

## Terrorism

### 1 Terrorism: Key Issues, Terms and Ideas

#### 1.1 Background

Most people have a vague idea or impression of what terrorism is, but lack a more precise, concrete and truly explanatory definition of the word. This imprecision has been abetted partly by the modern media, whose efforts to communicate an often complex and convoluted message in the briefest amount of airtime or print space possible have led to the labeling of a range of violent acts as 'terrorism'. Pick up a newspaper or turn on the television and -- even within the same broadcast or on the same page -- one can find such disparate acts as the bombing of a building, the assassination of a head of state, the massacre of civilians by a military unit, the poisoning of produce on supermarket shelves or the deliberate contamination of over-the-counter medication in a chemist's shop all described as incidents of terrorism. Indeed, virtually any especially abhorrent act of violence that is perceived as directed against society -- whether it involves the activities of anti-government dissidents or governments themselves, organized crime syndicates or common criminals, rioting mobs or persons engaged in militant protest, individual psychotics or lone extortionists -- is often labeled 'terrorism'.

#### 1.2 Defining Terrorism

The international community has never succeeded in developing an accepted comprehensive definition of terrorism. During the 1970s and 1980s, the United Nation's attempts to define the term foundered mainly due to differences of opinion between various members about the use of violence in the context of conflicts over national liberation and self-determination. These divergences have made it impossible to conclude a Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism that incorporates a single, all-encompassing, legally binding, criminal law definition of terrorism.

#### 1.3 Conceptual overlapping and distinction: Is terrorism a crime or a war?

Terrorism, by definition, is always a crime, but it can also be a strategy in a war. There are by now about 200 definitions for terrorism. But in the international community (including UN), terrorism has no legally binding, criminal law definition. For the sake of discussion, let's focus on two definitions:

According to the *FBI*: "***Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.***"

So, the actions of a terrorist are always criminal. Hijacking, murder, arson, or hostage taking may be the crimes, but it is the motivation that makes it terrorism. Countries have also used terrorism as a strategy in warfare. For instance, Iran has supported several Palestinian terrorist groups in their war against Israel. Both Hamas and Hizbullah have received financial support from Iran.

Secondly, the *U.S. Department of State* defines terrorism to be “**premeditated politically-motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience**”.

So, we see Terrorism is also a type of modern non-state warfare tactic. Non-state, because generally no state directly endorses or participates in any such activities. Some other definitions of terrorism are as follows:

**UN resolutions:** Eighteen universal instruments (fourteen instruments and four amendments) against international terrorism have been elaborated within the framework of the United Nations system relating to specific terrorist activities.

**European Union:** uses a definition of terrorism for legal/official purposes which provides that terrorist offences are certain criminal offences set out in a list comprised largely of serious offences against persons and property which, “given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organisation where committed with the aim of: seriously intimidating a population or unduly compelling a Government or international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act, or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation.”

**India:** In India the 8th report of ARC-2 uses the following working definition of terrorism, same as one widely used by Western nations as well as the United Nations, proposed by Schmid and Jongman in 1988.

Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human **victims of violence are generally chosen randomly** (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat and violence-based communication processes between terrorist organization, victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought.

## 2 Causes of Terrorism/ Roots of Terrorism

### Political

Terrorism was originally theorized in the context of insurgency and guerrilla warfare, a form of organized political violence by a non-state army or group. They choose terrorism because they don't like the current organization of society and they want to change it.

### Strategic

Saying that a group has a strategic cause for using terrorism is another way of saying that terrorism isn't a random or crazy choice, but is chosen as a tactic in service of a larger goal. Hamas, for example, uses terrorist tactics, but not out of a random desire to fire rockets at Israeli Jewish civilians. Instead, they seek to leverage violence (and cease fires) in order to gain specific concessions related to their goals vis-a-vis Israel and Fatah. **Terrorism is typically described as a strategy of the weak seeking to gain advantage against stronger armies or political powers.**

### Religious

Experts began to argue in the 1990s that a new form of terrorism fueled by religious fervor was on the rise. They pointed to organizations such as Al Qaeda, Aum Shinrikyo (a Japanese cult) and Christian identity groups. Religious ideas, such as martyrdom were seen as particularly dangerous. However, as thoughtful studies and

commentators have repeatedly pointed out, such groups use selectively interpret and exploit religious concepts and texts to support terrorism. Religions themselves do not "cause" terrorism.

### **Socio-Economic**

Socio-economic explanations of terrorism suggest that various forms of deprivation drive people to terrorism, or that they are more susceptible to recruitment by organizations using terrorist tactics. Poverty, lack of education or lack of political freedom are a few examples. There is suggestive evidence on both sides of the argument. Comparisons of different conclusions are often very confusing because they don't distinguish between individuals and societies, and they pay little attention to the nuances of how people perceive injustice or deprivation, regardless of their material circumstances.

## **3 Types of Terrorism**

Various attempts have been made to distinguish among types of terrorist activities. It is vital to bear in mind, however, that there are many kinds of terrorist movements, and no single theory can cover them all. Not only are the aims, members, beliefs, and resources of groups engaged in terrorism extremely diverse, but so are the political contexts of their campaigns. The ARC-2 in its 8<sup>th</sup> report provides the following typology of terrorism

### **Ethno-Nationalist Terrorism**

Terrorism motivated by ethno-nationalist and separatist aspirations became prominent only after the Second World War and dominated the terrorist agenda around the world for more than 50 years until religious terrorism came to occupy the center stage. Ethnic terrorism can be defined, according to Daniel Byman, as deliberate violence by a subnational ethnic group to advance its cause. Such violence usually focuses either on the creation of a separate State or on the elevation of the status of one ethnic group over others. Tamil Nationalist groups in Sri Lanka and insurgent groups in North East India are examples of ethno-nationalist terrorist activities.

### **Religious Terrorism**

Present-day terrorist activities around the world are motivated largely by religious imperatives. According to Hoffman, the practitioners of terrorism motivated either in whole or in part by a religious imperative consider violence as a divine duty or a sacramental act. It embraces different means of legitimization and justification compared to other terrorist groups, and these distinguishing factors make religious terrorism more destructive in nature

### **Ideology Oriented Terrorism**

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

- a) **Left-wing Terrorism-** Violence against the ruling elite mostly by the peasant class motivated by what are called leftist ideologies have occurred time and again in history. However, the ideological basis for the left and subsequent violent movements was provided by the writings of Marx and Engels. This was supported by the writings and speeches of later communists like Lenin and Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong). Leftist ideologies believe that all the existing social relations and state structures in the capitalist society are exploitative in character and a revolutionary change through violent means is essential. Examples of leftist ideologies that have resorted to the use of terror are numerous. These include; the Red Army Faction or Baader Meinhof Gang in the former West Germany, the Red Brigades in Italy, the 17 November Movement in Greece, the Shining Path of Peru, Peoples Revolutionary Army and the Motoneros of Argentina. The Maoist groups in India and Nepal are the most easily identifiable groups closer home.

- b) **Right-wing Terrorism-** Right-wing groups generally seek to maintain the status-quo or to return to some past situation that they feel should have been conserved. Sometimes, groups espousing rightist ideologies might assume ethnic/racist character too. They may force the government to acquire a territory or to intervene to protect the rights of an 'oppressed' minority in a neighboring country (i.e. the Nazi Party in Germany). Violence against migrant communities also comes under this category of terrorist violence. It is to be noted here that religion can play a supportive role to rightist violence. Examples of these are: Nazism in Germany, Fascists in Italy, white supremacy movements in the US known as Ku Klux Klan (KKK), the Green Jackets of Denmark in the 1980s etc.

### **State-sponsored Terrorism**

State-sponsored terrorism or warfare by proxy is as old as the history of military conflict. Walter Laqueur notes that such established practices existed in ancient times; in the Oriental empires, in Rome and Byzantium, in Asia and Europe. However, state-sponsored terrorism on a massive scale reappeared in international politics in the 1960s and 1970s, and today along with religious terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism has considerably altered the nature of terrorist activities around the world.

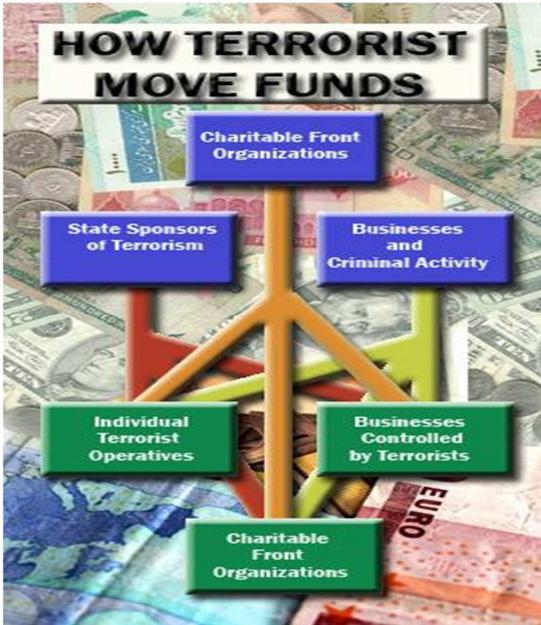
In recent times, some countries have embraced terrorism as a deliberate instrument of foreign policy. One distinction of state sponsored terrorism from other forms of terrorist activity is that it is initiated to obtain certain clearly defined foreign policy objectives rather than grabbing media attention or targeting the potential audience. Given this character, it operates under fewer constraints and causes greater casualty on the target (Hoffman, 1998). In a cost-benefit analysis, state-sponsored terrorism is the most effective means of terrorism from the perspective of the perpetrator.

State-sponsored terrorism was widely employed in Central Asia in the nineteenth century. Russians supported their fellow Slavs in the Balkans. Bulgaria used the Macedonian revolutionary terrorists against Yugoslavia after World War I. The Western powers under the auspices of the US supported all kinds of nationalist and anti-communist rebels throughout the Cold War. The Soviet Union was no different in its operations during this period. Countries like Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Libya North Korea have been engaged in sponsorship of political violence of different nature in their 'enemy' countries. India has been facing this problem from Pakistan since Independence.

### **Narco-terrorism**

Narco-terrorism is an interesting concept, which can fall in the category of either 'Types of Terrorism' or 'Means of Terrorism', depending on how it is defined. The term was first used in 1983 by the former President of Peru, Belaunde Terry to describe campaigns by drug traffickers using terrorist methods such as the use of car bombs, assassinations and kidnapping against the anti-narcotics police in Colombia and Peru. Though initially used in the context of drug trafficking related terrorism in South America, the term has come to be associated with terrorist groups and activities around the world and more so in the Central and South-East Asia. Narco-terrorism has been defined by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service as 'the attempt by narcotics traffickers to influence the policies of the Government by systematic threat or use by violence'. However, it is also possible to view narco-terrorism as a means of terrorism or at any rate as a means of funding terrorism. As the term itself suggests, narco-terrorism combines two criminal activities; drug trafficking and terrorist violence. Narco-terrorism is motivated mainly by economic reasons as it helps the terrorist organizations raise huge sums of money with minimum cost for their activities. Thus the political, ideological, religious and the ethno-nationalist motives generally associated with terrorism are secondary to the economic gains associated with it

## 4 Financial Structure of Terrorism



In addition to funding historically received through charitable fronts and donations from state sponsors of terrorism such as Iran and Syria, many terrorist and criminal organizations raise money through a variety of criminal enterprises, including narcotics trafficking, credit card scams, and smuggling.

### “Traditional” Banking Channels

The United States and other nations have developed legal and regulatory systems aimed at detecting, blocking, and freezing illegal funds transfer activities, and (especially post-9/11) tools to identify and map terrorist and other criminal networks. But these systems have limits, and terrorists, money launderers, and rogue states constantly attempt to exploit vulnerabilities and systemic flaws in the financial system. The past decade clearly demonstrates that the international financial community remains a key point of vulnerability because some banks are not actively trying to prevent illicit conduct and others are actively profiting from it.

### Charitable Fronts

In the Islamic world “zakat” (religious tithing) is considered a religious obligation. Islamist terrorist organizations often raise funds through charitable organizations by exploiting the tenet of zakat through fundraising apparatuses that provide a ready source of income generated from religious or ethnic communities with ties to the Middle East. Although Islamic charities serve many legitimate purposes, in many places a lack of transparency, oversight, and financial controls fosters an environment allowing terrorist groups to divert funds raised in the United States, Europe and elsewhere and use them for illicit purposes.

In fact, the **Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering’s 2002-2003 Report** confirmed that some Islamist charitable organizations were established *solely* to earn funds for terrorist organizations.

### State Sponsors of Terrorism

Pakistan is widely believed to be engaged in State Sponsored Terrorism against India. According to the US, Iran remains the most active state sponsor of terrorism. US claims that Iran provides Hezbollah and Palestinian terrorist groups with extensive funding, training, and weapons. Iranian control over Hezbollah is particularly direct and is exercised through various individuals and institutions.

## Hawala

Hawala is an alternative or parallel remittance system (literally translated as “transfer”) often associated with informal money exchange systems operating outside of formal financial sectors. It is used primarily to send money home to the Middle East or South Asia from abroad without physically transporting currency, thereby making it difficult for investigators and regulators to track the money.

Terrorist and criminal actors vary their methods, based on differences in their structure, role, and degree of openness. For example, Al Qaeda, largely a clandestine network, frequently uses “Hawala” channels.

In its simplest form, Hawala has four parties: (1) a customer who wants to send money; (2) a local intermediary (hawaladar) with a counter-part in the country or region where the customer wants to send the money; (3) a hawaladar in the receiving country or region who will provide the actual money to the recipient; and (4) the recipient. Thus, Hawala acts as an informal transnational credit system without the need to physically transfer currency from place to place. Like other “informal funds transfer systems” Hawala originated as a means of developing efficient and safer systems for trade financing, given dangers in traveling with gold or other hard currencies.

For example, a series of bomb blasts in Mumbai in 1993 was financed through Hawala

The above is some of the most widely used financial mechanism of terrorist financing. But every day it is becoming more complex as it is ever evolving.

## 5 Recent Events

Internationally terrorism today is marked by a large number of **transnational terrorist groups**. In the years following the World Trade Centre attacks on 9 September 2001 **al-Qaeda** was at the forefront of debates on terrorism. The **Taliban in Afghanistan** as it's closely allied with the al-Qaeda has remained a key actor.

In the past one year the rise of the **Islamic State** in Iraq and Syria, the heightened activities of **Boko Haram** in Nigeria, **Tehrik-e-Taliban** in Pakistan, the **Charlie Hebdo attacks** in Paris and the **Hostage crisis in Sydney** Australia- have raised the spectre of terrorism and kindled debates on terrorism motivated by religion, the issue of freedom of expression and global efforts in combating terrorism.

### Tehrik-i-Taliban in Pakistan

Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP; "Taliban Movement of Pakistan"), alternatively referred to as the Pakistani Taliban, is an umbrella organization of various Islamist militant groups based in the northwestern Federally Administered Tribal Areas along the Afghan border in Pakistan. Most, but not all, Pakistani Taliban groups coalesce under the TTP. In December 2007 about 13 groups united under the leadership of Baitullah Mehsud to form the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan. Among the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan's stated objectives are resistance against the Pakistani state, enforcement of their interpretation of sharia and a plan to unite against NATO-led forces in Afghanistan.

### 5.1 Peshawar Incident

On 16 December 2014, 9 gunmen affiliated with the Tehrik-i-Taliban (TTP) conducted a terrorist attack on the Army Public School in the northwestern Pakistani city of Peshawar. The militants, all of whom were foreign nationals, included one Chechen, three Arabs and two Afghans. They entered the school and opened fire on school staff and children, killing 145 people, including 132 schoolchildren, ranging between eight and eighteen years of age. A rescue operation was launched by the Pakistan Army's Special Services Group (SSG) special forces, who killed all seven terrorists and rescued 960 people. This was the deadliest terrorist attack ever to occur in Pakistan, surpassing the 2007 Karachi bombing.

### **Strategic Significance of the Location**

- The event took place in an Army Public School. It is located in the heavily guarded military zone.
- The region is very close to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), a restive region of Pakistan
- Thus a clear message was sent to the Army that communities that have been long subjugated by the Army (e.g. Balochistan, Tribalsetc) will strike back hard

### **Significance of the Date of the Event**

- The barbaric terrorist attack on children took place on 16<sup>th</sup> Dec, 2014
- On the same 16<sup>th</sup> Dec in 1971, the 90,000 strong Pakistan Army was forced to surrender in the newly created Bangladesh after their atrocities against their own countrymen was brought to a humiliating end
- Thus the policy of constantly subjugating the marginalized communities in Pakistan under the hands of the dominant Punjabi community in the Army and Political establishments has once again come to haunt it.
- Few social scientists and political commentators like TarekhFateh have analysed it as a reminder of what was wrong with the “Two Nation Theory” of the Pakistan. Since Pakistan did not learn from its mistake on 16<sup>th</sup> Dec 1971, it is therefore condemned to repeat it again on 16<sup>th</sup> Dec 2014
- It is believed that the attack was *also* in retaliation for the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize being awarded to MalalaYousafzai

### **Other events of similar strategic significance**

- Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) attacked PNS Mehran in May 2011. The attack took place at the HQ of the Pakistan Navy’s Naval Air Arm. It led to the death of 18 military personnel
- In 2009, the Pakistan Army General HQ was attacked
- Now the attack on an Army School shows that terrorism has come to haunt its very creator i.e. the Pakistan Army itself. It is not an isolated “direct” attack over its one time patron and creator. Now there is a pattern in it.
- The Peshwar School attack was the deadliest terrorist attack in the history of Pakistan.
- Even the most powerful institution in Pakistan i.e. its Army is also losing its grip over the monster it has created.

### **Modus Operandi**

- It was similar to the Beslan School Hostage Crisis of Russia in 2004
- The difference is that in Beslan the terrorists killed non-muslim children

### **Consequences**

- These brazen attacks ‘directly’ over the Army installations raises serious questions over the safety of nuclear installations in Pakistan. Thus it has strong bearing on the security of the whole world and especially India.
- As a ‘reaction’, the Army would demand tougher laws and larger share in the already beleaguered resources of the Pakistan’s budget. This will weaken the democratic institutions and reinforce the policy of being a ‘Security State’
- E.g. Recently Pakistan allowed the constitution of military courts. This dilutes the power of the judiciary. Thus after the political executives even the judiciary will get weakened.
- Following the attack, the President immediately announced a moratorium on the death penalty so as to facilitate the execution of a number of high-profile “terrorists” captive in Pakistani jails. The decision to fast-track executions is indicative of the trend towards centralisation of power by the security apparatus.
- After the Malala Yousafzai incident, this barbaric medieval carnage will threaten
  - ❑ Co-education
  - ❑ Western scientific education
  - ❑ Western attire as school uniforms;
  - ❑ And this will try to reinforce schooling of boys only, that too based on Sharia

### **Analysis:**

- The military-dominated State's designated ideology and political machinations have brought the country to this state of affairs
- The strengthening of democracy is the only way to prevent such incidents from recurring, but the Peshawar attacks have been used precisely to weaken democratic institutions vis-à-vis the military establishment

## **5.2 Charlie Hebdo Attacks**

The shocking killing of the cartoonists and staff of the Charlie Hebdo weekly in Paris turned out to be a watershed event in questioning some of the most relevant questions of the present global world.

A small publication with dwindling readership in France, Charlie Hebdo was practically unknown outside the country and definitely outside the Francophone world until the shootings.

Along with the news of the killings, images of the cartoons, which were a staple of the magazine, started circulating; images that led the terrorists to kill the cartoonists. These cartoons as these were, where they pertained to Islam and Muslims, clearly provocative.

In the global spread of the “I am Charlie” slogan where people identified themselves with the magazine and its right to publish these cartoons, a voice emerged that a condemnation of the killings could not lead to a defence of Charlie Hebdo and its contents. There is a disagreement over this characterisation of the weekly with many of its readers pointing out that it was anti-religious, anti-right wing, pro-immigration and anti-colonial, with its editor and some other staffers’ long-time associates of the French Communist Party; that it poked fun at the Pope and Christian religious images far more than it did Islam or Muslims.

However, those who criticise Charlie Hebdo’s humour and content point out that laughing at a group of people who are discriminated and marginalised is very distinct from lampooning those in power.

There are also questions about the politics of its aesthetics and the manner in which the caricatures reinforce racist prejudices against an already stigmatised minority.

For those who argue that Charlie Hebdo is in the long tradition of a particular form of French humour, located in the historical ground and particularly sharp on religion and tradition, there is the counterargument that this historical ground also includes French colonialism and the racism that Muslims, particularly Algerians, face in France. (This aspect has already been dealt in the first topic of ISIS- ideology part)

The differential treatment of Jews and Judaism, who are not caricatured in the same manner as are Muslims and Islam, is used as an example to point the argument that Charlie Hebdo is racist.

All of these arguments and counter-arguments clearly reflect the unprecedented manner in which how this has become a global debate connected through social media (selection of the mass of articles, blog posts, speeches and cartoons), a conversation over time zones and political, cultural and legal divides.

### **Stand of Charlie Hebdo over their ‘unique’ form of Journalism:**

- Among others, the stated position of Charlie Hebdo over the tabooed issues like religion is that in order to have critical enquiry without fear or favour, the issue under discussion must first be made a non-tabooed one. The first step towards developing that kind of environment is by developing the capability of the people related to the issue to “freely laugh at it”. Only then a dispassionate critical enquiry may be possible.
- Charlie Hebdo therefore believes in using cartoons to lampoon the tabooed issues for the larger goal of creating an environment where debate without entrenched biases may be possible.

- However, critics of such a stand counter this argument by demanding that why “absolute” freedom of speech is not celebrated when someone denies the occurrence of “the Holocaust”. In fact there are laws in few European countries that may lead to an arrest if someone dares to deny the occurrence of the Holocaust.

### The “Real” Objective of Terrorists vis-à-vis the Charlie Hebdo Case:

- Global Terrorism is a multi-billion dollar ‘industry’, if the patrons of these terrorist networks really wanted to showcase the alleged defamatory designs of Charlie Hebdo to offend Islam, they could have used their huge money and resources to attack the argument of the “kind of journalism” of Charlie Hebdo through a counter literature. E.g. the former LTTE once had a very strong propaganda department for such purpose
- However, their “real” objective seems to create a polarized society. A barbaric attack of this sort was sure to alienate the marginalized Muslims and increase islamophobia in Europe
- This creates a fertile ground for extremist ideology to flourish easily

### Dimensions Impacting India:

- The notion of Secularism as prevalent in France vis-à-vis India
- Relationship between State and Religion
- The meaning of Liberty, Equality and Freedom in France vis-à-vis as adopted by the Preamble of the Indian Constitution which in turn was inspired by the ideals of the French Revolution
- Relationship with the controversy surrounding the “movie PK” and over the book published in TN by Perumal Murugan
- The recent ‘conversion’ or ‘Ghar Vapsi’ row in India and the reinforcement of Islam phobia in India leading to a more polarized society

### Analysis

Attacking democratic freedoms is part of a larger agenda. Whether it is al-Qaeda, IS or any other group, extremist ideology thrives best in a polarized society. Maintaining freedom and equality before the law in the face of a severe challenge to security is the most difficult test for any democratic polity and pluralistic society.

## 6 International Focus: Since 9/11

### 6.1 Regionwise

#### 6.1.1 South Asia

In particular, **Sri Lanka** has seen no terrorism-linked **fatalities** after 2009, the year in which the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (**LTTE**) were comprehensively defeated. An international network of surviving LTTE elements and sympathisers in the Diaspora continue with propaganda activities, including strident posturing in the Indian State of Tamil Nadu, but the capacity for violence on Sri Lankan soil has been entirely obliterated.

Similarly, fatalities in **Nepal** have **collapsed** from a 2002 peak, with a sharp deceleration in violence after the **Comprehensive Peace Agreement** of November 2006, which brought the Communist Party of Nepal - Maoist (CPN-M) over-ground and into the Parliamentary process, subsequently to **form a Government** after the Constituent Assembly elections of April 2008. Sporadic violence by various splinter groups, including a proliferation of **armed formations** in the Madhesh region, persisted in the years following

**Bangladesh** has also seen enormous containment of terrorist formations, with the decimation of the Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh (**JMB**), the Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB) and Harkat-ul-Jihad Islami - Bangladesh (HuJI-BD) after the serial bombings of August 2005. However, street violence by an 18-Party

Opposition combine led by the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), and including radical Islamist formations, **claimed** at least 379 lives in 2013.

While acts of terrorism have virtually disappeared from the Bangladeshi scene, radical Islamist formations continue to engage in massive violence, with the collusion of the Opposition BNP, creating a constant threat to the stability of the state.

**Pakistan**, consumed by internal turbulence, continues to externalize its instability through proxy wars and support to Islamist terrorism in Afghanistan and India, even as it seeks to opportunistically harness other insurgencies (including the ethnic extremist movements of India's Northeast) in the neighbourhood, to its campaign of regional destabilization. Crucially, the number of civilian fatalities in Pakistan now exceeds the number of civilian fatalities in neighbouring 'war torn' Afghanistan (an estimated 2,959 in 2013), widely regarded as the most volatile and unstable country in South Asia. Terrorism in Pakistan has already resulted in at least 1,092 fatalities, including 551 civilians, 183 SF personnel and 358 militants in just the first quarter of 2014.

Pakistan, thus, remains the sickness of South Asia, threatening other countries in the region with its contagion, even as its own institutions and society succumb to its progressive contamination. Despite repeated exposure of its role in supporting terrorist groups and operations in the neighbourhood and beyond, Western commentators and Governments continue to extend the cover of an incredible 'credible deniability' to Islamabad, largely because no consensus is available on punitive action against this persistently rogue, nuclear-armed, state.

Irrespective of the trajectory of current movements of armed violence in South Asia, moreover, the region can be expected to remain plagued by instability. A demographic explosion, coupled by poor, often abysmal, governance undermine the prospects of any easy solutions to its many problems.

### 6.1.2 West Asia

West Asia is in the throes of acute political turbulence today. Given West Asia's energy resources, developments in the region have profound implications for the wider world. The international community has been deeply concerned with the fragile conditions of the region in recent years. It is marred by religious extremism, democratization, WMD proliferation, international terrorism, external intervention in the region, and energy security.

The intervention in Iraq and the civil war going on in Syria has great ramification for sectarian Islamic terrorism in the region. The decades old rivalry between Israel and the Arab world has created many fault lines in the region which is exploited by terrorist groups of different shades. Add to that is the rise of the ISIS in recent times.

**Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS):** Also known as Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and Islamic State (IS). It started as an al-Qaeda splinter group. The aim of ISIS is to create an Islamic state, referred to as a caliphate, across Sunni areas of Iraq and in Syria. ISIS is known for killing dozens of people at a time and carrying out public executions, crucifixions and other acts. It has taken over large swaths of northern and western Iraq. The group currently controls hundreds of square miles. It ignores international borders and has a presence from Syria's Mediterranean coast to south of Baghdad.

ISIS's strategy for revenue includes oil production and smuggling, ransoms from kidnappings, selling stolen artefacts, extortion and controlling crops. With the rise of ISIS and its activities involving widespread terror tactics the international community is alarmed.

### 6.1.3 Central Asia

Ever since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Central Asia has experienced a deluge of religious activity. All of the Central Asian republics—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan—have seen the rapid construction of new mosques; the opening of madrassas; and a noticeable upswing in Muslim consciousness, evidenced in a marked increase in the practitioners of Islam. Along with moderate and traditional forms of Islam, radical and militant Islamic trends have also reemerged in parts of Central Asia. In the 1990s,

Islamist organizations engaged in low-scale insurgency and sporadic terrorist violence against the ruling regimes. The 9/11 attacks and the ensuing military campaign against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan—which shares a 1,480-mile border with Central Asia—heightened the strategic importance of the region, which sparked political and academic debates about the likelihood of Islamic radicalization and terrorism in Central Asia. As NATO and US troops gradually leave Afghanistan, many governments fear that “foreign fighters” from Central Asia who are currently in Afghanistan will return and destabilize their home countries.

Thus Terrorism in Central Asia is largely a cross-border phenomenon. The source of most terrorists and terrorist organizations that operate in Central Asia is Afghanistan due to the former presence of the Taliban, and the Ferghana Valley due to the Tajik Civil War.

The Chinese and Kyrgyz governments increased security along their borders with each other and Tajikistan after Chinese government officials expressed concern that “international terrorists” were traveling through Xinjiang and Central Asia to carry out attacks.

#### **New Afghan Government’s Approach:**

China hosted the annual conference of the so-called “Heart of Asia/Istanbul Process,” in October 2014 where countries around Afghanistan gathered to promote peace and reconstruction in the war-torn nation for post 2014 scenario. Here the Afghanistan’s new President Ashraf Ghani reiterated his call for the Taliban to join a national peace dialogue and urged his country’s international partners to support what he said is an Afghan-led and Afghan owned process.

Taliban has already rejected Ghani’s offer of peace talks and have instead intensified attacks across the country. It is upset at Ghani for quickly signing a bilateral security pact with the USA that allows around 10,000 American soldiers to remain in Afghanistan after 2014. Recently the Taliban have been offered posts in the new Afghan government but have turned them down. The offer came from the President in a bid to end the insurgency that threatens the recovery of the country. Thus promoting political reconciliation with the Taliban appears to be the most formidable challenge facing Ghani.

Also the new government of Afghanistan has a unique structure in that, first it is a National Unity Government and second that the President has to share power with the new Chief Executive Abdullah Abdullah, who came 2nd in the presidential election. This is to balance the delicate ethnic composition in Afghanistan which otherwise would have led to a civil war. Ghani is a Pashtun while Abdullah Abdullah is a Tajik (technically a half Pashtun). Both the leaders have divergent views on how to deal with the Taliban. In this context it may be noted that the former President Hamid Karzai had established an Afghan High Peace Council to seek a political settlement with the Taliban.

#### **6.1.4 South East Asia**

Many Southeast Asian militant groups now emulate al-Qaeda’s ideology and tactics. The marked spread of al-Qaeda’s unifying ideology was demonstrated by the creation of the group’s Southeast Asian regional umbrella organization, Rabbat-ul-Mujahidin (“Legion of the Fighters of God”), by Hambali in 1999. Some groups, such as the Free Aceh Movement (both MP-GAM and MB-GAM) in Indonesia, resisted attempts by al-Qaeda associate Hambali to appropriate their ethno-nationalist Muslim movement into a regional organization with universal aims. A very different approach was taken by the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), a group that inherited the 500-year old Moro struggle for independence from the Christian-dominated Philippines. Influenced by the ideals of Muslim Brotherhood, MILF willingly cooperated with al-Qaeda, and continues to provide critical assistance to Southeast Asian Islamist terrorist groups. The consequences of al-Qaeda’s influence in the region are evident—and chilling. The coordinated October 2002 bombings of Bali and the US consulate in Denpasar remain the world’s second most deadly terrorist attacks since 9/11.

The post-9/11 Islamist camps active in Southeast Asia include Hodeibia, Palestine, and Vietnam in Mindanao, Philippines; Poso, Sulawesi and Balikpapan, Kalimantan in Indonesia; and Rohingya camps on the Myanmar-

Bangladesh border. While ideological training is imparted in a few Islamic schools (madrassas), military training is imparted in makeshift mobile and static camps that are difficult to detect from the air.

There has been an increased fervor for ISIS among Indonesian and Malaysian Islamic extremists in recent months. ISIS has had influence within the region at least since 2013. In Indonesia, it is not illegal to fund or join jihads in other countries, so ISIS is recruiting openly there. The Indonesian government now sees the ISIS influence as a threat to religious diversity and is taking action, banning YouTube endorsements of the group. Malaysian officials also are concerned about terror threats stemming from ISIS influence.

### 6.1.5 Europe

The modus operandi of jihadis in Europe ranges from simultaneous mass casualty bombings such as those in Madrid on 11 March 2004, to crude attacks such as the killing of a British soldier in Woolwich on 22 May 2013. There is a continuous threat of jihadi terrorism in Europe as there is a sizeable contingent of European fighters in Syria.

Two overall trends have been identified. First, targeting is becoming more selective. In the 1990s and early 2000s, jihadi terrorism in Europe was dominated by random mass casualty attacks on transportation, exemplified by the Madrid bombings. **In recent years it has become more common to target Jews, artists involved in the Prophet Mohammed cartoons affair, or soldiers in uniform.** Secondly, weapons and tactics are becoming more diverse. In the 1990s and early 2000s, jihadis in Europe operated in groups and planned bomb attacks with certain types of explosives. In recent years, more terrorists have worked alone and they used a broader repertoire of weapons, including knives, axes and handguns.

**Al-Qaida has so far been instrumental in shaping the threat from jihadi terrorism in Europe, but as of 2014, new and powerful actors are on the rise. The Islamic State (IS)** and other jihadi outfits in Syria and Iraq may also affect the modus operandi of jihadi terrorism in Europe.

Looking ahead, **blowback from the war in Syria and Iraq may influence jihadi terrorism in Europe in several ways.** Returning foreign fighters may bring with them new technologies and tactics, or they may introduce a sectarian dimension to attacks, targeting Shias or Kurds. The most dangerous scenario is that IS or like-minded groups launch a top-down organized campaign of international terrorism as a response to Western military involvement in the conflict. But the most likely effect in the short to medium-term is contagion of attack methods broadcast widely in media, such as public beheadings and other revenge-driven executions.

**The European Union is thus launching new anti-terrorism projects with Muslim countries** and increasing its intelligence sharing in the aftermath of **deadly attacks in France (Charlie Hebdo incident) and violent confrontations in Belgium.** Following the Paris attack, Belgian security services killed two suspected terrorists during a shoot-out following an investigation into an alleged plot. Similar raids have taken place in Germany and France, while a number of EU states have increased police presence on their streets. **Within each of the EU member states, the reasons for radicalizing are slightly different - the local community level drivers are quite different.**

### 6.1.6 Africa

#### **The Islamic State's spread in North Africa**

Question: Is the ground fertile enough for the IS to find roots in Libya, Tunisia, or Egypt?

Outside Syria and Iraq, North Africa represents a region marked by poor governance and a large number of violent extremist groups. It is the region with the highest number of foreign fighters joining the IS, the reason being:

- incomplete political reforms that have failed to redress serious societal issues,
- persistent high unemployment, and
- failure to cope with the apparent high levels of disaffection, despair, and anger.

## LIBYA:

- The Libyan state has been rather weak after Muammar Gadhafi's fall in 2011.
- This has given space for Gadhafi's Islamist opponents, who had earlier gone to Syria to participate in the anti-Bashar Assad jihad, to return and secure a foothold in the Libyan city of Darnah.
- The ground in Libya is evidently fertile enough for an IS expansion.
- The militia are not different from the IS in Iraq and Syria.
- Darnah is the first city in the region to become an IS-controlled territory.
- Libya has become an important source of weapons in the post-Arab Spring setting, and provides perfect conditions for the IS to further augment its revenues from this oil-rich country.

## TUNISIA:

- Tunisia is the largest source of foreign fighters joining the IS.
- Post-Arab Spring Tunisia has found it rather difficult to establish a balance between freedom and public security.
- Social unrest and new religious freedom have enabled radical preachers to stoke the religious fire among disillusioned youth who are easy targets for jihadist training in Syria.
- Tunisian fighters are attracted by their possible liberation from poverty and the promise of a good life in the Islamic Caliphate as emphasized by the IS in its propaganda.

## EGYPT:



- In Egypt, the military has faced difficulties in containing Islamist extremists in the Sinai.
- It has also led aggressive attacks against Egypt's military and civil servants, and episodes of beheadings and the broadcasting of videos, though less professional in comparison with IS videos, have appeared.
- The Sinai Peninsula is strategically important to the IS since it serves as a bridge between two continents. (Please add the map which shows the strategic location of Sinai peninsula)
- A firm foothold in Egypt is thus desirable as Sinai can serve as a launching pad for terrorist attacks against Western nationals in, for instance, Israel and at popular Egyptian tourist attractions like Sharm el-Sheikh and Mount Sinai.

## ANALYSIS:

The IS threat in North Africa hence is not a future possibility but a present reality.

In general,

- African rebel groups have been witnessing the “success” of the IS in expanding their hold over territories in Syria and Iraq and are thus trying to copy the IS.
- Further, the threat of the IS in Libya, Tunisia or Egypt has the potential to grow because there seems to be a generation gap between the older jihadists continuing to support the al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and the younger jihadists determined to break away from AQIM and pledging allegiance to the IS.
- After all, the IS has proved rather capable of achieving its stated goals including the ability to gain control over substantial territories and build up a large army of domestic and foreign fighters.
- And it is this young social media adept generation that the IS strategically targets. In the eyes of this jihad-generation, already existing extremist groups in North Africa have failed to improve the situation, while the IS characterizes success, wealth, order, and the “perfect life”.

### **BOKO HARAM:**

- Boko Haram which implies ‘western education is forbidden’, arose in Nigeria in the mid-1990s as a moderate Islamic group in the aftermath of the Biafran War, which left two million people dead between 1967-1970 following the brutal suppression of the people of Biafra by the Nigerian government, supported by prominent western countries and oil companies.
- Boko Haram started as a movement that criticised the corrupt, oil-wealthy government of Nigeria and became a provider for the poor undertaking state-like welfare functions in northeast Nigeria.
- As Boko Haram receded into the jungles of northeast Nigeria, successive governments repeatedly ignored the growing radical and militant nature of the group.
- The group is led by Abubakar Shekau. Estimates of membership vary between a few hundred and 10,000. The group has been linked to al-Qaeda and in 2014 swore allegiance to Islamic State and adopted its emblem and terminologies.

### **6.1.7 Australasia**

#### **The Australian Hostage Crisis:**

On 15–16 December 2014, a lone gunman, Man Haron Monis, held hostage ten customers and eight employees of a Lindt chocolate café located at Martin Place in Sydney, Australia. Police treated the event as a terrorist attack.

Early on, hostages were seen holding an Islamic black flag up against the window of the café, with the shahādah creed written on it in Arabic. Initially some media mistook it for the flag used by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL); the gunman demanded that an ISIL flag be brought to him during the siege.

The gunman also demanded, unsuccessfully, to speak to the Australian Prime Minister, Tony Abbott, live on radio. Monis was described by Abbott as having indicated a "political motivation" but the eventual assessment was that the gunman was "a very unusual case — a rare mix of extremism, mental health problems and plain criminality". In the aftermath, Muslim groups issued a joint statement in which they condemned the incident, and memorial services were held in the city at the nearby St Mary's Cathedral and St James' Church.

### **6.1.8 India**

#### **India and the Issue of International Terrorism in recent times**

The issue of terrorism has once again become India’s primary concern since the Al-Qaida (AQ) chief Ayman al-Zawahiri, in a video released in September 2014, announced the launch of "Qaedat al-Jihad fi’shibhi al-qarrat al-Hindiya” or al-Qaida in the Indian Subcontinent to carry out jihadist activities in India and countries like Bangladesh and Myanmar (also known as Burma). Some of the states of India named specifically for jihadist activities were the north-eastern state of Assam, western state of Gujarat, which is the home state of India’s

prime minister, Narendra Modi, and Kashmir, the Himalayan state that has been the flashpoint of hostilities with Pakistan.

Al-Zawahiri, the AQ chief, addressing the Muslims of the subcontinent as “Our brothers in Burma, Kashmir, Islamabad, Bangladesh,” said, “we did not forget you in AQ and will liberate you from injustice and oppression.”

The rise of ISIS also has raised the spectra of radicalization as manifested in the reports of a few Indian citizens coming under the influence of the terror group’s propaganda. ISIS threatens India’s interests the region that involves energy security as well as the welfare of Indian citizens in the region, especially in Iraq as manifested by the abduction of Indian Nurses and workers in the year 2014.

In recent times the state sponsorship of terrorism has been a key refrain in India’s relations with Pakistan. However, with increasing instability within the neighbouring country India’s concern has acquired a new dimension. Indian involvement in Afghanistan in the reconstruction efforts has made the Indian civilian presence in the country a prominent target for groups such as the Taliban and the Haqqani Network.

### **India’s Resolution in UN against International Terrorism**

In 1996 India had moved a Resolution in the UN by the name of Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism (UN CCIT). After 19 year, it still remains inconclusive. Recently during the visit of the External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj to China, India finally got the support of both China and Russia for this very significant resolution. At the 13th Russia, India, China (RIC) summit the three foreign ministers called for early conclusion of negotiations on the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism.

"The ministers reiterated that there can be no ideological, religious, political, racial, ethnic, or any other justification for acts of terrorism," the resolution said. The communique at the 13th RIC summit also stressed the need “to bring to justice perpetrators, organizers, financiers and sponsors” of terror — an inclusion India has ensured in the communiqué in part to bring global pressure on Pakistan to crack down on terror financing.

This is a major foreign policy achievement in quick succession after the recent isolation of Pakistan both by President Barrack Obama and US Secretary of State John Kerry.

#### **6.1.9 What is the cause behind the creation of these organisations?**

- The Taliban, Boko Haram, al-Qaeda and IS are organisations born out of particular configurations of geopolitics and superpower interventions and invasions.
- They started as resistance movements that were aimed at creating more ideal states and opposed foreign invasions, bad governance and despotic regimes.
- These groups are trying to create new states which has been historically a violent affair. This is why their strategies have been ideological and extremely violent with scant regard for human rights;
- Islam is considered as the only commonly known ideology and script in these regions in which an articulation of resistance can be embedded, which common folk can understand, practise and stand by. Islam gives these movements legitimacy. It gives them a discourse and it attracts money.
- The movements were not initially motivated by Islam but by bad and corrupt governments, unequal power relations between countries, invasions by foreign powers and global income inequalities made persistent by the current global economic regime where the metaphorical one per cent has captured half of the world’s wealth.

#### **6.1.10 Role of Sectarianism, Ethnicity and other Competitive Factors**

- Noam Chomsky has criticized Saudi Arabia in 2014 of having “*long been the major source of funding of ISIS as well as providing its ideological roots (i.e. Wahabism)*”
- IS is believed to trace its roots not to the Islamism of the Muslim Brotherhood but to the commitment to the Wahhabi Movement of Sunni Islam. Thus **Competitive Sectarianism** becomes as important as the

underlying ideology of Islam. Thus unlike Muslim Brotherhood's ideology, the ideology of IS puts Shias at a disadvantage

- For Boko Haram **Ethnicity** in governance structure is as much important as the underlying ideology of Islamic-Salafi-Jihadi doctrine to justify their 'revolution'. Boko Haram has used **traditional tribal governance structures** to foster close connections with the local Kanuri ethnic group in its stronghold. Thus Boko Haram's ideology draws on deep Nigerian, African and increasingly international Islamist roots.
- However, Boko Haram is copying IS in as far as model of establishing a Caliphate is concerned
- The aging leadership of Al Qaida is facing **challenges in recruiting** the radicalized youths after the IS decided to make its marks felt in a distinguished way. It is interesting to note that Al Qaida itself came out of the Taliban. Thus **competitive challenge among different terrorist organizations** do exist. Each offshoot in order to show its distinguished presence pours even more deadly violence from its competitors.

## 7 Related Terms

Apart from Terrorism, there are few other common types of non-state warfare methods such as Insurrection, Insurgency, militancy etc. Although these terms are used interchangeably in media due to conceptual overlapping, security experts have tried to establish a reasonable clarity at conceptual level.

### Insurrection

Is a refusal of obedience and orders coming from any authority. It is an organized opposition to wrest control from existing authority encompassing a range of behaviours aimed at destroying or taking over the position of an established authority such as a government, governor, president, political leader, financial institution, or person in charge.

On the one hand the forms of behaviour can include non-violent methods such as the (overlapping but not quite identical) phenomena of civil disobedience, civil resistance and nonviolent resistance. On the other hand it may encompass violent campaigns. e.g.

- 1979 civil war to overthrow the Shah of Iran, Independence movement in colonies etc.
- 2012 Anna movement for *Lokpal* bill closely resembled a non-violent Insurrection
- What is happening in Ukraine is effectively an insurrection that started as *Euromaidan* (anti-government movement in Maidan Square) has spread to the eastern parts of Ukraine with somewhat drastically different goals.

### Comparison between Insurrection and Terrorism

As compared to Insurgency, in Insurrection generally their contention remains over wide range of issues.

Scope of negotiation and consultation is more in Insurrection as compared to Insurgency and Terrorism.

### Features of Insurgency

- An organized rebellion aimed at overthrowing a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict.
- Is a movement with political aims
- Ultimate goal of an insurgency is to challenge the existing government for control of all or a portion of its territory, or force political concessions in sharing political power.
- Work in a very organized manner to continuously pursue the goals in longer terms
- May adhere to international norms regarding the law of war in achieving their goals.

- Unlike Terrorist, insurgents try to communicate with larger social settings in surrounding and justify their actions with ideological basis.
- Generally abstain from sporadic violence rather their actions are response to specific action of State.
- May engage directly with government forces in various manners such as guerrilla warfare etc. e.g. LTTE, Naxalites etc.

### Features of Terrorism

- Terrorism does not attempt to challenge government forces directly, but acts to change perceptions as to the effectiveness or legitimacy of the government itself.
- Strategy of terrorism remains to commit acts of violence that draws the attention of the local populace, the government, and the world to their cause.
- The terrorists plan their attack to obtain the greatest publicity for their acts, choosing targets that symbolize what they oppose.
- The effectiveness of the terrorist act lies not just in the act itself, but in the public's or government's reaction to the act.
- More than immediate victims, Terror acts try to inculcate fear in the minds of the viewer e.g. in case of 9/11 attacks and 1972 Munich Olympics etc.
- Does NOT attempt to control any terrain, as it ties them to identifiable locations and reduces their mobility and security.
- Generally do not accept any limitation in their actions such as International law, moral constraints, sympathy towards weaker sections etc.
  - E.g. 1993 serial bomb blast in Mumbai; 9/11 attack on twin towers etc.

### Features of Militancy

- Is a general term for any combative, aggressive response to state machinery
- It can be part of Insurgency, Insurrection depending upon degree of acceptance for violence in the movement.
- Although there are places where terrorism, guerrilla warfare, and criminal behaviour all overlap.

Features	Terrorism	Insurrection	Insurgency
Need of Political goals	Not necessary	Yes	Yes
Armed combat / Attacks	Yes	Not Necessary	Yes
Adherence to some 'constraints' like international or humanitarian law etc.	No	Yes	Yes
Effort to imitate States	No	Generally No	Yes
Direct confrontation to State Forces	Generally No	May be	Yes

Drive reasons for their existence from inefficiency of State	No	Yes	Yes
Range of topics for confrontation	Limited	Lot many	Quite a few
Organisational set up	Poorlyorganised	Largely informal	Hierarchical and Formal
Degree of violence	1*	3*	2*
Scope of negotiation	3	1	2
Level of communication with rest of the society	3	1	2
Randomness (Chaos) in their actions	1	3	2

\*1 = Maximum / Most; 3 = minimum / Least

**Radicalization** is a process by which an individual or group comes to adopt increasingly extreme political, social, or religious ideals and aspirations that reject or undermine the status quo or reject and/or undermine contemporary ideas and expressions of freedom of choice.

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