory capacity so that national security, which is a responsibility of the centre, is not jeopardized as it has so often been.

According to the recommendations of the Moily and Subrahmanyam Committees, the FIA should be responsible for coordinating tasks that are divided among different intelligence agencies such as RAW, IB, CBI, etc. Additionally, it has been suggested that the authority should also coordinate between State Police Forces through the appointment of special police commissioners. Though the coordination of intelligence inputs is under the purview of Central Government and the Home Ministry, having a dedicated authority will at least make a sole agency responsible. To that extent it may succeed in plugging some of the existing gaps, especially in respect of preventing or minimizing terrorist attacks.

The 11/9/2001 terrorist attack was an eye opener to the world as all countries awoke to the necessity of making stringent law to punish the merchants of death and destruction. Australia, Italy, Canada and later France came out with harsh deterrent laws to punish the enemies of nation. In India also, the then Vajpayee government enacted the Prevention of Terrorist ities Act (POT A) which was later criticized by the opposition parties and labeled it as an anti-minority and inhuman measure. Consequently, when the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government came to power in 2004, it repealed the POTA and again the country is left without any law on terrorism. This might have emboldened the terrorist organizations to indulge in more inhuman and barbaric acts of terrorism as witnessed during 2008. There was wide criticism that the entire world is making stringent laws to punish the terrorist, India was trying to survive without a proper and effective law against this scourge. On December 12, 2008 about 40 intellectuals including former Justices and

opposition to, an established authority. The key element is the execution of activities with a view to wear out the established authority by causing panic, destruction, distrust and demoralization among the people at large. Thus, the range of such activities covers cases of hijacking of buses and planes, taking of any person or persons as hostage, abduction of the leaders or their family members,

assassination of heads of states or government or of important political personalities, explosion of bombs to destroy public buildings and kill innocent people living or assembled therein and the like.

Chief Justices petitioned to the leaders of political parties to usher in reforms in police administration and the government took the same seriously and ultimately came out the two bills - the National Investigation Agency Bill and the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment (UAPA) Bill of 2008.

National Investigation Agency

When a series of bomb blasts took place in the busy areas of Bangalore, Ahmedabad and Delhi, the police could not make any headway in apprehending the terrorist involved in those dastardly acts. Till date the criminals are at large and there is no hope of bringing them to book. This clearly shows that the criminals shift their place after executing their mission. The government realized that the situation calls for a centralized apex agency to speedily investigate the terrorist cases and bring the culprits to justice. However, public order is a subject in the state list and the investigation of major crimes is in the hands of the state police. As a result, an agency like the CBI cannot investigate certain crimes without the consent of the concerned state government.

Therefore, in December 2008 the Government of India enacted the National Investigation Agency (NIA) Act to constitute an apex body on the lines of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) of the United States of America. The establishment of NIA will give the Centre the power to suo moto direct the NIA to investigate certain offences. FBI in the US, for instance, investigates not only terrorist and espionage cases but also white collar crimes and corruption cases. For India a federal agency on the lines of NIA is long over due. After the constitution of NIA, the Central government is empowered to decide what constitutes terror and investigate such attacks in any part of the country covering offences, including challenge to the country's sovereignty and integrity, bomb blasts, hijacking of aircraft and ships and attacks on nuclear facilities. The NIA should have sufficient infrastructure so that it can function on par with the best investigating agencies of the world. The selection of the NIA officials should be transparent and fair so that its functioning is not affected.

The question arises why not the functions of the proposed NIA be entrusted to the existing CBI, the central agency that primarily investigates corruption cases at present. But for the CBI to take up investigations, the consent of the concerned state government is mandatory. According to Sri R.K. Raghavan, former CBI Director, "The CBI is overburdened and cannot cope with the workload that has been thrown up by terrorist designs. The decision to bypass the CBI and opt for a new outfit will be justified only if the proposed NIA has a wide charter and is designed to give leadership in the area to all the police forces in the country". However when the NIA comes into existence, it will be a central investigating agency that can take up suo moto investigations. But it should be borne in mind that the NIA is not an anti-terrorist organization and cannot prevent a terrorist incident. It will come into picture only at the time of investigation. Since Law and Order is a subject in the state list much cooperation and support is called for proper and satisfactory investigation of the criminal acts of terrorism. Also, it takes a long time and considerable resources to build a new organization of the proportion of NIA and the nation cannot afford to wait for long till the NIA is provided with the wherewithal to function effectively. Merging the CBI with NIA would help the government to equip the NIA with the extensive facilities available with the CBI.

Special Courts

According to Home Minister Mr. Chidambaram, NIA would be a "fit and clean agency'" with young officers who were able. There would be special courts and cases would be tried by special Judges who would complete the trials to meet the objective of speedy investigation and trial. Special courts will have hearings on a day-to-day basis. A case pending in a special court can be transferred to any such other court.

The absence of a deterrent act has been felt ever since the alleged draconian POTA was repealed and in fact there was severe criticism as to how can the government think of controlling terrorism without a stringent law to punish the guilty. At long last spurred

by the scathing criticism, wisdom prevailed and government has come out with a law called the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA) 2008.

Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act

However, the government has chosen the easier option of strengthening the provisions of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967 (UAPA). Even though it does not have the key provisions of POTA like admissibility of confessions, some of the aspects like use of wire taps as evidence and stringent bail conditions are now part of Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act. The amendment has, however, not revisited one of the most stringent provisions of POTA treating confessions before police as evidence. An accused could not be kept in police custody for more than 30 days. The time limit for framing the charge sheet has been extended to 180 days, while earlier it was only 90 days. A foreigner involved in terrorism related crime is not to be granted bail. This has been done taking into consideration the difficulties faced by investigating agencies in completing the probe within the stipulated 90-day period particularly in terror related cases which generally have inter-state ramifications. The amendment is not so kind to foreigners who will be denied bail until proven innocent. Also, an Indian National accused in a terror related case cannot be released on bail or on his own bond unless the public prosecutor is given an opportunity of being heard on the application for such a release.

The amendment of UAPA says that the court shall presume, unless the contrary is shown, that the accused has committed an offence for which he has been arrested, including possession of arms or explosives with a belief that those are the substances which were used in the commission of that terror act.

For the first time, the amendment provides for freezing, seizing and accruing funds and other financial assets or economic resources held by individuals or entities engaged in or suspected to be engaged in terrorism. A new section 16 A has been inserted in the Act which says that those using explosives, firearms, lethal weapons, poisonous chemicals, biological or radiological weapons with the intention of aiding, abetting or committing terror act "shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term, which may extend to 10 years."

Regarding the logistical support for a terror crime, the amendment says that anyone in the country or abroad who directly or indirectly raises or collects funds or provides funds for a terror act shall be punishable with at least five year imprisonment, which may extend to life. A similar punishment has been provided in the amendment act for those organizing camps for training in terrorism, and also for those recruiting persons for commission of a terrorist act. Further the amendment says that every offence punishable under the act shall be deemed to be a cognizable offence. However, the amendment has not dealt with admission of confession made by an accused before a police officer. Such provisions exist in the Narcotics, Drugs and Psychotropic substances Act as well as in MCOCA in Maharashtra which deals with keeping organized crime under check.

There is a feeling that the two bills were pushed in a hurry to tide over widespread criticism against the government that it failed in taking steps to control terrorism and was indulging in vote-bank politics much against the interest of the security of the nation. The swiftness with which the anti-terror laws was drafted and passed within three weeks of Mumbai 26/11 is a testimony to the seriousness of the government in tackling terrorism. The President has given her assent to these acts of Parliament and they are now part of our statute. However, "We also need to tighten our immigration controls on the lines of the US Immigration and Naturalisation Services Act as local terror modules thrive on the illegal infiltration of man and material across India's forest borders".

Durable Solution

A durable solution to the problem of international terrorism requires an amicable settlement of regional issues like the problem of Palestine in West Asia because of which terrorist outfits like Al Qaida sprang up. Similarly in South-Asia, the terrorist camps in Pak Occupied Kashmir should be dismantled under the supervision and active involvement of a multi-national force comprising of USA, UK, Australia, France, Canada and India. These camps should be destroyed to the highest satisfaction of India. Further, the Kashmir problem should be settled amicably with in the purview of Indian Independence Act 1947 of U.K. which enabled the rulers of the then independent states in India and Pakistan either to merge with India or with Pakistan. On the eastern front of India, the insurgency related terrorist activities have to be tackled involving China and Bangladesh. International pressure should be brought on China to desist from making unjust and irrational claims with regard to boundary with India and solve the dispute on the basis of Mc Mahon Line on the NEFA side. Bangladesh should be made a party binding it to an agreement and preventing it from making its soil a playground of insurgent outfits.

Today terrorism is a grave threat to world peace with notorious organizations like Al Qaida, Jaish-e-Muhammad, Lashkar-e-Taiba, etc. spearheading this barbaric form of protest. There is growing fear of unspeakable consequences if weapons of mass destruction fall into the hands of these agents of destruction. The nations patronizing international terrorists must be identified and isolated. All material and financial assistance to such countries must be stopped and international travel and communication be suspended. "In order to contain international terrorism effectively, nations especially those who have been the frequent targets of international terrorists should increase cooperation among themselves by coordinating their anti-terrorist activities."

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Strategy & Tactics on Trial in the Conflict of Left Wing Extremists

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Introduction

Left Wing Extremists (LWE) especially CPI Maoists conflict is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma: "Democratic revolution through tactical offensive with tactical speed in the protracted peoples war of strategic defensive." Any riddle, mystery, enigma can not be understood or solved without finding missing link or the keys. Hence, there is need of keys. The keys are counter strategy and tactics, the keys are not available readymade. Some have developed; others get confused & problem compounds. But, they have to develop the counter strategy carefully and judiciously. Before developing the counter strategy and tactics one has to understand the meaning and mechanism of strategy. They also must understand the above riddle, mystery and enigma of the design, and aim of LWE strategy and tactics.

Strategy & tactics are overused words, and less understood concepts. The words seem honorific, attractive, but most of the time the concepts are used content-free and ambiguously. People cannot be blamed for it. Originating from the Greek word 'Strategos' meaning General, tactics from the Greek word 'takitas' meaning foot soldier, both the words strategy and tactics have marched a very long journey of more than two millennia. Strategy and tactics as concepts are used by multiple disciplines ranging from military to medicine. Volumes have been written about strategy and tactics. Even then people use it loosely and inappropriately. Therefore, one has to understand the meaning, mechanism and dynamics of strategy & tactics.

Why do we need Strategy & Tactics?

Strategy / tactics are the bulwark of any organisation in its life & death. Strategy involves the big picture; the overall plan, how the campaign will achieve organisational goals & objective. Tactics deals with nuts & bolts of operations. It mainly concentrates on people & their action. The task of tactics is to determine the ways and means, the forms and methods of fighting that are most appropriate to the concrete situation at the given moment. Therefore, tactics varies according to situation, time and terrain. There are some timeless tactics of Guerrilla Warfare; but most of the tactics are devised in any situation by using the principles of assessment, adaptation leverage, deception, timing and pace. Assessment of ground situation and enemy troops play major role in devising correct tactics. Leverage, deception, timing and pace are the important part which make any tactics successful. The proper permutation and combination of these items can produce innumerable successful tactics. Any mistake will cause the tactics to fail.

Strategy & tactics guide thinking and action. Strategy is the analytical thinking on commitment of resources to action & assessment of threat & resources. The essence of strategy is to match strengths and distinctive competence with terrain in such a way that one's own organisation enjoys competitive advantage over rivals competing for the some terrain.

Strategy is a conscious, deliberate process; an intensive implementation system, the art of ensuring future success. Strategy defines the organization, provides people the aim of the organization. Strategy is hard, needs focus on thousand niggling details. Strategy sets direction.[1] Strategy provides an organization with a long term view and hence the ability to take risks or do things which do not make sense in the short run. Strategy focuses on effort and promotes coordination of activity. It provides

1 Strategy Safari P-15

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Abstract

Strategy & tactics are overused words, and less understood concepts. The words seem honorific, attractive, but most of the time the concepts are used content-free and ambiguously. People cannot be blamed for it. Originating from the Greek word 'Strategos' meaning General, tactics from the Greek word 'takitas' meaning foot soldier, both the words strategy and tactics have marched a

consistency and reduces ambiguity. Strategy basically represents a fundamental congruence between external environment & internal capacity.

Strategy & tactics deal with many dimensions of conflict; therefore, they have to deal with many factors: people, society, economics, intelligence, technology, adversary, politics, security organisation, etc. But, strategy & tactics are mainly the reflection of geographic, economic and political considerations. These are important offensive/defensive devices. Fighting any conflict needs a combination of strategy & tactics, but, for winning both are essential. The force who knows tactics beats one who doesn't. On the other hand a successful strategy achieves victory before battle.

Strategy/Tactics Contrast

Strategy & tactics intertwine in their usefulness. But, these are not synonymous. These are interdependent and can be interchangeably used; use of violence and propaganda can be both tactics & strategy. Sometimes same concept can ascend from tactics to become strategy e.g. destroying the only link to a camp. Strategy stops at the border of combat zone & tactics begins with contact with the opponent. According to Mahan: 'Contact is a word which perhaps better than any other indicates the dividing line between tactics & strategy.' The fine distinction between strategy & tactics is encapsulated below:

Strategy is a great resource	Tactics is a deadly weapon
Vision is strategy	Execution is tactics.
Strategy is an idea	Tactics is an action
People view strategy as thinking process	People view tactics as doing process
Strategy focuses on jungle not on trees[2]	Tactics is a point of reference or points of reference
Strategies define the overall character mission & direction of the organisation	Tactics deals with action events, propaganda events, & communication events
Strategy is a dynamic flexible process. It provides the road map	Tactics is more action based. It is generally single-use plan
Strategy is about shaping the future while managing the present	Tactics depends on ground, response & situation
Strategy is the theory of the use of combat for the object of the war[2]	Tactics is the theory of the use of military forces in combat
The best strategy is to be always strong[3]	The best tactics is to be always agile & alert.
Strategy is the study of the laws of a war situation as a whole.[4] Strate is holistic.	Tactics deals with a partial situation
Strategy is doing the right thing	Tactics is doing things right
Strategy is firm & stead-fast do not change much	Tactics are always in need of adjustment
Strategy is exacting, demanding and unforgiving; small mistakes can spoil the entire plan	Tactics can be extemporaneous or premeditated

2. Clausewitz, Carl von On War, P-141

3 Clausewitz, ibid, P-175

4. MAO-TSE TUNE ON WAR P-13

The above strategy/tactics contrast deals with nature, feature, and function of both the concepts. Strategy uses a broad spectrum of tactics. Tactics are part of strategy, subordinate to it but serves it. Strategy involves absolute economy of efforts; it involves high degree of flexibility which necessitates constant adjustment of tactics. Right strategy puts less pressure on executing tactics perfectly.

Catalogue of Strategic & Tactical Errors in conflict with LWE

Strategy wins war and tactics win battles is a correct epitaph which highlights the weight of respective errors. Ardent study of strategy & tactics reveal numerous tactical/ strategic errors. But, to put things succinctly only grave sins will be delineated. Mao pointed five strategic errors of Japanese during Chinese revolution (i) piecemeal reinforcement, (ii) absence of main direction of attack, (iii) lack of strategic coordination, (iv) failure to grasp opportunity, (v) encirclement of large but, annihilation of small numbers; these strategic errors continue in present day fight against naxalites to some extent. Mao attributed piecemeal reinforcement to two factors : underestimation & shortage of troops. Naxalites also in their Polit Bureau document of 2009 mentioned that they should exploit the situation arising because of shortage of troops. Therefore, it can be said strategic errors are devastating. But, a confused or wrong strategy can be as lethal as a blind grenade.

Flunk Strategies

| Strategy of bluff. |
| Strategy of avoidance. |
| Strategy of delay. |
| Strategy of bragging, |
| Strategy of dealing with only one part. |
| Strategy of hands-off |

Some of the States are tired of hammering their head against the wall, but they are achieving less, means they have got wrong strategy. As a result of incorrect strategy, they move operationally, in an incremental and invisible manner away from where they are supposed to go. Strategy of dealing with only one part, strategy of bragging, strategy of delay, strategy of bluff, strategy of putting things under carpet are flunk strategies used some times by decision makers of some States. These only compound the problem and provide strategic benefits to the other party; these are strategic miscalculations of highest order. As, one time tactics, bluff avoidance, putting under carpet can help temporarily. But, in the long run the pseudo /wrong/ confused strategies become counter productive.

Strategy, correctly formulated, shapes tactics. But, "tactics uninformed by strategy, or misinformed by incorrect strategy, are like a car without a steering wheel: It may get somewhere, but probably not where its driver wants it to go."[5]

Tactical Errors

LWE tactics on a spectrum of violence and destruction has caused strategic concern. Not understanding many timeless tactics of Guerrilla Warfare e.g. "luring force into trap" is grave tactical error of highest order committed by security force. If security force does not cope with the tactics of the other side, then they simply get involved in shadow boxing and they may hook you with powerful punches. There is every possibility that you contact and the other party smashes. Here we can summarise the impact of strategic & tactical errors in Sun Tzu's language:

"When the tactics are wrong & the strategy is wrong, the war will be quickly lost.

When the tactics are right but the strategy is wrong, battles may be won, but the war will be lost.

When the tactics are wrong, but the strategy is right, battles may be lost, but the war will be won."[6]

Mainframe of LWE Strategy

Over a period of more than three decades, Naxalites have developed their strategies with the objective of disorganising and confusing by politics, and defeating

very long journey of more than two millenniums. Strategy and tactics as concepts are used by multiple disciplines ranging from military to medicine. Volumes have been written about strategy and tactics. Even then people use it loosely and inappropriately. Therefore, one has to understand the meaning, mechanism and dynamics of strategy & tactics.

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5. Fiasco "The American Military Adventure in Iraq" P-l84 .

6. Sun Tzu "Art of War" translated by James Clavel.

by force. Naxals have formulated their grand strategy of protracted war, their military strategy of armed struggle with creation of guerrilla bases and political strategy of using democratic contradictions of Indian polity. Most of the strategies they have borrowed from Mao and Giap. They are using the timeless Chinese tactics of "use few to defeat many & use many to crush few", "misleading the security force & catching him unawares", "tactics of concentration to conduct raids & dispersion to protect oneself & politically organise masses", "tactics of fighting no battle unprepared." They are using Vietnamese tactics of Guerrilla warfare & Mobile warfare and even the slogan of Dien Bien Phu 'dare to win & dare to fight.' But many political strategies have emerged during various stages of their movement.

Various Polit Bureaus & Central Committee meetings of Naxalites had formulated many strategies. In 1995 All India Special Conference of CPI (ML) Peoples War Group decided some strategies of the then PWG e.g. joint action committee for democratic rights, discussing merger with party Unity. The 9th Congress of PW (2001) chalked out many strategies of Naxalites. e.g. formation of Peoples Guerrilla Army, formation of Regional Bureaus, formation of Central Publishing Bureau, formation of Sub Committee on Political Education, Sub Committee on Mahila movement. Central Committee meeting of 2004 (provisional) decided to convert PGA to PLGA, main document of strategy & tactics of Indian revolution of CPI Maoist. The Fourth Polit Bureau meeting of April 2006 had formulated main strategy to fight Salwa Juddum, start international websites & internationalise issues. The CPI (Maoist) 9th Congress (2007) formulated few specific strategies e.g. tra.11.sfonn prisons into political Universities, turning PLGA to PLA, Guerrilla war into mobile war, support to nationality struggles, Dalit struggles, SEZ & displacement struggles, etc. Besides the above strategies formulated through resolutions the CPI Maoists in their literature of Strategy & Tactics of Indian revolution have formulated many deliberate military & political strategies; all the subtle political & military strategies are put up in a chart below:

Fact File of CPI (Maoist) Strategy

Grand Strategy of protracted war.[7]

Strategy of exploiting democratic contradictions of Indian polity.[8]

- Negation of democratic politics.

- Internationalising issues.

- Propaganda & misinformation.

- Somthering people's resistance through coercion.

- Isolating security forces.

- Opening many fronts through under ground & over ground organizations.

- Security of layers

- Social investigation.[9]

- Creating Guerrilla bases.[10]

- Honeycomb network of different organizations in guerrilla zones & guerrilla bases.

- Mobilisation of public.

- Urban Movement

- Converting mass struggle to armed struggle.[11]

- Self criticism.

The analysis of the above strategies makes it crystal clear that State power is the LWE's strategic goal. Tactically this is being sought through local guerrilla operations that challenged Government control of specific areas. LWE try to achieve their strategic goal by the astute application of many strategies & tactics. Naxalites have formed Strategic United Front (SUF) with various underground organisations. SUF implement military strategies of naxalites. Besides SUF, Polit Bureau of CPI Maoist and Central Committee of CPI Maoists play key role in spelling various political & military strategies of Naxalites. By

7. Strategy & Tactic of Maoists
Indian Revolution, Page-1 0 & 31
8. ibid, Page-I 7
9. ibid, Page-58
10. Strategy & tactics of Indian Revolution, Page-10, 50, 5 I
11. ibid, Page-112, 114, 119

creating guerrilla bases & by the use of the tactics of guerrilla warfare & mobile warfare, the Naxalites execute their military strategy. Guerrilla warfare & mobile warfare also occupy an extremely important place in their strategy. Naxalites through their activities like Tactical Counter Offensive Campaign and short raids spread the area of Red influence & try to achieve their military goal. By using tactics of Guerrilla warfare & tactics of networking with other extremists outfits of North East & Kashmir Naxalites they try to implement their military strategies. They use the strategy of seizing the rural areas to isolate the urban areas and create urban Maoist movement. Creating mass struggles in various areas and then by converting these mass struggles into armed struggle is one of the main strategies of Naxalites; here Naxalites are exploiting the issues of displacement, SEZ, formation of new States, etc. Establishing revolutionary base areas first in the countryside where the enemy is relatively weak and then to gradually encircle and capture the cities which are the bastions of enemy forces. They follow the strategy of expansion of base areas and expansion of troops.

Along with military strategy they have crafted effective political strategies. Their political strategies have three major goals (i) unity between CPI Maoist party & cadre, (ii) party, PLGA & people, (iii) disunity between people & security forces. They try to create mass struggle through propaganda, agitation and action. Then they try to convert mass struggle to armed struggle as done in Lalgarh. Through their clever political strategy they use Revolutionary United Front to save their guerrillas from security forces.[12] Naxalites have formed Tactical United Front (TUF) under subcommittee on mass organisation (SUCOMO). TUF include the Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF) the people's Democratic Front of India (PDFI), the committee against violence on women (CAVOW), the committee for the release of political prisoners (CRPP).[13] TUF plays pivotal role in the implementation of the political strategies. Political activities are more important than military activities, and fighting less important than

propaganda. Political strategies complement the military strategies with the main objective of New Democratic Revolution.

Did the decision makers appreciate the danger that the above strategies of LWE constitute for Indian democracy and economy? Do they understand its ramifications? Many of them understand their strategy and have formulated many counter strategies. But, now it is high time for all players from Govt. side to formulate counter strategy to fight and forestall LWE.

Formulation of Strategies & Counter Strategies of Government Side

The best strategies are subtle. But, there are number of timeless counter strategies of general type which can be used for fighting naxal menace. Magasaysay used successfully the grand strategy of making the system efficient and the other strategies of civic action, intelligence, and counter operations. Templar used successfully the strategy of guerrilla warfare training, counter guerrilla operations, support of local people & local village defense committees. American President Johnson attributed Vietnamese ordeal to the strategy of delay in putting more forces in Vietnam. The study of above strategies and also situation of Peru, China, Malaya we may filter the few following fundamental strategies:

- Strategy of capacity building.
- Strategy of early prevention.
- Strategy of denying LWE time & space.
- Strategy of isolating LWE.
- Strategy of Intelligence.
- Strategy of redressing grievances of affected areas.
- Strategy of perception management.
- Strategy of reconstruction of administration.
- Strategy of merging security & development.
- Strategy of public cooperation.

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12. Strategy & Tactics of Indian Revolution, Page-80

13. Ramana, P.V., "Maoists Tactical United Front & Urban Movement" Page- 4

- Strategy of using strict law.
- Strategy of Civic action.
- Strategy of application of all elements of national power.

The above fundamental strategies remain same for almost all times and all situations. But, these above strategies need fine-tuning and also there is need for formulation of many specific strategies which is a Herculean task. It can not be accomplished without answering Clausewitzian questions & other set of questions: I. What is the nature of conflict? II. What is our aim? III. How well we do it? IV. what is the time frame? V. What resources & means will we employ in doing it?

a. Where have we been?

b. Where are we now?

c. Where do we want to go?

d. Where should we go?

e. Where can we go?

f. Where shall we go?

Answer to these pertinent questions helps in getting correct assessment of situation and requirement; and in return helps in developing sub-strategies & ultimately in formulating correct strategy & set the strategic response. The sum of the lesson in strategy is this: grasp the realities of the situation; determine the objectives(s), use one's strength against enemy weaknesses while negating the reverse; seize and hold the initiative; be flexible. The art of formulating the strategies relies on the ability to discover what is most appropriate to a particular context and to abandon policy approaches when it is evident that they will not yield the results being pursued.

There are few steps to develop strategy:

1. systematic analysis of information,

2. critical appreciation to assess threat & opportunities, 3. search for options. There is very fine line between setting strategy and micro-managing combat. We can not have correct strategy without understanding the strategy of the enemy.

Calibration of Strategy

Calibration of strategy is like playing strategy game; it is monitoring of LWE strategy and ground situation and then reviewing, updating our own strategy. As you recognise strategic pattern, then you get emerging strategic scenario. You slowly discover pattern and the world around you keep emerging, and your perception of it keeps reshaping. In an organization, low levels of discrepancy or divergence, between goals and achievements are likely to be interpreted first as a failure of 'execution' not as a failure of strategy. Unless a major crisis hits people do not review or update or formulate correct strategy.

Strategy calibration needs both strategic foresight and insight; an ability to perceive, analyse and make sense of complex strategic situations as they develop, and to be ready to take advantage of them. Strategy based on foresight, on anticipation, the chess master's ability to see many moves ahead, where his lesser opponent sees only a few. But, foresight is only as good as an ability to understand and map out an environment and anticipate its evolution. The search for genuinely strategic options should be broad & wide. Sources include the logical possibilities present in the actual situation, successful past strategies, individual ingenuity. In office & biases or preconceived notions people advocate or endorse. Any tactical defeat can force a party to change its strategy. Strategy needs constant tactical adjustment.

Strategy Implementation

Strategy which remains stranded in the executive suite is of no use. Strategies most often fail because they are not executed well. The most brilliant strategy is as good, as its execution. According to Sun Tzu there are three strategic principles: Commitment, observation, preparation which play pivotal role in the formulation and implementation of strategy.

- Commitment is the first strategic principle; it sets the stage for victory. One has to put the organization into a situation where the people have no choice but to commit to organizations goal.

- Observation is the second strategic principle. Watching clearly and critical attention provides raw data about what is really happening; rapid, profitable adaptation feeds on facts about ground reality.

- Preparation is the third strategic principle. Effective execution on a tactical level that is at the point in time when opportunity presents itself depends on preparation done before the moment of action arrives. Preparation includes developing organizational structure, streamlining processes, positioning resources, encouraging flexibility and training personnel. Therefore, the Government side has to generate appropriate, prudent and affordable measures for effective preparedness.

The first rule in strategy is of painstaking attention to the needs and wants of the ground. Nevertheless priorities are numerous simply because everything has to be done from the beginning. However, a strategic approach requires what is urgent.

Structure & Resources Constraint Strategies

Another important fact is that our strategy and operations are constrained by resources and organizations. Any unbeatable brilliant strategy of Government side depends more on the organisation and its team for its execution. If the organisation and team is unresponsive, unmaginative, and the team have hidden agenda then the strategies have no meaning. If there is no proper organisation, then some of the strategies can not be implemented. As an example, it is surprising thing that even in the fight of internal war we do not have proper engineering unit to assist the fighting force and to reconstruct the damaged roads & bridges. In remote areas our anti-LWE operations are terribly constrained by natural barriers.

That structure and resources must fit strategy is absolutely valid. Structure is the way activity is organised and managed. It is the structure of the security force - the chain of command and the relationship of the parts to the whole - that gives strategic significance to force. Again, as per requirements new institutions like special intelligence unit, and commando unit, remote area development agency must be organised to face strategic situations.

The execution of strategy depends terribly on the strength and capability of the Government organisation. The existing organisation must be streamlined & the work force should be duly motivated. To have realism in strategy, one should have to link it to the people process. Right people should be placed in difficult positions. The people process is important than either the strategy or operations process. It is the people who translate the strategies in to operations process. The strategy may be brilliant, but if the people can not execute it then it is dross.

People process evaluates individuals accurately and in depth. Putting wrong people to execute key part of strategy causes failure to entire strategy; it is more common. Linking people, strategy and operations help in getting good performance.

The organisation has to be constructed piece by piece and the strategy has to be worked out step by step tested and re-tested. Along with organisation, the means and material resources for action have first of all to be assembled bit by bit. They not only have to mobilise resources, but also have to make best use of available resources. They should also design appropriate technology to help as force multipliers. Therefore, they must develop effective institutions, put right people at key places, mobilise resources and reinforce what is working to turn great strategies into great performances.

Strategy-Tactics-Operations Link

Strategy, tactics and operations are interlinked concepts; but, these are different in nature scope and repercussions. Sometimes operational commander without proper understanding of significance and ramifications of particular issue takes strategic decisions which become disastrous,

e.g. opening new posts in far flung combat zone and thereby frittering all the reserve troops can create major problem at operational level. Similarly, some of the Strategic Commanders who hobnob continuously with tactical issues, indulge in back-seat driving, create bungling at tactical level. Occasional mentoring and reverse mentoring on particular issue on merit can be allowed, but continuous level jumping invites bungling and subsequent ordeals.

Strategic centralisation and tactical autonomy is required. The overall posture both offensive and defensive, defining broad line of operations issues related to morale, training, intelligence, public relations, coordination with other troops, creation of posts, etc. should be dealt with at strategic level.

Domains of strategy, tactics and operation interact; strategy domain deal with goal, tactics with skill, and operations with implementation. Operations determine where and when to fight, tactics how to conduct fight and strategy whether to fight or not. At every level of any operation, strategy is indeed war on a map. Operation is the discipline of realising strategy in the context of a background of infrastructure, systems, resources and process using a vocabulary of tactics. Operations convert strategy and tactics in to reality through appropriate deliberative, reactive and opportunistic planning, scheduling, allocation of resources and risk management in the face of action. If strategy, tactics and operations are disjointed, then the net result will be negative.

Operation should be linked to strategic goals and synchronised with strategy & tactics. Overall strategic performance will be meager, if tactical or operational virtuosity contradicts. Necessarily strategic performance is related to, but does not result from military performance at the operational or tactical level of war. Rommel's tactical and operational brilliance was not supported by strategy as a result it did not succeed ultimately. Therefore, strategy should take account of operational realities and people.

Pieces of Advice

Protracted conflict needs enduring advice; advice regarding the factors which count in conflict. The concepts of strategy, tactics, resources, manpower, strict law, perception management and civic action have tremendous impact on conflict. Exotic study of conflict situations of various countries point out that effective military strategy/tactics in tandem with good political strategy can accrue success to Government side .

- As per Sun Tzu people are able to see the tactics, but not the strategy behind any success. Therefore fighting Naxal strategy and foiling their tactics is most important and the prime task for the decision-makers of some States, who do not have strategies, need to formulate initially correct strategies.

- Timeless counter strategies of capacity building, early prevention, isolating LWE, intelligence, denying LWE time and space, perception management, redressing grievances of affected areas, reconstruction of administration, public cooperation and using strict law should be immediately chalked out by each affected States taking into consideration the areas affected there.

- The decision makers must study the general strategy tactics and specific emergent strategies of Naxalites in their provinces and chalk out counter strategies.

- Strategy formulator must have strategic insight, foresight and commitment, so that he can genuinely search for strategic options and formulate correct menu of strategies.

- Structure and resources must fit strategy. If there is any discrepancy of either structure or resources, then it must be addressed immediately. Mobilising resources and developing human resource is essential. Many important organizations like Commando Units, Intelligence Unit, Engineering Unit must be developed for combat and for combat support service as well.

■ Sound political strategy should be developed to counter the numerous political strategy of LWE, specially related to SEZ, displacement, formation of new State, Dalit and Adivasi struggle.

■ Strategy of security & development should move in tandem, and only then these can be effective.

■ As pointed out by Mao, the LWE exploit the situation of piecemeal reinforcement. Therefore, right type of force in sufficient number has to be developed both for offensive and defensive operations. All the troops must be trained with Guerrilla tactics and mobile warfare tactics.

■ There should be two sets of strategy, one for extremely infested areas and the other for mildly infested areas.

■ Mildly infested areas need SSB type of troops which can deal simultaneously with security, civic action and perception management.

■ Extremely affected areas need Hunter-killer teams of elite troops like Grey Hounds for offensive operations and separate troops for security operations.

■ Operations should be synchronised with tactics and strategy.

■ Operations with tactical acuteness and strategic clarity will only bring success to security force.

■ Unless right people are placed at difficult position, operational efficiency will not come. Strategy can not be executed unless people processes are corrected.

Conclusion

From China to Vietnam, from Peru to Nepal to Indian hinter land, many tactics and strategies were available readymade to the LWE which they further refined and set according to their requirements through their Polit Bureau or Central Committee Resolutions. But unfortunately, many decision makers of some provinces have not thought out LWE problem in strategic terms they have referred LWE problem to a tactical framework of operations. Therefore, many tactical and operational aspects of counter measures against LWE have no strategic foundations. They should develop nuanced understanding of strategies and tactics of naxalites. Now, it is high time that they must arm themselves with the prudent strategies, and brilliant tactics and they must mainly fight the strategy of LWE and blunt their tactics, not merely fight against the effectiveness of LWE by making strategic planning and arranging strategic coordination of forces & resources. They must take serious things seriously. They must develop and implement ruthlessly appropriate strategies before strategic paralysis sets in or before all options sink or stink.

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Left Extremism in India Causes and Remedies

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"At least two thirds of our miseries spring from human stupidity, human malice and those great motivators and justifiers of malice and stupidity, idealism, dogmatism and proselytizing zeal on behalf of religious or political idols."

-Aldous Huxley

Key Words

Introduction

Perhaps it is the first time in India, when higher echelon of political masters and policy makers have accepted publicly that naxalism and extremism is a big threat to internal security, and the government has been unable to address the issue successfully. The matter of hope is that every reform in a system starts from the open acceptance of the failures and then chalking out the willful and realistic strategy. The Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh has accepted that-"Left extremism is the gravest internal security threat we face. We have not achieved as much success as we would have liked in containing it." The Lalgarh episode (November, 2008) has eventually become 'laboratory of anti-naxal operation' with a wide clear message to promoters of naxalism in India. It is the high time for the central and state governments to eradicate extremism, otherwise be ready to face balkanization of the country, because Maoists are trying to forge an alliance with insurgent and secessionist elements in the North-East to expand their network and influence." It is estimated that near about 9000 extremist groups or organisations are existing across the world and 150 among these organisations belong to India and they have grip 40,000 km. area of the country.

Naxalism in India

Naxalism is an Indian nomenclature for left extremism. Extremism is a violent movement of political or religious, etc. ideas or actions that are extreme and not normal, reasonable or acceptable to most of the people. The left extremist outburst, later known as the Naxalite Movement, started in March, 1967 in the three police station areas (Naxalbari, Khoribari and Phansidewa) of Darjiling district in West Bengal. As per the Annual report (2004-05) Ministry of Home Affairs the CPI (ML)-PWG and Maoist Communist Centre India (MCC-I) have been trying to increase their influence and operations in some parts of other states namely, Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Kerala and in certain new areas in some of the already affected states. Over 2,000 police station areas in 223 districts of 13 states namely, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Haryana, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Tamilnadu and West Bengal are partially or substantially affected by the menace. As per the data presented in the three-day meet of DGPs and IGs of the state police, organised by Intelligence Bureau on September 14 -16, 2009: "Violence has been consistently witnessed in 200 police stations of 90 districts of the country. Maoists have also improved upon their military wares and operation tactics. Besides targeting the police, alleged police informers and so-called class enemies, it is laying emphasis on attacking economic and development infrastructure".

The naxals are focusing their attacks on railway, mines, industries, steel plants and oil-gas pipelines to disrupt the economic lifelines of the nation. Jharkhand, Bihar and Chhattisgarh have been the most affected areas. As shown in table no.1 the incident rate of left extremism as well as the death

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Abstract

The left wing extremism in India has become a serious concern for internal security and socio-economic development of tribal communities of 13 states. This is the first time in the history of independent India, the central government and naxal infested state governments are all set to contain extremism through a holistic approach. The 'Lalgarh Experience' has not only increased

rate are on increase. It is the clear cut sign of changing strategy of naxals and their access to fatal weapons and explosives. The merger of the CPI (ML)-PWG and the MCC in 2004 has strengthened their combat capability. As per the assessment of P.V. Ramana (Observer Research Foundation), these extremist outfits now have 9000-10,000 armed fighters with access to about 6,500 firearms. There are perhaps another 40,000 full-time cadres.

Despite its sanguinary nature, the movement manages to retain the support of a section of the tribal communities and the poorest of the poor in many affected areas. It has influence among certain sections of civil society, the intelligentsia and youth, it still retains certain elan. All this adds to the complexity of the problem. Barring a phase in the 1960s and early 1970s the left extremist movement has largely been agrarian in the sense that it seeks to mobilize discontent and misgovernance in the rural areas to achieve its objectives. The movement has some basic features. It has emerged as the greatest challenge to internal security of India; it has gained people's confidence, grown in strength particularly in forest and tribal areas, by mobilizing dispossessed and marginalized sections; it creates conditions for non-functioning of the government and actively seeks disruption of the government activities as a means to achieve its objective of wrestling control; and it spreads fear among the law-abiding citizens. In fact, the traditional socio-economic and politico-administrative system of the country has never tried seriously to resolve the issue. Without having a deep look into the issue we can not contain left extremism. Carolyn Heilburn says: "Thinking about profound social change, conservatives always expect disaster, while revolutionaries confidentially expect utopia. Both are wrong."

Causes of Extremism

No one can spot a specific cause of extremism, terrorism or naxalism. Such type of violent activities is the outcome of various socio-economic and politico-administrative disparities. The "Expert Group on Development issues to deal with Causes of Discontent, Unrest and Extremism" (Chaired by D. Bandopadhyay) of Planning Commission has identified the following causes of Extremism?

Land Related Factors

○ Evasion of land ceiling laws.
○ Existence of special land tenures (enjoying exemptions under ceiling laws).
○ Encroachment and occupation of Government and community lands (Even the water-bodies) by powerful sections of society.
○ Lack of title of public and cultivated by the landless poor.
○ Poor implementation of laws prohibiting transfer of tribal land to non-tribals in the Fifth Schedule areas.
○ Non-regularisation of traditional rights.

Displacement and Forced Evictions

○ Eviction from lands traditionally used by tribals.
○ Displacement caused by irrigation and power projects without adequate arrangement for rehabilitation.

Livelihood related Causes

○ Lack of food security and corruption in the Public Distribution System (which are often non-functional)
○ Disruption of traditional occupations and lack of alternative work opportunities.
○ Deprivation of traditional rights in common property resources.

Social Exclusion

○ Denial of dignity.
○ Continued practice, in some areas, of untouchability in various forms.
○ Poor implementation of special laws on prevention of atrocities, protection of civil rights and abolition of bonded labour etc.

Governance related Factors

○ Corruption and poor provision or non-provision of essential public services including primary health care and education.

○ Incompetent, ill-trained and poorly motivated public personnel who are mostly absent from their place of posting.

○ Misuse of powers by the police and violations of the norms of law.

○ Perversion of electoral politics and unsatisfactory working of local government institutions.

The Second Administrative Reforms Commission in its Seventh Report entitled "Capacity Building for Conflict Resolution : Friction to Fusion (February, 2008)" opines[3]-"It may be highlighted again that these causes are most glaring in forest areas predominantly inhabited by tribal population who thus become the main instruments and victims of left extremist violence."

The famous Swedish economist and noble prize laureate Gunnar Myrdal (1898 - 1987) in his seminal contribution *Asian Drama: An Inquity into the poverty of Nations* (1968, 3 Vol.) had characterized India as a '*soft state*' because of its incapacity to restructure social relations in the face of opposition of powerful social groups. Prof. C.P. Bhambhari's analysis is that India is a vulnerable state because a large section of society feels that it has been marginalized by policies of neglect by the state[4]. The casual approach of Indian politicians towards punishment to criminals has been proved by Tamilnadu Government. In September, 2009 nine Al Ulma Prisoners convicted for planting and distributing explosives, walked free from Coimbatore Jail after the DMK Government remitted their 13 year sentences on the occasion of the birth centenary of party founder C.N. Annadurai. These persons were imprisoned for serial blasts that rocked the industrial hub of Coimbatore in February, 1998. It is true that they had completed 11 years in the jail and likely to be free in 2011. However, the point is that such type of strategy hardly serves any purpose in a developing country where extremism and terrorism is a big issue. Any undue liberty to extremists may generate other problems. Famous scriptwriter and novelist Leo Rosten suggests-"Extremists think 'communication' means agreeing with them because we see things as we are, not as they are."

Remedies

No Government can eradicate public unrest permanently and ensure good law and order situation forever. However, the state and its machinery have the power and capacities to curb the violent incidents through a well-planned strategy and socio-economic development of menace infested areas. Since the causes of left extremism are widespread in nature, hence we need a multi-dimensional and holistic approach to address the problem effectively. A few of the efforts may be as following:-

As assessed by Mahatma Gandhi- "Poverty is the worst form of violence." So, as a very first initiative, India needs an effective poverty alleviation programme for naxal infested areas with a total literacy and awareness about the governmental initiatives. The central government is implementing a special package to develop infrastructural facilities in the 13 districts of 8 states. Table No. 2 is annexed herewith to show the serious concern of the government as Rs. 9999 lakh has been released for special infrastructure in left wing extremism affected states. Schemes like Comprehensive Area Development Programme (CADP) launched by Government of West Bengal in 1972, should be implemented to introduce supply inputs and credits to small farmers and the government take the responsibility of marketing the products of these farmers.

Effective implementation of 'The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006' should be ensured to give the land rights to the extent of four hectares per Forest Dwelling Scheduled Tribe (FDST) nuclear family provided they have been the user of forest land for three generations or 75 years from to 'cut off' date i.e. December 13, 2005. The Act ensures the fundamental forest rights of forest dwellers viz. crop production, use of minor forest products and feeding their cattles, etc. Similarly, the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy, 2007 (NRRP-2007) should also be implemented in such a manner that can reinforce the principles of this policy to the rehabilitation and resettlement of persons involuntarily displaced permanently due to any

the motivational level of the governments but also the naxal affected tribal communities to fight a decisive war against ultras. Since, the basic causes of the extremism in India are varied in nature, hence a well thought multi-dimensional strategy is the need of the hour. The union government's decision to stand a special anti-naxal force- the COBRA-implementation of NREGA, protection of forest rights of tribals,

reason. The work undertaken through National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) in Lalgarh area has built a mutual trust between locals and civil authorities. So it is suggested to implement NREGS intensively in naxal-infested tribal areas to develop fundamental facilities i.e. roads, anicuts, ponds and making the crop fields plain, etc.

Incentives for Surrender

It is a welcome step taken by Central Government to offer incentives for Maoists to surrender. In this regards, the 'guidelines' finalized in August, 2009 says that the following rates (per item) will be applied in case of surrender by a Maoist with the arms:

No.	Item	Incentive (in Rs.)
1.	Sniper Rifle and Sophicated LMG	25,000
2.	Missile	20,000
3.	A.K. 47/56/74 Rifle	15,000
4.	Satellite Phone	10,000
5.	Wireless Set (Long range)	5,000
6.	VHF/HF Communication Set	5,000
7.	Remote Control Device	3,000
8.	Pistol/Revolver	3,000
9.	Mines	3,000
10.	Wireless Set (Short Range)	3,000
11.	Explosive Material (per kg.)	1,000
12.	IED Device	1,000
13.	Rocket	1,000
14.	Grenade/Hand Grenade/Stick Grenade	1,000
15.	Detonator Electronic	500
16.	Detonator (Other)	10
17.	Ammunition of all Types (per round)	3

The guidelines clarify that "The incentives given for surrender of the arms will be deposited in the form of a fixed deposit in the joint names of the surrendered and a state government nominee and may be given to the time of completion of three years after surrender, subject to good behaviour by the surrenderee." These guidelines are also applicable to those naxalites who surrender without arms. Under the scheme, the government will impart training to surrenderee in a trade or vocation of their liking or aptitude. They will also be paid a monthly stipend of Rs. 2,000 each for a maximum period of 3 years or the surrenderee gets employment or gainful self employment, whichever is first. Besides, an immediate grant of Rs. 1.5 lac will be kept in a bank in the name of surrenderee as a fixed deposit, which may be with drawn by the surrenderee after completion of 3 years, subject to good behaviour.!t is suggested that a special package should be given to all the security personnel, fighting against extremism.

The welfare measures by the Government for naxalites should also be propagated. It is quite relevant to mention here that Government of India has decided to beat naxals at their game through posters, short films, advertisements, radio jingles to counter propaganda. These short films, which will be shown in local cinema halls and radio jingles will emphasize the importance of ongoing development works which have so far been thwarted by the ultras. In fact, it is important to win the confidence of people not only through vast developmental activities on the ground but also by explaining them the pros and cons of their sympathetic approach towards the ultras and the violence against innocent--civilians, including women and children, in unequivocal terms.[5]

Eradicate the V.I.P. Culture

Basically the Indian society is a herd of those people who are complexity oriented, hippocracy liking and having a temporal mindset. These people get annoyed instantly on a particular sensitive issue and on the contrary, subside their aggressiveness within a few days to enjoy the life on a routine way. Most of the residents of the mega cities show their apathy and irresponsible behaviour in respect to identification of terrorists or activities of the hooligans. Whenever a terrorist attack takes place in a mega city, everyone starts blaming the security

rehabilitation of surrenderee naxals and counter publicity of naxalism, etc. are being appreciated by all the concerned segments.

mechanism of the country. After the attack the customary check posts are installed and security checking is started, and people in general do appreciate these governmental efforts. As soon as a week passes, the people start expressing their disagreement and displeasure with so-called barriers of security.

The recent two episodes of frisking and interrogation of former President of India Dr. A.P.I. Abdul Kalam and Cinestar Shahrukh Khan have generated storms in the minds of the Indians. The sentimental Indians, by nature respect V.I.P. and V.V.I.P. culture. "In India, almost everybody tries to be a V.I.P. dropping names, pulling strings, bribing cops, using family connections, we try it all. When actor Shahrukh Khan initially expressed outrange at being interrogated at a U.S. airport he symbolized a larger Indian malaise of the V.I.P. culture. It is fallout of the colonial mind set and almost feudal in intent."-says Shobha John.[6]

Similarly, the media of the country does not seem to be mature one. Is it really an issue to telecast for three days that a former president was frisked by continental Airlines at New Delhi airport in April, 2009? Has this airlines really committed a crime? If a country like America or India is not prepared to security check-in of everyone, irrespective of his or her office and post, how the terrorist activities can be controlled?

Likewise, the security categories for V.I.Ps in India has become a status symbol and a drain on public exchequer. The SPG, NSG, ITBP and CRPF are the agencies responsible for providing securities to V.V.I.Ps., V.I.Ps. the leadings politicians, senior bureaucrats, judges of supreme court and high courts and other eminent persons like Sachin Tendulkar, etc. Details of the categories are as following:

- Z+ Category has a security cover of 36 personnel including one pilot car, one escort car, etc. (NSG and SPG)
- Z Category has a security cover of 22 personnel (CRPF and ITBP)
- Y Category has a security cover of 11 personnel
- X Category has a security cover of 2 personnel

It is important to mention here that India is spending a huge amount on security cover to VIPs. There are 650 security personnel deployed for security of Punjab's Chief Minister Prakash Singh Badal and it costs Rs. 200 crore per annum. Rajasthan makes an expenditure of Rs. 25 crore for 300 VIPs, for Chattisgarh, it is Rs. 24 crore for 125 VIPs and Rs. 70 crore for VIPs in Haryana. So far as entire country is concerned there are 13,000 politicians and bureaucrats, etc. have been entitled as VIPs or VVIPs and 45,000 security personnel are deployed for the protection of these extra ordinary personalities of the motherland.

As per the data provided by Bureau of Police Research and Development, there are 12,09904 posts sanctioned for security forces in the country and 1, 08000 positions are lying vacant. In such a situation how police and paramilitary forces can perform their duties effectively and efficiently? That is why the prime minister has said-"As a first step, I would urge all of you (DOs and IOs) to do everything possible to fill up the large number of vacancies that exist today at various levels in our police force." Side by side, we need a new-age policemen who is more professional, better motivated, suitably empowered, well – trained and one who places greater emphasis on technology for investigation and other tasks. The COBRA (Combat Battalion for Resolute Action) force formed in August, 2008 as an expert and professional corps for anti- naxal movement is the best way to check extremism. The experiences of Greyhound Commandos of Andhra Pradesh should be practised in naxal affected areas across the country. We must clearly understand that policy makers of maoist movement are highly qualified and intellectuals in ideological terms. So it is imperative for the government to fight a psychological war with these groups. If government can identify and block the source of financial support to extremists, then nothing is like that.

The question raised by country's Home Minister P. Chidambaram must lead to introspection by every senior police official and policy implementers. Mr. Chidambaram asked all DGs and IGs of state police-"Why do you remain silent when arbitrary posting and transfers are made by the state governments? Is it not your duty as the police chiefs, to raise your voice not only on behalf of your officers but also on

behalf of the people that you are duty bound?" Obviously, it is clear that apathetic and selfish attitude of police supremos slow down the morale and motivational level of police forces and creates an environment for coward society as well. 'No question or disagreement should be raised against decisions of big bosses' may translate in to 'No resistance is to be shown against goondas'. Is not it? In fact, "Zero-Tolerance Strategy" is the basic principle to ensure rule of law and maintenance of law and order.

Second ARC's Recommendations

The Second Administrative Reforms Commission, in its Seventh Report, has given the following recommendations on left extremism.

- ❏ A long-term (IO-year) and short-term (5-year) Programme of Action based on the '14-Point Strategy' announced in Parliament may be formulated by the Union Government in· consultation with the concerned State Governments to identify State specific action to be taken to implement the 'Strategy' .

- ❏ While agreeing with the spirit of the' 14-Point Strategy', negotiations with the extremist outfits should be an important mode of conflict resolution.

- ❏ There is a strong case for 'back to the basics' in the matter of administrative monitoring and supervision. The system of periodic official inspections and review of organisational performances needs to be revitalised. It must be recognised that a major reason for such practices falling in disuse in 'disturbed areas' is the apprehension of senior functionaries about their personal safety while on tour. It is advisable that the need to provide suitable security to the senior administrative and technical officers while on tour is taken into account in working out requirements for security forces in areas affected by serious violence.

- ❏ There is need to enhance the capacity of the security forces to act effectively and firmly, but in conformity with constitutional bounds; it is necessary that standard operational procedures and protocols are laid down in specific terms and detail.

- ❏ Training and reorientation including sensitising the police and paramilitary personnel about the root causes of the disturbances that they are seeking to curb, are necessary.

- ❏ Formation of trained special task forces on the pattern of the Greyhounds in Andhra Pradesh should be an important element of the strategy to build capacity in the police machinery for tackling left extremism.

- ❏ Establishing and strengthening local level police stations, adequately staffed by local recruits, in the extremist affected regions should be an important component of the policing strategy for tackling left extremism.

- ❏ For effective implementation of the Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Rights) Act, 2006, multidisciplinary Oversight Committees may be constituted to ensure that the implementation of this ameliorative legislation does not adversely affect the local ecosystems.

- ❏ Special efforts are needed to monitor the implementation of constitutional and statutory safeguards, development schemes and land reforms initiatives for containing discontent among sections vulnerable to the propaganda of violent left extremism.

- ❏ To facilitate locally relevant development adequate flexibility may be provided to implementing agencies in the affected areas as regards centrally sponsored and other schemes, so as to enable them to introduce suitable changes based on local requirements.

- ❏ Performance of the States in amending their Panchayati Raj Acts and other regulations to bring them in line with the provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA) and in implementing these provisions may be monitored and incentivised by the Union Ministry of Panchayati Raj.

❑ The nexus between illegal mining/forest contractors and transporters and extremists which provides the financial support for the extremist movement needs to be broken. To achieve this, special anti-extortion and anti-money laundering cell should be established by the State police/State Government.

❑ For implementing large infrastructure projects, particularly road networks that are strongly opposed by the extremists or are used to extort funds from local contractors, the use of specialised Government agencies like the Border Roads Organisation in place of contractors may be considered as a temporary measure.

The failure of *Salwa Judum* has proved that situation in the extremist areas has not been helped by the raising local resistance groups. This experience of South Bustar (Chhattisgarh) was publicized as a spontaneous awakening of the masses against extremists, today thousands of tribal are being protected in fortified camps, pointing to the disturbed life they are forced to lead. It is clear that without overall socio-economic empowerment of the tribals, no anti-extremist movement can achieve its goals. After all 'economic development' is a panacea for most of the problems of present generation.

Table 1: Statewise naxalite violence from 2004 to 2008

States	2004		2005		2006		2007		2008	
	Incident	Deaths	Incident	Deaths	Incident	Deaths	Incident	Deaths	Incident	Deaths
Andhra Pradesh	310	74	535	208	183	47	138	45	92	46
Bihar	323	171	186	96	107	45	135	67	164	73
Chhatisgarh	352	83	385	168	715	388	582	369	620	242
Jharkhand	379	169	312	119	310	124	482	157	484	207
Madhya Pradesh	13	4	20	3	6	1	9	2	7	-
Maharashtra	84	15	94	53	98	42	94	25	68	22
Orissa	35	8	42	14	44	9	67	17	103	101
Uttar Pradesh	15	26	10	1	11	5	9	3	4	-
West Bengal	11	15	14	7	23	17	32	6	35	26
Kerala	5	-	-	-	2	-	8	-	2	-
Karnataka	6	1	8	8	10	-	7	5	8	4
Haryana	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
Tamil Nadu	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
Total	1533	566	1608	677	1509	678	1565	696	1591	721

Source: Annual Report 2008-09, Ministry of Home Affairs Govt. of India

Table 2 : Scheme for Special Infrastructure in Left Wing Extremism Affected States

(Rupees in lakh)

States	Districts	Release of Funds
Chhatisgarh	Bijapur Dantewada	1615.00 1135.00
Bihar	Aurangabad Gaya	986.00 619.00
Orissa	Malkangiri Rayagada	638.00 539.00
Madhya Pradesh	Balaghat	293.00
Andhra Pradesh	Khammam	589.00
Jharkhand	Chatra Palamu	960.00 1420.00
Maharashtra	Godchiroli Gondia	170.00 169.92
Uttar Pradesh	Sonebhadra	866.00
Total Release		**9999.92**

Source: Annual Report 2008-09, Ministry of Home Affairs Govt. of India

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1. The term Balkanization is a geo-political term originally used to describe the process of fragmentation or division of a region or state into smaller regions or states that are often hostile or non co-operative with each other. This term comes from Balkan, a region of South-East Europe including the countries to the south of the rivers Sava and Danube.

2. Report of "Expert Group on Development Issues to deal with causes of Discontent, Unrest and Extremism", Planning Commission, 2008 (This group was constituted by prime minister on May, 29, 2006 under Chairmanship of D. Bandopadhyay, Executive Director, Council for Social Development, New Delhi.)

3. Capacity Building for Conflict Resolution: Friction to Fusion (Seventh Report), Second Administrative Reforms Commission, New Delhi, February, 2008

4. C.P. Bhambri,*Politics in India* Shipra Publications, New Delhi, 1992

5. 'Government to beat naxals at their game', The Times of India, August 19, 2009

6. Shobha John, 'Is VIP Culture a Malaise in Other Countries too?', The Times of India, August 23, 2009

The Red Ink Bloodies the Land India Colored

Dr. Manan Dwivedi*

Introduction

Naxalism is a spectacle par excellence. In a Political Contest Model developed by the arcane Media Theorists, the present one, posits a sanguine and diligent comprehension of the notion of a state actor pitted against the non-state actor in a Gladiatorial contest of gargantuan proportions. The Model delineates a Blitzkrieg scenario, wherein, the non-state actors in a given nation state strive to assess the degree of success of their chances taken against the state apparatus or "The Regime".[1] The designated state does not need to indulge in an out-of-the-ordinary societal and political ministrations, in order to justify its stand vis-a-vis the tenets of armed rebellion in the scorched rural hinterland of the Indian nation state. Juxtaposed against this Statist commandeering of its Goebellesian propaganda apparatus, the non-state antagonist living the lives of the likes of Kanu Sanyal and Charu Mazumdar, are exhausted in their single minded devotion to extricate the masses out of the so-called morass of state ordained Democracy and praxis, which itself is questionable. The antagonist leads a rightly vilified existence, between the multitude of "Manicheastic portrayals"[2] and mundane Media renderings, which is not completely uncalled for.

India's Maoist revolt, or Naxalism, has consumed thousands of lives since it began in the 1960s, observes Mian Ridge, this year in the US daily, Christian Science Monitor. The author goes on to pithily observe that, "Some 13 of India's 29 states have been affected by the insurgency. Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, had previously described the movement as the biggest domestic security threat confronting the country. Since the surprise Maoist wins in Nepal's general elections, there have been fears in India that the Naxalites would be emboldened by that victory.[3] Voice of America, the American News Agency, reported that, in an April, 2009, meeting with officials from states affected by the Naxalites, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said that the Maoist insurrection is the "single-biggest security threat" that India faces. However, PTI, the Indian News Agency, reported that India has ruled out talks with the Naxalites until the rebels disarm themselves. Instead, Interior Minister Shivraj Patil, called on the affected states to boost the number of officers available to deal with the rebels.[4]

1 Gadi Wolsfield, (1997) "Media and Political Conflict: News From The Middle East", (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997) pp. no. 1-10

2 Manicheastic Portrayals refer to the heresy and admonition, spread by the Media and the Propaganda machinations of a powerful State actor or a group, which can make or mar favorable Public Opinion, about a Political, Religious or any other genre of Adversary. The stratagem involves the vilification of a Public personality which is positioned in an adversarial manner vis-a-vis, the more powerful actor in the power game. The vilification campaign launched by the US Media against Saddam Hussein and Ayatollah Khomeini as the "Great Satan" or as the enemy in the form of a diabolical "Them" pitted against the West or the "Us" in a battle till one vanquishes and obliterates the other in a divine and moral struggle for one-upmanship. The Hitler like portrayal of Saddam Hussein in the Persian Gulf War- I, in the year 1991, during Operation Desert Storm and the deionization of the Viet Kong, the National Liberation Forces led by Ho Chi Minh as the "Communist Aggressors" during the Vietnam War are some of the outstanding instances of Manicheastic depiction of weaker adversaries, in an attempt to sully and tarnish their reputation.

3 Mian Ridge,(2008), "India: Discontent, Poverty Fueling Naxalite Rebels," (Boston: The Christian Science Monitor, 29th of April, 2008) pp. no. A3

4 Arthur Bright (2006)"India's Rising Maoism Rebellion," (Boston: The Christian Science Monitor, 14th of June, 2006) pp. no.A3

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The Red Ink bloodies the Land: India Colored

Abstract

Rebellion is a mindset which pervades the thought process of the youth in any section of the Globe and it can be extremely potent which makes its channelising as pertinent as its containment. Tanto Paggio, Tanto Megilo, are the twin tenets of the revolutionary mind, which sustains its diatribes against the State and anything which faintly resembles the Status Quo, has to be eliminated. According to one

The Naxals of the "dreaded Red Indian corridor",[5] are pitted against an ill – equipped and maladminstered men in the Khaki, who toil under a want of wireless sets and staff shortages, which is much worsened by the Garrison like existence isolating them from the masses. Gone are the tumultuous days, during the times of Chief Minister Janardana Reddy and Chandra Babu Naidu, where-in, the singular effort of the security forces was to localize their, "Indigenized war on Terror" and make them the darlings of the masses in the dreaded Red Indian Corridors section in Andhra Pradesh. The twilight zones of Darjeeling and Naxalbari have been replaced by the much brighter and sunshine days of the Salwa Judam, which is again, a proud claim to make keeping in view the popular dissatisfaction with the Government activism against Naxalism.

Naxal Menace

The facts and figures concerning the Naxal menace make for an interesting and informative study. In a report aired by AOL, News India, the country's Home Minister, Shivraj Patil exposed some threatening figures in the context of the Maoist threat in India. He observed that, "a mere 14,000 villages out of a total of 650,000 villages in India, are Maoist-affected, which accounts for just two percent of the total number of villages in the country." This happens to be very startling as it very judiciously leaves out the fact that the rebels now utilize the towns and the urban facilities for rest, rejuvenation and recreation. In the year, 2007 alone, three top-ranking leaders of the all-powerful Central Committee and the Central Military Commission (CMC), were caught in the

Indian Urbania: Malla Raji Reddy in Kerala, Sridhar Krishnan Srinivasan alias Vishnu in Mumbai and Misir Besra alias Bhaskar alias Sunirmal in Jharkhand.[6]

In one weekly briefing, advanced by a renowned Anti-Insurgency portal based in New Delhi, Ted Gurr, has postulated in his seminal work, "Why Men Rebel," that: "It is likely that high magnitudes of violence destroy more than they create, at least in the short run. When the time dimension is taken into account, however, intense political violence, though it destroys much in the short run, may have the long-run payoffs either of stimulating rulers to increase outputs or of restructuring society in such a way that total satisfactions are substantially increased."[7] The Asian Center of Human Rights, advanced an itinerary of recommendations, to put a lid on the Naxalite Violence in the year, 2006. They sought, "to put an end to all human rights abuses by the security forces and the Salwa Judam activists." Another recommendation dealt with declaring a ceasefire to hold talks with the Naxalites in the various infested states. The organization went on to recommend that, "the Naxalites should guarantee that no individual who had participated in the Salwa Judam movement, will be harmed and there ought to be a curtailment of the hostage taking activities and the immediate release of all hostages by the Maoists.[8] The human rights groups too need to understand and grasp the infrastructural limitations and pressures under which the security forces operate.

Salwa Judam Movement

The Salwa Judam movement was initiated as a well-thought over reprisal against the Naxalite movement in the state of Chhattisgarh. It was a historic movement when the tribals of the region vowed to clobber the menace of Naxalism in the state of Chhattisgarh. Still, as one of the NDTV reports illuminates, instances of excesses by the State

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5 The term, "The Dreaded Red Indian Corridor," refers, to the Indian Territory, amalgamating a vast swathe of Land from the region bordering Nepal, all the way to the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Orissa, and culminating in the state of Andhra Pradesh. These states and manifold districts in their sway are under the influence of the Naxal movement which is a Maoist enunciation and nomenclaturing of an anti-state rebellion where-in the failure of the State machinery and the bankruptcy of the Official State Policy has lead to a largely rural rebellion and it is an explicit rejection of the State ordained ideals and values of Democracy.

6 Indo Asian News Service, "The Maoist Threat: Lies, White Lies and Statistics," (Online: Web), Accessed on May 10th, 2008, URL:http://www.aol.in/news/story/200803270108 90 12000006 /index.html

7 Ted Robert Gurr,(1970), "Why Men Rebel", (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970) pp. 4-5

8 "Naxal Conflict in 2006", Asian Center for Human Rights, (Online: Web), Accessed on May 10th, 2008, URL: http://www .achrweb. orgireports/india/naxal0 1 07. pdf

Governments have been observed. One of the news reports by NDTV implicates the state Government in anti-citizen activity. The report observes that, "The Government of Chhattisgarh has isolated a cluster of villages across Indravati river in Dantewada, because it's residents refused to join the anti-naxal militia, - the Salwa Judam." The report by Sudhi Ranjan Sen, in the June, 2007, pinpoints towards a state of siege in the tribal belts as those villagers who refuse to fall in line with the Salwa Judam militia, are refused access to all infrastructural facilities and day-to-day necessities of life.[9] Such matters are a cause of concern and need to be looked in by the State without diverting from its prime objective of annihilating the menace of naxalism, which, is nothing but another related genre of terrorism.

A lot of water has flown since the merger of the two main groups of Naxalites, the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI) and the Communist Party of India, Marxist-Leninist (People's War) to form the united Communist Party of India, Maoist or CPI (Maoist). In September 2004, Naxal violence had became more frequent in Bihar. Both groups were the most powerful ones, accounting for about 88 percent of the countrywide Naxalite violence and 90 percent of the resultant deaths. The Ministry of Home Affairs in its annual report in the year, 2005-2006, delineated three categorizations, wherein, the anti-insurgency maneuvers were activated. These three regions of operability happened to be:

❖ Local capacity building of the affected states in terms of intelligence gathering and training police forces for effective military action

❖ Making the administrative machinery more responsive, transparent and sensitive for effectively dealing with public grievances.

❖ Encouraging peace dialogues between the affected states and the Naxal groups.[10]

Need of Humanitarian Touch

A team of the National Commission for Women, visited the district of Dantewada in the year, 2007, and its recommendations are a poignant reminder of the state of affairs in the concerned region. The Commission reported that in the Salwa Judam meetings, it was compulsory to send one member from each family living in the camps. This did not pinpoint towards a spontaneous people's movement but a modicum of state enforcement. The tribals were completely living a parasite existence being dependent upon the supplies by the Chhattisgarh Government. The report further came up with a startling discovery that most of the special agents were young boys and girls, making them targets for the Naxalite reprisals, and made them incapable of learning any other vocation other than conflict and human annihilation. Some of the inmates of the Jagdalpur Prison in Chhattisgarh had been arrested by the Salwa Judam activists and not the Police force despite of the fact that nothing had been proven against them. All in all the report blamed the whole state directed scenario as a gross violation of Human Rights.[11] The state is not in the wrong to militate against the naxal elements but a humanitarian touch needs to be inculcated in the implementation of policies.

Security Dilemma

Rebellion is a mindset which pervades the thought process of the youth in any section of the Globe and it can be extremely potent which makes its channelising as pertinent as its containment. Tanto Paggio, Tanto Megilo, are the twin tenets of the revolutionary mind, which sustains its diatribes against the State and anything which faintly resembles the Status Quo, has to be eliminated. According to one observation, "Telengana too suffers in the sphere of Developmental parameters"[12] thus, establishing another rationale for the Naxal movement in the scarred region. The

observation, "Telengana too suffers in the sphere of Developmental parameters" thus, establishing another rationale for the Naxal movement in the scarred region. The subjects face a strange but severely felt Security Dilemma. People are left with two alternatives, "Either, they have to fight along with the State forces and become martyrs, or, they have the ubiquitous choice of joining the ranks of the rebels and continue to

9 "Dantewada Villages Under Siege," (Online: Web), Accessed 011 May 10th, 2008, URL: http://www.ndtv.com/convergence/ndtv/story.aspx?id= NEWEN200700 15829&ch=6/17/2007%25205 :23:0 0%2520PM

10Medha Bisht (2007), "Securitizing Development and Naxal Threat," (Online: Web), Accessed on May 10th, 2008, URL: http://www.idsa.in/publications/stratcomments/Medha Bishtl20207.htm

11"Naxalism in Chattisgarh", (Chennai: Frontline, September-October, 2007)

12 Ashok Das,(2000), "An Eye for an Eye", (New Delhi: Hindustan Times, March 12, 2000)

be in the good books of the local warlords who provide aid and succor to the Naxal elements operating from clandestine locations."

subjects face a strange but severely felt Security Dilemma. People are left with two alternatives, "Either, they have to fight along with the State forces and become martyrs, or, they have the ubiquitous choice of joining the ranks of the rebels and continue to be in the good books of the local warlords who provide aid and succor to the Naxal elements operating from clandestine locations." According to one of the observers, "Left formations are a lawless, depredatory force, and that "about 90% of the persons killed by Naxalites are from poor and labor classes and coming from SC, ST and BC castes. The sense of insecurity is therefore more in the poorer sections of the population.[13]

Colonel Lalit Kapur, Director of the National Bomb Data Center, commented to a correspondent of *The Hindu,* that, "Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh combined together, witnessed more bomb blasts, in the year 2006, than militancy-hit Jammu and Kashmir. Compared to 78 IED blasts in Jammu and Kashmir in 2006, a total of 91 explosions took place in the naxalism-affected areas of the two States."[14] In the estimates of these security experts, the small state of Chhattisgarh accounted for the largest number of incidents of Naxalist Violence in the year 2006.(715 of them all in toto)[15]

All is not well

Those times have arrived, when a destitute "Malti," Meena Choudhary and Prafful Jha, get caught by "the establishment," and the Chhattisgarh Police, cracks the code of her Laptop instead of going all the way to the Institute of Science, based in Bangalore.[16] The revelations are very extensive, wherein, the

marauding Maoists in tandem with the People's War Group's, "grand strategy" of overwhelming the infrastructure of the rural hinterland, stand exposed in all their gory gloriousness and a deluge of subterfuge. Despite the authority's efforts to constrain the naxal threat, the Naxalite movement is on the rise in several, "infested" states. And, ahead of all such states, is the Telugu Desam-ruled, Andhra Pradesh, where, the late chief minister Nara Taraka Rama Rao raised the slogan "Naxalites are patriots."

The recent incident which failed to shake the Indian Film industry, involved one of the Assistant Directors of a successful film, "Tareen Zameen Pain." It was informed on the "Premier" of the critically acclaimed movie, that the Assistant Director's father was caught, as being a lynchpin of the dragnet of Naxalism, which is all qualified to shred the body Politique of the pristine Uttarakhand into tatters and "randomize the state". The arrest led to the chance and fortunate discovery that all is not well with "the Arty types" of this creatively handicapped nation state, which seems to be engulfed by the dark forces of the Tolienkiensque, Lord Sauron and "the psychedelic reds" of the Jokers and the Goblinesque, Ivy Lady, (Uma Thurman of Batman fame) akin to the rural spell- weavers of the dreaded Dandakaranya. They are the doctrinaires par excellence of Chhattisgarh, who deftly replace the slings out of the innocent hands with "the double barrels of the destitutes". Even, the American graphic artist, Shephard Fairy, cannot escape the allegation that he has intentionally colored one of the Images of the crusading Barrack Obama, with a "Red coloring," giving it the grainy feel of losing out a fight to grab the mantelpiece as the Democratic party candidate in the land of Michael Moores and Milk and Honey, all amalgamated into one.[17]

In a rather incisive and engaging work, 'Other India " Sudeep Chakravarti combines political history, extensive interviews and individual case histories

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13 Report of the Advocate's Committee on Naxalite Terrorism in Andhra Pradesh. The Committee was formed by the High Court of Andhra Pradesh by its order dated, April 4, 1997, on Writ Petition number. 6829/97.

14 "Naxal Violence Cause of Concern For Governments", (Chennai: The Hindu, March 6, 2006)

15 Ibid

16 "Maoist Timeline-2008" (Online: Web), Accessed on April 9th, 2008, URL: http://www.satp. org/satporgtp/countries/indialmaoist/timelines/index.html

17 "Change By Shephard Fairy," (Online: Web), Accessed on April 10th, 2008, URL: http://store.barackobama.com/producty/po26951.htm

as he traveh to the heart of Maoist zones in the country: Chhattisgarh (home to the controversial state-sponsored Salwa Judum programme to contain Naxalism), Jharkhand, West Bengal Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. His enunciation includes meetings with Maoist leaders and sympathizers, policemen, bureaucrats, politicians, security analysts, development workers, farmers and tribals, who constitute the actors and the audience in this war being fought in the developmentally challenged "Village Republics" all across India.[18] What emerges is a sobering picture of a deeply divided society, and the dangers that lie ahead for India.[19]

Ideal is Technical wizardry

Gone are the ideal references to the Jawaharlal Nehru University's Chandrasekhar of the days of yore. The present day Naxals are young recruits from the "middling dust bowls of India", with a bit of technical wizardry being made part and parcel of their seemingly pliant paraphernalia of debilitation and destruction. Now, with fresh recruitment coming in, one cannot safely conclude that the sacrifices of Hemant Mandavi (A Police official who laid down his life in Orissa),[20] have limited the menace to the states of West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Maharashtra and parts of Tamil Nadu. The advent of the Maoists in the Hilly Billy Kingdom of Nepal, too leaves the Indian Government stranded on its feet, as the Prachanda led outfit formally eschewed violence only in the recent past and leaves behind a legacy of bloodcurdling violence since the year 1996, when, the Maoists initiated their campaign against the Nepalese Royalty.

Dr. Vara Vara Rao, in an interview, agrees to a potent fact about the Maoist-Leninist movement in India. He relates, "I don't claim all the educated people accept our movement. In fact, the Press is giving a wrong picture of it, wherever the movement does not exist. But, where it is strong, the whole socio-political scenario depends fully on Naxalite politics. True, there are educated people, who do not join the movement, that might be because of their bourgeois mentality. The middle class and the intellectuals, at large approve the Naxalite line. Today, they are witnessing corrupt parliamentary practices, degenerated politics and they say ours is the right path."

The Constitution of the country needs to be amended and a separate section on "National Security, [21] and internal security, appended in the text, to spawn a National establishment to deal with internal security threats. Otherwise, the nation state will lurch on a wretched and shaken state from one controversial "Salwa Judam",[22] to another in the places which bear the heart of our motherland. They intend to wound the heart and soul of civility and the nation. Even, the Supreme Court directed the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), to appoint a committee to investigate the human rights violations of Salwa Judum activists in Chhattisgarh. The Supreme Court in a March 31st, 2008, decision noted, that the State cannot distribute arms to individuals in the name of countering insurgency as this amounts to abetment of crime. The Supreme Court bench comprising, Chief Justice *K G Balakrishnan* and Justice Aftab Alam, held that there could be no objection to an independent enquiry into Salwa Judum as demanded by scholars of the order of Ramchandra Guha and Nandini Sunder. [23]

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18 From the Newspaper Desk" "Gandhi and Education", (Bangalore: Deccan Herald, September 27, 2007)

19 Sudeep Chakravarti (2007), "Red Sun: Travels in Naxalite Country," (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2007) pp. no. 40-50

20 "Editorial in Indian Express," (Indian Express, 27th February, 2008)

21 National security refers to the requirement to maintain the survival of the nation-state through the use of economic, military and political power and the exercise of diplomacy and tact. The concept according to an American definition entails that the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and international freedom of action of the United States. Intelligence activities relating to national security encompass all the military, economic, political, scientific, technological, and other aspects of foreign developments that pose actual or futuristic threats

22 Business Standard Reporter, (2008), " Supreme Court Asks National Human Rights Commission on Salwa Judum," (Delhi: Business Standard, 15th April, 2008) pp. no. 2

23 "Campaign For Peace and Justice in Chattisgarh", (Online: Web), Accessed on June 151\2008, URL: http:/ cpjc.wordpress.com/2008/03/31/government%E2%80%99 s-support-to-salwa endorsing-vigilantism-says-supreme -court

Way out of the Naxal Quagmire

There is a need for a solution or at least a modicum of a solution for the Naxal quagmire in the rural hinterland of our besieged country. One of the methodologies can be that the Political parties can strengthen their cadre base in Naxal affected regions so that the potentially targeted youth can be weaned away from the path of the harmful and anarchist ideology of doctrinaire Naxalism. The State Government strategists ought to develop a cohabitation with the NGO's, locally stationed Intelligence, civil liberty groups, etc, in order to minimize ground support for the Naxalite ideology and their activity. There ought to be a precondition attached to the negotiations package that unless the rebels lay down their arms and eschew violent and retributory machinations, there can be no going all the way to the "talking table".[24] One of the solutions, out of this Naxal drudgery is the extensive mobilization of the Mass Media to highlight the futility of Naxal Violence and a purposeful broadcasting of the benefits of the developmental schemes of the Government to restore people's faith and confidence in the Government's beneficial intent. The Flagship scheme of the Congress Regime, the NREGA, the National Rural Employment Guarantee scheme, can be portrayed as an instance of the good intent of the New Delhi power denomination. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has an effective surrender and rehabilitation policy[25] for ex-naxalites and has been beneficial for the masses laboring under the dragnet of Naxalism or as one might to nomenclature it as, "Fatalism."

Failure of Land Reforms

The secret of the Naxal success in India has been commonly attributed to the failure of the land reforms in India. If land reforms are taken up as prime priority, along with other livelihood and attendant sustainable developmental themes, then Naxalism will face an uphill climb in the near future in the rural hamlets of our country. Surplus land has to be amicably and justly distributed amongst the poor masses and an emphasis has to be laid on the creation of a physical infrastructure in the parlance of navigable roads, communication, power as well as social infrastructure of the order of schools, hospitals, health centers, and an efficient and accountable implementation of Governmental schemes.[26] Special courts for land settlement is actually very important given the fact that most of the land related cases in India have ended up in endless litigation. At the moment, the Governments invite big Multinational corporations and then do not have a balancing rehabilitation policy. The central government is expecting more than 300000 crore's investments from the SEZ's. It says that it will create nearly 3 to 4 million new jobs. So far the government has notified about 133 SEZs and another initenerary of 229 more soon is expected.[27]

Three years back, Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, appointed a committee headed by noted economist Arjun Sen Gupta to look into condition of work and promotion of livelihoods in unorganized sector. The committee submitted it's finding on July 7th, 2007. Some of the findings of the commission are actually a stricture against the government's own neo-liberal policies. It posits the fact that "as on January 2005, the total employment in the Indian economy was 457 millions of which the unorganized sector accounted for 395 million, or 86% of the total workers." All this directs our attention towards the task of rural development and sustainable development, wherein, the feasible management of forest lands in the Tribal belts, has to be sensitively and imaginatively dealt with. Regions like Nandigram, Kalinganagar, Khammam bring to the relief the fact that people will not sit silently and will

24 "Status Paper on the Naxa1 Problem," The Union Home Minister, Shivraj Patil tabled a Status Paper on the problem of Left Wing extremism in India. (Online: Web), Accessed on May 19th, 2008, URL: www.satp.org/satporgtp/indiaidocument/papers/06mar13Naxal%20problem%20.htm

25Ibid

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27 S.M. Bhatnagar (2007), "Special Economic Zones: Law and Procedure", (New Delhi: Centax Publications Limited, 2007) pp. no. 55-75

28 "Dr. Bimiyak Sen: The Tribal Doctor", (Online: Web), Accessed on June 101\2008, URL: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/h   i   /south _ asia/7397734.strn

not even wait for NGO's to guide them. They will pick up cudgels and arson against the state, if the land issue is not amicably and judiciously resolved. As a reminder of the current state of affairs, Chhattisgarh government arrested, Dr Binayak Sen, a human rights activist, on the charges of helping the Naxal movement in the region. Dr Binayak Sen's was raising the Issue of human rights violation of tribals, who were victims of police atrocities.[28] According to a BBC report, Dr Sen. has been awarded the prestigious Jonathan Mann Award, for Global Health and Human Rights, for his services to poor and tribal communities and his unwavering commitment to civil liberties and human rights in the country.[29]

Central Government Assistance

The Central Government has provided the naxalism affected states with financial assistance worth, Rs. 2,475 crores for 55 affected districts in the nine states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chattisgarh, Bihar, Orissa, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal under the Backward Districts initiative (BDI) component of the Rashtriya Sam Vikas Yojana (RSVY).[30] Under the core rubric of the scheme, an attractive and imminently utilizable quantum of Rs.15 crore has been disbursed to each district to fill in the critical gaps in the physical and social infrastructure. Attention also needs to be paid to the Tribal and Forest related themes. The Government has introduced the Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest's Rights) Bill, 2005, in the Parliament on 13th December, 2005. Ministry of Forests and Environment, as requested by the Ministry of Home Affairs, issued a general approval to allow such infrastructure by utilizing upto 1 hectare

of forest land for non-forest purposes, which is core concern in the dilapidated and inundated natural resources of the rural belts in some states in the Indian Republic. The Ministry also permitted an upgradation of *Kutcha* road constructed prior to 01.09.1980, into roads.

Povertys and its Eradication

India is a haven to 22% of the world's poor. Such a high incidence of poverty is a matter of apprehension, in view of the fact that poverty eradication has been one of the major objectives of the development process. Poverty happens to be a global problem. Poverty eradication is considered integral to humanity's mission for sustainable development. Thus, reduction of poverty in India is vital for the attainment international goals.[31] The philosophy underlying the poverty alleviation programs is to tackle the rural poverty by endowing the poor with productive assets and training for raising their skills so that they are assured of a regular stream of employment and income in raising themselves above the poverty line.

The Government of India's poverty alleviation programmes can be broadly classified, under five categories:

- Self-employment programmes like the Swarnajayanti Gram Swarojgar Yojana.
- Wage-employment programmes like the Sampoorna Grameen Rojgar Yojana and the National Rural Employment Guarantee (NREG) scheme.
- Area development programmes like Drought Prone Area Programmes and Rashtriya Sam Vikas Yojana.
- Social security programmes like the National Old Age Pension Scheme.
- Other programmes like the Indira Awaas Yojana.[32]

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29 Ibid

30 "Backward Districts Initiative: Rashtriya Sam Vikas Yojana, The Scheme and Guidelines For Preparations of District Plans," (Online: Web), Accessed on June 15th, 2008, URL: http://www.planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/guid Jsvy.pdf. The Excerpt of the Scheme: The Backward Districts Initiative under the Rashtriya Sam Vikas Yojana has been initiated with the main objective of putting in place programmes and policies with the joint efforts of the Centre and the States which would remove barriers to growth, accelerate the development process and improve the quality of life of the people. The scheme aims at focused development programmes for backward areas which would help reduce imbalances and speed up development.

31 K Yesudian CA, "Poverty alleviation programmes in India: a social audit," Tata Institute of SOI Sciences, Mumbai, India

32"Background and Discussion Papers," (Online: Web), Accessed on September 1St, 2008, VI http://www.empowerpoor.comlbackgrounder.asp?report=5. Background and Discussion Papers.

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According to a study, the percentage of India's population living below the poverty line in 2004-05 was estimated at 27.8 percent. The Government has been able to reduce this rate by only an average of O.74 percent, since 1993. Statistics clearly indicate that the poverty alleviation programs have had a minimal effect on poverty levels in our country. The plans look effective on paper but their implementation in reality has been a major setback. The actual funds that reach the beneficiaries are very little compared to the funds allocated for welfare schemes. Former Prime Minister, Rajeev Gandhi, had once said that out of every 100 paisa allotted for public welfare only 14 paisa reaches the target audience! How can we transfer these Government Funds directly to the poor, the needy and the disadvantaged in a poor country? The answer is that, "By setting up an Indian version of using a modern smart card system that delivers cash and/ or subsidies to the poor, based on their entitlements in accordance with specified parameters and norms."

Such a smart card could be programmed with identity (photo & biometric fingerprint), and have information on social and personal/household characteristics. Each person/household's entitlements could be in the form of specified subsidies for food /cereals, kerosene, midday meals, nutrition supplements, drinking water, toilet / sanitation services, basic drugs, schooling (primary/secondary), Internet access, electricity and a host of other items reflecting the dozens of subsidies and programmes currently in existence.

To Conclude

We need to be aware of the fact that a doctrine referred to as, the Security Dilemma, rules the roost in the firmament of International Politics. There is a rational choice before the citizens of our nation. Either, you, amalgamate yourself, with the rubric of the security forces and end up as a martyr or you end up on the other side of the fence, along with the Terrorist and the insurgent outfits, wherein, the personage is likely to meet a casualty with his family, kith and kin being uncared for in the event of death. Thus, the rational choice lies in the hands of the citizens as was very well postulated in a point pointed and a matter-of-fact manner by the ex-Police, Chief of Punjab, K.P.S. Gill in the tumultuous days and the ferment of the Khalistani insurgency in the hey days of terrorism in Punjab. In the month of September, 2008, the Delhi Government unveiled a new 900 crore, worth master mechanism to combat the scourge of Naxalism in the form of the, COBRA, (Combat Battalion of Resolute Action) which flags eight districts in Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and Jharkhand for immediate action by the special Task Force. Apart from the security angle, the paradigm of Comprehensive security and Human Security, too, needs to be analyzed which entails an efficient inclusion of the various Poverty Alleviation programmes, in order to ameliorate the standard of living, improvements in Urban and Rural Infrastructure along with the emancipation of the minorities, indigineuous populace and the women folk in the Indian nation State.

This multi-pronged approach towards development in the paradigm of sustainable development and wholesome enlistment can serve as a positive and pro-active panacea for the toiling dissidents in the hinterland of the country. Recently, on 15th September, 2009, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, in a joint conference of Director Generals of Police forces in New Delhi, issued a significant statement, which stated that, "I have consistently held that Left Wing Extremism poses perhaps the gravest internal security threat that we face. We have not achieved as much as success as we would have liked in containing it. It is a matter of concern that despite efforts, the level of violence in the affected states continues to rise.[33] Contending that Naxalism cannot be treated as a law and order problem, he said dealing with Maoists requires a "nuanced" strategy.[34] Still, as an antidote, beyond the mechanism of the welfarist state, lies the stabilization strategy on the part of the security forces without which the containment and the encirclement of the menace of Naxalism cannot see the light of the day.

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34 Ibid

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Tackling Terror in India
A Denovo Look

Brig. M.S. Khara*

"In the name of Allah, Indian Mujahedeen strikes back once more… Do whatever you can. Stop us if you can."[1]

E-mail titled "The Message of Death" sent to media networks just 10 minutes after the first bombing at Karol Bagh, Delhi on 13 Sept, 2008.

Such militant vocabulary is not surprising coming from a terror outfit but the larger question that lurks here is: have the terrorists succeeded in their goal of social control through terror means? The answer is difficult. India, ever since partition, became a breeding ground for terrorism and insurgency. The reasons for the same range from the geographical location, maladministration by successive governments, lack of strategic thinking, lack of political will, misplaced concepts of democracy and religion, incoherent and ambiguous foreign policy, poor diplomacy, poor media management and so on. The list is endless.

Since 11 September 2001, there have been more than 20 major terrorist attacks on Indian soil and none on US. While the US has succeeded in blocking successive attempts to execute attacks on its soil, India's record in this regard as evidenced by the statistics has been dismal. What could be the reasons for our less than satisfactory response to this global menace? Listening to any debate or discussion on the television, one would get the feeling that an average Indian is not only aware of the problem but seems to have all the right solutions too. It would be naive for us to believe that our well qualified and eminent politicians and bureaucrats do not possess a similar wisdom. Is it then the lack of vision or a preponderance of short term vision which is responsible for the current state of affair with regard to terrorism? Or is it the culture of strategic deafness and indifference. "India's National Honour" is violated when India displays lack of will to take pre-emptive actions against its enemies who inflict proxy war, terrorism and suicide bombings on the Indian State".

In India, it is apparent that 'Crisis Management' has never been given any serious thought taking into consideration our 'knee jerk' reactions to crises situations that have arisen ever since independence. The country's 'Nelson's Eye' to this particular aspect of state craft has been repeatedly and vividly exposed in the past. There is, therefore, a need to create a body of experts from diverse fields who can address security related issues in an integrated manner, advice the decision maker on the ramifications of a particular decision, generate options for the decision maker to choose from and expedite the decision making process.

Impediments to Crisis Management in India

Following impediments are in the way of a fool-proof crises management structure in India:

◆ **Centralisation:** There is over-centralisation in the decision making process with the hub being the PM and his office (PMO). The system is so overwhelmed by routine that while workable in ordinary times, it was found to be lacking in an area as complex as security in moments of crisis.

◆ **Lack of Political Will:** Lack of political will is a major shortcoming. India is not short of having at its command a multiplicity of powerful and effective instruments of state to combat the terrorism menace. It is, however, woefully short of political will and determination to use these instruments. No sooner did the ink dry on the tougher anti-terror laws in the wake of Mumbai attacks

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Abstract

In India, it is apparent that 'Crisis Management' has never been given any serious thought taking into consideration our 'knee jerk' reactions to crises situations that have arisen ever since independence. The country's 'Nelson's Eye' to this particular aspect of state craft has been repeatedly and vividly

than the political parties started their ramblings over the issue, demonstrating our divided politics. Many other incidents clearly demonstrate the ascendency of political goals over greater national good.

- **Poor Policy Formulation and Plan Implementation:** India's record of counter terrorism plan implementation is dismal. A case in point is that of setting up of coastal police stations. Based on intelligence inputs of terrorists' infiltration from the coast, the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, in its 07-08 annual report detailed the measures put in place for strengthening coastal security to check infiltration. In liaison with the nine coastal states and UTs, it stated that funds have been earmarked to set up 73 coastal police stations which will be equipped with boats, jeeps and motorcycles for mobility on coast and in close coastal waters.[2] The progress, however, has been painfully slow, with less than a dozen such stations being established over the last year and those established are without any accompanying infrastructure, equipment or trained manpower. One and half years after the expression of intent, which sadly remained just that, the Mumbai attacks of 9/11 materialised from the sea.

- **Centre-State Relations:** Law and order is in the Concurrent List of the Indian Constitution. States have a major role to play in maintaining law and order. However, terrorists operate not only across state boundaries but across international borders. After every blast, the security agencies swing into action but often fail to follow up the trail completely to reach the masterminds or the main operatives. By the time one state police gathers valuable information and tries to contact its counterpart in other state, the perpetrators of crime disappear leaving the security officials baffled.

- **Ill-Trained and Motivated Police Force:** The present police forces in the country are generally ill-trained, ill-equipped, ill-paid, corrupt and prone to political pressures. The beat constable of today with an outdated Point 303 rifle is no match for the well armed, well-trained and sophisticated militant. The police of most of the states are not structured, organized or trained to tackle the menace of terrorists. The armed components of the state police forces, where they exist, are poorly trained and lack operational expertise to deal with serious internal security problems. Policing in general and counterterrorism operations in particular, have remained trapped in a low technology paradigm for decades. The introduction of cellular phones and later satellite phones are cases in point where the potential for misuse and abuse of these technologies by terrorists have caught the law enforcement agencies off guard.

- **Multiple Agencies Dealing with Terrorism** There are a large numbers of agencies, which are dealing with the problem of terrorism/insurgency in the country at different levels. There is very little coordination amongst them, which leads to duplication of effort and serves as an advantage to the terrorists. The agencies are also normally involved in one-upmanship and end up working at cross purposes most of the time.

- **Intelligence:** Our Achilles' Heel has been our inability to get actionable intelligence at the required time. Experience has shown that, by far, the most effective strategy against terrorist groups has been the use of local police and intelligence services. If our intelligence agencies are to pre-empt terrorism, they need to be given adequate resources, armed with deterrent legal powers and backed fully.

- **Slow Response of Agencies:** With every major terrorist incident, what comes to light

is the slow response of our counter terror agencies. The allowing of the hijacked plane to take off from Amritsar to Kandahar and the arrival of NSG after nine hours to Mumbai only proves that these lessons are being re-learnt every time.

◆ **Financial Angle:** Every terrorist organisation is dependent on funding through voluntary donations from sympathisers, money gathered through extortion and coercion and through the circulation of counterfeit money. The vigilance and revenue intelligence departments have been found wanting in this regard. A strong and reliable mechanism to trace and control this funding would be striking at the core of the problem and once the funds dry up, the ability to continue would also suffer.

Strategy by Foreign Countries

❖ **US Strategy to Counter Terrorist Attacks:** To enhance internal security, America has transformed the way the government does business. The US had adopted a strategy for homeland security in 2003. In this, government's ability to protect and defend the homeland and the American people has been strengthened. They have strengthened defence of borders, enhanced transportation security, expanded port and maritime security, ensured protection of critical infrastructures and improved intergovernmental communications to ensure preparedness to respond to a crisis.[3] Other institutional reforms adopted by US include the following measures:

❍ **Director of National Intelligence (DNI):** The DNI was created to serve as the President's chief intelligence advisor and, as head of the Intelligence Community, to ensure close coordination and integration of the Government's 16 intelligence components.

❍ **National Counter Terrorist Centre (NCTC)** The NCTC was formally launched in December, 2004 to serve as a multi-agency centre to analyze and integrate all intelligence pertaining to terrorism, including threats to US interests.

❍ **Directorate of Strategic Operational Planning (DSOP):** NCTC/DSOP ensures that the activities and capabilities of United States Government departments and agencies are integrated and synchronized in an orchestrated government wide counterterrorism campaign.

❍ **Terrorist Screening Centre (TSC):** In 2003, a TSC was established to consolidate terrorist watch lists and provide around-the-clock operational support for Federal and other government law enforcement personnel across the country and around the world.

❍ **Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTFs):** The JTTFs resident in major cities throughout the United States has substantially contributed to improved information sharing and operational collaboration. These JTTFs, which numbered only 35 on 11 September, 2001 have been increased to 101 and serve as 'centers of excellence' in addressing both the collection of intelligence as well as the conduct of terrorism related investigations.

❍ **Intelligence-Led Policing (ILP):** ILP is a management and resource allocation approach to law enforcement using data collection and intelligence analysis to set specific priorities for all manner of crimes, including those associated with terrorism.

❖ **Israeli Strategy to Counter Terrorist Attacks**

(a) Israeli counter terrorist activity consists of three main components:

(i) **Operative Measures:** The offensive activities are aimed mainly to prevent the implementation of planning in the primary organizational stages or the training stage of terror attacks.

(ii) **Defensive Operations:** These measures include activity that is meant to put obstacles in the way of terrorist squads and disrupt their attempts to launch terror attacks. These activities aim at disrupting attempted terror attacks, while the squads are on their way to the target at the beginning of the attack.

exposed in the past. There is, therefore, a need to create a body of experts from diverse fields who can address security related issues in an integrated manner, advice the decision maker on the ramifications of a particular decision, generate options for the decision maker to choose from and expedite the decision making process.

(iii) Punitive Measures: This is legal activity, which is aimed at punishment of the planners and the operatives of terror attacks, as well as the supporters of terrorist organizations. These measures apply to the attack in all its stages, from the planning stage to the actual implementation of the attack.

(b) Goals: Following are some of the objectives basis of Israeli counter terrorist activities:

(i) Minimizing the Extent of Terrorist Activity Since the state of Israel has to contend with terror organizations which are often located in territories outside of its control, it is not within her power to destroy the organizations through classic military action. The aim, therefore, is not to eliminate but to reduce the number of terror attacks and to minimize direct and secondary damage.

(ii) Damage to Terrorist Squads: As a result of the ambition to minimize the extent of terrorist activity, the IDF centralizes its efforts by attacking terrorist squads in their different organizational stages, that is, in training camps, during terrorist activities, on their way to Israeli territory, during their border crossing or even during their stay in Israel itself.

(iii) Pursuing Terrorist Leaders and Planners Another objective of the counter terrorist strategy is a precise and methodical strike at the leaders of terrorist organizations and the functionaries directly responsible for the planning and execution of terror attacks.

(iv) Strikes at Terror Infrastructure: Striking at the military infrastructure of terrorist groups in their own backyard forces them to commit extensive resources to rebuild the affected areas, and this is likely to disrupt their plans for terror assaults in Israel.

(c) Operative Measures: Following the decision to carry out a strike against terrorist bases, decision-makers are faced with several options, including aerial bombardment, land incursion, naval operations, and pinpoint strikes against terrorist leaders.

(i) Air Force Bombardments: The most readily accessible means likely to meet most of the requirements of the war on terror, and without any need for complex advance preparations, is aerial bombardment. However, among the additional disadvantages of an aerial attack there is the problem of accuracy. This lack of accuracy at best results in an incomplete mission.

(ii) Ground Incursions: The land-based raid enables the destruction of a military target situated in a heavily populated area, while minimizing the risks to civilians.

(iii) Naval Attacks: Offensive action from the sea usually accompanies air force bombardment or land raids. Navy ships in this scenario serve as mobile sea-going artillery, "softening" targets before incursion by ground forces, or as an adjunct to aerial bombardments. As part of its offensive action, the IDF has also used the navy against naval bases and boats belonging to terror organizations.

(iv) Strikes against Terrorist Leaders: While attacks on field targets may succeed despite a deviation from the plan during its practical implementation, hitting terrorist leaders demands precise intelligence, extremely complex planning and flawless execution.

(v) Employment of Attack Helicopters: Israel has employed its attack helicopters with great success against the terrorists. Israel has been using the attack helicopters to attack the terrorist leaders since early seventies. In 2002, Israel killed 72 terrorist leaders. In fact, a statement from Israel sums up their core strategy "The main weapon the Israeli Army has in its arsenal against terrorism is the assassination policy".[5] The helicopter attacks against suspected militants are carried out, based on precise intelligence provided by well structured Intelligence departments.

(e) **Defensive Operations:** These operations are meant to put obstacles in the way of the terrorist squads and disrupt their attempts to carry out terrorist attacks in Israel. The three basic aims are deterrence, warning and prevention.

(f) **Target Hardening:** Whatever the target of terrorists, there are multiple ways of hardening the targets to prevent the terrorists from hitting their mark, or reducing the damage of attacks. One method is to place Jersey barriers or other sturdy obstacles outside tall or politically sensitive buildings to prevent car and truck bombing. Aircraft cockpits are kept locked during flights, and have reinforced doors, which only the pilots in the cabin are capable of opening. A more sophisticated target-hardening approach must consider industrial and other critical industrial infrastructure that could be attacked.

(g) **Counter-Terrorism Units:** These units are specially trained in tactics and are very well equipped for CQB with emphasis on stealth and performing the mission with minimal casualties. The units include take-over force (assault teams), snipers, EOD experts, dog handlers and intelligence officers.

(h) **Control Over Terrorist Websites:** Israel is continuously working in the area of having firm control over terrorist websites. They are keeping continuous surveillance over terrorist internet sites. Israel is fully aware that internet communication systems provide terrorist organizations a very powerful tool which they can exploit by means of private web cams installed at critical places and population centers from where they can view every nook and corner of a street. Catching terror groups before their actual mission and detecting attacks prior to the point where massive damage is likely to happen is the goal of offensive actions.

Recommended Strategy to Counter Terrorism

❖ **National Counter Terrorism Plan:** The November, 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai did not conform to the pattern to which Indian security agencies have got accustomed to over a period of time. While much has been written about prevention and preparedness in the aftermath of the Mumbai tragedy, it is equally vital to have detailed plans to respond to such acts and deal with the consequences in order to minimize loss of life. It is recommended that such important guidelines should be contained in a National Counter Terrorism Plan.

❖ The three important tenets of National Counter Terrorism Plan should be Preventive Intelligence, Preventive Physical Security and Consequence Management. It broadly means that intelligence should prevent terrorist attacks and if the intelligence machinery fails to provide early warning about an apprehended act of terrorism, the physical security apparatus should be effective enough to thwart the terrorists in their attempts to indulge in terrorism even without advance warning. In the event of both the intelligence and the physical security mechanisms failing, the consequence management infrastructure should be able to cope with the sequel.

❖ **Federal Agency to Counter Terrorism:** Post 26/11, the need for a Federal Organisation such as a Counter Terrorism Organisation(CTO) which deals with all aspects of terrorism to include policy formulation, advising the government, raising/equipping/training of CT forces, their deployment, co-ordination amongst intelligence agencies, co-ordination of response in case of a strike and finally reconstruction, was felt at the national level. This organisation must attract the best of the talents and be well-funded. For the fulfilment of its aim, a full time counter-terrorism infrastructure with all India jurisdictions needs to be formed, to handle centrally, all issues relating to terrorism. It should be vested with the

entire range of duties and responsibilities relating to terrorism-subsuming state jurisdictions. Its functioning should be made immune from political interference in their day-to-day functioning. CTO must have its counterpart CTOs at the state level but directly controlled by CTO headquarters at the centre.

❖ **National Investigative Agency (NIA):** The government has enacted legislation for establishment of a National Investigation Agency, with provisions for taking up specific cases under specific acts for investigation, provisions for setting up of special courts and other related matters.[6] NIA should be vested with following powers:-

(a) The NIA should be vested with powers to investigate a case based on suo motu cognisance of the scheduled offence.

(b) For Preventive Intelligence to succeed, it is essential to have sound, pro-active and responsive intelligence set-up. At national level, it is recommended that National Investigative Agency (NIA) is created by merging Central Bureau Investigation (CBI) and Intelligence Bureau (IB).

(c) The Police Act of 1861 specifies that the Police is an organ of the state government and not of the constitution. This results in undue political interference in the investigation process, selection of officers and their postings. Unless the police is free from political interference and has enough resources, no amount of laws can prevent terror attacks. Therefore, it is recommended that Police reforms, particularly those relating to freeing the police from political interference and subjugation should be immediately implemented.

(d) The police and intelligence should be legally empowered to carry out wire tapping and communication interception of terrorism suspects, as per their discretion and without having to approach the government for authorisation.

(e) As the general public is scared of giving statements out of fear and the fact that terrorists plan their acts in great detail to prevent leaving behind of any evidence, admissibility of confession in front of a police officer should be made admissible as is in the case of Narcotics Act and Excise Act. The admission could be verified by a court to prevent coercion based confessions.

(f) Witness Protection programs, including hiding the identity of the witnesses, are absolutely necessary to encourage people to give evidence without fear. It is recommended to fram up a comprehensive witness protection programme through an act of Parliament and institute a fully empowered group of people from various professional backgrounds to implement and monitor it. This can be implemented by the use of audio-visual tools like video screens during cross-examination and holding back the identity of the witness by keeping it off the police and judicial records.

(g) There should be no provision for presidential pardon for persons convicted of terrorism.

❖ **Establishment of a Think Tank:** It is recommended that an institute on the lines of USA's Rand Institute with regional experts to carry out in-depth study of psychology and ideology of terror organisations with the aim of understanding the causes and providing solutions should be established by the central government.

Preventive Physical Security

❖ **Security of Vital Installations:** All vital and vulnerable installations should draw up detailed procedures for different levels of physical security, so that the appropriate level could be implemented with the minimum delay. These procedures should include details of site plan, entry and exit routes, precautions and procedures, agency responsible, manpower and weapons requirements and their sources. Blue prints of all major public and corporate installations should be available with the local police.

❖ **Protecting Critical Infrastructure and Creating Partnerships with Private Firms:** It is practically impossible for police force to provide continuous round the clock security to every business establishment. They need to create their own security infrastructure or hire private security firms. It is recommended that installation of full time dedicated counter-terrorism security advisors (CTSAs) in police forces at appropriate levels be carried out.

❖ **Creation of Integrated Geospatial Plan (GSP)** Geographic Information System (GIS) provides most versatile platform for decision support by furnishing multilayer geo-referenced information which includes hazard zoning, incident mapping and critical infrastructure at risk, available resources for response and real time satellite imagery. GIS enabled information tools allow disaster managers to quickly assess the impact of disasters/emergency on geographical platform in most efficient manner. Thus, a reliable GIS based database will ensure the mobilisation of right resources to right locations within least response time. GIS based incident management system known as Emergency Operation Centre (EOC) Incident Mapper is a system which complements existing communication networks in organising, analysing and displaying GIS data in an easy to understand 'Big Picture' format. It enables decision makers at all levels to understand where and when a crisis can potentially strike and what the consequences may be should protective measures fail.

❖ **Training of Private Security Personnel:** Today, a large number of security services providing companies exist. These select, train and provide manpower to private organisations like hotels, industries and corporate offices. Are these men capable of handling modern equipment to thoroughly frisk / search men and baggage? Can they in emergency handle crisis situations? We have serious doubts about their capabilities. These persons do not inspire confidence. For starters, personnel hired by high value targets such as Five star hotels, multiplexes, cinemas

and industries must pass a rigorous security services test conducted under the aegis of a central/state agency prior to their employment. Their skills must be evaluated once in two years and randomly in between.

❖ **Implementation of Police Reforms:** The Supreme Court in 2006 directed the Centre and all states to implement police reforms that have been in the cold storage for long years. But due to lack of proper political will, even after the recommendation of Supreme Court of India, the National Police Commission recommendations have not been implemented. Political "interference" has often been mentioned as a cause for the ineffectiveness of police and security agencies in performing their duties. They should be made totally independent of, and fully immune from, political manipulation, without diluting the political authority's right to give general policy guidelines and to take action against any abuse or misuse of authority.

❖ **Enhance Police Response to Terror Attacks** There is a requirement of a common doctrine, syllabus, and training infrastructure for all the state police forces as a part of the process to strengthen the inner response mechanism but different from normal law and order handling. Following measures need to be initiated on priority;-

❍ In addition to improved basic police and tactical training, they need to be taught to think on their feet, to adapt to changing circumstances. Police personnel must be trained to overcome these physiological challenges.

❍ The police must train to establish Police Forward Command Post immediately at the terror attack site(s). The senior police officers need to be trained to integrate and employ emergency services, like the fire department and health services through this command post. The police should also train to isolate, contain and evacuate the site depending on the situation.

❍ The number of Police Stations needs to be quadrupled keeping in view the vast areas with narrow roads and lanes and the density of the population.

❍ The VVIP & VIP Security requirements being imposed on the Police for protection of such persons are a major diversion of police resources meant for policing the public areas and dealing with crime not to mention militant activities. The Police must have a separate Commissionerate for VVIP/VIP security which should have a separate budget, manpower, resources and equipment.

❖ **Specialised Counter-Terrorism Training Centres** Post Mumbai terror attacks, police forces across the country are scrambling to set up new special counter terror forces and upgrade their weaponry. However, to raise these forces, specialized training schools are needed, which itself are not easy to be raised in absence of infrastructure and instructors. It is recommended that setting up of five regional bases of National Weapons and Tactics Academy, under National Security Guards is carried out.8 The states across the country should be affiliated with one of the academies and made responsible for making contribution in them by provision of dedicated instructors and staff for smooth functioning.

❖ **Counter-Terrorism Forces:** The proposal to establish regional bases of the Special Action Group (SAG) of National Security Guards is a practical and necessary step, but this should be supported by helping the local police to establish their own specialist anti-terrorist Units.
The following needs to be ensured:

(a) The NSG must have dedicated Air-assets with a separate Budget, ie: aircraft and helicopters which can be manned and maintained by a specially created detachment of the Indian Air Force(during peace times) but must be under the operational command of the NSG Headquarters.

(b) Frequent drills and exercises of NSG units being able to mobilize with task-specific equipment should be carried out regularly and timely. One-third of the NSG force at any location together with corresponding air-assets must be at Stand-To and be ready for deployment at 30 minutes notice. The remaining NSG forces should be able to mobilize and be airborne within 90 minutes.

(c) The tenure of army personnel in SAG is at present three years. This must be increased to five to seven years to prevent loss of highly trained and skilled manpower. Alternately the option of permanent absorption of the army personnel posted to SAG on the lines of Indian Army Special Forces may be considered.

(d) The State governments must form Special Counter Terrorist Organisations (CTO) on the lines of Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) Units, which are elite tactical units in US police departments.[9] These must be trained to perform high-risk operations that fall outside of the abilities of regular police, including hostage rescue, counter - terrorism, and engaging heavily-armed criminals, and are very well, equipped for Close Quarters Battle with emphasis on stealth and performing the mission with minimal casualties. The units should include assault teams, snipers, explosive experts, dog handlers and intelligence officers.

(e) CTOs must be equipped with specialised weapons including assault rifles, submachine guns, shotguns, shoot around the corner weapons, riot control agents, stun grenades, and high-powered rifles for snipers. They must have specialised equipment including light weight Kevlar body armour, Kevlar helmets bracketed with night sights, entry tools, light armoured vehicles, advanced night vision optics, and motion detectors for covertly determining the positions of hostages or hostage takers inside of an enclosed structure.

❖ **Interrogation Experts:** The arrest of any terror suspect or busting up of a terror module has significant ramifications in fight against terror organizations. A pool of trained and experienced interrogators must be constituted by every state to interrogate such suspects. The interrogators must be well-acquainted with the ideology and organization of the various terror groups.

❖ **Lateral Absorption of Military Personnel in BSF, CISF and CRPF:** Creation of additional battalions for security, in the long run, place a heavy burden on the exchequer as these persons also have to be paid pension. It is the right time for the armed forces to press home for the lateral absorption of ex-servicemen. Besides providing trained manpower, the armed forces pension bill could also be reduced.

❖ **Coastal Security Network:** In the wake of 26 November terror attacks as well as previous Mumbai serial bomb blasts where RDX was transported via sea route into India, there is urgent necessity for establishing a dedicated, visible and state of the coastal security network around the Indian coastline. The following measures are recommended:

(a) A three-tier coastal security network to be formed around coastline to prevent another terror attack from the sea. While Indian Navy forms frontline with the outermost tier, the Coast Guard should be capable of forming second tier to monitor the entire coastline. They should be assisted by Border Security Force Water Wing in Rann of Kutch area. The Coastguard must be equipped with ships having good speed, powerful day and night radar, night surveillance capabilities and effective weapon systems to meet any challenge posed by marauders who enter Indian territorial waters. The third tier should comprise of coastal police formed from the local state police with dedicated resources in terms of small and fast patrol boats, with compatible communication means to coordinate their activities with Coast Guard.

(b) The coast guard sea and air fleet must be upgraded to meet the challenges. The central government's proposed initiative of deploying radars along the coastline, establishing a coastal command to coordinate the coastal security network, coastal police stations and a Maritime Security Advisory Board (MSAB) are practical steps to counter threats being generated from the sea.[10]

❖ **Securities from the Skies:** Given the kind of novel mechanisms and strategies that terrorist organizations have devised to attack India in recent years, there is an urgent need to renew India's focus on aerial security. In October 2008, the Comptroller and Auditor General's (CAG) report revealed serious lapses in the Air Defence network, because of inadequate and outdated radar surveillance systems operated by the Indian Air Force (IAF).[10] Hence, it is recommended that an integrated network of surveillance radars, air defense control centers, and anti- aircraft guns for air and missile bases tasked with the protection of India's vast airspace be established at the earliest. The main objective of aerial security is to safeguard the Indian skies against all types of air attacks, and which includes security at airports to prevent terrorists from hijacking a plane. The areas around the highly sensitive installations should be permanently designated as 'No Fly Zones'.

❖ **Security at the Airports and Vital Installations.** Threat recognition at the airports and important installations is of paramount importance. Since deployment of any amount of manpower at the airports/installations would not make the security fool proof, it is important that imaging systems and transponders which generate huge amounts of digital data; intelligent networks, pattern-recognition software, and remote databases are employed to accomplish this task for us. Terrorists can get fake passports and fake driving licenses, can change their names, and can use disguise to change the way they look. But they can't change their fingerprints, and

can't easily evade other biometric methods of identification. The image being received by these devices is compared with large databases of stored images. Iris-scanning system installed at the airport in Amsterdam is an example wherein a person needs to register and then stare briefly into a lens instead of presenting his passport. In addition to linking a person quickly to his or her previously used identities, biometrics can help authorities determine if a person they encounter has been previously arrested for some crime or somehow linked to terrorist or criminal activity. The process of seeing and screening of threats needs to be automated to provide law-enforcement officers with fast, nationwide access to fingerprint databases, together with pattern-recognition software that fully automates the process of finding matches.

❖ **Surveillance of Metropolitan Cities:** Keeping metropolitan cities under continuous surveillance to guard against terror attack is a herculean task because of their size and population density. Following measures can be adopted to carry out round the clock surveillance of the metros:

  (a) Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) is an effective deterrent as well as investigative tool. State departments must consider the installation of CCTVs at all important places within the metro. CCTV is a relatively inexpensive technology that can increase deterrence and the likelihood of preventing an attack perhaps by capturing images of people making an obvious reconnaissance.

  (b) Employment of RPVs and Spy Planes must also be considered seriously. The images down linked by these RPVs and Spy Planes to the intelligence command posts located in the cities can be analysed and threat discerned by experts. This information can thereafter be passed to CTOs via secured internet connections. The threatened locations can be depicted with latest situation

update using GIS technology. The NSG and state CTOs in possession of hand held computers would be able to locate threat and its extent and plan their operations to counter it. Military RPV development programs are now focused on fully functional bat-size and even butterfly-size RPVs, which have already been built. AeroVironment's electric-powered Black Widow typifies a new family of tiny fliers, with two-mile range and live color video downlink. The company is now developing a wing-flapping, dragonfly-like Microbat that weighs half an ounce, including camera and telecom downlink.

❖ **Counter Terrorism Institute:** Even though India is facing the threat of terrorism/insurgency since independence, all the agencies involved in fighting terrorism are operating in their own watertight compartments or on a need basis. As a very important step towards formulation of strategies and also to act as a source of expertise, it is imperative that India establish a Counter Terrorism (CT) Institute where research work is carried out on projects ranging from improving the ability to respond to conventional terrorist incidents, upgrading the ability to detect and respond to the threat of chemical/ biological/ nuclear terrorism, enhancing our capability to effect safer explosives ordinance disposal, developing new equipment to upgrade intrusion detection and counter-measure capabilities.

❖ **Identity Cards:** It is recommended that creation of a biometric national identity (ID) card system be carried out on priority. The acquisition of identity cards to be made mandatory through legislation and fingerprints should also be included on drivers' licenses. A central database should house the information.

❖ **Forensic and Laboratory Facilities:** Every Metro city plus all state capitals must have their own forensic and laboratory facilities which are at the service of the respective State/Metro police organizations. A Centralized Forensic Sciences Centre should be setup to keep up with the

advances in forensic science studies and this centre should co-ordinate to standards and procedures being followed by the forensic labs in the States.

❖ **Modern Small Arms to Counter Terrorists**
Following modern trends in small arms are likely to be very effective in Indian context and need to be incorporated in the India's war against terror:

(a) Soldiers in urban operations who need to look around corners, over walls and through windows experience a high number of wounds to the head and upper torso. In late 2004 Australia's Defence Science and Technology Organisation developed the Off-Axis Viewing Device (OAVD) to reduce the vulnerability of Australian troops in urban operations in Iraq. The OAVD weighs about 500 grams and measures 150 mm and can be clipped to the standard optical sights .Two oval-shaped mirrors within the sealed OAVD reflect the image from the weapon's optical sight to the soldier who is able to search for and engage targets while keeping his head and upper torso behind cover.[12] Similarly corner shot weapons are in state of development which consists of a segmented, assault rifle-type folding stock, pistol-grip contraption, onto which is attached a pistol of choice and a compact, detachable color video camera. A lateral left and right swinging hinge mechanism and a remote trigger control allow the user to drop the hammer on targets from behind the safety and comfort of any right-angled structure.

(b) The red dot sight, otherwise known as a Reflex sight is an optical firearm sight, sometimes also used as an aiming sight for telescopes. For military users the narrow of field-of-view is the biggest disadvantage of employing optical sights, particularly in CQB situations. Red dot technology allows the shooter to rapidly acquire and engage targets while keeping both eyes open, thus maximizing situational awareness. Simply placing the dot on the target should ensure a hit.13Refer appendix for pictures of modern trends.

❖ **Compilation of Data Bank:** The Ministry of Internal Security through their respective Intelligence and information gathering departments must develop a national data base starting with the four metros and then all the State capitals and then the district towns/cities wherein schematics and diagrammatic layouts of all important government buildings, public buildings, schools, colleges, hospitals, theatres, multiplexes, airports, rail stations, bus Stations, ports, power plants, oil refineries, POL storages, major industrial and chemical units, Oil pipelines, strategic Installations, vital Installations and places of worship must be compiled, showing not only their exterior and interior layout but also incorporating the electric and sanitation lines layout and the air-conditioning system and its ducting. These details should be collected, checked and then microfilmed and stored in a National Data Base so that the Ministry of Internal security can access them promptly as per requirement so that counter terrorist operations groups and the NSG do not have to feel their way blindly in their anti-terror operations.

Consequence Management

❖ **Emergency Response Mechanism:** Fire departments, supplemented by public works agencies, utility providers like gas, water and electricity suppliers, and heavy construction contractors, are most apt to deal with the physical consequences of an attack. All these agencies must be co-opted by local police departments in handling terror attack plans especially in major cities across the country. It is recommended that police should regularly conduct emergency response drills in coordination with these agencies within different parts of the city, based on varying terror attack scenario.

❖ **Medical Services:** Emergency medical services will bring the more seriously affected victims to hospitals, which will need to have mass casualty and emergency plans in place. Public health agencies, from local to national level, must be designated to deal with identification, and sometimes mitigation, of possible biological attacks, and sometimes chemical or radiological contamination.

❖ **Hostage Negotiators:** Though Government of India has officially declared policy of no negotiations with hostage takers, there may still be contingencies when such negotiations may be needed in national interest. Hostage negotiations is a specialized field and besides National Security Guards, each state must earmark some of their best officers for being trained in hostage management strategy, terrorist ideologies, and the psychology of hostage takers.

❖ **Coordination between Army, CTO and Police**

The employment of central forces like CRPF is done in companies and not in Battalions. Once the force reaches a state it is placed at the disposal of the state administration, which at that point of time may not in itself be functioning at optimum levels. The central force is then sub-divided and placed under various police HQs as the reinforcement, with virtually no operational command with their original officers. As a result there are just added numbers to the force without the additional factor of additional support that comes from a cohesive force with integrated administrative and command and control set-up. Since the added central forces do not effectively contribute to improving the situation, the Armed Forces are called in. Now with the deployment of police, CTOs and Army in the same area detailed coordination and command structuring is required while tackling with the terrorist attack situation in hand. Following is recommended in this regard:

○ The senior most Army formation commander in the region should take charge of the overall situation and direct the operations with the CTO and police commanders subordinate to him.

○ All available information must be provided to the Army by civil authorities. An irritant in developing harmonious relations, particularly at the working level, are mistaken notions of protocol. However, it is important that both sides operate together and optimize their resources. There is a large scope in this field for improvement more so in intelligence sharing and conduct of joint operations. Suspicion about each other, glory hunting and turfs are some of the reasons that should be rectified for desirable results.

○ A Unified Command concept should be adopted in all the states as is presently done in insurgency affected states. At the State level, the Chief Secretary should head the team supported by the senior most Army officer in the region.

○ At grass root level where the concept is actually implemented, extensive interaction must be carried out between the Army unit commander, the Deputy Commissioner, Superintendent of Police, and the intelligence bureau representatives to evolve a tactical plan for conduct of operations.

○ There is a need to ensure that the communication is compatible between CTOs, Army and Police as well as other security forces and civil authorities. Communications provided to the Army must be reliable and state of the art. At the same time, while dealing with terrorists it is seen that terrorists too operate with very sophisticated communication equipment which needs to be monitored and their network infiltrated into. At present the communication interface between the Army and other Forces and the Civil Authorities is not compatible in terms of equipment and procedures, as a result coordination between the agencies is much below the desired state. This needs to be corrected.

○ Joint counter terror training and exercises must be organized between CTOs, Army and state Police where realistic terror attack

situations are simulated and reactions practiced and rehearsed.

❍ Selected army officers should be posted to Police and other civil establishments and vice versa. This measure would ensure better coordination and feeling of camaraderie during actual terrorist related operations as better assessment of each other's strengths and weaknesses can be done. Suspicion about each other, glory hunting and turfs are some of the reasons that should be rectified for desirable results.

❍ Army units earmarked to react in situation of a terrorist strike must be adequately equipped with suitable weapons and compatible communication devices and made to undergo training in counter terrorism institutes along with state CTOs and Police.

❖ **Modus Operandi when Struck by Terror Attack**
The immediate response to a terror attack would have to come from the local police and the CTOs of the State where the terror strike is initiated by the terrorists. The CTO Director of the State must immediately be the focal point of authority to co-ordinate the counter terrorism machinery of the state. The State CTO Director must immediately be able to do the following within minutes of a terror strike being reported:-

(a) Take control of the situation by directing the local police to immediately cordon- off the site of terror attack.

(b) Kill the telecom signal in the area of the terror strike making all cell phone usage redundant.

(c) Order jamming and blacking out of TV channels in the area of terror-strike.

(d) Deploy the CTO operations groups to the site of the terror strikes and direct intelligence department of CTO to make available all required information/intelligence to the CTO operations group under deployment.

(e) Requisition local army units to take over the cordon from the police at the affected terror strike.

(f) As soon as the army takes over the cordon at the site of the terror strike, the local Police must be moved to take up positions to form an outer Cordon cutting-off and isolating the site of terror strike, and impose and enforce an immediate curfew in the affected area.

(g) The CTO operations groups must deploy snipers and initiate action to isolate the terrorists and keep up the firing pressure.

(h) Request for NSG and CTO reinforcement contingents from neighboring states/locations closest in proximity to the area of terror strike.

(j) Start initiating half hourly briefings to the press/media by the CTO Media.

(k) Summon whatever resources (air/helicopters, armored vehicles) close to the area of terror strike and neutralize and close-in to eliminate the terrorists.

(l) Order local Civil Defence and fire fighting units and ambulances to mobilize and be available near the outer cordon (laid by the local police) so that they may be moved nearest to the site of the terror strike when the situation demands.

❖ **War-Gaming for Various Terror Strike Options**
Though in Indian Army, war-games are conducted for evaluating various options for conduct of successful conventional operations, the same technique may be employed at various formation headquarters to war-game different terror strike options, including urban terrorism. The options generated to counter these probable terror strikes will save our time from pondering over various options at the critical time of attack and result in a faster and synergized response to any terror strikes. The armed forces being the offensive instrument of the nation must be prepared for this eventuality at all times and be ready to prosecute it at all costs to achieve desired end state. It is amply clear that in today's environment the 'Soft Power' combined with 'Strong Power' leads to 'Smart Power' and this is what we need to become.

Conclusion

It is still a long way before we can see the conclusion of the menace of terrorism. Terrorism is, and will remain, the central threat to the international security as we move ahead in the 21st Century. We can expect little deviation from established patterns by mainstream terrorists belonging to ideologically motivated groups. Terrorism is today thriving on weakness and it is threatening the very foundations of lawful and human government. In order to flourish, terrorism requires an environment of hate, conflict and violence. Besides experiences in combating terrorism suggest that inflexibility may not be feasible or practicable under the circumstances but a clear policy line certainly helps. There is, therefore, a requirement for formulating a realistic policy to eliminate the root causes of terrorism and to meet the challenges thrown by its different brands. A cool calculated and firm response along with extra ordinary government and political arrangements will go a long way in achieving the desired results.

Appendix 'A'
(Refers to Para 28(b) of the service paper)

Shoot Around the Corner Weapons

Kevlar Helmets

Bullet-Proof Jacket

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International Terrorism and India

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Key Words

Cancer
Inexorable
End
Innocent
Civilian Life
Instrument of
State Policy
Surrogate
Warrior
Hegemonistic

*Member (Hony.)
International
Olympic Committe.

Introduction

Terrorism, it appears, has found a permanent place on the International political scene-and International terrorism though less in its incidence, than its domestic kind is now being practiced freely in many countries in the world - like in America, Ireland, Spain, Africa, Russia, Afghanistan, Central Asian Republic, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Colornbia and Philippines, etc. The pattern is about the same, although the perpetrators have varied motives, ranging from ethnic, religious, drugs, territorial and Right Wing fanaticism - blowing up of Airliners in the air, Trade Centers in the US, Oklahoma, and civilians in Kashmir and democratic symbols like houses of Parliament. This variety of International violence appeared on the world stage in the 1960's and continues unabated. There is a loose sort of an inter-nation framework to combat this new violence, globally - though excepting the Islamist Al Qaida there is no visible link between the other various barbarous outfits. The Shi-hite groups work semi-independently and sometimes with the Hamas but have lately started working with Al Qaida. The I.R.A has a weak linkage with E.T.A (Spain), and so do the North-East Indian secessionists with the ISI of Pakistan. The Al Qaida has close ties with the Philippines minority groups and the Indonesian Jamait-E-Isliamiah. Some of the groups are also sponsored by ISI, which has often attracted International odium - like the attack on the Indian Parliament in 2001.

One of the main difficulties in combating Terrorism today particularly in a democratic environment is defining it precisely. Many attempts have been made to define it so that it may not be adjudged as a form of legitimate resistance against tyranny. There is of course the dictionary meaning which puts forth that "Terrorism: The calculated use of violence or the threat of violence to inculcate fear, intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological.

Paul Johnson, a reputed writer adds, "Terrorism is the cancer of the Modern World. No State is immune to it. Unless treated drastically its growth is inexorable as it poisons the society on which its feeds and drags it down to destruction. It has been observed that International terrorism is inspired by religious economic, nationalistic and ethnic fervour." Hundreds have died because of it, all over the world- America, Latin America, Lebanon, Peru, India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Sri Lanka, Philippines Africa (Rwanda - Liberia, etc.) Indonesia and Colombia.

One of the classic arguments against terrorism was advanced by Lenin. In "What is to be done"."The terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of the intellectuals, who lack the ability or opportunity to connect the revolutionary struggle and the working-class movement into an integral whole. It is difficult indeed for those who have lost their belief, or have never believed that this is possible, to find some outlet for their indignation and revolutionary energy, other than terror, "He also said "Terrorism is about power. Its purpose is to terrorize, and a means to political power and a way to hold it."

Trotsky on Terrorism

The capitalist State does not base itself on government, ministers, and cannot be eliminated with them. The classes it serves will always find new people; the mechanism remains intact and continues to function. In our eyes, individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes towards a great avenger and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission."

Another definition, which is more recent, is that of Brig, Malik of the Pakistan army in his writings on "the Quranic Concept of War". He states that "Terrorism is the quintessence of the Islamic strategy for war: Terror struck into the hearts of the enemies is not only a means, but the end in itself. Once a condition of terror into the opponent's heart is obtained hardly anything is left to be achieved. It is the point where the means and the end meet and merge. Terror is not a means imposing decision upon the enemy; it is the decision we wish to impose upon him."

It should, however, be understood that force and state action against terrorists, by itself is not alone sufficient to curb it. The strategy to it should be carefully thought of, with the realization that the means of terrorism can never be morally justified, whatever may be stated by the perpetrators. The core of the doctrine of terrorism lies in the belief in the snuffing out of innocent civilian life and by instilling terror in the victims heart. The crimes that they commit are analogous to war crimes. The beliefs, demands, and grievances, and motivation and the political social and economic conditions which together constitute the underlying causes of terrorism, should be carefully researched and analyzed lest the terrorist legitimizes his sanguinary quest through terrorism. Surely there are many ways open to a person to attain his goal, and these ways should not use violence and deliberate murder.

Failure of World Bodies

International bodies fail in their goals of achievement because of their diversity to attain their goals, independently or jointly. This is the main reason for the U.N. failure in countering terrorism. A consensus even on the definition of Terrorism has not been reached, and for this reason, in many countries terrorism is an instrument of foreign policy. For liberal democracies, however, terrorism is basically repugnant and against the tenets of constitutional and representative rule. Political violence is abhorred, because change if it is needed is also possible through peaceful means. Once political violence establishes itself then it can create its own

principles. We know it only too well, because most of our neighbours are a law unto themselves.

Half a century back India was part of a colonial power and was dismembered into two countries - now three. This led to a number of ethno - nationalist and territorial disputes, which have had an effect on subsequent terrorist activity - particularly in Kashmir and the growth of the Pak based hydra headed ISI. No matter what official circles may think, this has had a deleterious effect on the stability of India. Three wars with Pakistan, insidious propaganda against the unity of India, the fissiparous activities of the ISI and its continuing operations have affected the peace that India needs for its growth. And now nuclear blackmail has started and the Lord only knows how it will end. It seerns that a calm atmosphere is ages away from India. The instability in the North-East, the Bombay riots and the attack on Parliament House by the agents of the ISI have had a destabilizing effect on our country. Local conflicts are with impunity transformed into international issues apart from bringing the two countries on the brink of a bigger conflict. State sponsored Terrorism is a new phenomenon, for it brings into focus a cost-effective means of waging war covertly, through the use of surrogate warriors-terrorists.

Regional Faultlines

Secular India is an eyesore to many of its neighbours. Its booming economic progress makes many an enemy amongst its envious neighbours. India has never tried to use clandestine methods to achieve its goals- its main goal has been to live at peace with its neighbours. It has been ravaged through the centuries by hegemonistic neighbours who wanted to loot the land of its bounty. It has no evil designs on any of its neighbours, and mounting any terrorist attacks on any country is unimaginable. It has had many governments both secular and non-secular but it has never covetously looked at its neighbours. Pakistan, our next-door neighbour is now riding the terrorist tiger and is ruing the day it allowed 'madrasas' to be organized on its soil. It is confronted within its own confines with hundreds of fundamentalists having their own agenda. Having

Abstract

Terrorism, it appears, has found a permanent place on the International political scene-and International terrorism though less in its incidence, than its domestic kind is now being practiced freely in many countries in the world - like in America, Ireland, Spain, Africa, Russia, Afghanistan, Central Asian Republic, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Colornbia and Philippines, etc. The pattern is about the same, although the

perpetrators have varied motives, ranging from ethnic, religious, drugs, territorial and Right Wing fanaticism - blowing up of Airliners in the air, Trade Centers in the US, Oklahoma, and civilians in Kashmir and democratic symbols like houses of Parliament. This variety of International violence appeared on the world stage in the 1960's and continues unabated. There is a loose sort of an inter-nation framework to combat this new violence, globally - though excepting the Islamist al-Qaida there is no visible link between the other

Washington as its main friend and ally, is not without a price, which it may find it difficult to repay - Al Qaida now a globally hated institution has its claws deeply entrenched in its vitals of Asia, Africa, Europe and the U.S. The Taliban once nurtured by the U.S is now resented everywhere. Where has their terrorism led then? Their President cries hoarse to get rid of these violent-cum-religious bodies as shame is being heaped on his country for having given birth to them.

Kashmir continues to be the centre of terrorist activity. It receives every now and then a dose of Islamic militancy from Pakistan. India has to be careful about its own fundamentalists; Muslims in India should not be made to feel insecure.

Another factor essential for curbing terrorism in India is the nurturing to health the backward North East- Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, and Sikkim. We must keep our relations with Bhutan, China, Burma, Bangladesh and Nepal warm. In our own heartland the naxalite menace has to be contained by a new humanitarian approach. Already one-sixth of our country is under the shadow of this movement (Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa parts of Maharashtra, and Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh)

Tracing Terrorism

When tracing terrorism in Asia one has to keep in mind the advent of Violence which was brought into the Near East by the continuous Arab-Israeli conflict since 1948, the Suez Canal tension in 1956 and the Israeli takeover of certain Trans-Jordan area and the Gaza strip in 1967. The successful retaliation by the Arab force in 1973 and the resurgence of Arab oil prices about the same time, as well the Iranian revolution under Khomeni in 1979, gave rise to a peculiar belligerence amongst Islamist countries like - a militant Islamic revivalist movement. Some writers in the West, particularly Huntington, in an oversimplification has tried to explain this is an inevitable clash between civilizations. The truth perhaps lies in the fact that it was the legacy of colonialism in the Islamic world, combined with the

authoritarian unpopular regimes governing some of them, and also the Muslim perception that the West had a 'bias' against the Arabs in the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, there was a an anti-colonial, nationalist sentiment raging all over the globe, and this Islamic revival closely resembled it. Also there was a great urge in most of the Islamic countries in Asia to modernize themselves and not be a victim of a sense of decline and economic dependency. Unfortunately, Muslim nations and societies have been frustrated by a variety of reasons related to their internal social dynamics, in which modernizing 'dictators' have played a significant part.

Adequate attention to the impact of democratic forces with a broader consensus has been missing, and also emphasis on how to combat any radical forces, as enjoined by Islam. Religious thinking was used as a conservative force as in Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Libya, etc. Even the Arab variant of socialism was shunned, and there was no real political participation by the mass of people and less of representative forms of Government. These collective drawbacks made the Governments, more authoritarian and less popular.

Perhaps we can now discuss, briefly the presence of terrorism in some of the Islamic countries, which now seem to be riddled with this curse.

The current resurgence of religious terrorism is mainly within trends observed in today's Islamic world. It is true that the revival of Islamic fundamentalism is universal, and most adherents are not terrorists. Yet it cannot be denied that most of the violent conflicts, both at home or abroad, happen and continue to happen in Islamist regions. The entire Middle East stretching from Palestine to Afghanistan, till recently was in the grip of violent instability - more than ninety percent. Most of the violence created by radical Islamists was against other Arabs or Muslims as in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Algeria. There is, of course, no Islamist monopoly in the field of religious fanaticism - it exists in may other parts of the world - U.S, Russia, Africa, India and Philippines, Indonesia, etc. United Nations peace forces are without doubt functioning in about 80% of the countries stricken with Arab-inspired violence,

where Jihad continues to be practiced. Contemporary terrorism poses the greatest danger to Islamic countries and its victims are civilians of Muslim religion.

Algeria

In 1962 Algeria achieved freedom from French colonialism. The new leadership was Islamic but secular in nature. However, global economic forces were not to be denied, and by 1990 there was rampant unemployment, and a feeling amongst the population spread that socialism and Western ideas were responsible for the malaise. In the 1992 elections, the Islamic Salvation Front won at the hustings, but the Government annulled the elections, and banned the Islamic Salvation which included the terrorist organization the GIA. The core of GIA consisted of Saudi Arabs and Algerian volunteers, who bad fought in Afghanistan. Unlike other Islamist terrorists they worked in large numbers, and their targets were intellectuals and journalists. Thousands perished before the Al Qaeda led terrorists were bridled. The most inhuman atrocities were perpetrated on women and children, so as to spread the message of terror. More poor were killed in this holocaust, for whom this civil conflict had started.

Israel-Palestine

After the Israel-Arab War of 1948 and the Suez crisis in 1956, the next land war in this area was the six days war in 1967. In between there had been incidents of assassination, murder rioting and arson. After 1967, the whole scene changed, when a large number of Arabs in Judaea and Samaria came under Israel. Large groups of Arab terrorist groups came into existence-well financed and fully armed. The main groups was Fatah under Yassar Ararat. There were other groups under Marxists and left wing parties.

The operations by these groups are well known today: Ambushing, hijacking of planes and the attack against Israeli athletes at Munich. The PLO whose military branch was Fatah got a lot of international publicity. In 1980, two new terrorist groups surfaced - the Hizbullah in Lebanon and Hamas in Gaza and

in Israeli occupied territories. The Hizbullah was directly connected with Iran under Khomeni, and Hamas under the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. Whereas Hizbullah is entirely Shihite, Hamas is overtly Sunni. Thus, terrorism in this part of the world became internationalized. Syria and Iran openly encouraged the Hizbullah - whose membership consisted of poor Shia Muslims from Lebanon who felt oppressed under the more wealthy Christian Lebanese.

Hamas, an offshoot of the Egyptian Brotherhood, is the driving force behind Intifida, and became more popular than Arafat whom the Gaza denizens regarded as a weakling against Israel. It always sabotaged peace talks between Israel and the Arabs and won over many a heart, from amongst the Arabs living in Gaza, and the 'occupied territories' by Israel. It has not lost any opportunity to demonstrate by fighting with the Israeli troops. It has had spectacular success in organizing 'human bombs' to destroy the enemy. Suicide bombing now not so common, was resorted to by them to spread fear amongst the Israeli civilian population and the army. More than a hundred and forty such cases were perpetrated in the Arab - Israeli conflict. It is a 'weapon', which the LTTE also used to kill Rajiv Gandhi ex-Prime Minister of India and the Sinhalese President Prem Dasa. Suicide missions have a tradition in Japan-the Kamikaze tradition. In the Second World war, it is learnt that more than 2000 (two thousand) Japanese volunteered for Kamikaze missions.

Radical Islamic groups committed terrorist crimes throughout the Middle East, North Africa, and East Africa - Sudan - Somalia - and Egypt. In Egypt, apart from killing President Sadat, attacks on the police, Judges, tourist and hotels were committed to decry the national government and its leaders.

There is a strong fundamentalist movement in Turkey. Quite a lot of terrorism has emanated from (PPK) Turkish the Kurdistan Workers party. The Kurds in Iraq have not been too active for various reasons, but the PKK has protected them from Iraqi forces. The PKK has been active against Turkish workers in Europe- particularly in Germany. In this country they

various barbarous outfits. The Shi - hite groups work semi-independently and sometimes with the Hamas but have lately started working with Al Qaida. The I.R.A has a weak linkage with E.T.A (Spain), and the North-East Indian secessionists with the ISI of Pakistan. The Al-Qaida has close ties with the Philippines minority groups and the Indonesian Jamait-E-Isliamiah. Some of the groups are also sponsored by I.S.I, which has often attracted International odium - like the attack on the Indian Parliament in 2001.

are well organized, though less in numbers - only 10,000, as against 50,000 Kurds living in Germany.

Whilst discussing the global reach of terrorism, it would be worthwhile to examine the state of this activity in this most volatile area of the World - Asia which have been savaged by it. Though land-locked at the moment in the confines of States, like Syria, Iraq, Kurdistan, Iran, Afghanistan, erstwhile Asian Central Asian States, Pakistan, India, Nepal, China, Philippines, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka. It feeds on the wretched state of the people which populate it, with all their miseries born of hunger, dispossession, ignorance, squalor, and poverty. The terrorists who function in them want to discredit the Governments in power and as a survivor-terrorist of the original band who killed the Olympic Israeli athletes in Munich 1972 said - "Munich put the Palestinian cause in every home".

The fall of the U.S.S.R in its struggle with U.S has been a landmark in the history of the present day world. Although the fears of a war between two evenly balanced superpowers, the U.S.A and U.S.S.R disappeared, the world instead of becoming a multi-polar world under the aegis of U.S. became a multi-polar one under terrorism. The erasure of the U.S.S.R. brought into view, new nationalistic urges, secessionism, and disputes of horrendous dimensions, between nuclearly armed neighbours. People and thinkers started cogitating about 'clash of civilizations', and the debate has not ended yet. It has given rise to a "terrorism" which has witnessed the destruction of the Twin towers, of the World Trade Centre in New York on the 11th of Sept.2003.

USA & USSR and Terrorism

It would also be pertinent to mention here that the whole process of terrorism got a tremendous kick-start, by the two armed interventions by the super-powers, U.S and U.S.S.R in the closing days of the 20th century - the U.S.S.R and U.S.A intervention in Afghanistan. The intervention by the Soviets put an end to its existence, and the U.S intrusion gave rise to terrorist violence and the culture of narcotics world-wide, from the America's to the Philippines. The Kremlin's fatal mistake which was imposed upon

by Brezhnev and his advisers, without consulting his top Military Generals and the Politburo, gave the Americans a chance to 'revenge' the happenings in Vietnam. The score was levelled, but at what cost to Asia, and the World. It also laid open the road to oil rich lands of Central Asia, which had remained safe In the 'bear hug' of the Soviets, and where fresh outbreak of terrorist violence lay in the near future. A new Pandora's box had been opened which would have a tremendous impact on events in the 21st century-terrorism. The suicide -bomber in Sri Lanka would not only function there but would have a huge canvas to demonstrate its demonic fury globally.

Heads of State would fall like nine-pins, and fatal casualties would reach horrendous proportions, leaving surrounding countries in a state of shock. The world will always remember the 20th century as the most brutal violent and blood hungry period in human history. As if two world wars were not enough, the nuclear device with all its devastating power was dropped at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, horrific pograms and massacres of Jews by Nazis, the shameful atrocities of Pol Pot in Combodia, the decimation of Rwandans in Africa and the ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia - and now the portals have been opened for the hard to define terrorism in the beginning of the 21st century. And who are these terrorists who lead and herald this new dance of death-recruits from all over the Islamist world, particularly from Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. The contagion will undoubtedly spread - because "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter".

Traditional terrorism as practiced in Palestine, and other countries in North Africa, is aimed at securing known political ends, in as spectacular manner as was possible - like the assassination of the Israeli athletes in Munich, etc. Actions like this had a specific aim and was not meant to spread terror - like the new horrific procedures of the Taliban, in their own newly wrought concept of Islam, which traumatized all the Islamic neighbours of Afghanistan including the Central Asian Muslim republics, Indian Muslims, even the Muslim rulers and elite of Pakistan, and Iran. The shock that they generated is still felt all over the world and is likely to remain so for sometime.

Terrorism is becoming increasingly lethal. One has just to peruse figures, to see that from 1960 onwards fatalities have increased from 30% to 100%. Religious terrorism accounts for a disproportionate number in this religious beliefs play a major role in this increase. Aum Shrinkyo is a striking example - this Japanese cult whose tentacles had spread into its society deeply, wanted to extinguish all life in Tokyo by spreading a noxious killer gas.

The erasure of he Soviet Union from the comity of Nations has significantly increased the opportunity for terrorists to use Nuclear technology for mass destruction. As making a nuclear device is a difficult and complex procedure, obtaining it clandestinely is easier. There is enough proof that "Suitcase nuclear bombs", and fissionable material has been found missing from erstwhile Soviet arsenals. There is no doubt that the choice of using nuclear devices and weapons has had a tremdous impact on the minds of modern day terrorists. They are not worried about any mass slaying.

Mao Factor

"All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Szuma Ebien said "Though death befalls all men alike, it may be heavier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather" To die for the people is heavier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the oppressors or exploiters, is lighter than a feather".

Mao, glorified a 'heavy' death and absolved the murderer that perpetrated a light death of any moral responsibility or guilt.

The importance of ideology varies from one group to the other. The importance of ideological motivation is that in contrast to groups motivated by other goals, such as emotional separatism it perpetrates a worldview, and thus lends an international perspective to the cause. The only other alternative in their minds is radiological terrorism, or chemical, biological weapons. Osama is thinking of both. Mass destructive terrorism is now the greatest non-traditional threat to International security. We will ignore it at our peril.

What was once thought in the 1970's, and 1980's, as only the beginnings of an Islamic revival, and loosely called as a "fundamentalist" urge, has now a significant political and economic dimension. The more active Islamist groups now talk of a sweeping change in the economic and social structure of Muslim society, in which an aggressive militant fringe takes over and wants a political change by violent means. The militant components of this movement are very anti-Western, anti-U.S, anti-Israeli, and anti-Indian. It is essential, though a little late, in particular for the U.S to understand, through appropriate policies to, do whatever Is possible to prevent further the radicalization of the militant forces within this revivalist movement. Islam is now being used to express specific social, economic and political grievances and to alter them in a manner so that poverty, injustice and ignorance could be removed. At places it is the support by the West to authoritarian regimes, or a bias in the approach to the Arab-Israel conflict in the near East area, or an anti-colonial sentiment so rampant in the developing countries about sixty-years ago. It is also true that this Islamic revival has also something to do with the Arab victories over the Israeli in 1973, the importance of Arab oil in the economies of the World and the Khomeni revolution in Iran, and the expulsion of the Soviets from Afghanistan in the 1990's.

All these factors made Khomeni declare that the new 'Satan' was the United States, which with its allies including Israel were to be destroyed. This cry was taken up by Osama Bin Laden, who declared war on the U.S.

Geo-Political Factors

To thoroughly understand the challenge to stability in Asia, posed by terrorism, it is imperative to comprehend the geo-political issues involved in this extremely sensitive area of the globe. The U.S and its friends, including Portugal, France Britain and others, waged proxy wars in Asia and Africa: against possible adversaries they feared were friends of the U.S.S.R. These conflicts required no commitment of troops.

The U.S.S.R intervention in 1979 in Afghanistan, permitted the U.S to apply this very strategy of proxy war to this area. These were the true beginnings of a new deep relationship between the USA and Islamism, which initially meant an alliance with the Pakistan military dictator Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, who was more than keen to advance his own interests in Afghanistan by ousting the Soviets and their satellites from there, and further advancing into Islamic Central Asia. According to Pak strategists it also meant a strengthening of their country's position vis-a-vis India and a future expanding for strategic depth into Afghanistan and Central Asia. Help was, therefore, fully extended to the U.S, who with Saudi finance and Pakistan logistical support, managed to raise and equip and send to war against the U.S.S.R a mercenary Islamist Force. The volunteers came from all parts of the Islamic globe, for the plentiful lucre that was being spent on them, and which in turn would give them a chance to fight a 'sacred' war against the communist infidels. A Jihad was thus initiated in Asia.

The Marxists were finally vanquished in 1989 after almost a nine-year War. This War created problems like four million Afghan refugees, who poured into Pakistan, Iran and Central Asian Republic's as penniless Afghan refugees. Cities were razed to the ground, and the whole countryside was strewn with them, with a sizeable number of Afghans. A new movement of gigantic size was nurtured to rehabilitate and bring to order their devasted country - the Taliban. The Talibans were the acme of Islamist extremism. The Taliban consisted of students from Madrasas' or religious schools, armed to their teeth, by Pakistan. They exuded the so called Islamic values, and enslaved Afghanistan for the next few years, but not before giving birth to Al-Qaeda-Al-Subah (The solid Base), the most demonic international terrorist oup in history. This group is unique in its structure, and no Islamist terrorist group comes any where near it - in training, efficiency and crecy. It is a secret organization and President Bush described it - Qaeda is to terror, as Mafia is to crime. It's goal is to broadcast radical Islamist beliefs globally. Most of present Al Qaeda leadership remains in the tribal areas, which are difficult to access and straddle the Afghan - Pakistan borders, where even Pak writ does not run. Its modes of attack range from assassination, combing, ambushes, and use of explosives, to disperse chemicals and biological and radio-active material for mass slaying. It has no observations against the use of these materials against densely populated regions. It is also reliably learnt that it has a nuclear arsenal.

Every global movement needs a leader - this too was provided by the USSR Afghan War - Osama Bin Laden - now called Al Qaeda's Amir General. He is battle scarred and fought at Jalalabad and Jagi where he was wounded. His father who was in construction business in Saudi Arabia, left him with a lot of wealth, which as an engineer in construction he multiplied. His wealth, influence, and fearless-ness made him a natural leader of the Arab Mujahidin.

Origin of Jehadi Terrorism

Within a month of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Osama left Saudi Arabia for Afghanistan. There he met the leaders and commanders who led the anti-Soviet Jihad. He was recommended by the Saudi Govt. to lead the International Brigade, to which Pakistan acceded. Aid from friendly Islamic countries for their role in Afghanistan started arriving. Osama liberally helped the cause with his own money also. His mentor in this new role of a 'mujabid', was Azzam, an Arab from Jordan - an academician in Islamic studies and its teachings. Together they opened the Afghan Service Bureau in Peshawar in 1984. It catered for foreign Mujahidin particularly the Arab. It indoctrinated particularly the young in Islamic precepts, and trained them for fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan. Azam also laboured hard to draw up the parameters of Al Qaeda and instructed Osama in this new terroristic creed. It was Azam who popularized Jihad on the Pak-Afghan border. He conceptualized Al Qaeda in 1987-88. He envisioned an organization that would channelize the energies of the Mujahidin into fighting oppression against the Muslims World-wide. Towards the end of his (Azams) life in 1989 the two had differences on tactics for relieving Muslims of persecution by global powers.

To Combat Osam's Al Qaeda, liberal democracies have also created an alliance to fight it - these Nations apart from many others are North America, Europe, Australia and Japan. The Al Qaeda uses the techniques of Leninism - It is nameless of true identity of its workers, adheres to a cell - structure, follows the idea of a cadre party, maintains strict stick discipline, and promotes self - sacrifice. With the U.S building its multinational coalition and deploying its troops in Afghanistan, the Philippines, Yemen and in Georgia and some of the Central Asia Republics in which Al Qaeda is building a strong global network.

Like the Taliban, the Anti-Soviet Jihad which gave rise to it, was the creation of the Pakistan Inter-services, Intelligence Directorate. As neither American or Saudis wanted to commit their forces into Afghanistan, they let the ISI to do the slogging, dirty role of day-to-day building up of a front against the Soviets. Even arms and ammunition were distributed through it. Only about 30% of the arms reached the Afghans - the rest of them were either 'confiscated' by Pakistan or stored for further use - probably in Kashmir.

Nowhere have the locally produced drugs been used to finance war operations except in Afghanistan. This narcotic exercise created havoc, not only in Afghanistan, but also in Pakistan, Russia, England, U.S.A and Europe. The CIA, though warned against this danger by Drug enforcement, did not halt the narcotics trade.

The contagion of Islamic violence has now been spread over the whole of the globe, by the returning Mujahidin's. In Algeria alone 100,000 lives were lost to this contagion.

Once the Russians departed Afghanistan, the weapons sent by U.S for fighting them started appearing in the hands of the terrorist outfits ranged against India, in the Kashmir theatre. The ultimate target of the Islamist rebels, led by Osama remained the U.S. In his writings and Fatwas he had already declared war on the U.S The semi-successful attack, on the U.S Trade Centre in 1993, and on C.I.A Headquarters at Langley were part of this plan. Bin Laden's journeyed to Africa in 1986 and set up bases in Sudan, and organized the attack on the embassies in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salam, and the aborted attacks on the U.S installations in Kampala, Bangkok and Tirana, all these were indications of the spread and globalisation of terror. America's fraternal embrace with Islam seemed to have soured somewhere, but it was not clear whether America has paid serious heed to it. Why does it continue to shower its friendship on Pakistan, which on its soil breeds extremist Anti-US extremist groups? The U.S even overlooks Pak coups, the corruption inside the body politic and even nuclear crimes committed by Pakistan scientists.

The core of the problem is that Pakistan's military now courts the 'Mullah' - the Islamist Cleric - a creature who wields a lot of political power in Pakistan. There is not much hope for Pakistan to get any better if it cannot excise control over the extremist fringe - which is baying now for the blood of U.S. If there is hope, it lies only in a democratic Pakistan - if and when it comes. The youth in extremist schools (Madrasas) have to be provided with a secure future, and the Pakistan - Taliban - Al Qaeda combine crushed.

Today the extremist (Jihadi) groups are significant in their profile in Pakistan. In 2001-02, Pakistan was host to fifty-eight religious political ties, and twenty-four armed religions militias. The latter also operate as Jihadi groups. The mushrooming of the right of the center militant outfits in Pakistan, began with groups like Harkat-Ul-Jihad-I-mi and Harkat-ul-Mujahidin in 1980 for action in Afghanistan. As time progressed, these 'sacred' warriors attracted many other religious organizations of their country into their fold. Their enemy at moment was communism - but there in the background of his mind lurked India and the U.S who were also to be fought. Sectarian rivalries amongst the militant Pakistan groups only sharpened the zeal to serve the 'cause' - anti-Western-anti Communist-anti-Indian-anti-U.S.

Very soon the 'Madrasa' network became the corner stone of the building up of militancy. These groups received considerable attention from Osama Bin

Laden and his mentor Azam. When Pakistan came into being there were only 136 'Madrasas'. Today thee are over 30,000 such schools - all a barrier to Modern scientific knowledge, for they silently breed only monstrous bigotry.

Another feature in Pakistan's drift towards extremism is the phenomenal growth of Sunni and Shiha militant groups. These groups have clashed violently a number of times in Pakistan and continue to hold hostage the internal peace. Both factions receive financial aid from Saudi Arabia (Sunni) and Iran (Shiha), for ultimately fighting the enemies of Islam.

Spread of Jehadi Terrorism

In the meantime Al Qaeda stretched its tentacles all over Asia - the erstwhile Muslim Republics in Central Asia - Sinkiang in China the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and Muslim migrant populations in Australia and other countries. Its presence in the Philippines has already aroused" a lot of notoriety. In 1990 Jihad groups moved into the Philippines and established their presence strongly in this region. A string of events took place in which there were bombings, pillaging and kidnappings. The Muslims who are a minority in the Philippines (only 4.6%), whilst the Christian population is about 84.1% of the entire population. The rise of Islam in the Philippines went hand in hand with the cordial economic relations with Arab nations in the Middle East. The main aspect of these relations, centre round the Filipino Labour force, which works there consisting of skilled and unskilled workers. They send about 6.5 billion dollar back home, where the G.A.P is just 82.1 billion dollar. The new Muslim rebels there were led by one Abu Sayaf and Ramzi Ahmad who held Manila to ransom with their depredations and their aborted plan to down eleven American planes over the Pacific Ocean in one day in 1994.

Al-Qaeda also reached Indonesia and has since taken many steps to heighten terrorism there, including civil, strifing in the Molucca Islands, and in the Bali Bombing. The Tsunami which struck Indonesia must have struck a hard blow to the militants, though in Sumatra their hold was not too strong.

Terrorist violence in Sri Lanka (an Island just south of India and formerly known as Ceylon) has been a long affair, between a minority and majority group, but it has no religious overtones. Its underlying cause has not been religious or Islamic revivalism. The LTTE which leads this terrorist movement against the established Government in Colombo has been on the warpath since the British granted independence to this Island in 1948. The country is overwhelmingly Sinhalese (Buddhists) and faces a Tamil minority of less than 20% (about 3 million) who are contcentrated in the North and North East of the country - near the Trincomalie sea-port, one of the finest harbours in the Indian Ocean. The Tamil minority has suffered a lot at the hands of the Sinhalese rnajority. This suffering has taken them towards terrorism - a militant separtism. The Tamils are originally from India and were brought into Sri Lanka as labourers by the British. Suicide bombings (killing their President Prem Dasa and the Ex-Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi) had no religious motive. They have had the highest rate of suicide killings, consisting of hundreds of perceived opponents. Conflict between Tamil and Sinhalese continued in the 60s, but in 1976 the LTTE was founded (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam). Its gurus have been Balsingham and the undisputed political military leader Prabhakaran. Growing Tamil militancy brought a backlash from the Sinhalese majority and there were civil riots in Sri Lanka. This bloodshed came to a halt when Indian Troops were inducted into the North of the Island per invitation from the Sri Lanka President in 19. The LTTE was forced to retreat into the jungles and lost over 12,000 fighters. After a long respite Indian leadership thought it fit to withdraw its troops when mutual peace was not being accepted, either by the Sinhalese or the Tamils.

The upshot for India was that they lost to a suicide lady bomber an Ex-Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi, and had the State of Tamil Nadu riddled with LTTE safe havens.

The Tamil Tigers who have originally been trained in Lebanon by the PLO, and in military camps in Burma, make efficient guerilla fighters. Their approach for a

settlement with Colombo has not shown much maturity, and so the fighting goes on. They have an efficient Public Relation groups abroad and have been well served by Tamil propaganda. They use modern I.T equipment to maximum use and have developed a small well-run Navy, and hidden caches of arms and explosives, which they procure from Cambodia, Burma, and from Far Eastern sources. Their war effort continues to be paid by Tamil communities living abroad. It is estimated that 50,000 to 100,000 people have been killed in this Sinahalese civil stifle, and out of these at least 10,000 are Tamils. [At the moment the LTTE has been crushed and neutralized completely.]

Central Asia and Terrorism

The picture of Terrorism in the Central Asian Republics is not too rosy, though there is outward semblance of peace, brought about by Big-Brother handling by Russia. Radical Islam in this area is monitored by the Islamic Renaissance Party, the Hizb Ul-Tahrir and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. The entire length and breadth of this Central Asian land-locked mass is dominated by the terrorist I.M.U and the H.T (Hizb-u!-Tahrjr) These are under ground Islamic Movements, and are shadowy and secretive above the surface. There is no doubt, however, that they have the full might of Al Qaeda behind them - apart from the weight of local grievances, in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Krygzstan, Turkenistan, and Tajikstan. When the Soviet Union disappeared from the map of the world in 1991, the Central Asian Republics were left to fend for themselves. In an area which knew only cotton production, and collective farming, it was difficult to be viable. Their borders had been redrawn by Stalin, and because of this they were economically weak, ethnically divided, and forced to practice their religion secretly. The area, however, was the richest in the 'World in natural resources like Oil, Gas, and minerals. It beckoned to international investors.

The first Muslim republic to receive Western attention was Kazakhstan, ruled, by the iron hand of Nazarbayev. This State has a large population of ethnic Russians, who are always threatening to secede. When Independence came, it had also a large stock pile of nuclear ballistic missiles. Before the dismantlement of these nuclear devices, Nazarbayev was able to negotiate large financial aid from the World Bank and the IMF. He has successfully played the West against Russia, and has also allowed the Chinese to have their finger in the pie of untapped largest oil and mineral resources.

Turkmenistan is also under a flamboyant leader-Niazav. He has almost nominated himself (endorsed by a puppet parliament) as a leader of the country for the next decade. As in Kazakhstan human rights violations galore-mainly to stump out Islamic dissidence. Whereas oil cartels fight over the construction of pipe lines (the region is rich in Oil and Gas) Niazav has a 'neutral' foreign policy. Its borders with Iran are policed by the Russian army, and he awaits a future promising plenty if and when foreign powers decide to let him build a pipe line, which can supply energy to Pakistan, India and U.S. At the moment it supplies Gas only to Iran, which is not at all pleasing to the U.S. At the moment except for the Hizbul-ul-Tahrir (HT) there is no Al Qaeda presence which comes out boldly. As long as Niazav is there, peace will continue.

Uzbekistan is no better or worse than the other Muslim republics. Its President Karimov is an autocrat and has heavily put down any party, which has embarked on any reforming zeal. His ruthlessness has emboldened the opposing Birlik and the Erlik parties, who have openly asked for Human Rights observance. All this has, in turn, heightened Islamic Militancy, under the I.M.U, which is a powerful militant Islamic group, and has Al Qaeda protection and guidance. Al Qaeda has now spread its tentacles into Kazakhstan and Tajikistan particularly in the Ferghana valley. Its leader Juma Namangarni,(H;T) (has been reported killed - but this lacks confirmation) has close links with Al Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden. Attempts have been made on Karimov's life, but he continues to dominate the scene. The contagion of Islamic violence has, however, entered his State.

Tajikistan

Tajikistan was a model of State in Central Asia, with a balanced secular and religious leadership. Now it is a haven of extremist Muslim Zealots who flee to it from neighbouring Muslim States of Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Kazakhstan. It has a small population of only 5 million. One million Tajiks live in Uzbekistan and 200 thousand in Sin kiang in China.

The militant fringe of Islamist forces in Central Asia has been provided by the I.M.U, which is now a pan-Islamic Force.

The threat to Islamize Tajikistan has been aggravated because of its poor economy and hilly terrain. The Pamir mountains cover more than 93% of its territory. Despite all these handicaps, including Stalins re-drawing its map and giving Bokhara and Samarkand to Uzbekistan it lives its precarious existence austerely. The silk route to China once passed through it, and it has cradled both Persian and Turkic civilization in it. The National Museum at Dushanele is a witness to it. The largest sleeping Buddha is in it (40 ft). There has been, however, Tajik and non-Tajik civil strife - each faction wanting to secede. The Islamic Renaissance party (IRP) also made its presence felt.

Everything changed after Sept., 2001. The U.S arrived and after paying huge sums' opened bases in some of these Islamic Republics for attacking Afghanistan. Bases were a must for Air strikes in Afghanistan, and for the residence of a few combatants. In 2005 this presence has become manifold, and though overtly there is no violence, but those who are in the know of it are certain that Tajikistan which was the last Republic to join the USSR, is' now in the grip of events which may be much bigger than the Civil War which ended a few years ago. Ahmad Shah Masood, a Tajik who was assassinated just before 9/11 by Osama Bin Laden's men is being sorely missed for his leadership. Soviet subsidies on which this State survived have now gone into limbo with its donor. Leadership is ever-changing. The popular opposition consists of the newly founded Islamic Renaissance party - an Islamic fundamentalist organization. President Rakhmonov described the State of his country to be on the "road to democracy, but suffering from acute economic problems. Rakhmonov has a lot of detractors in his country, and the State is continually rocked by religious fanaticism by the Islamic Hizb-ul-Tahir under Namagani. There are continued raids through his country to the Ferghana valley in Uzbekistan. A lot of drugs from Afghanistan are sent to addicts in Russia, and large seizures have taken place by the Russian Border Guards doing duty on the borders of Tajikistan. The HT is endeavouring to create, as per its violent Islamic program, an Islamic Caliphate in Central Asia.

Krygstan

Its reputation that it was perhaps the nearest Central Asian Republic to democracy, suffered recently due to the authoritarianism of President Askar Akavev. Last month he fled the country for Moscow. It is true that out of all the Central Asian dictators he was the most well-informed, and sophisticated person. His State is situated at a very strategic place - had a long border with China, Afghanistan and Uzbekistan. He was in the top position for more than 15 years. But recently there were large-scale demonstrations against his rule both in the North and South, and perhaps the virulent H.T may have played a part in it. This change has been brought about because U.S. is now on Russian turf and competing with it for influence. The U.S. does not want the fundamentalist groups, including Al Qaeda, H.T. to operate from this area. It is now to be seen as to how it stops the eternal splits in this State, and its being a gateway into the Fergana Vally which H.T regards as its price for further advancement into Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, as well as its oil resources which should not go away to China.

Chechnya

It one started a dividing line between patriotism, wars of liberation and organized crime, one will realize that it is not an easy task.

Chechnya declared itself independent in 1991, under General Dudaev. Naturally this was not acceptable

to Russia. A bloody conflict in which Muslims globally look part - from Arab countries, Afghanistan, Bosnia, Pakistan, Indonesia, Turkey, Egypt, etc. The resistance by Chechens was fierce. They were adept at guerilla tactics and were amply helped by the veterans of the Afghan War and Al Qaeda - in arms and money, despite the fact that the Chechens were not religious bigots. They were also helped by the organized Chechen criminal mafia in Moscow. Radiological substances were also used to demoralize the Russians in Moscow. To begin with, non-Russians abroad thought it was sheer banditry and terrorism by Russia. But now people have realized that there were other factors, like the vicinity of the pipe lines from Central Asia and the global Al Qaeda objective that were also involved. The fighting goes on. The break-down of Russia in between has not helped matters. There has also been conflicts between the Russian and Chechen Mafia in Moscow. The Chechen conflict is a classic example of how organized crime, politics and terrorism can get mixed up with each other and inter-play interests.

Organized crime has become increasingly politicized. This trend reflects not only an interest in material gain but also in power. The gangsters and the politician have come to stay, and the difference between the two is a little fainter than before. There is no telling what the future holds- the Al Qaeda is making fast use of this interaction.

Narco-Terrorism

This phenomenon came to light in the 1970. Originally terrorist and guerillas were mortal enemies of the drug cartels and traders in South America (Colombia). Guerilla warfare and terrorism grew in Colombia due to diverse reasons. FARC came into being as the armed wing of the Communist Party. It grew and took wing under the active support of Cuba. As time progressed, it became apparent that Cuba could no longer help it with money and arms. FARC and its associates started narco-trafficking and got much more money than they envisaged. Narco-trafficking also meant that they indulged in robberies and extortion, and their victims were the producers of the Coca bean, and the paste.

Their income today may be anything in the range of a billion pesos. They co-operate with the producers and the owners of laboratories who manufacture this paste. It is said that the communists would have lost their base if they had not resorted to this practice. There is a constant feud with the producers in some areas, resulting in assassinations and murders.

Elsewhere in South America, particularly in Peru the 'Shining Path' has the strongest guerilla - terrorist base, but the money harvested is not as much as in Colombia.

Narco-terrorism was also resorted to in Afghanistan and its tribal areas, and certain Central Asian Republics. In Afghanistan and Pakistan border areas in which poppy is grown and heroin manufactured, the money involved is as much as the budget of these countries. The issue finally is, not whether the concept of Narco-Terrorism, as claimed by some Al-Qaeda workers is non-criminal. The drug producers are not terrorists or vice-versa. There is no criminal linkage between every act of violence and the drug trade. But the involvement of the State or Al Qaeda has decisively contributed to their survival, and indeed strengthening their base for the commission of further criminal acts.

I.S.I.

No study of terrorism, particularly in India, would be complete without the mention of ISI (Inter-Service Intelligences Group) of Pakistan. This is a Pak-sponsored State Terrorist Unit, which works, under the aegis of the Pakistan Government to create mayhem and instability in the four corners of India. To this end, it has harnessed the anti-India sentiment of many Indian Muslims - particularly those who have contacts in Kashmir, the Gulf area and in Pakistan itself.

This violent organization which came into existence in 1948, to monitor the work of Pak Military Attaches, and other information gathering Pak outfits in foreign lands, expanded under President Ayub, and started being trained by the U.S Military administration. Under General Zia-ul-Haq it grew into monstrous proportions, particularly when the U.S decided on

this agency to run the proxy war in Afghanistan. It created the Taliban, from amongst its ranks and developed close relations with drug-cartels and the Arab volunteers, particularly Osama Bin Laden who moved freely during this period amongst the top Pakistan leadership. At the end of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, it had a large number of volunteers who had done all the hard fighting there. It diverted a large number of unemployed soldiers to camps in Pakistan occupied Kashmir. India again had to bear the burnt of their onslaught on its territory emanating from these camps. A large number of camps are still there, committing atrocities in Indian Kashmir. The ISI is also helping operations in Bangladesh, Meghalaya, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Nagaland and Mizoram are states which are bring targetted by their terrorism.

In Nepal they have pushed in, a large number of Bangladeshi's, and Kashmiri Muslims who engage themselves in carpet making. It is one of its resolves to somehow raise the number of Muslims in this Hindu State, to promote instability through tham and somehow change the racial ratio. It also organized the Hijacking of I.A 184 from Kathmandu (Nepal) Dec. 1999 to Kandahar, for freeing Azhar the religious terrorist and other of his ilk from Indian Jails. This was a great set back for the security set-up in India. It also helps in illicit arms, deliveries to various terrorist groups in India, which are anti-national in character. Its promotion of disaffection in Punjab and the Bhindrewala cause is well known. India seems to be the target for this religious terrorism. The world owes a large debt to India for containing this malaise. The U.S proxy war in Afghanistan and its Taliban fall out, would have been difficult to control, but for India, help in furnishing vital information about the movement of antisocial elements and their capture.

It is today one of the more prominent existing threats to Indian and world security, and does everything it can to promote disaffection amongst Indian Muslims in India. Its role in the Gujarat riots is well known. It insidiously keeps feeding anti-national elements with illicit arms and explosives, and drugs like Heroin and fake currency. Its net-work in India is widespread, and every town in India with more than 200,000 citizens has its agents working in them.

They are in reality the agents of Al Qaeda. The Pakistan Government has allotted it, a huge budget. The colossal number of arms and explosives it handled during America's proxy war in Afghanistan has given it an elaborate arsenal, which may last for many years. One of its most daring exploits in India was the attack on the Indian Parliament in the beginning of this century (2002) which nearly brought about a war between India and Pakistan. Today it is the only organization, apart from Osama Bin Laden, which knows the plans, location, and future role of the Taliban, the super terrorist set up which is attempting to conquer the world for the Islamists.

Taliban

The Taliban about whom mention has already been made was the product of the Islamic "madrasas" which were instituted along the Pak-Afghan Border to educate Muslim Youth in the refugee camps during the proxy war between the U.S and Russia. In the period after the war, when Afghanistan, suddenly again became a scene of further civil conflict between Gulbudin Hekmatyar's faction, and the ruling Junta, Taliban moved in from Northern Pakistan into Afghanistan. They consisted mainly Pashtuns from the border areas of Pakistan, and at first captured Kandahar and Herat. They initially impressed everyone with their honest and austere behaviour. They then moved towards the North and captured Kabul and Mazar-E-Sharif. It was a Pashtun Sunni conquest of the whole of Afghanistan.

Unfortunately, Mullah Omar, their leader and Osama Bin Laden, encouraged their extremist Islamic philosophy of Sharia (Islamic law). They banned all public appearances of Muslim women and degraded to a degree never seen before, and all entrainment, music and recreation was completely banned and stopped. Even the length of the involving personal conduct had never been enforced before, and there was an International hue-and-cry against it. The only country which recognized this new Afghanistan was Pakistan. After 9/11, America decided to cleanse Afghanistan of them, and mercilessly bombed their Headquarters, in Kandahar and elsewhere. The Taliban leadership disappeared from the scene (the

prominent amongst them) and no one knows where - the chief goons have gone. May be they are inside Pakistan, or in inaccessible Afghan border areas, Iran or the Central Asian Muslim Republics. Both Mullah Omar and Osama Bin Laden, are also untraceable, perhaps devising ways to wage a new Islamic terrorism on the World and in India. India is high on their agenda for an attack, because Jihad is always waged on countries which were once under Islamic sway.

India : At Crucial Juncture

India in its fight aganist terrorism has arrived at a crucial juncture. Both its Western and Eastern borders are beset with terrorism. In the South- the Tamil LTTE makes forays into Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, stretching its security agencies of their limit. In the North West and East violence continues unabated, and in Kashmir cross border terrorism remains as virulent as ever. The U.S which dragooned this region into unrest and murderous assaults, continues to encourage Pakistan, which has one of its goals to dismember India and threatening it every now and then with a nuclear holocaust. Osama Bin Laden is now no longer being pursued to his death, despite public avowals to the contrary by Bush and his coterie. The emphasis on peace between the two Asian powers based on trade and confidence building measures seems to be given more credence than cross border terrorism, which has not been stamped out. The militant Islamic parties in Pakistan have not been reined or curbed in advancing their designs.

Osama Bin Laden is weighing his options for a global strike - nuclear, biological or chemical, so as to bring the U.S to its knees. It is not realized that blood letting in other countries, and bringing instability by fragmentation of age-old Nation, cannot be achieved through their division, and brutalization.

India should strengthen itself against a nuclear attack, and should not succumb to any form of blackmail. If it loosens its hold on internal and external security, it will be a dark day for the World. At the moment it is the only country which stridently condemns terrorism in its all lethal forms. Terrorism by the religious Islamist groups in Kashmir is no different from the one practiced in New York on the Twin Towers, America should not bend backwards to give sophisticated arms to those who do only lip service to fight religious violence. Time has now came that just as Al Qaida and the Islamic Front have threatened penetrating all bodies fighting them, democracies must try to penetrate them. Confusion and dissent should be sown in their ranks. The free world needs to sharpen its psychological warfare plans also.

We should fight both the religious terrorists and the communist extremist economically, psychologically and spiritually. Our military weapons should be more powerful and our approach to solve the socio - economic malaise more spirited and pointed. India should draw up long and short term plans, for social regeneration of the affected areas. We should, as soon as it is possible respond quickly, before 'corriders' are built by the terrorists to bridge the projected, Nepal to Cape Commirin-route. Our policies should be based on established values. Already one sixth of the country is in the shadow of Naxals, where their writ in the area cannot be brooked.

Things are never as bad - or as good - as they may seem. To despair to sins is in core an abandonment of one's belief in existence and in ourselves. Democracy may be an overestimation of human nature, but it is infinitely preferable to the very danger of the opposite. If History teaches us anything, it is that continuation is as powerful as change. We should never abandon what we gained in August, 1947.

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Maritime Security
A Conceptual Framework and
Developing a Possible Typology
for a Policymaker

Rajnish Kumar Rai*

Introduction

The recent terrorist attacks of November 26, 2008 in Mumbai [hereinafter referred as "26/11"] killing at least 172 people is referred to as "India's 9/11" (Rabasa, et. al., 2009, p. 1). It was not the first significant terrorist attack in India and it also not the first time terrorists had landed by sea in Mumbai. In the past also, the coast of Gujarat and Maharashtra States was used for smuggling arms & ammunition and explosives by Pakistan based terrorist groups to launch attack on Mumbai in 1993. But unfortunately not much attention was paid by the security planners on the maritime sector to prevent its exploitation by unscrupulous elements for their nefarious activities (Singh, 2008). It was only in the year 2006 that the government embarked upon a plan to secure the country's coasts under the Coastal Security Scheme (Singh, 2008). Some aspects of 26/11 attack were significant, namely, its audacious and ambitious scope, the complexity of the operation, and the diversity of its targets. The long-drawn-out nature of the incident, which went on for more than 60 hours with the regularly mounting death toll, made it a slow-motion shoot-out and siege that griped and enthralled the world's news media (Rabasa, et. al., 2009, p. 1). The recent terrorist attack in Mumbai once again brought the issue of maritime security under intense spotlight and scrutiny, and has highlighted the issues that had been under the scanner of the security experts and policy elite since 1990s. The terrorist attacks of 26/11 has confronted the security experts with

immense challenge of neutralizing new kind of asymmetrical, non-conventional security threats against transport infrastructures and components.

India is a maritime State having a long coastline[1] which is dotted with several major ports and minor ports[2] which act as critical enablers of national and international commerce. Beyond simply providing a link between land and sea for trade and commerce, the modern ports have transformed into becoming a vital entity of strategic importance. Government and security experts are increasingly concerned that the maritime transportation system could be used by terrorists to smuggle personnel, weapons of mass destruction (WMD), or other dangerous materials in the Indian mainland. They are also concerned that ships in Indian ports, particularly large commercial cargo ships or cruise ships could be attacked by terrorists. A large scale terrorist attack at a port could not only cost tragic human casualties and huge financial losses, but also paralyze global maritime commerce. "If the economy is a country's lifeblood, its ports are its heart's pumps that distribute the life-sustaining liquid to the entire nation's body" (Khalid, 2007).

1 Length of coastline of India including the coastlines of Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal and Lakshwadweep Islands in the Arabian Sea is 7517 km. Length of Coastline of Indian mainland is 6100 km. Coastline of Indian mainland is surrounded by Arabian Sea in the west, Bay of Bengal in the east, and Indian Ocean in the south.

2 There are 12 major ports and 187 minor ports along 7,517 km long Indian coastline. For more details see http://www.investmentcommission.iniports.htm

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The 26/11 terrorist attack has completely altered the dimensions of concept of maritime security and has compelled Indian government to reappraise and reassess its vulnerabilities not only against various forms of traditional maritime crimes such as theft, in-transit hijacking of entire containers and trailers, drug trafficking, human smuggling, etc. but also against potential acts of terror and sabotage directed against port facilities and vessels within ports jurisdiction or the territorial waters of India. In response to increasing concerns of maritime security post 26/11, though the Government has exhibited some sense of urgency and has initiated number of steps to address the ever growing challenge of coastal and maritime security, there is a continuous debate about whether current efforts to improve the maritime security are adequate in addressing the threat.

The threat to maritime security can be from variety of sources such as hostile Nation States, terrorists, transnational criminals and pirates, environmental disasters, and illegal seaborne immigration, but the scope of this paper is limited to the threats emanating from terrorists and their activities. While infiltration and intrusion of saboteurs and terrorists and/or smuggling of contraband articles like arms & ammunition/explosives, counterfeit currency and narcotic drugs can take place both from authorized/ organized points of entries like ports/captive jetties, etc., and from unauthorized points of entries, but this paper focuses only on legitimate flow of goods and people through the legal and authorized points of entry.

This paper is three-part series article. The second-part in the series, "Maritime Security: Indian Perspective, Selected Programmes and Policies" discusses the current maritime security scenario in the country, initiatives taken by Indian government post-26/11 to address the issue of maritime security, the efficacy of these initiatives, and the challenges it faces to implement the new initiatives. The third-part in the series, "Maritime Security: Cross-Country Analysis & Possible New Directions and Policy Options for India" discusses the initiatives taken by the international community, especially the United States post-9/11 to address

the issue of maritime security, and possible new approaches and policy options that could be explored by India to attain the goal of achieving desired levels of maritime security.

The discussion in this paper is organized as follows. Section-1 of this paper introduces the context and the importance of maritime security in current times. Section-2 gives an overview of the risk factors associated with the movement of goods and people through legitimate points of entry in the maritime transportation system. Section-3 utilizes several graphical presentations to develop a conceptual framework for maritime security for better understanding the complexity of the problems and various points of vulnerability in the maritime transportation system. Building on these analytical and conceptual frameworks, Section-4 suggests one possible typology for policymakers and security experts to facilitate them in considering and Casting alternative policies and practices, to improve and strengthen the maritime security. Finally, the paper concludes with the emphasis that since the process of flow of cargoes and people in India through sea ports is extremely intricate, we require a complex set of policies and programmes engaging various stakeholders to effectively and efficiently address the issue of maritime security.

Overview of Maritime Terrorism Threat Scenario

Intelligence analysts, law enforcement officials, and policymakers have become increasingly concerned in recent years about the possibility of terrorist groups carrying out attacks in the maritime realm. The Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) Working Group has offered an expansive definition for the types of events that comprise maritime terrorism :

... the undertaking of terrorist acts and activities (1) within the maritime environment, (2) using or against vessels or fixed platforms at sea or in port, or against anyone of their passengers or personnel, (3) against coastal facilities or settlements, including tourist resorts, port areas and port towns or cities (Quentin, 2003).

Abstract

The recent 26/11 terrorist attacks in Mumbai has once again brought the issue of border and transportation security, especially the maritime security, at the forefront. Maritime security has emerged as a significant part of the overall debate in India as it poses maximum challenge to the national security. The 26/11 terrorist attacks in Mumbai

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heightened awareness about the vulnerability of all modes of transportation to terrorist attacks, including the maritime transportation system, but unfortunately, India does not have an integrated and comprehensive maritime security policy to effectively address this important issue. This paper explores the risk posed to the maritime security that are confronting the security experts with

This definition, however, does not define what terrorism is and whether it would only include maritime attacks against civilian (merchant) vessels or also attacks against naval bases and vessels. The more expansive definition of maritime terrorism could be "as the use or threat of violence against a ship (civilian as well as military), its passengers or sailors, cargo, a port facility, or if the purpose is solely a platform for political ends. The definition can be expanded to include the use of the maritime transportation system to smuggle terrorists or terrorist materials into the targeted country. Maritime terrorism is motivated by political goals beyond the immediate act of attacking a maritime target" (Lorenz, 2007).

The primary reason for the vulnerability of the maritime transportation system is because of the sheer volume and numbers of goods moving by sea; approximately 80% of world trade by volume is being carried by sea (UNCTAD, 2008, p. 8). More than 230 million containers move between world ports every year, making maritime trade the most critical component of global trade.[3] In addition to its size, the maritime sector, by its very nature as a complex, international open transportation network, poses several additional challenges from a security standpoint. Since, security over potential targets over land such as airports and major commercial centers has increased considerably all over the world, making the task of committing terrorist act relatively difficult, the high seas offer an easier option for activities that cannot be carried out on land because the same degree of security is not apparent in the maritime sector. In short, a marine environment offers numerous soft targets.

Risk Factors Associated with Maritime Transportation System

For a terrorist group looking for potential targets, the maritime environment presents numerous targets of opportunity; ships can be the vector for, or target of, attacks, and containers become attractive conduits. Ships can also serve to facilitate

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3 232 million containers were moved through container ports in 2009. Source: Containerisation International Year Book 2009.

other attacks and/or raise revenue for terrorist organizations. For better understanding the risk factors associated with maritime environment, the principal risk factors may be broadly classified into four major groups: (i) cargo, (ii) vessels and ships, (iii) people, and (iv) financing and logistics (OECD, 2003, pp. 7-17).
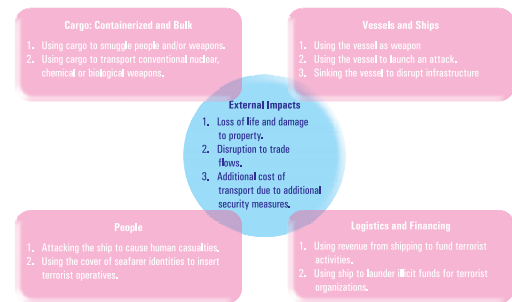

Figure 1: Risk Factors Associated with Maritime Transportation

Cargo: Containerized and Bulk

Though the containerized shipments have revolutionized and improved the efficiencies of the maritime transportation system, they are the weakest link and the most vulnerable one in the maritime transportation system because of the following inherent factors that may be exploited by the terrorists (Chatterjee, 2003).

(a) **Large volumes:** Nearly 230 million containers cross borders across the world every year. About 18 million containers are in circulation at any given time (Wills & Ortiz, 2004). In fact, approximately 90 percent of the world's trade moves by cargo container (GAO, 2003, p. 5).

(b) **Custody and accountability:** Containers often undergo trans-shipments several times, minimizing the chances of tracing its origin or revealing any evidence of tampering (Chatterjee, 2003).

Bulk cargoes is commensurate with their volatility with some cargoes presenting extreme risks (gasoline, kerosene, LPG and LNG). The likelihood of terrorists attacking a large ship carrying a volatile fuel (such as liquefied natural gas) and detonating the fuel so as to cause a massive in-port explosion

(Fritelli, 2005, p. 4) or terrorist attacking an oil tanker in a port or at an offshore discharge facility[5] so as to disrupt the world oil trade and cause large-scale environmental damage is real. Thus, shipments of LPG/LNG have generated special concern among security agencies and have prompted special navigational restrictions and escort requirements in many ports around the world (OECD, 2003, p.11). The principal risk from these types of cargoes is posed during loading and/or unloading operations when the cargo can accidentally be released in a gaseous state. While the destructive potential of these cargos is great, it must be noted that LPG/LNG tankers tend to be expensive and relatively modern vessels operated by reputable firms, which makes it relatively unlikely that a terrorist group could successfully rig the explosion of a LPG/LNG vessel's cargo.

Ships and Vessels

Danger of terrorist groups targeting vessels rather than using them is equally probable, especially because the commercial cargo ships at anchorage in harbour and those moving through ports are easy to intercept by a fast moving boat as they are stationery and moving slowly, respectively (Fritelli, 2005, p. 7). In addition, commercial cargo ships are generally unarmed and have very small crews, making them vulnerable to seizure by a small group of armed people (Fritelli, 2005, p. 7). Some of the likely scenarios could be: (i) seizure and control of a large commercial cargo ship and use it as a collision weapon for destroying a bridge or refinery located on the waterfront; (ii) sinking of a large commercial cargo ship in a major shipping channel, thereby blocking all traffic to and from the port; (iii) seizure and control of a ferry or a cruise ship and threaten the deaths of the passengers if demand is not met; (iv) attack on Naval warships ships in an attempt to

kill military personnel, damage or destroy a valuable military asset, and (in the case of nuclear-powered ships) cause a radiological release, etc.

Some of these scenarios or similar ones have already been experienced. For example, on October 12,2000, the U.S. Navy Destroyer Cole was attacked by an explosive-laden boat during a refueling stop in the harbor of Aden, Yemen killing 17 members of the ship's crew, injuring 39 others, and seriously damaging the ship that cost about $243 million to repair (Perl and O'Rourke, 2001, p. 6). The Limburg, a French oil tanker, was attacked on October 6, 2002 in the Gulf of Aden while carrying approximately 400,000 barrels of crude oil from Iran to Malaysia, killing one crewman aboard the tanker, damaging the ship, and causing an oil spill (Parfomak & Frittelli, 2007, p.1).

There are several factors peculiar to the shipping industry that renders the shipping industry vulnerable to misuse by terrorist organizations:

(a) **Cost cutting:** The highly cost-sensitive nature of the shipping industry encourages propensity to cut costs at all levels of the industry - from wages to safety standards. Hence, additional cost for security is unwanted. Besides, cost cutting also results in substandard manpower and skeletal staff that cannot effectively address security needs.

(b) **Gaps in Ownership:** Change of flag and/or name is not uncommon in shipping industry. There are many instances where ships have been abandoned – without a trace of its ownership. Terrorist organizations are known to take advantage of these practices to own and operate ships (Gunaratna, 1998).

(c) **Poor Accountability:** Ensuring the accountability of cargo is also a difficult task, given that a container moves across different borders, modes, and offers numerous opportunities for tampering (Chatterjee, 2003).

(d) **Poor Regulation:** The lack of transparency in ship registration has been a longstanding concern. Most flags of convenience (FOC) [6] States have no maritime traditions or genuine

4 Currently only about 2% of all cargo containers are inspected (Conard, 2003).

5 In an offshore "lightering" zone, a very large crude carrier (VLCC) or "supertanker" transfers part of its cargo to a smaller shuttle tanker that delivers the crude oil to the tank farm or refinery onshore. There are also oil ports where a tanker discharges its cargo through a submerged pipeline that carries the cargo along the seabed to the onshore terminal.

immense challenge of neutralizing new kind of asymmetrical, non-conventional security threats against maritime transport infrastructures and components. This paper attempts to evolve a conceptual framework for addressing the issue of maritime security in a more comprehensive manner. This paper also endeavours to develop a possible typology for a policymaker that might

interest in the industry, other than collection of registration fee. They lack the will and expertise to enforce shipping standards. Shaky regimes or lack of a regime result in poor safety and security standards in shipping. Liberia is one such example where a country in civil war and without an effective administration or government, is among the largest shipping registers in the world.

(e) **Existing Illegal Channels:** Maritime trade is ridden with extensive networks that operate beyond the reach of governments in carrying out activities such as smuggling of contraband, drug running and gun running. Instances of human smuggling regularly come to light despite tough measures against it. It is relatively easy for a potential terrorist organization to take advantage of these established illegal networks.

(f) **Fake Documentation:** Use of fake documents is widely prevalent in certification and identification of crew. It is also common for criminal gangs to use fake documentation to make use of stolen ships and cargo. Unscrupulous ship owners are known to mask their identity by re-registering their vessels under fictitious corporate names and renaming and repainting their ships (Fritelli, 2005, p.7).

People

The worldwide supplies of seafarers are approximately 466,000 officers and 721,000 ratings manning the merchant fleet? While not all of these seafarers operate on internationally trading commercial vessels, a large section do work on international merchant vessels. The terrorism-

related risk involving this vast labour force is two fold: firstly, seafarers are often directly targeted and/ or indirectly suffer from terror attacks targeting vessels;[8] secondly, there is a real risk of some seafarers, or individuals posing as seafarers, may actually be accomplices to and/or members of terrorist groups (OECD, 2003, p. 14). Since seafarers have conventionally been granted comparatively liberal travel rights by governments through non-immigrant crew list visas, or simply upon presentation of their seafarer identity documents, the misuse of the same by the terrorist organization is quite worrying. The possibility of placing seafarers with missing and/or falsified documents and with criminal backgrounds cannot be ruled out.[9] Moreover, investigations into several recent high profile cases involving major registries and seafarer-supplying nations have shown that forged and/or falsified seafarer certificates and identity documents can be bought on the black market quite easily (OECD, 2003, p. 14). The terrorist groups can also exploit these vulnerabilities to deliver operatives in the target countries where it would otherwise be difficult to enter. The intelligence and enforcement agencies have reported number of instances where commercial vessels have illegally discharged crew and/or passengers while at dock. Though most of instances might be simple cases of illegal immigration, the possibility of terrorist organizations exploiting the system for infiltrating into the target country cannot be ruled out.

Logistics and Financial Supports

The terrorist groups running commercial maritime operations in order to generate funds and support their logistics operations have been extensively documented. For instance, it is reported that the Sri

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6 A Flag of Convenience (FOC) is a flag under which a merchant ship is registered in order to reduce operating costs and / or to avoid national and international regulations. Flags of Convenience registrations were started in 1920s by US businesses as a way to avoid inconvenient regulations and cut costs. The FOC trend caught on in a big way in 1960s, when countries like Cyprus, Lebanon, Liberia, Panama and Singapore started their 'open registries' or 'flags of convenience' that did not require owners to have citizenship of the flag state.

7 Total seafarers in 2005 according to the BIMCO/ISF Manpower Update Report.

8 e.g., the Limburg incident resulted in killing of one crewman aboard the tanker; the attack on US Cole Naval Ship resulted in killing of 17 crew members.

9 e.g., MT Pulau Mas ship was hijacked and later used in 21 other pirate attacks as a "mother ship." Investigations later revealed that the piracy was facilitated because of communication between the "mother ship" and a phoney crew member on board the target vessels. For details see http://www.cargolaw.comlpresentations pirates.html

Lankan terrorist group, Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) owned and operated an extensive and profitable network of ships through front companies and FOC registrations.[10] The LTTE is the first terrorist organization to have a 'Naval wing' called the Sea Tigers and is reported to have used ships for drug smuggling and gun running to raise money for providing financial support as well as for providing logistical support to LTTE in its war against the Sri Lankan government (OECD, 2003, p. 15). However, as per the intelligence inputs, about 5% of the cargo carried by these vessels were arms, ammunition and other war-related material necessary to carry out LTTE attacks in Sri Lanka. It is also reported that in some cases, the LTTE carried weapons and ammunition for other terrorist groups in lieu of payments (OECD, 2003, p. 15). The LTTE utilized its extensive knowledge of maritime trade practices and procedures in procurement of arms and ammunition for fighting the war against Sri Lanka. The LTTE even once used this knowledge to steal major weapons shipment intended for the Sri Lankan Army by committing a blatant documentary fraud."

Similarly, there are indications that Al Qaeda also owns a number of ships in order to generate revenue and it was one of Osama Bin Laden's freighters that carried supplies in 1998 to Kenya for the suicide bombers who later destroyed the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania (Sakhuja, 2003). It is, however, difficult to track ownership and/or control of such vessels because terrorist groups have numerous options to obfuscate their true identities due to weak vessel and/or corporate registration requirements such as frequently change of names or re-registration under different flags by naming fictitious corporate owners (Becker, 2003). Because of this difficulty in tracking of vessels, the estimate of ships linked to Al Qaeda varies from 20 to 300 ranging from fishing boats to freighters (Becker, 2003). These could be used to ferry operatives, bombs, money or commodities over the high seas (Mintz, 2002).

10 The LITE owned a fleet of ships comprising 10-12 well maintained bulk freighters bearing Panamanian, Honduran or Liberian flags. See (OECD, 2003, p.15)

Changes in Terrorist Mindset

Terrorism has always defied logic, but it is becoming ever more intricate and difficult to predict. It is possible that terrorists are getting increasingly desperate, as they feel that the world has failed to address the underlying causes for their actions. Some see emerging terrorism as a nihilistic rage against the modern world rather than actions motivated by a specific policy (Zakaria, 2002). Bali and Nairobi[12] are only remotely connected to any cause that the terrorists detest. Drawing analogies from other terrorist attacks and applying them to maritime environment would give rise to questions that are difficult to discard. Two examples of these are:

(a) If a train in Madrid could be a target, why not any one of the hundreds of cruise ships or passenger ferries ?[13]

(b) If a fuel-laden passenger aircraft could be used as an improvised bomb to cause unprecedented 9/11 attacks, why not a large oil tanker, gas carrier or a chemical tanker?

These are questions that have no logical answers due to the peculiar behaviour and logic of terrorist groups. The fact that such events cannot be logically explained, ruled out or even prevented, marks terrorism as a threat that is impossible to measure.

A Conceptual Framework

Having discussed the threat scenario and risk factors associated with maritime transportation system, this section develops a conceptual

11 For details see (Chalk, 2000).

12 A terrorist bomb attack on the US embassy in Nairobi, Kenya on 07 August 1998 killed 258 persons. In another terror bombing in Bali, Indonesia on 12 October 2002, 202 persons, including 88 Australian tourists were killed. The attack in Kenya was attributed to Al'Qaeda and the Bali bombing to Jemmah Islamiah an organization that has dose links to Al'Qaeda.

13 The March 11, 2004 Madrid train bombings consisted of a series of coordinated bombings against the commuter train system of Madrid, killing 191 people and wounding 1,800. Though, the investigation could not establish direct link of Al'Qaeda with the attacks, it revealed that the attacks were directed by an Al'Qaeda inspired terrorist cell.

framework for maritime security for better understanding the complexity of the problem in the maritime transportation system. A conceptual framework can be an important aid to accomplishing better appreciation of underlying problems, as well as designing more effective solutions. A policy maker while designing a policy framework must ask himself whether the proposed policy design addresses the following issues:

- Does it help the analyst or policymaker understand and provide structure to a complex phenomenon?

- Does it help focus on important dimensions of policy design ?

- Does it help generate additional hypotheses for possible future action ?

- Does it offer guidance for prioritizing actions ?

Re-conceptualizing the Border

Border is a complex term that is difficult to define. Though the concept of border has been traditionally associated with clearly stipulated geographical territory, border research, in the modern times, has become multi-disciplinary in focus and the researchers have offered a variety of constructs and avenues of approach to the notion of borders. "People with different backgrounds or engaged in different activities (jurists, military officers, businessmen, national, regional or local authorities, farmers, and members of native communities) interpret it dissimilarly in light of their own everyday experiences, heritage and cultural backgrounds, specific interests or professional or occupational idiosyncrasies" (Oliveros, 2002). The increasing economic integration in the age of globalization and the development of boundary less virtual societal space through the internet made the borders more and more permeable to people, goods, ideas, identities, etc. However, the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States suddenly compelled the researchers to re-evaluate the increasing permeability of borders. Border security or "good border management" has now become an integral part of the national strategy for providing national security, especially in those countries which are facing threats from terrorist organizations.

Good border management" endeavours to strike a delicate balance between the competing goals of (i) assisting and even promoting easy access for people and goods, which are needed and desired in the country; and (ii) identifying and preventing 'bad' people and 'bad' things from entering the country. It may be noted at these goals are not necessarily conflicting. The key success factor to achieve this aim is the capability of security agencies to properly and efficiently recognize passengers and cargo that may pose threat, inspect them, and preclude the entry of such high-risk goods and people without interrupting the flow of legitimate goods and people. The policy maker is required to recognize and espouse those policies and programmes which will improve and strengthen the capacity of the instruments enaged for these tasks.

More specifically, the security agencies deployed at the border to perform the above task are basically busy in identification and verification process of the legitimacy of the goods and people requesting entry in the country. The efficacy of the identification and verification procedures currently employed at the ports is in question all over the world, especially after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States. While the current identification and verification procedures for both people and cargo are complex, and involve numerous steps, they present both an opportunity for interference by the terrorist organizations or for interception by the security agencies. However, decision with regard to the first step in the process, i.e. the stage at which the identification and verification of the goods and people begin is he most critical issue. For instance, in case of people, is the first step begins when the individual applies for a passport from their own country? Or is the first step begins when they apply for a visa to enter in India? Similarly, in the case of cargo, is the first step begins when the goods first leave the factory where they were produced? Or is the first step begins when the goods are placed on the ship, which will finally carry them to India? The 'last' step in the process of identification, verification

and inspection is relatively easier to define as it is the inspection at the port of entry. In conclusion, "good border management" should be able to strike a balance between "just-in-time" and "just-in-case."[14]

Approaches to Good Border Management

Border management is an extremely complex task because apparently simple beliefs and ideas such as what is the border; where is it; and when should we be worried about it are not as straightforward and simple as they appear. The first two questions, the what and the where of the border, are correlated and linked. For example, if the what of the border is simply the physical geographic boundary and limited to Indian ports of entry, then the where and the when are self-evident: people or goods enter India when they have physically crossed the territorial boundary, and they are not required to be attended to until they reach the border. However, this approach to border control might work in a situation where the flow of cross-border traffic is miniscule, and the resources available to process this traffic are huge. But the current environment for securing the Indian borders is far more complicated and complex.

If the border is conceived and contemplated not simply as a physical and rigid boundary but rather as a flexible and virtual concept that permits a policy analyst to envisage the possibility of the border beginning at the point where goods or people commence their India bound journey, a considerably larger array of alternatives for border management policies becomes available.

In this section, a series of ideational structure or conceptualizations are discussed to assist in answering the above questions, which may help in developing a possible typology for a policy analyst to address the complex issue of maritime security. It is important to note that this series of ideational

structures are cumulative; i.e. each conceptualization builds off of the concepts depicted in the previous section.

Geographic Approach

This approach illustrates the path that goods or people travel to enter India. The path is divided into zones: country of origin (source zone); foreign port of entry/exit (FPOE) (departure zone); the transit zone (between country of origin and the destination country); domestic port of entry (DPOE) (the arrival or approach zone); and the destination country (destination zone). Figure 2 depicts the zones that people or goods travel through from country of origin to country of destination. Figure 2 accommodates a variety of travel situations. In the case shown, passengers and cargo proceed through another country or countries en route to India, including the case where passengers and cargo stop in intermediate countries, or ports through which cargo is trans-shipped. However, direct travel from source country to destination can also be visualized by mentally eliminating the transit zones and port from the figure.
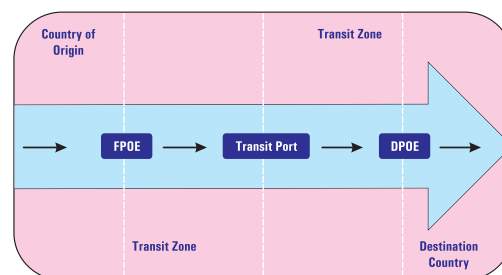

Figure 2: Geographical Zones

System Approach

Initially, the endeavours of the international community to address the issue of maritime security were largely limited to protection and security of the sea going vessels and ships and, at the most, the immediate area surrounding them in ports (OECD, 2003, p. 24). However, this vessel and passenger-centric focus had apparent limitations when dealing with the cross-border movement of cargo and people by sea. Since the journey by ship is only one aspect

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14 See (OECD, 2003, p. 19). Companies hold more "just-in-case" inventory in order to bear the brunt of unpredictable trade flow disruptions. One reason for the unpredictable trade flow disruptions could be because of a terrorist strike.

of the complex chain of events, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has envisaged a different manner of conceptualizing border by breaking down the complex web of people, interactions, movements, and information associated with the international movement of goods and people into three principal flows (OECD, 2003, pp. 24-28):
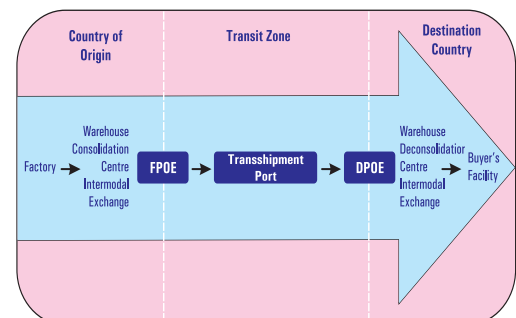
- the movement of goods from place to place (logistics chain);

- the movement of custody from person to person; and

- the movement of information or documents.

Movement of Goods from Place to Place (Places in the Logistics Chain)

OECD approach views the logistic chain as the physical system on which the goods travel. It involves the physical movement of the cargo from place to place and from mode to mode from the country of origin to the destination country (Figure 3). During this end-to-end journey, the cargo moves through the custody of various actors at variety of places. Typically, cargo begins its journey in the country of origin from the premises of the manufacturer from where it may travel by truck or rail either directly to foreign point of exit (FPOE) in the country of origin or to a warehouse for export at a later date. In the latter case, the shipment may be consolidated at a consolidation centre or it may be transferred from one mode of transportation to another (for e.g., from rail to truck) before reaching the FPOE. While in transit, the container may be stationary for various periods of time as trucks are stopped on the roadside and/or container-carrying trains are being assembled in goods-yards. Even within the port area, a container may be moved several times as required by the port operator and/or customs. Once at the port (departure zone), the cargo is transferred to the ocean-going vessel that will take it across the transit zone. The cargo may pass through another port in the transit zone before reaching the final port of entry in the destination country (DPOE). Upon arrival at the DOPE, the

process is reversed. The cargo may reach its final destination directly or may travel or to distribution zone by truck or by rail to be warehoused for distribution at a later date or to de-consolidation centre for de-consolidation and perhaps for re-consolidation for transport to the buyer's facility.

The logistic chain is the most detectable chain from the security point of view. Once the threat is suspected and/or confirmed, it can be localized along this chain and appropriate actions can be taken to physically neutralize it. Information like where a shipment originated, how it has travelled, where it can be localized and whether its integrity has been compromised are key issues for security agencies for taking appropriate measures for intercepting the threatening cargo. Hence, it is important for policy-makers to also be aware of the physical reality of the cargo logistics chain. It may, however, be noted that the logistics chain is not uniformly secure and the level of protection offered to the cargoes can vary vastly from node to node and among modes. The risk of security breaches at anyone of its links compromises the security of the whole chain and imposes additional costs as additional security checks must be put in place to compensate. It may be noted that even in cases where relatively high levels of protection are put in place, there are large number of "entry points" along modern logistics chains that could be compromised and exploited by terrorist groups.

Figure 3: Movement of Goods from Place to Place

Source: Adapted from OEeD, 2003.
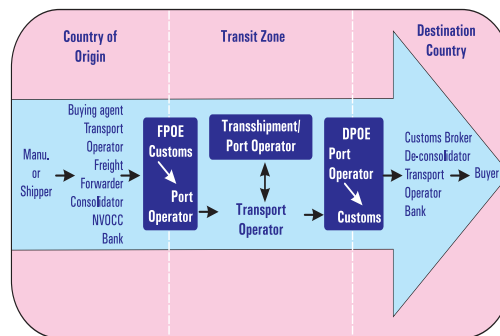*Note: FPOE = foreign port of exit, and DPOE = domestic port of entry.*

Movement of Custody from Person to Person (Stakeholders in the logistic chain)

In addition to the people who hold the physical custody or are in physical proximity to the cargo along the logistics chain described above, there is another set of actors who are involved in every international trade transaction: those who hold the documentary custody of the cargoes. In other words, those people who handle the paperwork side of the transaction in the offices at various places and have access to cargo at various stages (Figure 4).

While in every international trade transaction there is a buyer in the destination country and an originating shipper - usually a factory owner or a manufacturer in the country of origin, there are number of other actors - buying agents, warehouse agents, transport operators, freight forwarders, Banks, customs brokers, etc - who play very critical role in completion of this transaction. These actors are very important in maintaining the integrity of the security of the logistic chain. For example, even if a shipper is of good reputation and the shipment follows an expected pattern, relying on the shipper's identity may not be foolproof because a shipper's identity could be obscure since the shipment may go through an intermediary - buying agents and/or freight forwarders. An unscrupulous buying agent or a freight forwarder may be compromised by a terrorist group for facilitating their terrorist ads.[15] Similarly, a port's employees can be bribed to accept a false bill of lading with a false name of the shipper and a false description of the content of the shipment. Furthermore, when in transit or in port areas, hundreds of warehouse/staging yard/port workers may have physical access to shipping containers and cargoes. Each service offered along the logistics chain implies the involvement of a company

comprised of several people - anyone of whom may potentially have nefarious objectives. It is important to note that each of these people present different risks to the flow of cargo, and require different set of policies and programmes to address these risks.

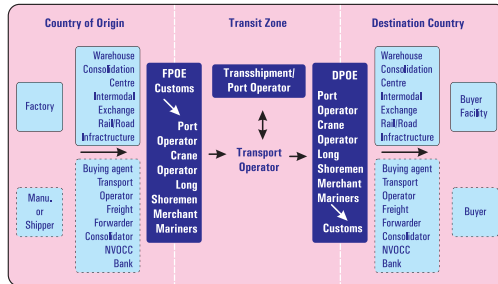**Figure 4: Cargo-Movement of Custody from Person to Person**

Source: Adapted from OECD, 2003.
Note: FPOE = foreign port of exit, and DPOE = domestic port of entry, and NVOCC = non-vessel operating common carrier.

The most important point to understand from the OECD conceptualization is that if one wants to secure cargo shipments from terrorists (or even criminals), it is necessary to secure a wide range of potential targets - including people, places, conveyances, and pieces of information. It may, however, be noted that OECD approach considers the above two viewpoints (movement of goods from place to place and movement of custody from place to place) separately, but it would be better, if these two perspectives are considered together since cargo does not move autonomously. Figure 5 consolidates two figures 3 and 4, illustrating the movement of cargo in terms of the places to which it travels (single-line boxes and arrows) and by the persons who have access to it (dash-lined boxes). Actions to secure the supply chain should follow these figures by limiting the access of people to the cargo or by securing the routes and conveyances on which it travels.

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15 e.g., in 1997, LITE bribed an Italian sub-contractor who had arranged the supply of mortar to Sri Lankan Army to allow LLTE's freighter to pick up the consignment. For details see (Chalk, 2000)

Figure 5: The Logistic layer in Terms of Places and People that Move Cargo
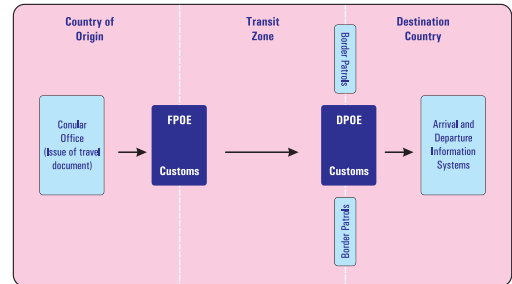

Figure 6: Movement of People

Movement of Informations or Documents

People: Individuals traveling to India require a number of documents in order to arrive in the country legally. Figure 6 depicts the movement of people from the country of origin to the destination country. Foreign nationals who are not already legally residing in India and who want to visit India are, in most of the cases, required to obtain a visa to enter in India. These visitors are also required to possess a valid passport. Indian Government has launched biometric passport initiative to improve the security features in the Indian passports which were rampantly forged earlier.[16] However, there is concern that the lag in time before full implementation of the biometric requirement could pose opportunities for terrorists.[17]

Prior to obtaining a visa, all foreigners intending to visit India undergo admissibility reviews performed by the Indian Foreign Ministry officers security purposes including terrorist weapons; illegal narcotics; and other contrabands. Not only that the risk is real, it is compounded because most of the information flow in international trade is still paper-based, costly and inefficient (OECD, 2003, p. 26).

Oversight System:Legal and Regulatory Structure

Each transaction or movement of goods over the supply chain occurs under the auspices of a regulatory regime consisting of all the rules, regulations, and enforcement mechanisms that govern the structure and operation of the transaction and the physical layers of the supply chain. The focus of these regulations has recently shifted from safety and trade facilitation to security. Current initiatives, such as the International Ship and Port Security code, focus on increasing access restrictions to ports and vessels and on implementing security plans based on a particular threat level. The regulatory and oversight bodies at an Indian port include the Indian Coast Guard, the Customs, the Conservator of Port, and local law enforcement and emergency response agencies. The business network linking sellers to buyers has its own governing legal and regulatory structure. The import and export regulations established by Indian trade law are enforced by the Customs. Banks monitor transactions and extend lines of credit to firms. A body of contract and labour law governs the production and procurement of goods. Each piece of regulatory apparatus collects information to ensure that its directives are being met, and these data together form the intelligence that allows targeting of shipments.

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16 A biometric passport, also known as an e-passport, is a combined paper and electronic passport that uses biometrics to authenticate the identity of travelers. It uses contactless smart card technology, including a microprocessor chip and antenna (for both power to the chip and communication) embedded in the front or back cover, or center page, of the passport. The e-passports support a combination of electronic and optical security features including watermark, optically variable device and hologram.

17 E-passports have been issued to diplomats since July this year, but are expected to be extended to all citizens from September next year. Around 800,000 e-passports are estimated to be issued by 2010.

A Possible Typology for a Policymaker

Having evolved a conceptual framework for maritime security, this section develops a possible typology of maritime security for a policy maker and a security analyst. Based on the conceptual framework, the maritime security effort can be seen as series of concentric circles, with the outer circle being that of preventive efforts launched outside the country. The sequence of activities to provide maritime security then moves through progressively smaller circles, starting from more distant efforts to closer and more localized measures in the following stages:

- Ascertainment and proscription of terrorist action emanating from abroad

- Proscription at the border and in the transportation sector

- Preventing cataclysmic terrorism inside India

- Protection of critical infrastructure and populations
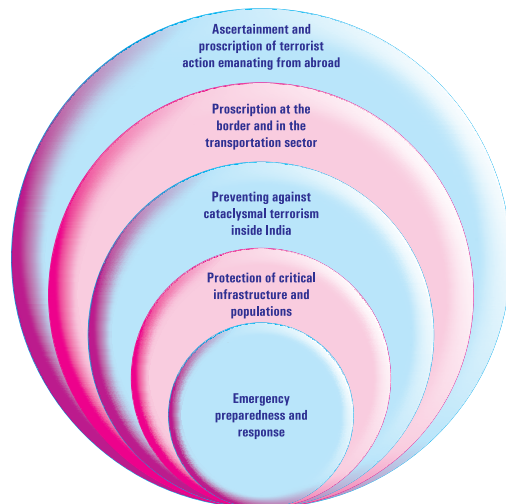
- Emergency preparedness and response

Figure 7: Sequence of activities to provide maritime security

Ascertainment and proscription of terrorist action emanating from abroad

The first screen of the maritime security effort could be directed towards the activities aimed at early discovery and proscription of terrorists and/or their weapons, even before they enter into India as the early they are detected, the lesser is the danger to the country and its people. The rationale is that with so many targets of opportunity in such a large and open society, it is virtually impossible to protect them all if the security begins after the terrorists and/or their weapons have already entered into India. Hence, it is all the more important to attain enhanced intelligence of the identities of terrorist groups and individuals, as well as their motives, plans, targets, weapons, and timing. This effort and any follow on proscription abroad could be further enhanced with the use of effective diplomacy in mustering the aid, assistance and collaboration of other countries, even to the point of using joint police and/or military force to contain the danger abroad before terrorist actions are launched on Indian soil. This is stage one, the first barrier in terms of reach and importance for success in the rest of the goal to prevent attacks and damage to people and property. It should include appropriate policy efforts to prevent the smuggling of arms and ammunition, and infiltration of terrorists in India. If this first stage is ignored and not adequately addressed, the screening at the border could lack focus and be overwhelmed by the sheer volume of dangerous travelers and materials.

Proscription at the border and in the transportation sector

The next screen of the maritime security efforts should be aimed at adopting appropriate programmes, enabling the concerned security agencies to prevent infiltration of terrorists and smuggling of arms/ammunition, WMDs, etc. on the border, or to strike them off at other access points as they are transported into the interior of the country, if they could not be isolated and sealed off abroad and have got pass the border. Given the inherent vulnerability of more than 1 billion people living in a free and open society in India, and large number of critical and vital infrastructural targets of opportunity in the nation's infrastructure, it is most important that this interception phase be as effective as possible. The key actors in this effort are the Navy, Coast Guard, Customs and the local police, including

the intelligence agencies. The lion's share of the budgetary allocations meant for maritime security efforts should be focused to achieve this goal.

Preventing against Cataclysmal terrorism inside India

The third screen is a reminder to policy analysts that maritime security efforts extend beyond the actions of the security agencies at the coastline. This is the stage when the terrorist and/or arms & ammunitions, WMDs, etc. get past the border and outside the reach of other transportation security efforts. In such circumstances, the domestic intelligence and law enforcement capabilities are to be exploited to safeguard against any possible terrorist strike. These include domestic intelligence components of the Central IB, Research and Analysis Services (RAS), etc. as well as the law enforcement capabilities of these agencies and their State and local counterparts like State IB, CID (Crime), district police, etc.

Protection of critical infrastructure and populations

If the security efforts fail at the three previous barriers, and the terrorists have penetrated them, there would be little standing in the way of attack on vulnerable populations or critical infrastructures. It may be appreciated that while it is possible to "harden" these targets to some extent, but there are so many vulnerable targets and terrorists are so opportunistic that this phase of the barrier can offer little more than tight control at critical sites and a very thin net over the rest. Nevertheless, special targeted measures can be taken to protect the most vulnerable and critical targets such as nuclear power and chemical plants, power plants, oil refineries, etc. The security agencies may adopt appropriate programmes and instruments to "harden" these targets like access control, CCTVs, etc. The security agencies may even be encouraged to deploy sensors and other warning devices to alert and provide some measure of protection to the population against certain forms of terrorist actions such as chemical, biological or nuclear weapons which have not been so far employed by the terrorists but the possibility of the same cannot be ruled out in future. Finally, citizens can be informed and advised about protective actions they might take.

Emergency preparedness and response

If all the previous four screen fails, the security and law enforcement agencies must be prepared to minimize the damage and loss of life from an attack, alleviate the effects of injury and destruction, and continue to operate effectively as a society in re-building efforts. It is worthwhile to appreciate that while this phase would occur when the above stages have failed; it should receive increased policy attention because the other forms of protection can never be perfect or complete, and the likelihood of terrorists succeeding in their designs despite best efforts is real. Hence, the policy makers cannot overlook the preparedness and response stage of protection because of the irreducible level of vulnerability that will always remain.

Conclusion

Achieving adequate maritime security is an extremely complex task. The conceptual frameworks and a possible typology for policy makers discussed in the preceding paragraphs are meant to assist the policy maker in understanding the legitimate flows of people and goods entering the country, and frame appropriate policies and programmes for "good border management." It is important to appreciate that border management is not necessarily a zero-sum game. Policies and programmes conceived to increase the security of cross-border movement of goods and people need not result in delays and inefficiencies at the border. The policies and processes at the border are usually assessed for their effectiveness in achieving the dual objectives of facilitating legitimate traffic and preventing illegitimate entry of goods and people.

As acknowledged earlier, the criminals and terrorist organizations can and do exploit and meddle with legitimate flow of cargo to smuggle people and contraband into the country. However, it may not be forgotten that the terrorists and criminals also circumvent the legitimate ports of entry and processes to smuggle contrabands and to infiltrate people. Appreciating and comprehending the flow of people and goods into India is a first step to assess and evaluate the current programmes and

processes. The second-part in the series, "Maritime Security: Indian Perspective, Selected Programmes and Policies" covers this aspect. It gives the overview of the current maritime security scenario in the country, initiatives taken by Indian government post-26/11 to address the issue of maritime security and the efficacy of these initiatives.

The next step is to build on the understanding of the issue at hand and formulate new policies and programmes which would effectively address the problem. Because of the intricacies of the process of flow of cargoes and people in India through the sea route, we require a complex set of policies and programmes that appropriately engage stakeholders from each geographic zone. Besides, the relationships between various stakeholders are also required to be appropriately mapped in the policies to take care of unique requirements of different nodes and modes. Furthermore, the Policies and programmes can be framed from three approaches: (i) to encompass the gamut of the entire journey from the country of origin to the destination in single set of policy framework, or (ii) to focus distinctly on a particular zone/place/actor in the journey, or (iii) to adopt a layered approach, which involves nearly all of the attributes such as people, conveyances, cargo, places, routes, etc. The third-part in the series, "Maritime Security: Cross-Country Analysis & Possible New Directions and Policy Options for India" covers this aspect. It discusses the initiatives taken by the international community, especially the United States post-9/11 to address the issue of maritime security, and possible new approaches and policy options that could be explored by India to attain the goal of achieving desired levels of maritime security.

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War on Terror
The Road Ahead[1]

Arvind Verma*

Introduction

The Mumbai attack marks a watershed in many ways for the country. Although, this was not the first major attack or probably the last one but it did articulate a national sentiment expressed as 'enough is enough'! A great deal of public anger emerged at the Ministry of Home Affairs and its incumbent minister Shivraj Patil who was seen as unsuitable for the high office. His ministry [MHA] failed to coordinate activities of agencies serving under its command and evolve policies to deal with terrorism despite successive attacks since many years. The attack on India's Parliament, the planting of bombs in market places, trains and brazen attacks on religious places to provoke retaliation – all were horrendous in their own ways. But no preventive methods were evolved nor did any policy put in place to deal with such provocations from across the border. The public anger against the government was justified and expressed across the country.

Indeed, from the very beginning of partition Pakistan has been promoting and indulging in attacks on India (Sahni, 2008; Raman, 1999). Whether it is Kashmir or Punjab or Assam or hijacking of planes, the imprint of Pakistan's notorious ISI has been observed in every case. Mumbai simply marked the epiphany of undeclared war by Pakistan. This time the arrest of Kasab, a Pakistani citizen from the spot and communication logs of Pakistan based handlers traced from satellite phones and emails has exposed Pakistani involvement undeniably. Although, what the country and its military can and will do to Pakistan is another story the focus of this paper is upon the police response that is needed to combat this war on terror. A plethora of suggestions for police reform have flowed in after the Mumbai attacks. Many have been made on 'Indiatopcop', a forum of IPS officers and a large number by columnists, security experts and even private citizens. However, in all these discussions and recommendations the professional voice of the police leadership appears to be missing. Although, a number of IPS officers, serving and retired have expressed their viewpoints but these are unstructured and more of expression of sentiments than action plans. This paper is an attempt to combine all such viewpoints and include those voiced at a seminar organized by BPRD.

Lessons from Mumbai Attack

The details of Mumbai attack are well known and will not be repeated here except to state that these "reveal [s] a strategic terrorist culture that thoughtfully identified strategic goals and ways to achieve them and that analyzed counterterrorist measures and developed ways to obviate them to produce a 9/11-quality attack" (Rabasa, 2009: 18). There were many security related weaknesses that were exposed by this attack. There was a lack of coordination amongst intelligence agencies and even though 'chatter' about an impending attack on Mumbai using the sea approach and targeting famous hotels was intercepted, yet no defenses were prepared. The Mumbai police were not informed and the entire security apparatus was caught by surprise. The coastline was exposed to be porous for the terrorists who could sail directly to India Gate undetected by the coastguards. Apparently, not only lack of intelligence but also resources, adequate number of boats and personnel were lacking to guard

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Abstract

The terrorist attack on Mumbai in November 2008 marks a watershed for the police in India. The ensuing public anger and vocal demand for action forced the resignation of Home Minister as well as the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. A large number of recommendations from concerned citizens and police officers flowed

the important entry points. The armed police units whether of the state or the center were not equipped nor trained to engage the terrorists. They could not match their firepower nor provide resistance. The Mumbai police were of course in disarray losing precious moments in organizing some semblance of opposition. In the initial confusion three senior officers got killed and the terrorists entrenched themselves within the premises of Taj and Trident-Oberoi hotels where it took two days to corner and kill them. The only saving grace was that a small police unit blocked the streets, engaged two terrorists with their small arms, killed one and captured another alive. The Pakistani involvement and the unraveling of the entire conspiracy would come from this singular achievement. The delay in transporting the NSG from Delhi to Mumbai and bringing in commandoes to engage the terrorists occupying the hotels and the Jewish center was another failure that was too glaring to miss. Another serious omission was the failure to set up a command center that would coordinate the operations and brief the media as the events unfolded. This proved a major humiliation for the police as the media not only operated independently but also inadvertently revealed operational details that aided the terrorists. The controllers from Pakistan could observe what was going on live TV and pass appropriate instructions to prolong the agony.

Set of Recommendations

A large number of recommendations have been suggested after the Mumbai attack. Amongst them three have been addressed by the government in some ways. A National Investigative Agency to handle terrorism related cases has been set up though little is known about its functioning except for the appointment of a Director General rank officer. The NSG is being expanded and is setting up regional hubs in major metropolitan centres including Mumbai. The expansion of coastal guards' unit has been announced and it is likely to be augmented by more boats and personnel. Training in counter-insurgency and handling of modem arms is also on the anvil. A new anti-terrorism law, the Unlawful Activities (prevention) Act has been enacted, while there is some movement towards integrating and

coordinating intelligence gathering mechanisms. Unfortunately, after the initial spurt of activity the lull has already set in and everyone appears to be waiting for the new government to show some action.

Ministry of National Security

Despite public debates organized by the media and concerned citizens there is little evidence to suggest any meaningful course of action and insight into the shortcomings of the security agencies. Nevertheless, some suggestions are well considered and worthy of documentation here. A thoughtful suggestion is to convert MHA into the Ministry of National Security, headed by an IPS officer so that its mandate is sharply focused. The Home Ministry is the nodal establishment for security related policies and it is felt that a professional police officer is needed to give direction to its multi-agency coordination and policy formulation.

Anti Organized Crime Bureau of India

The perception that terrorist activities are generally aligned with organized crime syndicates has led to the demand for a central [Anti] Organized Crime Bureau of India. The proponents advocate that such a Bureau is needed to prevent and investigate organized crimes such as terrorism, smuggling, trafficking, narcotics, forgery of passports, money laundering and such like that have national security implications. However, to give teeth to the Bureau it is suggested that it should have the mandate to develop its own intelligence capabilities and to deal with hostage crisis situations and engaging these dangerous offenders, if necessary. Furthermore, there must be a suitable legal provision to enable this specialized Bureau to intervene in any crisis situation arising in any region of the country on short notice. The Bureau should also have decentralized units at specific locations and be directly controlled by the PMO to ensure executive mandate for its operations. Resources such as state-of-art electronic surveillance and data processing units, air wing for speedier response, expertise in explosive handling and forensics must also be provided. Considering the requirements of high level of training and motivation as well as risks in engaging dangerous offenders, the personnel opting to serve

in the Bureau must be given handsome compensation package to attract the best officers. It has also been strongly advocated that such a Bureau should only focus upon its objectives and must not be burdened with VIP security and other routine work.

Single Nodal Agency for Information Dissemination

Another useful suggestion is to create a single nodal agency for dissemination of information. Apart from briefing the media and keeping citizens informed, this agency should liaison with local hospitals, schools, transport sector, business establishments and local NGOs to ensure smooth functioning of the society even during the crisis. Such an agency must also work with the various media outlets to evolve a code of conduct from the operation zone. There must be some supervision exercised over the dissemination of operational information and restricting access to the site of action. The agency must, therefore, seek cooperation from the media to help preserve the crime scene and control public access to vulnerable areas.

SWAT Teams

A large number of recommendations for strengthening the local police have emerged. In view of the abject failure of the local police to immediately engage the terrorists and the general poor state of policing everywhere in the country, many ways to improve local police capabilities have been presented. One such is to create SWAT teams that are trained, well equipped and knowledgeable about hostage situations. These teams must have modern weapons, body protection armour, night vision goggles, gas masks, armed vehicles and trusted communication systems. The threats of hazardous material (HAZMAT) leaks, be it a chemical or biological agent, unfortunately cannot be discounted anymore. Therefore, local HAZMAT teams must be organized and properly equipped with protective suiting, sensors and detectors to instantly analyse the agent of potential threat, and be provided with antidotes to commonly used poisons in gas or liquid form. Such teams need to be created in every district and perhaps in large metropolitan areas for every important sector of the region. Some members of

the SWAT team may also be trained to operate as snipers. Every district should also be provided with remote controlled vehicles equipped with cameras, sensors and weapon systems to launch attack if required. Perhaps such vehicles could also be fitted with non-lethal weapons such as tranquilizers to undertake non-deadly action also. Other technological gadgets to improve operational capabilities such as digitized maps, remote thermal sensors, ultra sound scans, x-ray vision etc also need to be considered to modernize police functions.

Other Issues

Many other issues of concern have been raised. For instance, the visit by VIPs into operational zones should be restricted as it hampers police action. Similarly, media must exercise restraint and while keeping the citizens informed must not divulge specifics of operations. There must be a better control mechanism to monitor and regulate all manufacturers, traders/dealers, stockists, transporters and users of Explosive Substances and materials. Similarly, gangs engaged in creating fake identities, documents for illegal financial transactions, certificates need to be tackled on a priority. Major public places, such as malls, theatres, sport arenas, transportation hubs need to be strengthened through defensible space design. Furthermore, the security of such publicly accessible places must be augmented by employing private trained guards and surveillance systems. Moreover, all large buildings (such as sky-scrapers, hotels, etc) by law must submit full and detailed digital plans showing entrances, floor plans, exits, fire fighting systems, air conditioning ducts and elevators shafts and controls, TV and telephone wiring systems and air-handling plants so that SWAT teams can isolate areas where terrorists are lurking, deny them information, lighting and even mobility by re-programming locks on stairwells, elevators, etc.

A major requirement is to create a system of individual identity (ID) for every resident of the country. Such an ID must be in digital format so that it can be verified quickly and can have multiple applications. Furthermore, a criminal national data

in to address this challenge of terrorism confronting the nation. However, once the crisis was over police reforms appear to have been stalled as before. In this situation the role of police leadership seems crucial in moving ahead suo motto with many policy and executive measures. This paper argues that there is considerable scope for the IPS to use its authority and power to usher meaningful steps

that can help reform some of the major deficiencies in the police operations. The paper recommends a number of issues that fall within the purview of the IPS and that can be done without waiting for the government. The paper also outlines several policy measures that need to be demanded from the government.

base that can be assessed from everywhere is also a need for modem societies. The need to check the ID of a person and find out possible criminal antecedents cannot be delayed any longer. Similarly, bail provisions need to be strengthened so that offenders just do not vanish after being released on bail. A system of regular registration of visitors checking into hotels, guest houses and those renting apartments must evolve. Furthermore, video surveillance of major streets, public places and important installations needs to be implemented. A modem society needs to be policed through technological means and this must be the way to go forward for India. Moreover, the response system also needs to be modernized by coordinating police, fire and ambulance services in an integrated manner.

Alternative Paths

There are many ways to categorize the above mentioned suggestions and others that have flown in for each lays emphasis upon specific course of actions. For example, a number of the above mentioned proposals may be seen as taking the challenge of preventing Mumbai like attacks keeping in mind that the Pakistan based groups are most likely going to make another attempt in the near future. These may even be construed as developing a response against all kinds of terrorist incidents, involving both Pakistan orchestrated and non-Pakistan based groups like Maoists, ULFA, IM and the so called Hindu fanatics. Another way of categorization is to focus upon regional theatres or specific targets like malls, VIPs, important installations, communications, transport systems and so on.

But all of these are far too diffused and demand an extraordinary response that the democratic polity of the country is unlikely to support. As mentioned, already the urgency has passed and the focus is upon the new government. Even though the Congress party has gained in the recent elections and is in a stronger position to implement policy measures but it is doubtful whether this will actually happen. Most politicians are reluctant to devolve their powers and set up an independent security establishment that will insulate them from direct command. The police

represent raw power and no politician in India is genuinely inclined to create an autonomous Security Commission as seen in Japan and other countries. If at all any measure is possible it must come from within the existing apparatus. Therefore, the best option to go the road ahead is to consider what the IPS leadership can do by itself and what needs to be done by way of policy changes, resource mobilization, law reforms and other kinds of measures that must flow from the government. These two categories may be understood as 'What the police leadership [IPS] can do?' and 'what are the policy recommendations of the police leadership?'

Such an approach is useful for even though the present situation has garnered positive attitude towards the police establishment and the supreme sacrifices made by many officers has induced feelings of pride and sympathy for the personnel, but voices questioning the performance, impartiality and professionalism of the police have also been heard. Amongst a large section of the citizens there is disquiet and apprehension about the abilities and more importantly integrity of police personnel. Minorities do not trust the police and for the majority they are unaccountable and unbearable. There is genuine fear about the misuse of powers by the personnel and misgivings about their willingness to follow the law. In such a situation while asking for greater powers and resources police leadership should also display their willingness to acknowledge these apprehensions and display determination to address them honestly. It is always a good strategy to accept one's own faults and limitations when demanding changes from others. Keeping this in mind here are few items that fall within the domain of IPS and which they could easily promise to address professionally:

What Police Leadership [IPS] commits to do?

Training

Clearly, this is an area where we are experts and need to begin by giving it the highest priority. We need to train our personnel to prepare them for Mumbai like incidents, and ways to engage

desperate and better armed combatants in public places not of our choice. There are excellent suggestions with BPRD about imparting weapons training, commando skills and handling potential hostage situations. Already, a principle of stationing NSG units in major metropolitan areas has been accepted but we can go further. Use the opportunity to create SWAT teams or mini-NSG units for every district. After all, even medium size cities and urban centres provide opportunities to extremists for creating mayhem. There is no reason why the armed police units that provided SPs the muscle during an earlier era should not be upgraded to meet new challenges.

But training needs to go into every aspect of our functions. From learning ways to preserve the crime scene to the collection of physical evidence to interrogating suspects the task is enormous. While individual officers display exemplary examples of professionalism second to none in the world but the average performance in every sphere is deficient and needs immediate attention. We need to keep in mind that apart from identifying the areas of training we need to give attention to the importance of in-service training, frequent skill upgradation and emergence of training centres as a key unit of changing the organization. Almost every police unit needs to improve training facilities and focus upon improving the skills of our personnel. Concrete action plans have been developed and debated ad nauseam in every state. It is time that the police leadership gives a commitment that within a specific time period this will be done and training will be the vehicle of changing the police establishment.

Therefore, the police leadership of the country resolves that it will train its personnel to be the best in the world

Data Analysis

We do not emphasize empiricism in our work. Despite the fact that we have hundreds of personnel deputed to collect and maintain statistics we do not use them in our work. We do not even trust our own numbers and generate them conveniently when pushed by external forces. This is ironic for our working culture is centred on numerical analysis and we generate and collect huge amount of data. From the station diary entries to 100 calls for service and of course the crime statistics we are submerged in data. We still maintain a record system where daily encounters with the citizens and actions of our own personnel are captured routinely. Yet, we never make use of this data and do not base our functions on what we actually do. Consequently, except for rare occasions we never act guided by careful analysis of data. Unfortunately and ironically, we cannot be guided by the data for we do not store our information in easy to retrieve formats that can help inform field actions at short notice. For example, we will not be able to answer simple queries like listing the cities where SIMI activists have been arrested and suspected to operate. An investigator will take days to obtain this information and even then it will remain questionable. There is little doubt that this information is within our record system-scattered and diffused over time. But at present it is not easy to obtain this and similar information.

Similarly, we are still unable to verify even within a state boundary if a person detained by the local police is wanted in some other part of the state, let alone anywhere in India. We have discussed this endlessly that we should have a system whereby any person detained anywhere in India could be verified for his or her antecedents. This cannot happen unless we ensure data bases are created in every district headquarter that are continuously updated and which could be searched immediately. We have proposed the Polnet and spent money on acquiring computers but we still do not have such a criminal data base except perhaps in Karnataka. This is clearly within our domain and we have to ensure that this gets done in a timely manner.

But we need to go beyond simple data sets. We need to learn and use, encourage, experiment and develop new methods of analyzing the data. How to detect crime patterns; movement of offenders; types of firearms being used; nature of victims; our responses; deployment strategies; workloads; profiling; predicting and modelling dangerous behaviour? These are areas where tremendous knowledge has been built (Eck and Liu 2008; Vaismann-Tzachor 2007; Wiles and Costello 2000).

Applications of methods such as Multii-Dimensional Scaling, Cluster Analysis, Structural Modelling, Geographical Information Systems, Visualization, and Simulation are routinely taught in graduate schools of criminal justice and used by most professional police departments. It is time that Indian police adopt these methods in dealing with the serious threats confronting the country. Along with good data sets, development and applications of scientific methods in analysing the data needs immediate attention. The police leadership can use the talent available within [there are more than 500 engineers serving the IPS]; seek out from universities [why not involve TIFR in modelling terrorist behaviour?]; and promote such a work culture within the organization. For instance, can we model the spatial-temporal dimensions of terrorist incidents in the country and build a predictive model?

The police leadership gives a commitment to create an offender data base and to develop a system of data analysis to guide field operations

Partnership with Private Sector

We have lamented for decades the need to involve citizens and the private sector in our functions. Yet the sad truth is that citizens remain fearful of us and do not wish to get involved. While building trust with the citizens is a long-term effort [but cannot be postponed endlessly] we can at least seek out the cooperation of the private sector. There are at least four sectors where it seems to me we can get instant dividends. The IT industry comes to the mind immediately for assisting us in upgrading our data processing and communication functions. Some of the data analysis methods mentioned above can be out sourced to the IT professionals where this is a routine business. But we can also involve them in strengthening our cyber space and e-threat posed by external agents casting an evil eye upon our economic growth. We certainly need the assistance in tracing telephone calls and in keeping surveillance over e-traffic.

Another important sector is transport where use of vehicles and now boats to attack the country is apparent. Why not seek out the truckers' unions, transport businesses, car owners' associations, manufacturers and petrol station operators to cooperate by documenting every movement of vehicles and its operators. Can we trace a vehicle's movement in real time anywhere in the country? It is not a technological challenge as one of thinking about it and executing it properly. Similarly can we work with landlord associations [create one if these do not exist], tenant associations, builders and resident associations to track in real time which houses have been rented or leased in last two months? Again, it is not a technological challenge as a conceptual one.

How about working with architects, builders and contractors to implement Crime Prevention through Environmental Design? These principles are well known and will go a long way to strengthen preventive methods against criminal predators. Our public spaces, shopping malls, railway stations, airports, shipping yards, major installations-all need these designs to augment their security measures. A modem nation cannot remain ignorant of these preventive applications that have been operation in developed countries for at least four decades. It is time police leadership uses these and other criminological principles to foster preventive steps in the country. The last important sector is that of finance where Hawala remains a known concept and openly practiced. The financial shenanigans of criminal elements and organized mafia need to be pursued through these channels, and the police leadership must devote special resources and good investigators to pursue shady financial transactions.

There are excellent suggestions of Friends of Police initiatives; ways of working with citizens and involving concerned senior citizens in public surveillance, and in building community partnership with police work (Philip 2006; Stone and Ward 2000). It is time that these are institutionalized and given the importance by police leadership. Superintendents and young officers who have demonstrated ways of involving citizens should be encouraged and SOPs need to be developed that become the norm in every police unit. This is also the time to encourage experiments in police-citizen cooperation and ensuring that police citizen gulf, if

any, abridged. An excellent suggestion is of creating ward level committees comprising of cross section of people and representatives from trade and business establishments in all the cities and towns to facilitate exchange of information and collection of intelligence. The role of police leadership in promoting such an action plan will garner enthusiasm amongst the people who like to get involved. Above all, we need to assert our commitment in protecting the minorities and not letting caste, religion, region or ethnicity cloud our judgment and functions. It is time that the police leadership makes additional efforts to assuage the perception of siege amongst the minorities despite recent events in Gujarat, Orissa, Assam, Maharashtra or Karnataka. Perhaps, an announcement that the leadership will make extra efforts to recruit minorities and ensure that the force reflect community demographics will go a long way in dispelling notions of partisanship amongst our persecuted sections of society.

The IPS commits to enhance police-public cooperation and make citizens co-producers of their own safety and security

Personnel Management and Performance Measures

While we cannot break ties of our personnel with the politicians and suffer interference in their deployment but we cannot also sit and wait for someone to set our house in order. We must acknowledge that we do not have proper personnel management policies and have no way of performance measure. This needs attention by the leadership in ways that are practical. For instance, the policy of transferring officers every three years is one that perhaps needs retrospection. We fear that longer stay will compromise the integrity of the officer. This assumption needs to be verified and challenged. Secondly, we cannot use this policy to harass and punish officers. The lack of housing and children's education are issues that force many officers to compromise and seek ways of avoiding frequent transfers. A time has come that we address this in a realistic manner. This will go a long way to boost the morale of our force.

We also need to develop ways of measuring performance in an empirical manner. Although some work has been done here to develop measures for annual evaluation of IPS officers but all these remain unsatisfactory. A suggestion is to emulate performance evaluation methods developed by the public sector in the UK/Canada and some other countries. There are many mathematical methods tested and tried for these purposes and have been found useful. We may not be able to measure performance on an individual basis but we can do it comparatively (Verma and Nagesh, 2006). Again, this area can be addressed by involving the expertise gained in the private sector and by applying a variety of mathematical techniques that are empirical and objective.

We commit to professionalize personnel management and prioritize Human Resources

Accountability

Let us acknowledge honestly that we are perceived to be and actually are unaccountable for our performance and worse, our misbehaviour. There is little that a citizen can do to seek redressal of his or her complaint against a delinquent police officer, particularly of senior ranks. Custodial deaths and frequent resort to deadly force remains an unfortunate legacy of our force (NHRC, 2006). Third degree methods remain widely practiced and we gleefully defend this scourge by stating that we do not have the first and the second degrees available to us. As police leaders we can take immediate steps and implement a system of local accountability that we have been asking for ages. Is it difficult to create a body of eminent citizens in every police station and involve them in investigating the complaints against police officers? Many officers have practiced this on their own initiative and have been labelled as fools but have not been prevented from implementing a variety of audacious mechanisms in policing the districts in their charge (Verma and Subramanian, 2009). Our willingness to open ourselves for external scrutiny and accountability will go a long way in strengthening our own credentials and empowering us as real

leaders of police. The claims of IAS that civilian control is needed over the police can indeed be taken at face value and implemented in a manner that is advantageous to our cause and leadership. The NPC recommended that there be a mandatory judicial inquiry in case of every police firing and custodial death. Why not accept it and if not done by the government ask a retired judge our self to do it? If the DGP/Commissioner/SP show their willingness to subject themselves for external inquiry into serious charges imagine the message it will send to the general public?

As police leaders we need to state strongly that we remain committed to the rule of law in a democracy and that we firmly believe in abiding to the legal constraints imposed on our functioning. We will publicly argue that many such restrictions limit our ability to handle difficult situations and investigations. But we will state in unequivocal terms that whatever boundaries are drawn to restrict our powers through the legal process we will honour sincerely. But we will stress that human rights and due process are of concern to us also and that we will ensure that we honour them in every possible way. The commitment of the Indian police leadership to democratic ideals, human rights and the due process will go a long way in winning us the support that we need to reform the system. It is time that we do not accept the charges that we pay lip service to these ideals and do nothing to implement them.

IPS commits to be directly accountable to the citizens and asserts unequivocal support to issues of human rights

Other Issues

There are many other issues that fall within our domain and about which we need to commit ourselves. For example, enhancing professionalism in our functions and ensuring that every time we face challenges we will display the most professional and exemplary action on our part. We will ensure that no citizen complaint is ignored and will do our best to address every one of them to the best of our ability. We will stress that given the constraints and the need for policies [mentioned below] we cannot give satisfactory performance in every case. But it will not be due to a lack of effort and poor management. At least a statement to this effect will project our commitment and obliquely an acknowledgement that these matters are lacking under command. We need to be more media savvy and ensure that we handle real time issues in a coherent manner through one voice. Accordingly, training our public relations officer to present a professional image and openness without compromising evidence will be our challenge. We leak like a sieve and need to ensure that we begin handling the vociferous media properly. Attention to media relations will help enhance our efforts in transforming our image.

Policy changes that the police leadership demands on a priority basis

Immediate Implementation of Supreme Court Directives

The pressure is tight and the mood is right. This is the time to demand from the new government to implement Supreme Court directives in Prakash Singh Case. Sorabjee committee recommendations are pending with the MHA and it is clear that the IAS bureaucrats have no intention of accepting them. They have prevented the implementation of recommendations of the National Police Commission and have convinced the political class that empowering the police leadership is detrimental to their interests. Whatever be the truth in such charges it is time that the government follow the directions of the Supreme Court or face its wrath publicly. For too long the bureaucrats have diverted attention and violated the rules to prevent major reforms in the systems. Enough is enough!

Although, implementation of SC directives will serve most of our needs and open the possibilities of genuine reform but there are other policy issues that we should stress at this period of heightened anxiety. It is time that we bring to light other features that have chained the police system and made it captive of political and bureaucratic interests. We reiterate through these demands that these policy changes will help reform the police and strengthen the security apparatus to meet the challenges of growing terrorism and criminalization of our society.

Abolition of Dual Control

The police have been throttled by this system of dual control where a non-professional like the District Magistrate wields greater authority over the police without any accountability for its performance. The control exerted by the DM/Commissioner/Home Secretary - all IAS officers has diluted the corresponding control by professional police leadership. It is time to change this outmoded colonial system of policing. The role of DMs has changed and he/she is no longer concerned with land revenue. While the DM has become an agent of development, the SP remains subordinated even when there is little reason for this system to continue. The IAS stranglehold must be loosened and a system as proposed by Sorabjee committee for metropolitan cities be implemented. In such a system the performance and accountability are to be vested in the same authority. This will help strengthen both and prevent passing the buck around as happens at present. At least, as a beginning, all cities with 5 lakh or more population should be converted into Police Commissionarate systems. The growing urban centres of the country need a modern police system where there is clear chain of command and understandable system of accountability. Wherever the police commission system is in operation the performance has been better. Above all, this has not translated into a Police Raj or made officers unaccountable to the citizens. Dual control prevents the growth of modern policing and keep police unaccountable for its performance.

Police say in Policy Making Bodies-IPS as HS and EC

At present the MHA and respective state Home Departments are the policy making bodies both tightly controlled by the IAS. Professional and operational plans are examined by the ministry by people who have little expertise in such matters. For example, procurement of weapons, communication equipment and even deployment of forces are subject to whims and fancies of civilian bureaucrats who have no idea about these subject matters. A professional police force requires professionally competent officers to evaluate policies and operational matters. Accordingly, this body demands that it is the right time that an IPS officer [perhaps the senior most IPS in the country] be designated as secretary to the HM and entrusted with the professional administration of police and related subjects. Similarly, of the three posts in the Election Commission one must be given to a suitably chosen IPS officer. Elections are crucial for democratic stability of the country and the responsibility of conducting smooth and fair elections where a large body of police forces have to be carefully chosen and deployed needs to be done by a person who has knowledge of these matters. It is in this context that we demand a new role for MHA leaving operational freedom to police chiefs. The Home Ministry cannot sit on judgment on matters that relate to operations. Issues of equipment, personnel management, modernization, training, and standard operating procedures should be left to respective police chiefs. The Ministry needs to focus upon criminal justice policy issues, performance evaluation and finance. It is ridiculous that the ministry controls decisions pertaining to operations against terrorists, naxalites, administration of training centres and even research projects.

Planned Budget

For too long the police have been administered in an ad hoc manner. Non-plan budgeting for an important component of government functions such as maintenance of law and order and criminal investigation has played havoc with these functions. For small items like communication sets, cameras, office equipment the police administrators have had to run to civilian bureaucrats. For the professional development of policing in the country it is necessary to construct planned schemes that are budgeted properly.

Stringent Laws for Private Sector and Cyber Space

The threat of serious and determined attacks on Indian cyber space is as real as one of the physical space. It is time that the government pays attention to this threat and immediately works out a plan of action to strengthen cyber space. Stringent laws,

enforcement by trained and specialized professionals and control over the infrastructure, communication systems, vendors, multi-nationals involved in doing business with India must all be addressed in a comprehensive manner. For too long the private sector engaged in communications, transport, construction, financial and health services have been operating with little regard to existing laws and even less to the welfare of Indian citizens. These have not only encouraged criminal elements to occupy prominent place in our industry but also opened conduits for external enemies to enter the country with impunity and attack deep inside. Again a professional police input in all these subjects will go a long way in ensuring that a rule of law is established unambiguously in the country.

End to Criminalization of politics

Perhaps no other subject poses as big a threat to the safety and security of the citizens as the growing criminalization of politics in the country. Criminals masquerading as politicians and taking advantage of the lax laws are playing havoc in the country (Tharoor 1997). They have acquired formidable powers and have compromised the police agencies to the extent that they have become immune to legal restraints. For too long the political class has resisted the demands to enact suitable laws to deal with this phenomenon. While it is well understood what needs to be done no political party has shown the determination to deal with this threat. This body demands that people charge-sheeted in serious offenses be debarred from entering the political arena.

Reform of the administration of Prisons and Judicial Processes

The police are but one leg of the criminal justice system. The prisons and the courts are other legs that are seen to be equally damaged and barely supporting the system. In particular, the prisons are not being administered professionally and are becoming training grounds for dangerous offenders. Crimes are being plotted and executed from with their premises. In some jurisdictions senior IPS officers have been entrusted with the prison administration and they have proved their mettle. Kiran Bedi's success in reforming Tihar jail is not hidden from anyone (Bedi, 1998). It is time that the management of prisons is professionalized and large prisons be entrusted to senior IPS officers, particularly those where terrorists and external enemies are incarcerated.

Another demand is that the policymakers take immediate steps to ensure speedy trials and remove the backlog of pending trials in the country. Every year the number of cases pending trials is increasing and making policing more and more difficult. Offenders get out on bail and commit crimes again and again. It is no secret and understood by professional police officers that every dangerous criminal begins with small petty offenses. The time to stop big offenders emerging on the scene and victimizing a large number of people is to get them convicted as soon as possible. While the judicial administration has to be independent but demands to expedite specific trails where dangerous offenders are involved should be made a part of trial processes. Long term reforms of judicial processes similarly need to be taken on a priority basis and should not be delayed any further.

Other matters like National Identification System, Vehicle Identification System, proper registration of foreigners and Control and regulation of explosive substances are measures that need urgent attention also. There is also an urgent imperative to review security at nuclear installations, power plants, oil rigs, chemical industries and other establishments for these are likely targets of terrorist attacks. Reforms in the social and economic sectors to uplift millions of impoverished citizens languishing in poverty, lacking opportunities and feeling ignored by the system needs to be addressed. These form the roots of alienation that ultimately is exploited by extremists who use such people to indulge in violence. The terrorist incident of 26th November, 2008, at Mumbai is a watershed point in the history of terrorist related activities in India. The policy and strategy of Indian police to counter terrorism so far is not dotted with many notable successes. The catastrophic dimension of this terrorist crime has

made it necessary that all the measures outlined above are taken urgently, so that another attack can be prevented successfully.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that the Indian system has suffered aggression perpetuated from across the border for many decades and internal security remains a major challenged, the country has still not evolved effective policy measures to meet these threats. Almost a third of country is today rocked by extremist violence and in large parts the writ of the government has weakened significantly. Not only the country has suffered serious loss of precious lives but its economic development has been marred by terrorist attacks. In many parts of the country industrial development has stalled by extremist elements and sections of people have been denied participation in developmental activities. What is ironic is the prevailing apathy towards genuine police reform and indifference towards the large number of recommendations that have been made by commissions and committees appointed by the government itself.

While there is general consensus that the criminal justice system needs urgent reforms, the government continues to drag its feet and remains impervious towards transformation of the system. Unfortunately, this situation seems likely to prevail even though a new government with a definite mandate has taken office. Police reform is not a priority for the politicians and bureaucrats as the police serve their vested interests and as a tool for exercising unaccounted power. While the efforts to force the rulers to change their mindset and reform the police must continue, the realistic option before the police leadership is to take those actions that are still within its own purview. There is little doubt that a large number of operational and policy measures can be taken by the IPS officers despite indifference and resistance by the ruling class. For many decades, the police leadership has failed to assert its authority and power to bring in-house reforms. As described above, there are large areas where it is still possible to make changes that will have long term impact and set the police to meet the

challenges of the twenty first century. Mumbai has provided an environment where decisive action by individual police officers will find support if done systematically and for public good. This is an opportunity that the police leadership should not miss.

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International Co-operation to Combat Cyberterrorism & Misuse of Internet by Terrorists

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Key Words

Cyber Terrorism

DDOS

Trojan horse
Worm
OECD
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G-8

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Introduction

For the last three decades, terrorism has been one of the complex issues faced by Government policy makers, analysts, and the public. Tighter physical and border security encouraged terrorists to try to use other types of weapons to achieve their goal. As new communication technologies have emerged, terrorism has kept pace, constantly changing its character and modes of operation, so that today's postmodern terrorism has a new face and it is called **"Cyberterrorism".** According to U.S. National Infrastructure Protection Center, cyberterrorism is defined as, "*a criminal act perpetrated by the use of computers and telecommunications capabilities, resulting in violence, destruction and/or disruption of services to create fear by causing confusion and uncertainty within a given population, with the goal of influencing a government or population to conform to particular political, social or ideological agenda[1]".* Cyberterrorism is also defined as "*the convergence of terrorism and Cyberspace involving unlawful attacks and threats of attack against computers, networks, and the information stored therein when done to intimidate or coerce a government or its people in furtherance of political or social objectives*"[2]. Today all large terrorist organizations are using ICT and the Internet to organize and coordinate their activities [3], and they are achieving their goal in two ways. First, by attacking the critical infrastructure via 'cyber attacks' and second by "mis" using the Internet. [4]

Cyber attack is defined as, *an attack targeting computer networks disrupting the integrity,* *confidentiality, authenticity of data, function and flow through malicious code that alters logic that controls data, leading to errors in output of function [5].* Because of interdepencies among the infrastructure sectors, a Cyber attack that affect one sector could also have devastating, unpredecitctable and disruptive effects on the other sectors and possibly long-lasting effects to the economy[6]. To achieve their goal of Cyber attack, Cyber terrorists are using various tools like, Distributed Denial of service attack (DDoS), Worms (a program that replicates itself from machine to machine across network connections), Trojan horse (a program that appears legitimate but contains hidden codes allowing unauthorized collection, exploitation, falsification, or destruction of data on a host computer), Virus (a program that infects other programs by modifying them to include a copy of themselves), Back/trap Door (a hole in the security of a computer system deliberately left in place by designers or maintainers or established by maliciously manipulating a computer system)[13].

The great virtues of the Internet - ease of access, lack of regulation, vast potential audiences, and fast flow of information have been turned to the advantage of terrorists[7]. Today, all active terrorist groups have established their presence on the Internet and successfully running hundreds of websites serving terrorists and their supporters. The Internet has become a perfect vehicle for these groups to communicate with each other, to spread their message, to raise money and to launch cyber attacks. Today terrorists are using Internet for creating psychological warfare, recruitment, fund raising, planning & coordinating the attacks, data

mining, etc[8]. Hackers from China & Pakistan are continuously attacking the critical infrastructure computers of Defence, Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Ministry of external affairs, etc. Most worrisome is the politically motivated coordinated attacks, with Government support on National critical infrastructures. Indian Mujahideen's terrorists who claimed responsibility for recent blasts in Delhi, Mumbai, Hyderabad and Ahmedabad revealed how they are using Internet for communication, fund raising, recruiting, planning attacks, etc. The 26/11 attacks on Mumbai also indicated the technology use of terrorists and highlighted the volume of publicly available information regarding schedules, and routes that available for download from various government and private web sites. This can be combined with imagery from sites like 'Google Earth' when planning a terrorist attack as it provides additional detail about the potential target and its surroundings. Indian Mujahideen's Terrorists who claimed responsibility for recent blasts in Delhi, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad revealed how they are using Internet for communication, fund raising, recruiting, planning attacks, etc.

The survey conducted by the authors recently with the anti-terrorist squads of Delhi, Mumbai, Ahmedabad and Hyderabad revealed surprising facts. 76% of persons arrested on terrorism charges are computer savvy, whereas 62% use computer for terrorist activities and 59% use e-mail and chatting for communication.

The virtual anonymity that characterizes and transnational nature of cyber terrorism posed a major challenge to law enforcement. Law enforcement agencies very often lack adequate training and equipment. There are cumbersome problems in retrieving and securing electronic evidence and in presenting the evidence for use in a trial. There are many challenges to International co-operation and establishing International guidelines to fight global cyber terrorism. There is a prerequisite for the harmonization of countries' criminal laws, the sanction of complex jurisdictional issues and the development of new co-operation procedures to challenge Cyber crime, its extent and location. It is necessary to identify the perpetrators across borders anywhere in the world, and to investigate and to secure electronic evidence of their crimes so that they may be brought to justice in any compliant jurisdiction with fairness and compliance with human rights standards. This is a daunting task in itself. The various obstacles to International co-operation in countering the Cyber terrorism & use of Internet by terrorists were discussed in section 2.

In section 3, the measures taken by International agencies like G-8, Interpol, APEC, OECD, etc. were discussed. The measures taken by them are not sufficient because, responding to Cyber terrorism does not only include law enforcement efforts, but also the efforts from all parties, including Governments, private sector, and multinational agencies, all of which have vested interest in answering this call. In section 4, the further measures needed were discussed.

India needs to prepare itself to overcome this social war which has been affecting the peace in our society. Our combatants of cyber terrorism not only need to be equiped well for this war technically but also need to have full control over the web. Under present circumstances there are certain problems on the latter which needs to be resolved. India wants freedom from US hegemony over the internet. An assertive India has called for an immediate changeover of the US-dominated governance of the internet to an international body which is inter-governmental, multilateral and multi-stakeholder in nature. India's fight for freedom from the US hold over the net is backed by China and Brazil, among other developing nations.

Obstacles in International Co-operation for Countering Terrorism

Given the interconnectedness of national networks into a single worldwide web, International co-operation is an imperative to counter the use of the Internet for terrorist purposes. Sadly, many obstacles exist for effective International co-operation. Terrorists and cyber criminals take advantage of these obstacles to escape justice and to pursue their activities with impunity. The various obstacles are:

Abstract

Cyberterrorism presented new challenges for law enforcement and policy makers. Due to its transnational nature, a real and sound response to such a threat requires International co-operation involving participation of all concerned parties in the International community. The disparity of legal

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environments and practices, the disparity in the law enforcement capabilities, Jurisdictional issues, recognition of judgments, mutual assistance, extradition etc., are the major obstacles for International co-operation. Cyberterrorism is global problem which requires global solutions. Sharing of information between Governments, making every country to ratify

Disparity of Legal environments and practices

The definition of crimes, rules of evidence and standards of proof, sentences varies across jurisdictions. Crime in one country need not be a crime in another country. There are often different procedural and evidentiary requirements for mutual assistance and extradition requests in different legal systems. Language barriers further complicate the issue. This regrettable situation is particularly common in the case of the Internet and the regulation of online content. It is essential to distinguish between "illegal" and "objectionable" content. Till now no universal agreement exists on what exactly constitutes "illegal" or "objectionable" content. National Laws also differ to the extent Internet Service Providers (ISPs) liability for hosting illegal content, the duration to keep the content &" logs". And also no universal agreement on exactly what role ISP's should play in combating cyber terrorism. Further, national legislations differ in the balance they strike between privacy and data protection on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the needs of law-enforcement authorities in tracking suspected cyber-criminals and trying to collect evidence.

Issue of law enforcement capabilities worldwide

Another obstacle to International co-operation is the issue of capabilities of Law-enforcement agencies (LEA). Judicial officials were not adequately trained on issues of legal co-operation in criminal matters & recent trends in cyberterrorism. The technological and Forensic capabilities of police & Forensic scientists are not commensurate to the challenges posed by the use of the Internet for terrorist purposes and other cyber criminal activities. LEA's of many countries are ill equipped with Hardware & Software tools required for monitoring the Internet and tools required for retrieval of evidence. In the 26/11 Mumbai attack case Indian law-enforcement agencies took the help of FBI for retrieving evidence from GPS enabled mobile phones. Asymmetrical capabilities among countries will only impede the effectiveness of International co-operation in this field.

Jurisdictional issues, recognition of judgments, mutual assistance, extradition, etc

One of the significant issues that must be addressed when assessing the legal means of combating cyberterrorism is the jurisdictional issue, from two perspectives, first jurisdiction to prescribe laws, oftentimes referred to also as prescriptive jurisdiction, and second jurisdiction to investigate, also sometimes known as enforcement jurisdiction. Additional considerations in the prosecution and enforcement of cyberterrorism are exchange of information, mutual assistance, transfer of proceedings, extradition and, as the case may be execution of foreign judgments. Mutual assistance generally entails co-operation in obtaining evidence through searches and seizures, taking statements from witnesses, and assisting in the service of process. Absence of relevant bilateral agreements and insufficient implementation of existing multilateral instruments to provide the necessary legal basis for judicial co-operation are also posing problems.

Measures Initiated by International Agencies/Organizations

The term `co-operation` has become a focal point for every government, ever since terrorism and other types of transnational criminal activities have become the main issues in the International arena. In terms of International co-operation, there are different forms of relationships among governments and their related law enforcement agencies. These cooperative efforts are: formal bilateral co-operation (like Mutual legal assistance treaties), Informal bilateral co-operation (likeCERT), Formal multilateral co-operation (Council of Europe), Informal multilateral co-operation (like G-8 OECD, APEC) [9,10,11,12].

Group of Eight (G-8) Nations

In 1997, a Subcommittee on High-tech Crime was created, which focused on establishing an International network of 24-hour high-tech points of contact to facilitate law enforcement communications

for investigations, to develop computer Forensic principles, to make recommendations for tracing terrorist and criminal communications across borders. The G-8 also adopted in 1999, principles on "Transborder Access to Stored Computer Data" which focuses on preservation of data stored in computer systems, mutual legal assistance and transborder access to stored data not requiring legal assistance.

Council of Europe (CoE)

In 2001, CoE, an intergovernmental organization, made up of forty-five European countries with US, Canada, and Japan having an observer status, held a Convention on Cyber crime, "to make criminal investigations and proceedings concerning criminal offences related to computer systems and data more effective and to enable the collection of electronic evidence of a criminal offence".

European Union (EU)

EU published several documents with respect to Cyber and critical infrastructure security and also created entities to respond to the challenges of critical information infrastructure security. European Parliament and the Council adopted in January 1999 an action plan on promoting safer use of the Internet by combating illegal and harmful content on global networks.

United Nations (UN)

The UN Congress on Crime Prevention and the treatment of Offenders was held in Vienna, emphasized the importance of Internationally coordinated efforts toward preventing and responding to threats against information systems and cyber security. In addition, it also emphasized the exchange of technical and Forensic expertise between national law enforcement authorities crucial for faster and effective investigation of such crimes. Furthermore, in different meetings, the Members of the UN have expressed their concerns about the threat of cyber crime and cyberterrorism, and proposed training programs about cyberterrorism for the national law enforcement agencies.

Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC)

The Fifth APEC Ministerial Meeting on Telecommunications and Information Industry held in May, 2002 in China and the Members of the APEC declared the need for economies to promote the development of advanced, secure and reliable information infrastructures and expressed their commitment to improve the multilateral and bilateral co-operation in the APEC region in developing telecommunications regulatory policies, and information and network security. They also made clear that it is very important to establish a legal basis to address the criminal misuse of information technologies and law enforcement co-operation in combating that misuse.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

OECD in 2002 define cyber security as "the protection of the interest of those relying on information systems from harm resulting from failures of availability, confidentiality, and integrity".

Interpol

Interpol focused on the misuse of information technologies under the name of IT crime[13]. Instead of establishing a new division, Interpol created "working parties" or experts from members of National computer crime units. Currently there are five major working parties, European, American,, African Regional, Asia-South Pacific and Steering Committee for Information Technology Crime.

Measures to Further Strengthen the Existing Framework

Strengthening the International legal framework & legal co-operation

The Council of Europe Convention on Cyber Crime (2001) is an important International legal and procedural standard for fighting cyber crime. This Convention, in conjunction with other instruments, such as the Council of Europe Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism (2005) can provide sufficient legal basis for co-operation against cyberterrorism. Efforts should be made so that all countries should

the International conventions is very much essential. Strengthening the International legal framework, strengthening International legal co-operation in criminal matters related to terrorism, promoting the exchange of information and good practices, strengthening law enforcement Forensic capabilities, promoting speedy information exchange and

intelligence sharing, effectively monitoring the Internet and exploiting relevant online material, promoting models for advanced co-operation in criminal matters, Promoting public private partnerships, and developing Cyber Arms Control Treaty & Cyber Police Coordination Treaty are the need of the hour.

adhere to this convention. Promoting the ratification and implementation of UN convention against transnational organized crime and its protocols and promoting and implementation of the relevant United Nations Security Council Resolutions, especially resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1566 (2004) which require States to fully co-operate in the fight against terrorism, as well as resolution1624 (2005) which calls upon States to "prohibit by law incitement to commit a terrorist act or acts". Training of judicial officials is an essential component of effective International co-operation on criminal matters related to terrorism. Additional efforts are needed to train prosecutors, judges and other officials on issues of International legal co-operation in criminal matters, including Internet facilitated crimes. The International community should develop and focus on "train-the-trainers" capacity building programme's in order to enhance the impact of its work and achieve better results.

Promoting the exchange of information and good practices

There is also a need to further promote the exchange of information and good practices between countries on preventing cyber terrorism and countering the use of the Internet for terrorist purposes. Countries can learn from each other in terms of legislative amendments, procedures and mechanisms adopted, in collecting and securing electronic evidence, and shutting down the websites that propagate terrorism. The G8 High Tech Crime Sub Group prepared a manual of best practices on preventing, investigating, and prosecuting crime involving computers and networked communications, and it should be followed by all countries.

Strengthening law enforcement Forensic capabilities worldwide

More needs to be done also in terms of strengthening Forensic capabilities to enable law enforcement agencies to act quickly against terrorist abuse of the Internet, and/or to protect vital information infrastructures from cyber attacks. International support should increasingly be provided to countries with limited resources to assist them in setting up specialized units, with the adequate training, equipment and other resources, to deal with cyber terrorism, and terrorist uses of the Internet.

Promoting speedy information exchange and intelligence sharing on a day-to-day basis

Speedy information exchange and intelligence sharing on a day-to-day basis should be encouraged and intensified as much as possible. There should be creation of National Central Reference Points (NCRPs) on cyber crime, to enable police anywhere in the world to immediately identify and obtain assistance from cyber crime experts in other countries 24 hours a day.

Effectively monitoring the Internet and exploiting relevant online material

Monitoring the Internet effectively is also an important issue. Due to scarce technical & human resources, much of the material relevant to counter terrorism on the Internet remains unexploited. For example, language is an impediment to the effective monitoring of the online presence and activities of terrorist groups. It is beneficial for countries to pool up their resources into joint monitoring of the Internet. The "Check the Web", initiative taken by Europol, is a law enforcement tool aiming to facilitate the exchange of information on online Islamist terrorist propaganda material.

Promoting models for advanced co-operation in criminal matters

Many models for advanced co-operation in criminal matters exist and could be applied to the cases of misuse of Internet by terrorist. Few countries have established liaison offices abroad which are staffed with intelligence officials and/or magistrates. Some of these officials be trained on, or be complemented by experts on cyber terrorism and terrorist use of the Internet. In addition, other countries have set up joint investigative teams for comprehensive co-operation on connected cases.

Promoting public-private partnerships

Private sector community also experience cyber attacks like DOS, cyber extortion, etc. The Internet is in the private sector, key service providers are

found in the industry not in government. The promotion of public-private partnerships (PPPs) with the industry and civil society to counter the Cyberterrorism is important. The private sector can be involved both as an alternative to potentially too restrictive public regulation, and in support to law-enforcement in terms of monitoring for instance. FBI initiative of InfraGard (is an association of businesses, academic institutions, state and local law enforcement agencies, and other participants dedicated to sharing information and intelligence to prevent hostile acts against the United States), creation of National cyber forensic and joint training venture in USA should be taken as model for PPP's.

Cyber Arms Control Treaty & Cyber Police Coordination Treaty

An International Cyber Arms Control Treaty (CACT) should be created. To be effective, it should bind all countries. In cyberspace, finding an attacking person is not an easy task. The CAC treaty should force all signatories to create a domestic law that would allow prosecuting cyber terrorists for crimes committed against computer systems in other countries. Apart from the CACT, the Cyber Police Coordination Treaty (CPCT) should be created and signed by all the countries that signed CACT. This CPCT should obligate each country to create a 24/7 anti-cyber terrorist center that would help to identify and locate cyber terrorists from a given country. It also would be responsible for co-operation with similar centers in other countries. Such a center should be allowed to intercept and decrypt the communication of terrorist during the attack. The CPCT should also allow extradition of foreign cyber terrorists to the attacked countries.

Conclusions

As new computer-savvy generation of terrorists is coming out of age, the potential threat from Cyber terrorism seems set to increase. Cyberspace has no borders, but law enforcement, prosecutors and judges, and diplomats have; they must stop at the borders of their sovereign state. In today's highly networked world, states' borders pose no obstacles to cyber criminals, but do create hurdles for prosecutors and law enforcement. As cyber criminals have become progressively more sophisticated and Internationalized, the ability of a single state to effectively prosecute those who attack it from and through other states has become increasingly complex. Success in this endeavor would depend heavily on building International co-operation and securing the unambiguous commitment of all Nations to share information and intelligence on terrorists and deny them support, sustenance and safe havens. More countries should sign, ratify & implement the Cyber Crime Convention and Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism, the two International instruments for fighting Cyber terrorism. New International efforts should focus on the development of restrictive and preventive measures that target the dissemination of illegal content on the Internet, and which should be both effective and respectful of civil liberties.

Response to Cyber attacks does not only include law enforcement efforts, but also the efforts from all parties, including Governments, private sector, and multinational agencies, all of which have vested interest in answering this call. These efforts may range from developing new policies, tactics and strategies for effective terrorism response, to creating legislation and establishing bilateral and multilateral co-operation which aim at creating a **"Global consensus"** as to what needs to be done within the universally accepted principles of law and justice.

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Evolving Trends in Terrorist Crimes

Dr. J.R. Gaur*

Introduction

Terror is the term which indicates fear of unknown, some pre-contended and unprecedented happenings which may shatter human psychology and may cause psychological, physical or mental trauma. By terrorism we mean creation of terror in the minds of the people by causing hurt, injuries and killings by the use of weapons. The weapons can be conventional weapons or the firearms, explosives, chemical or biological warfare weapons. Though there are multiple reasons of perpetuating terrorism in the world, but, we can classify these reasons into two main categories, i.e., internal reasons and external reasons. The internal reasons for terrorism can be for ransom, revenge, religious, communal, regional, linguistic, loot, dacoity, rapes and murders. However, the aim of the miscreants is to create terror among the masses or the general public. The external reasons for terrorism can be assigned to territorial or border disputes among nations, tense international relations among nations, linguistic, cultural, religious and racial discriminations, etc. Furthermore, the international criminals may give threats to VIPs and VVIPs internationally.

The terrorism intensified about five decades earlier in the world. If we talk about India, it started in Punjab in 1981 and in Gujarat and Maharashtra a little earlier. However, Naxalites movements prevailed in the eastern states of India as early as in 1960s. The LTTE problem started in Sri Lanka and southern India in late nineties. From 1981 to 1984 there was the period of terrorism in Punjab during which Operation Blue Star and operation Black Thunder took place, and the later period upto 1990 can be called as post operation Black Thunder period in Punjab. From 1981 to 1990 terrorism not only prevailed in Punjab, but, also affected several other neighboring states like Haryana, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir and the Union Territory of Chandigarh. There was huge loss of lives and property during this period. Later, terrorism gained momentum in Jammu & Kashmir and the north eastern states of India. The major incidents of terrorism on World Trade Center in U.S, at several locations in London, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and India in which there has been huge loss of lives and properties caused by terrorist outfits all over the world cannot be forgotten by the world in anyway. The recent incidents of terrorism in Karachi (Pakistan) and in India at Jaipur, Ahemdabad, Delhi, Bangalore and Mumbai are the examples of inhumane terrorist attacks which has caused extensive damage to human lives and properties. All world leaders have become concerned about such terrorist attacks and have started thinking to curb terrorism world wide by united efforts and actions.

Weapons Used by Terrorists

The terrorists used all types of shotguns, 303 rifles, country made revolvers and pistols, AK-47, AKSU-47, AK-74 initially. Later on, AK-47 assault rifles continued alongwith G-3 rifles, Dragnow-IR rifles which were used at night. Light Machine Guns, PK Machine Guns, Browning Machine Guns like weapons had been used by terrorists which have lethality from ground to air.

Deceptive weapons like stick guns, which fired 303 cartridges, have also been used by the terrorists. The effectiveness of the weapons used can be imagined that PK machine gun fires highly extensively to the extent of 250 cartridges per minute. The rocket launcher RPG-I and RPG-II are effective upto 300 to 500 meters. Bullets of PK

Key Words

Ammunition
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Weapons
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Weapons
Detonation
Explosives
Firearms
Terrorism

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machine guns are able to penetrate 22 mm thick steel plate.

Ammunition

The terrorists generally used 12 bore cartridges, led bullets, copper jacketed bullets with pointed tips, bullets with steel core and copper jacketing and later on the highly advanced flowering bullets (highly fatal) were used. Thus, the ammunition used has been from simple to sophisticated with the passage of time.

Deceptive Weapons

The terrorists during last five decades used all types of deceptive weapons like seven chambered, eight chambered and nine chambered revolvers and also the revolvers having the capacity of firing ammunition of different calibers, by the same weapon as the different chambers were made of different sizes, which could load cartridges of different caliber.

Shift to Explosives

The terrorists shifted from firearms to explosives and Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) because of the following reasons:-

■ Explosives and IEDs cause more damage in one attempt.

■ Explosions cause extensive terror.

■ In explosive action they have to spend lesser funds as compared to firearms.

■ The use of explosives provide them safe escape and their safety is ensured as compared to the action with the use of firearms, which were difficult to be carried from one place to another.

Explosives Used

An explosive is a chemical compound or a mixture of chemical compounds, which on exploding generates heat, light, sound, shock waves and smoke. We can say that in an explosion chemical energy is converted to heat, light, sound and mechanical energy. Physically, the explosive

substances may be solid, semi-solid, liquid or gas in form. The explosives which are commonly used by terrorists can be stated to be Gunpowder, Research and Development Explosives (RDX), Nitroglycerine, SEMTEX, PETN and TNT etc. But, later on, mixtures of explosives and later on plastic explosives in C3 and C4 combinations were also used.

Detonation

It is a process of providing primary spark/ignition to the primary explosive which further ignites the secondary explosive for causing explosion. Detonation can be of several types, viz., mechanical, chemical, electrical, light and sound etc. Mechanical detonation can be like spring and hammer mechanism which is used in HF-36 hand grenades. Chemical detonation is used in petrol bombs and other improvised explosive devices in which mercury is used as conducting agent of electrical current. Light and sound detonations can be used by the use of photoreceptive and sound receptive devices. Electrical detonation provides spark to the primary explosive and batteries and filament are used in the process. Besides, conventional detonation by igniting and using fuse chords has also been used by the miscreants. Not only this, electromagnetic signals through remotes and cell phones have also been used by the terrorists in Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir, North East and elsewhere in India. Thus, from simpler conventional detonation terrorist have switched on to sophisticated with one developments in technology.

Types of Improvised and other Explosive Devices

Main types of devices used by terrorists in causing explosions in the past are as follow:

Jute Bombs

These are simple type of throwaway type of devices which explode on throwing. These are thrown by the miscreants for creating terror at various places or are placed at such locations that when some pressure comes over the device, it explodes. These are also known as "Sootaly Bombs".

Abstract

Terrorism perpetuated in the world since long for multiple reasons, however, no definite date or time can be assigned for it's initiation. It raised it's head in different regions and the countries of the world at different times as is evident from the terrorist activities of the past several years. It intensified approximately five decades ago in the world and with the developments in

Pipe Bombs

Empty metallic water pipes, reducing sockets and T joints, etc. after filling explosive material inside and using long fuse chords as delayed devices for detonation have also been used. These were known with the name of "Pipe Bombs",

Petrol Bombs

Glass bottles containing petrol and detonating chemical mixtures inside have been used for throwing at several locations, which are known as petrol bombs. In a few cases the author observed extensive damage to a double storied building walls which developed cracks, and trees in the courtyard were found burnt and singed indicating that such devices were very effective for creating terror.

Toka/gear (garari) Bombs

This name is given to such type of improvised explosive device because gear/garari of fodder chopping machines are extensively used as container/shells for filling explosives and pressure sensitive detonation devices are used by the terrorists for detonation. Such devices were rolled inside cinema halls, etc. at night or in darkness thereby causing extensive damage.

Transistor Bombs

Transistor cases having switches connected to it provide electrical detonation through batteries to the implanted primary and secondary explosive inside were left at different locations. As soon as somebody switched on such device, thinking it to be a transistor, explosions were caused.

Time Bombs

Different types of containers were used for containing explosives, fuse chords or clock timers which were fitted in the devices for completing circuit at the desired time intervals for detonation. Such devices were known as time bombs.

Pencil Bombs

Hollow devices looking like pencils were filled with explosives and fitted with small detonation devices. It exploded as soon as one handled and applied pressure.

Letter Bombs & Book Bombs

Letter envelops and books after making a hole inside, were fitted with explosive material and with chemical, mechanical and electrical detonation devices, which exploded while opening the letters and the books.

Bombs with magnetic attachment

Improvised explosive devices were affixed with the help of magnets under the body of the vehicles with timer or delay device attachment, which exploded at the set intervals of time.

Tiffin, Cycle and Scooter Bombs

Explosive material and detonation devices were fitted inside Tiffin, Bicycle frames, Scooter dickeys which exploded on fiddling with the devices. These were known as Tiffin, Cycle and Scooter bombs.

Hand grenade

HP-36 type hand grenades were prepared by using explosives and mechanical detonation and were thrown in crowded places for causing explosions.

Briefcase or Attachicase Bombs

Briefcases and Attachicases were used for containing explosives which were provided with liquid/mercury detonation device or electrical detonation with a timer which exploded when moved/fiddled with.

Land Mines

Land mines were laid underground with pressure sensitive detonation devices which exploded when any person or any vehicle moved over it.

Human Bombs

Finally, human beings tied with explosive material in belts, trigger switches and electrical detonation devices had been found working for the terrorists in the world, which are known as human bombs. They have been assassins of several VVIP's in India.

Not only this, in the present day scenario in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, the terrorists have been found using all kinds of military explosives manufactured by different companies. These included different types of shells and the rocket launchers. Not to speak of this the attack on World

science & technology the terrorists also switched on to different technologies to commit terrorist crimes. They started committing crimes with simple conventional weapons, switched on to more sophisticated technologies for committing terrorist crimes; it may be firearms, explosives and improvised explosive devices. The possibility of the use of chemical and biological warfare weapons by the terrorists cannot be ruled out in future.

Keeping in view the same, the present article has been written to highlight technological changes adopted by terrorists and which possibly can be adopted in more sophisticated ways in committing terrorist crimes in the world in future. There is a need to keep preparedness to fight out the same with stern hand and evolved scientific techniques.

Trade Centre in USA, known by the name of 9/11 incident, has not been forgotten by the world in which aero planes were used for hitting and ruining the World Trade Centre in USA. The magnitude of the effect of terrorism in the world has not been simple. Recently, as the terrorist attacks in Mumbai, Jaipur, Bangalore, Delhi, Ahemdabad and Surat in India and Lahore, Peshawar and other cities in Pakistan itself proves beyond doubt that the problem is highly deplorable and grim, and needs to be tackled with a heavy and united hand by all peace loving communities and countries of the world.

Biological Warfare Weapons

On September 11th, 2001 two aeroplanes flew into the World Trade Centre and another into the Pentagon and crashed in America causing huge loss of life and property. After this incident there was a great hue and cry all over the world regarding the anthrax spores being used by the terrorists to create terror for mass destruction. Several cases have come to light for the bacterial infection caused by Bacillus anthraxes, but, most of the countries of the world are not fully prepared to deal with such type of bio-terrorism.

Biological warfare weapons are the living organism or the by products of living organisms, which cause diseases, incapacitation and death. Bio-terrorism can be caused by aerosol of the agents/pathogens like that of anthrax, plague, tularemia, small pox, marburg, ebola, Q-fever and coccidioidomycosis. Terrorism can also be caused by water borne acute enteric infections or vector borne yellow fever, dengue or rickettsia. To fight this kind of agents and infections, the proper arrangements for handling, isolations, testing in hospitals and the laboratories are required. Proper arrangements of treatment with antibiotics and preventive measures like vaccination are urgently needed for which we need to have full preparedness.

Chemical Terrorism with Chemical Warfare Agents

Chemical terrorism is resorted to by the use of chemicals in solid, liquid or gaseous state. "This is a great threat to public health and safety. The use of chlorine and mustard gases during world war-I prompted the prohibition to strengthen the international norms against this type of weapons. The landmark Geneva protocol 1925 re-affirmed the prohibition of the use of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and extending this ban to the biological weapons, but, this protocol never truly entered into force as on inter-agreement before world war-II as USA and Japan never ratified it. The Geneva protocol did not ban the possession of chemical or biological agents, but prohibit the use of agent in war. So impact of this protocol was wakened by the declaration by the United Kingdom, the former Soviet Union and France. They did not agree in case of their enemy or allies of their enemies using chemical or biological weapons. So this protocol became a "No-First-Use" agreement with no legal binding restrictions on the research, development or deployment of either chemical or biological agents. In March 1995, terrorist attack in Tokyo subway with the chemical nerve agent, Sarin has provoked growing concern that terrorist could obtain and use chemical and biological agents against civilian targets" (http://www.fas.org/nuke/intro/cw/agents.html, Kandlic, Allan Pzeliwff, Ann M. Vrtis 1997, Graham S. Pearson, 1997).

The chemical warfare agents for chemical terrorism can be nerve agents like Sarin, Tabun, Soman, VX, vesicants, like, mustard and lewisite; blood, gas like, hydrogen cyanide and chocking agents like chlorine, phosgene and ammonia. Accordingly, we need to have antidotes against all these chemical agents and preparedness for the prevention and treatment of the human beings in the event of their usage by any antisocial elements. Their effectiveness can be judged from the incidents of accidental leakage of ammonia and chlorine from the tankers, accidentally in factories and the Bhopal gas tragedy.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussions it is clear that terrorists in the past used simpler technologies for committing crimes, but, switched on to most sophisticated advanced technologies as per

advancements of science and technology all over the world. The use of more evolved sophisticated weapons of biotechnology and chemical technology in future cannot be ruled out by the criminals and antisocial elements for which we need to have preparedness all over the world. To fight against such kind of terrorism and crimes preventive actions and appropriate laws are required to be enacted and enforced for the protection of mankind from mass destructions in the world. The contemporary society has threat potential from the misuse of advanced technologies by the antisocial elements. Police, military, para-military forces and forensics need to develop counter-terrorism strategies for dealing with such deplorable acts.

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Intractable Communal Violence in India

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Introduction

As one of the oldest 'cauldrons of civilization' in the world, India stands apart on account of its geo-economic and political location. It is, therefore, only natural that imbibing the 'culture of tolerance' in its polity, is comprehensible which is amply reflected by the fact that it has shared its home with people of various religious diversities and race like the Hindus, Jains, Buddhists, Christians, Muslims, Parsees, Sikhs, Baha'is and others. Thus, a culture of tolerance had gradually evolved and emerged over the ages, ushering in the predominance of public reasoning, magnanimity and resilience in the day to-day life of the Indians. Perusal of great Epics like the Mahabharata and Ramayana tell us of heroic deeds upholding these broad minded values, age old scriptures of the Upanishads and Vedas chant innumerable hymns with analogies reflecting the merits of patience and acceptance. With time, the charity and endurance preached by Ashoka, the sufferance and understanding by Jain Muni's, subsequently, led to the open door policy of Akbar and the permissive Sufi and Bhakti Movements. All this only echoes the predominance of public reasoning and forbearance of its people, who had taken the test of time and matured, resulting in what we perceive today, an 'accommodative polity of India'.

Role models in the garb of Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Jawahar Lal Nehru, during its freedom struggle, played a pivotal part to portray, practice and propagate the indomitable spirit of public reasoning and accommodation of "Unity in Diversity". Thus "the secularism in contemporary India, which received its legislative formulation in the Post-Independence Constitution of India, contains a strong influence of intellectual history, including the championing of intellectual pluralism"[1]. India prides itself as the only nation in the world, which adopted the secular democratic polity in its Constitution after achieving its independence. Contrary to this Utopian ideology, it has had to face its share of woes with the rise of fundamentalism irrespective of religion, over a period of time. The very same pillars supporting the basic value system envisaged in the Constitution has on several occasions gone to the extent of questioning this unique polity. The resilience of the people of India has kept it going, but at the same time, the cantankerous threat of communalism, looming large, remains intractable.

To analyze the intractability of the communal violence and making it tractable, one need to delve into the entire issue of communalism from the historic point of view in a dispassionate manner and work out the structure of this conflict. Winston Churchill once had this standpoint, "if you want to plan for your future, you should know your past". This paper is one such attempt.

Conflict Theories and Communal Violence in India

To analyze the glaring factors and the complex structure of Hindu-Muslim conflict in India, an attempt is made to correlate and put it in the right perspective, by examining the relevant Conflict Theories. On exploring a large number of themes and various Schools of Thought on Conflict Theories; the macro and micro theories were dropped, as they focus more on individual than group behavior. Hence, the search was extended to the Modern Theories relevant to our times which combines both individual and group behaviors.

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1   Amartya Sen. .2005" The Argumentative Indian" Penguin Books p-19

Enemy System Theory

Among the Modern Theories the **Enemy System Theory** (EST) developed by a group of psycho analysts and International Relations Practitioners of the United States of America is most relevant. **Donald L. Horowitz's ten explanations** on **'conflict'** are also widely applicable in this context. Conceptually, both these theories have about six to ten factors, generally explaining the conflict between ethnic groups. The dividing line between ethnic groups and that of a religious group being very thin, both these aspects would be consolidated and utilized for our interpretation.

The **EST** hypothesis Paraphrases that, **"humans have a very deep rooted psychological need to dichotomize and establish as enemies and allies".** [2] It can be inferred from this hypothesis that the rapport between such groups would depend upon their past historic relationship. In the context of this paper, this theory is apt, since there has always been an attempt from the Eighteenth Century by the Fundamentalists of both the communities to mutually dichotomize each other as enemies and allies. If this perception and attitude was one sided, the conflict should be tractable, but since it is mutual, it becomes intractable.

Us vs Them

To further delve into the above issue, with reference to these two theories, the first and foremost concept relevant is **"the positive identity and negative identity"**. It's a commonly known fact that, Human beings organize themselves into two groups (us and them) and tend to attach good qualities with their group and bad attributes to the other, thus creating conflict. Similarly, if an individual is suffering from low esteem through narcissistic injuries, he develops within him a negative identity and in order to improve his self image, joins a maladaptive group of criminals/ terrorists organization and creates conflict. Thus, in India, the Right Wing Extremists propounded by RSS, VHP and Islamic Fundamental groups, like Lakshar-e-Toiba, Huji and SIMI are examples of groups having identity and negative identity embedded in them. The conflict is intractable due to the mutuality of such identity between both these groups. This concept is also in agreement with the concept of Horowitz that, ethnic affiliations being highly charged are non-rational.

Ethno-nationalism & Ethnic Victimization

The second concept of EST is **ethno-nationalism**[3] which is similar to the concept of the other theory that "ancient group hatred between groups produces conflict". In this concept, the identity of an individual to their ethnic (community) or national group leads to two distinctive and conflicting ethno-national groups which end in conflict if there has been any historical animosity between them. In our nation, this has been evident all through, among the Hindu - Muslim communities harboring and nurturing antagonistic, historical animosity since advent of Islam in India. The animosity sometimes is due to a deliberate mutual distortion of history which leads to violence and riots.

The third concept of EST is **"ethnic victimization"**[4] This is the state of ethnic / community mind, when the security of their group is shattered by an experience of cataclysmic event, of unjustifiable violence and continuous threat that generates a fear of annihilation of the victim group. When the survival of such a group is at stake, conflict emerges. This ethnic victimization can be identified in India during the invasion of the Mughals, the Partition of India and the subsequent and recent riots, especially in Godhra, Gujarat in 2002 and Khandamal, Orissa, wherein, both the communities were affected and ethnically victimized.

Abstract

India as a secular democratic Republic has been facing communal and ethnic violence of intractable nature long before and after its independence. Social scientists, Government Agencies and Commissions, Non- Government Organisations & Police Officers have been dealing with communal violence in various parts of India by carrying out in-depth analysis of this malaise, the outcome

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2 Vamik D. Volkan, 'An Overview of Psychological Concepts Pertinent to Interethnic and/or International Relationships', ibid.,p.31

3 John E. Mack, 'The Psychodynamics among National Groups in Conflict', p-63

4 Josesh V. Montville, 'The psychological Roots of Ethnic and Sectarian Terrorism', p. 169

being volumes of invaluable observations, theories and recommendations to tackle this problem. However, the reality is that communal violence in this country remains intractable, even now.

The purpose of this paper is three fold. Firstly, to carry out an in-depth & dispassionate analysis of tracing all communal violence in this country in it is chronological order with reference to the emerging social, economic and political norms relevant to the

Egotism & Passivity of victims

The fourth concept of EST is **"egotism of victimization".[5]** It is the in- capacity of the ethno-national group (communal groups), as a direct result of its own historical traumas, to empathize with the suffering of another group. This victimized group does not see beyond their own suffering and don't bother about the root cause of the suffering being created. This concept is abundantly prevalent in India. The hard line policy proposed by the Right Wing fundamentalist against the Muslims of India, as a response to terrorist activities and series of explosion by the Pro-Islamic groups without bothering for the suffering targeted group is a typical example of the concept wherein both the communities have gone through a rigorous historic trauma, with their points of view, which they don't want to forget nor correct.

Elaboration on the fourth concept, unfolds that, **'passivity ensures the continuation of victimization and suitable targets of externalization.[6]**, thus making the ethno-nation groups more susceptible to these influences. The group in order to prevent themselves from being victimized continues with this unjustified action in the name of group preservation and thus become passive. This is a common theme with Jihadi Militants as well as the Right Wing and Left Wing extremists in India. To project themselves as powerful, targets of externalization, they adopt the process of displaying images of in animate objects such as national flags or colors, ethnic food, music, costumes or dances which are stored as ethnic identity and used to create a positive image for themselves and negative image for others, thereby allowing them to focus hate on external groups. In India, during the freedom struggle, Right Wing Hindu parties demanded saffron flags as the National Flag, Vande Mata ram as our National Anthem, Hindi as the National Language, a specific dress code for women, celebrating birthday's of great

leaders like Shivaji, and Rana Pratap as Hindu icons, which were some examples of chosen targets of externalization practiced to create a positive image of themselves and a negative image of other communities, thereby creating a wider rift.

Demonization & Dehumanization

The fifth important concept of EST is the **inability to mourn.** Volkan in his theory describes mourning as the **reaction to real or threatened loss or change.[7]** He propounds the opinion that, if a group under threat, looses territory or prestige to an enemy or another group; it often tries to reclaim their insecurities by regaining what was lost. The "concept of Akhand Bharat of Right Wing groups and International Caliphate of the SIMI are living examples of this reaction of regaining lost territory.

The sixth salient concept of EST deals with the **psychological mechanism** that makes it easier for humans to aggress and kill one another through processes of **demonization and dehumanization.[8]** Demonization is the mechanism for projecting negative images onto enemies, especially leaders, to make them appear as villains. Dehumanization is a step further than demonization. This takes over when we begin to devalue, disrespect and disregard the identity and dignity of our enemies as something less than human. It is a state of mind where we cannot empathize with their pain as we attack and kill them. Victimization further leads to sufferance and trauma.[9] A badly victimized group suffering from complicated mourning becomes obsessive about the trauma and often feels a sense of entitlement of avenging and repayment of past wrongs. An apt example for this would be, the systematic projection by the Right Wing fundamentalist that Islam is a violent religion, making its inception in India by destroying temples and with the sole objective of converting people to Islam. It also propagates the view, that Indian Muslims are Pan Islamic and were

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5 John E. Mack, op. cit., p-125

6 Joseph V. Montville, op. cit., p-170

7 Volkan, op. cit., p-43

8 Joseph V. Montville, op. cit p-174

9 Vamik D. Volkan, op., cit p-44

solely responsible for the partition of India. The fact that Muslims have a higher population growth than the Hindus is perceived as masterminded tactics to overtake them in the long run, has manifested itself in violent riots against the minority. This is also true of the Islamic fundamentalists of India who project that Islam is a danger and that the Right Wing politics is likely to destroy India, thereby carrying out massive explosions by killing innocent people.

Modernization & Economic Competition

The another concept of Horowitz emphasizes that; Ethnic conflict is brought on by **modernization and economic competition[10]**. This very practical theory believes that, Modernization makes people want stability. Man's wants are insatiable and unlimited and this sets up a great scramble for the same limited resources. This is visible in the economic competition between the ethnically differentiated segments like Hindu - Muslim community in India, also another valid cause leading to resentment, mistrust and therefore conflict. These concepts are self- explanatory.

The last concept of Horowitz emphasizes that, elite competition and the actions of ethnic entrepreneurs" drive ethnic conflict. Elites manipulate ethnic/ community identities in their quest for power. It is they who "construct "ethnic conflict [11]. This is also obvious from the activity of Shahi Imam of Delhi who issues fatwa during the elections and the issue of Ram Mandir and Akhand Bharat spearheaded by Right Wing fundamentalist, which has generally created conflict of serious nature.

Structure of Communal Violence

The structure has been worked out by analyzing the historic facts and figures of communal violence in India in three parts namely, Pre-British period (advent of Islam), British period and Post-British period.

Pre-British Period

During the Post-British Period, the entire Islamic era was projected of as an Era of Conversion, Cut and Slash, while completely ignoring all other contemporary points of view. That Islam came to the Indian sub-continent at a time which was the beginning of a complex relationship that expressed itself in its war, culture, civilization, dialogue, dress, ethnic liberation, law, mysticism, philosophy, suspicion, myth, segregation, integration, fantasy and nightmare. It was a relationship launched by war but not sustained by it. The Moguls', who initially came as invaders stayed back, to become home grown Indians and remained in this country, for four hundred years[12]. The matrix prepared on communal riots, with reference socio-cultural and political scenario is ample proof and throws light on the historically recorded transformation and organized communal violence.

British Period

During the British era, the structure of the conflict was raised to a much higher level than that of the foundation laid by the historians. Religion got mixed up with the politics of the time; as a result the permanent structure for intractable communal violence was stabilized even more. The third battle of Panipath in the year 1757, paved the way for the British Empire to make inroads in India. Between 1757 to 1857, Muslims in India were always dealt with, as suspects, by the British, ultimately resulting in the Sepoy Mutiny (First War of Independence, according to nationalist) in 1857[13]. The freedom struggle which started after this Mutiny was the period when the British played with the sentiments of both the Muslims and Hindus in scheming divisive ways to rule India and create an unbridgeable rift between them. Hence, the freedom struggle during the British period needs to be analyzed in detail, in two phases namely, the Pre-Swadeshi period and the Swadeshi period, where the structure of the conflict was more complex.

relevant period and to comprehensibly capture the complexity of this conflict and bring out the salient reasons and causes of such conflict. Secondly, to correlate these causes, conditions and complexities of conflict, to various multi level Conflict Theories and bring out a logical, factual and scientific theory, by bringing into perspective, the complexity of this intractable conflict. Thirdly, it attempts to utilize these concepts

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10 Donald L. Horowitz, "Structure and Strategy in Ethnic Conflict" April 1998, P-7.

11 Donald L. Horowitz, ", op cit, P-9.

12 M.J.Akbar, op cit, p -158.

13 M.J.Akbar, op cit p-193.

and findings, and suggest possible ways, to make the conflict tractable in India.

The paper begins with a brief analysis of all the communal riots in this country chronologically since the first reported case in 1500 AD. This is with reference to the demography, socio economic and political atmosphere relevant to the period, in a dispassionate manner. History is generally either exaggerated and eulogized, or deliberately and dishonestly distorted to

With the advent of British rule in the Pre-Swadeshi period, European culture was in vogue and enthusiastically embraced by the non-Muslims, as a result of which; they got easily employed, while the conservative Muslims lagged behind due to their Persian medium of education. The complexities and politics of losing their empire to the British further distanced them[14], resulting in the resurgence and launching of socio-religious reform movements among the Muslims. At the same time, enlightened English educated Hindus also started their reform movements to counter more than eight centuries of suppression and injustice of being ruled by outsiders.

Reform Movement: First Phase

The Socio-religious Reform Movements of the Muslims were through various organs, in the form of the Faraiz i, Wahabi, Deobandi, Aligarh School of Learning and the Muslim Association of Bengal. The Hindu Reform Movement also had its institutions in the Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, the Hindu Mahasabha and Rastraya Sevak Sangha. Both groups of the Reform Movement ushered in a modern view on one side and retrograde fundamental view on the other. Even though inclusive policies were evolved by both the Movements, the retrograde views brought in exclusive policies vitiating the atmosphere and constantly leading to frequent communal riots in India.

Some such fundamental activities recorded during this period were the Suddhi Movement of the Arya Samaj, which converted Muslims back to Hinduism on a large scale in 1877 and 1910, The Cow-Protection Movement of the Arya Samaj in 1882, the organizing of religious procession during the Ganesh festival by Bal Gangadhar Tilak in 1893, B.C. Chatterjee's Bande Mataram, propagating Sanskrit followed by attempts to replace Urdu with Hindi in 1867 as a part of cultural renaissance are a few examples to throw light on cause of the tension.

This led to a counter offensive by the Muslims to retaliate in form of cow sacrifice during Bakrid and aggressive Maharrum processions which was the best cocktail for communal violence in the country. This was further fanned and complicated by the literary offensive fired both by Hindus and Muslims concentrated especially in Bengal[15]. Books and articles published in various Muslim journals like, Musalmani Bengali and Bengali books like, Zoha-datal-Mondal, Islam Taitua, Hindu Musalman, Upadesh Sangraha, Massayeb Islam, Paritana Kabya, books of Md. Maharullah were targeted against Hindus and Christians. Bengali Weeklies like the Sudhakar Group and Islam Pracharak promoted a Pan Islamic feeling and alienated Hindus in a big way. On the other hand, intellectual Bengalis led by, B.C. Chattacherjee wanted to resurrect Hindus who were weak, with odes like, Bande Mataram, wrote novels like Anandamath, which had anti-Muslim sentiment, followed by S.C. Chattopadhyaya's essay on Hindu-Muslim problem, Jadunath Sarkar's "History of Bengal" and Jaya Chatterjee's "Bengal Divided" highlighted Muslims with such vehemence, that the dislike was evident whereby, the literary poison of communal violence was widespread and apparent in Bengal[16].

The Chronology Matrix of communal riots in India proves the increase in such riots due to increased socio-religious Reform Movements of the first phase.

The Second Phase

This second phase at the end of Nineteenth Century saw the bonding of contours and conflicts between Hindus and Muslims, while, the Twentieth Century saw the hardening of this conflict with the formation of Indian National Congress. The INC was reinforced by many progressive Hindu Sabha hardliners who joined them. Parallel to this development, the Muslim League in 1906, the Arya Samaj, the Hindu Mahasabha in 1915 and the RSS in 1925 also heightened their activity. All were either direct or indirect players in the freedom movement and also responsible for fanning of communal passion in the run up to the freedom struggle. Analysis of the activities of these parties during this period clearly

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14 Jaswant Singh, op cit,p-26

15 Amalendu Dey, op cit p-18.

16 M.J.Akbar, op cit p-228

brings out the salient ingredients which went in, to reinforce the structure of communal conflict.

In essence, an analysis of the history and activities of the Hindu Mahasabha[17] founded in 1915 reveals its dogmatic philosophy and ideology to protect the Hindu identity and regenerate the old pride of the indigenous Indian.

Records reveal the fact that they also adopted a similar approach in their activities like the Arya Samaj on issues of reconversion, popularizing the Hindi language, protection of the cow, the celebration of Hindu festivals and of representing the political interest of the Hindu majority before the British Government. The last aspect brought religion into politics, which was also practiced by the Muslim League thereby, bringing in a silent and disturbing, yet, fervent and rabid rivalry between the two in the race to the freedom struggle.

Perusal of the Annual Sessions of both these parties[18] blatantly unveils the fact that the resolutions adopted by them were counter point to each other, thus building up the momentum of the tension between the communities during the freedom struggle. Some of those issues unmasked were: their opposition to the Communal Award of 1925, the Nehru Report, the Fourteen Point Demand of Muslim League, creation of North-West Frontier Province, the rejection of Pune Pact of 1935 and the insistence on dominion status. Party egos also dabbled on exclusive social policies by encouraging birth anniversaries of their icons like Shivaji, Maharana Pratap, GuruGovind Singh, Bir Banda Bairagi, Swami Sradhyannanda and others, proposing a Pan-Hindu flag as the National Flag and Bande Mataram as National Anthem. The systematic resolution on the priorities lay bare with their demands for the Right for religion processions with music in public places, Military training for the youth of India and organizing militant parties against partition of India, further hardened the conflict between Hindu and Muslims.

It is obvious, from the evidence cited above, the extent and impact of the divide which was irreparable. This schism was further aggravated by the emergence of the RSS[19], which was formed in Nagpur as a breakaway group from Hindu Mahasabha. Their ideology was focused from the very beginning, and the means to achieve the ends, well pronounced. They adopted a militant stand and went to the extent of sending B.S. Moonge to Italy in March, 1931 to meet Mussolini in Rome, to find out ways and means to tackle the Muslims in India. Moonge visited the Central Military Schools for physical education and the Military College too. Hindu fascism came to the fore in 1933, when the RSS asserted that Muslim should be treated on the same lines as the Nazi's treated the Jews[20]. This was further complicated by Gowalker's fiery speeches and declarations that, foreign races in Hindustan must accept and adopt the Hindu culture and language. He also showered praise on Hitler on the concept of nationhood.

A detailed analysis of the Muslim League[21] since its inception in 1906 also exposes some major issues, relevant to the upsurge of communal violence. The Muslim League predominantly started as Pro-British political party to derive benefits for the Muslim community in India. The fervor for this benefit sometimes banked towards parochial chauvinism when they did not get what they wanted from either the Congress Party or the British Government. While they were happy with Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 and the Partition of Bengal in 1905, they were extremely disillusioned when the Partition of Bengal was cancelled in 1911. The Lucknow Pact of 1916 went in their favour, not to be rattled when dominion status was demanded in 1929. Their political equation and rapport with the Congress during the Khilafat Movement was both cordial and mutually convenient, but their resentment and disapproval of Gandhi's impulsive policies were apparent, especially so, when he withdrew the agitation due

assuage the feeling of the community which is stronger in the society. This draw-back distorts the approach and vision of the Researchers, thereby blurring the result to delve into the root cause to find out the actual and factual reasons, causes and complexities of this violence. Hence, this paper approaches the subject in a fair & dispassionate way, highlighting details that have been derived from various historical facts.

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17 O.P. Ralhan, Encyclopedia of political parties, Anmol publishers, 1996, vol 5&7.

18 O.P.Ralhan, op cit vol 6 & 8.

19 Martha c.Nussbaum, "The Clash within", Permanat Black, 2007, p-156.

20 Martha c. Nussbaum, op cit, p-163.

21 O.P.Ralhan, op cit, vol 7&8.

Having carried out a dispassionate analysis of the intractable communal violence in India, this paper further dwells on the various conflict theories like the Enemy System Theory of Volkan et al and its derivatives, Horowitz's Theory of Conflict, Vasquez Theory of Conflict and Peter A Olsson's Personal Pathway Model, relevant to intractable conflict, bringing out a scientific and theoretical explanation for this conflict.

to Chauri Chaura outrage. The Communal Award of 1932 elated their cause, but they lost faith in the Congress, when they opposed it in Bengal. In 1937, the defeat of Muslim League in the general election was converted by Jinnah against Congress, who cheered its dissolution of elected government after the Second World War broke. Steeped with distrust, opportunism and repeated failures to attain what each Party strived for, the Muslim League ultimately demanded a separate Sovereign State in 1940, proposing the name 'Pakistan' through one of the Press. The main difference of opinion between the Muslim League and the Congress was on the issue of a federal structure of the Government, wherein the Muslim League wanted an individual State having their own Government under the federal structure.

At this juncture, one needs to dispassionately perceive the repeated attempts made by the British to drive a wedge deeper through their various enactments and actions, starting from the Local Self-Government Bill in 1883, followed by the Partition of Bengal in 1905 and its subsequent cancellation in 1911. The Minto-Morley Reforms in 1905, the Rowlett Act of 1919, the Mopllah Rebellion in 1921, the Simon Commission in 1930, the Round Table Conference of 1931-32 and the Communal Award in1932, also unravel intricate accounts of divisive 'Divide & Rule' politics and partisan favoritism in practice.

It was during this insecure phase that the Muslim League also forayed into the pan-Islamic arena and this is reflected in their activities and policies made in 1913, 1918, 1921, 1923, 1925, 1933, 1935 and 1938 respectively, wherein they passed a resolution against the war on Turkey, the occupation of Jerusalem, their faith on the Khalifa system and other issues. It vehemently condemned the action of the British Government on Egypt and the action of the League of Nations in Turkey; it condemned the assassination of Nadir Shah in Afghanistan, while condoling the demise of Mustafa Pasha of Turkey. Apart from this issue, the Fourteen Point Demand of 1928, and the 128 pages Committee Report of 1938, gave a handle to Hindu Mahasabha to brand the Muslim League as Pan-Islamic and divisionary,

which led to a lot of blood shed. All through this phase ,which was steeped in mistrust and vested interests, the Indian National Congress mastered the art and skill of doing the balancing act of sometimes satisfying the Muslim League, without antagonizing the majority ultimately leading to the Partition of India, wherein more than 2,00,000 lives were lost. Thus, if we analyze the entire activity of the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the British Government and the Congress party, the cataclysm was evident.

Independent India

It has to be acknowledged that despite the strong opposition from various factions, a secular Constitution was ultimately adopted due to the foresight and obstinacy of visionaries like Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Jawahar Lal Nehru, who led from the front, to succeed in their quest of India's freedom struggle. However, the aftermath of Independence only resulted in an organized but steady resurgence of Hindu Right Wing activity, leading to further recurrence of communal violence making the Hindu-Muslim backlash totally intractable. This is clearly evident on analyzing the role of the Hindu Mahasabha[22] in this period, after independence, as well as that of the RSS[23] and their offshoots commonly known as the *Sangh Parivar* [24]*.

After Independence, the Government banned the RSS on 8th February, 1948 on the grounds of spreading violence, after assassination of Gandhi. But the subsequent lifting of the ban on 25th August, 1949, gave a shot in the arm as it received a legal status by adopting a Constitution of its own. The Hindu Mahasabha was also registered under Act, 21 of 1960 with an aim to establish a Hindu state '*Akhanda Bharat.* However, the strong measures taken by the Government of India and the fervor of new Independence spirit kept the Hindu Right Wing activities under control and masked their objective. Subsequently, the RSS allowed Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee to start a mass social movement on 21st October, 1951, to lead the Hindu Right Wing political activity, in the name of *Jana Sangha*. This party in its

very first session[25] criticized the Nehru Government for appeasing Muslims in 1951.They opposed autonomy given to Jammu &Kashmir in 1953 and took up the issue of merger of Goa by clashing with Goans in 1954. Demonstrations against cow slaughter were once again revived in 1966. During the Indo-China war, the Jana Sangha and RSS branded the Congress Government as a 'weak' and years later, also utilized the Indo-Pakistan war in 1965 to whip up the fear of suspicion against Indian Muslims.

Over the years, the RSS further perfected the art of re-engineering itself into large number of subsidiary parties under different contexts without diluting its staunch Pro-Hindu ideology. The subsidiary parties were formed primarily to indirectly orchestrate the cause and interests of the RSS. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad, a cultural organization was started in 1964 and was subsequently followed by its youth wing; the Bajrang Dal, giving sufficient evidence in this regard. This brilliant tactics of the RSS to have multi organizations speaking the same tongue on their core values, ideals and objectives and having an organised and professional network all over the country, was a deliberate attempt, well masterminded and executed. However, the Nationalist Government with strong leaders constantly kept them under check and the final shot in the arm to silence them was the declaration of Emergency by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Ultimately, this led to gaining of political ground by Right Wing Hindu parties.

The records of the last 60 years exhibit glaringly, that the RSS had violated every condition on which the ban was lifted in July, 1949. It used violence as its basic weapon, fermented the riots, spread hate by utilizing its organizational structure with its fascist outlook [26]. The proof for this, as well as the umbilical cord ties with the other parties is evident from the

underlining understanding that it has with the BJP. This is evident from the number of incidents recorded in recent times. The underlining understanding was that, if the BJP does anything to the minorities, the RSS has no objection to it - be it 2002 Gujarat carnage or the recent Khandamal or Karnataka riots in 2008. The RSS speaks only when there is a crisis inside the BJP organization. The BJP was formed under the condition that the RSS would give its cadre only if the ideology it stood for, was promoted, topmost being what Golwalker believed strongly that minority should have no right, except as second class citizens[27].

Over the recent past, Govt. of the day committed a series of follies, which encouraged the Right Wing Fundamentalist to further its anti-minority ideologies. The first was the decision of the Government to reconstruct the Somnath Temple in 1951, which rekindled the old flames of hatred. Recently, the lack of firm decisions to deal with the incidents of placing of Lord Ram, Sita and Laxman's idols inside the disputed Babri Masjid on 22nd - 23rd December, 1949, and in the order of DM to allow Pooja and its subsequent closure .The second instance was the complicity of the State Government in U.P. in opening the lock of Babri Masjid on 1st February, 1986 and allowing the formation of All India Babri Masjid Action Committee.

The third sensitive cord touched was the Muslim Women Bill in1986, to offset the impact on Muslims due to Shah Bano Judgment and the dealing of the issue relating to the run up to demolition of Babri Masjid on 6th December, 1990 by national government. The fourth was the mishandling of the mass conversions of Harijans to Muslims at Minakshipuram in South India in 1981, which gave a fillip to the Sangha Parivar. Finally, the famous TV serial Ramayana gave a boost to the revival of the Hindu consciousness in 1987-88 and two years later, BJP encashed on it and organized a Ratha Yatra in 1990[28], leading to riots in several states, including Gujarat. This ultimately made the BJP emerge as a major Opposition Party.

Subsequently, this paper works out atheory based approach to make this intractable conflict a tractable one in India.

22 Martha c. Nassbaum, op cit-168

23 Martha c. Nassbaum, op cit, p-173.

24 Martha c.Nassbaum, op cit,p-169.

25http://www.google.co.in/search?q=jan+sangh+timeline &hl

26 A, A.Mahaprashata, Frontline, 25 sep 09,p-121.

Conclusion

This study throws light to a dark past, which has done little or nothing to get to the root of the matter. In today's modern, secular India we have in no way manifested streaks of being progressive, civil or accommodative. As we stand at the threshold of our future, which still appears bleak, we continue to have two communities perceiving themselves as mutual enemies, constantly manipulating and creating a negative identity among each other, attempting not to forget their historic enmity, creating a cycle of ethnic victimization, nurturing egoism of victimization and ensuring passivity to victimization. Thus, by creating suitable targets of externalization, it has been making no effort absolutely to convert its inability to mourn into ability to mourn. No sincere effort has been made by either side, to stop the process of demonization and dehumanization of each other and to provide equitable opportunity to both the communities so as to be initiated into a modern, global world, where they can be mutually civil, dignified and reinvent themselves, that would be beneficial and in tune with the call of the times. Until then, the Hindu-Muslim conflict will remain intractable and a curse to the society we live in.

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27   A.A Mahaprashata ,op cit,,p-120.