# International Terrorism With Special Reference to India and Sri Lanka.

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## MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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## D E C L A R A T I O N

Certified that the dissertation entitled
"International Terrorism with Special reference to
India and Sri Lanka", submitted by Sudhir Chander
Hindwan is for the award of the degree of Master of
Philosophy of this University. This dissertation
has not been previously submitted for any other
degree of this or any other university and is his
own work. We recommend that this dissertation may
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# C O N T E N T S

## PREFACE

Terrorism has become a dangerous word. By its very nature, terrorism is engaged in the disruption process, the disruption of norm, the violation of generally accepted standards of decency and disruption of a civilized society. Therefore, terrorism has become an enormously complex problem that threatens many nations with disaster which has put the political system of almost every nation at the throes of political violence. Therefore, the choice of the subject of "International Terrorism with special reference to India and Sri Lanka" enabled me to engage in a brief flirtation with an effort to provide some solution. The study of terrorism compelled me to look into the phychological, philosophical and sociological aspects of the problem. The problem of terrorism is not a simple problem of political violence but it goes much deeper and is related to particular sociological historical and political conditioning processes. To make the study of terrorism easier I divided the topic into four chapters. Chapter 1 is composed of introduction, definitional aspects and causes of international terrorism. In this chapter, I tried to give different interpretations by different nations and scholars about the definition of terrorism and also dealt with the psychological causes of terrorism.
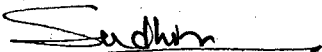
Chapter 2 is composed of major international terrorist groups and organisations of the world, like Baader Meonholf of West Germany and Red Brigade of Italy. In this chapter,I also deal with the main motives and aims of terrorists.

Chapter 3, which is related with terrorism in India, provides a brief historical background and analysis of terrorism in India and the main emphasis is given upon the current problem of terrorism in Punjab.

Chapter 4 entitled "Terrorism with reference to Sri Lanka", includes the historical analysis, causes of grievances, the present situation of crisis etc. In this Chapter I also dealt with the Indian role in resolving the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka.

Finally, in conclusion I have given a brief analysis of the whole subject and suggested few measures which are very important to find some kind of permanent solution.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Professor K.P. Misra. It was entirely due to his encouragement. personal interest and excellent guidance that it was possible for me to complete this work. I also wish to express my gratitude to our Centre Chairman, Professor M.L. Sondhi who made helpful suggestions from time to time.

Sudhir Hindwan

Chapter One


# INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM : INTRODUCTION
## (DEFINITIONAL ASPECTS AND CAUSES)


Terrorism in myriad disguises has caused to disrupt the socio-political fabric of many conceivable modern state in an unprecedented way. Hence we live in a state of terror. These bands of distraught people have laid seige to our civilized world regardless of territorial limitations. "All are parties to murder, and all are potential victims".[1] Therefore, "terrorism has become a spectator sport, a theatrical event of nightmarish propositions. Terrorism is hardly a new phenomenon; in one form or another it pervades recorded history. Yet, each time it reappears, still poorly defined, it looms as a new menace".[2]

Different people and different states have different views on the definition of international terrorism. But what shall be the universally acceptable definition of terrorism is still difficult to get. We may list a few questions which have been put forward with a view to defining terrorism.

(1) What shall be the limit or range of terrorists activities?

1. Paul Wilkinson, Terrorism and the Liberal State (Macmillan, London, 1977), p.77.

2. Robert Kupperman, and Darrell M.Trent, "Terrorism" Threat Reality, Response (Hoover, California, 1979), p.7.

(2)     Who can be recognised as participants

in a terrorist act?

(3)     What is the international element in an act

of terrorism?

(4)     Who are the victims?  What are the targets

of terrorist activities?

While defining terrorism each state keeps these
questions in mind in terms of its historical experience, sense
of basic values and the state of relation with other states.

The International Encyclopaedia of the social sciences
defines terrorism as:

> Terrorism is a term used to describe the
> method or the theory behind the method
> whereby an organized group or a party
> seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly
> through the systematic use of violence.
> Terroristic acts are directed against
> persons who, as individuals, agents or
> representatives of authority, interfere
> with the consummation of the objectives
> of such a group.  The terrorist does not
> threaten, death or destruction as part
> of his programme of action, and if he is
> caught his behaviour during trial is
> generally directed primarily not towards
> winning his freedom but towards spread-
> ing a knowledge of his doctrines. Terro-
> rism as a method is always characterized
> by the fact that it seeks to arouse not
> only the reigning government or the nation
> in control but also the mass of the people
> to a realization that constituted authority
> is no longer safely entrenched and unchall-
> enged.  The publicity value of the terro-
> ristic act is a cardinal point in the

> strategy of terrorism. Terrorism in its
> proper sense implies open defiance of law
> and is the means whereby an opposition
> aims to demoralize a governmental autho-
> rity, to undermine its power and to ini-
> tiate a revolution or counter-revolution.
> The moral and political justification of
> the terrorism of a revolutionary or coun-
> ter revolutionary party proceeds from its
> consideration of existing government as
> an usurper of the people's power.[3]

Therefore, it is clear that terrorism is a systematic method of terrorising people, which is followed by an organized group or party for the realization of its aims. The organized group or the party resort to violence and terrorism as a means for achieving its end.[4]

Terrorism is not a recent phenomenon. It is older than the ancient civilization of Greece and Rome. Early examples include the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BC; the examples of the Siearii, a religious sect. during the first century A.D. Zealot struggle in Palestine; and the acts of Secret Islamic armed bands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[5]

Terrorism is a very complex and highly controversial subject. It is very difficult to define a "terrorist" because

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3. International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 13-14, (The Macmillan Company and Free Press), pp.575-79.

4. Shaileshwar Nath, Terrorism in India (United, Delhi, 1980), p.6.

5. Louis Rene Beres, Terrorism and Global Security: The Nuclear Threat (Westview, Colorado, 1979), p.8.

a person may be called terrorist by one system and freedom fighter by another at the same time. Yet there is a different between a terrorist and a freedom fighter. A person called terrorist when he indulges in a ruthless killing and criminal acts with illegitimate political motive without keeping in his mind whether his targets and victims are international or national. A freedom figher on the other hand is a person who has been a victim of illegal and cruel regime without any legitimate remedies available. He fights against the regime which is responsible for his miserable life and sufferings, innocent persons are not his enemies. The most important point is that his acts represent the common aspirations of the people. Terrorists on the other hand believe in the cruelty of an individual or group in a large scale. Sometime terrorists pose a grave threat to civilized society and ultimately try to overthrow a particular government.[6]

One of the earliest attempts to clarify the concept of terrorism in modern social science defined it as "the method or theory behind the method whereby an organised group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through the systematic use of violence".[7]

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6. Yogesh K. Tyagi, "Counter Measures: Operational weaknesses", World Focus, Vol.VII, No.2, February, 1986, p.22.

7. Paul Wilkinson, Political Terrorism, (Macmillan, London, 1974), p.18.

Another important attempt at the definition of terrorism, is of Thornton's. Thornton's definition includes Symbolic character of terrorist acts. Therefore, terrorism is a symbolic act intend to influence political behaviour of a country by extra normal means, entailing the use or threat of violence.[8]

The most important element in Thornton's definition is the claim that all acts of terror in an internal war are deliberately propagandist acts, which are always designed to convey a message, sign or warning to either their opponents, the 'neutral' population or to those who belong to or sympathises with the terrorist movement.[9]

Thornton's definition is infact an attempt of distinguishing clearly between political terrorism and intimidation. According to him the main difference between political terrorism and intimidation is that:

> Intimidation differs from terrorism in that the intimidator - - - merely threatens injury or material harm in order to arouse fear of severe punishment for non-compliance with his demands - - - - The attitude of political terrorist is entirely different. He imposes the punishment meted out by his organisation upon those who are considered guilty or who are held to interfere with the revolutionary programme; thus he serves notice that his organization will be satisfied with nothing short of the removal of the undesired social or governmental system and of the persons behind it. The terrorist does not threaten; death or destruction is part of his programme of action.[10]

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8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid, p.19.

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

Generally, terrorists claim (1) that they do not recognise the legality or legitimacy of only court, and (2) that their actions are justified as being pure deeds of revolution designed to bring down an evil and corrupted political and social order. Their Judges are the real criminals in their eyes but not the accused.[11] Therefore, terrorists acts are frequently directed against the civilian.

During the past few decades or so, the U.S.A., France, Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, Spain, Indonesia, Japan, Canada and almost all the Latin American countries have faced challenges of terrorism in one form or another. Terrorists believe in violence by all available means.

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11.    Ibid. p.26.

Paul Wilkinson has classified terrorism in the following ways:

(1) Repressive terror(complete suppression);

(2) Revolutionary terror;

(3) War terror (in which terrorists apply all kinds of arms and weapons to terrorise people; and

(4) Sub revolutionary terror(acts committed out of political and ideological considerations).[12]

In this decade, terrorism as a "new mode of conflict" has increasingly become a distinguishing features of inter-national terrorism in the inter and intra third world struggle.[13]

Terrorism as an issue has become the forefront of the international stage. The urban and rural guerrilla movements of modern times contributed to a great extent to terrorism.[14]

It is, therefore clear that new dimensions of terrorism are brought by the people of developing countries who are involved in fighting with revolutionary violence against western colonial powers. "Contemporary terrorism while retaining its convaluted raison d' etre, has departed from the old script through the globalisation of intra-systematic conflicts".[15]

12. D.C.Pande, "National Law : The Lumpen Element", World Focus, Vol.VII, February 1986, p.3.

13. Sunil Adam, "Terrorism and International Relations", Strategic Analysis, Vol.XI, No.11, February 1987,p.1325.

14. J.Henk Leurdijk, "Summary of Proceeding", in David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf (ed.), Our Violence Future in International Terrorism and World Security(London, 1975), p.3.

15. Sunil Adam, n.13, pp.1325-26.

The basic cause for this departure is that a number of revolutionary changes have occurred in international life and the realisation by all the terror strategies to adopt these changes. The Revolutionary terrorism has been defined as "the threat and employment of extra normal forms of political violence in varying degrees with the objectives of effecting a complete revolutionary change within the political system". On the other hand, the sub revolutionary terrorism has been understood as "the threat and/or employment of extra normal form of political violence in varying degree, with the objectives of effecting various changes in the structural functional aspects of particular political system.[16]

There are two more types of commonly known terrorism -- one is plain criminal and the other one is political. The first type belongs to the acts like threat to poison certain objects and products or Abduction of a person for ransom. For example, kidnapping of Jennifer Guomners in Ireland for a ransom demand of over 2 million dollar - the another category belongs to acts like holding hostages, placing explosives in aircraft and cars, killing people as a part of evoking political terror, hijacking of various passenger, assassination of major political personalities, etc.[17]

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16. Richard Shultz, "Conceptualizing Political Terror: A Typology" Journal of International Affairs, Vol.XXXII, No.1, Columbia New York, 1978), pp.26-28.

17. K. Subrahmanyam, Terrorism: To the Forefront of the Stage: Strategic Analysis, Vol.X, No.3, June,1986,p.237.

The word Terrorism was firstly used at the Third Conference for the unification of Penal Law held in Brussels in 1931. In this conference terrorism was defined as:

"The deliberate use of means capable of producing a common danger" to commit "an act of imperalling life, physical integrity or human health or threatening to destroy substantial property".[18] Such acts included:

> Arson; explosion; flooding or submersion;
> ignition of asphyxiating or noxious substances;
> interruption of the normal operation of means of
> transport or communication; damage to or destru-
> ction of government property and public utili-
> ties; pollution; fouling, or deliberate poison-
> ing of drinking water or staple foods, causing
> or propagating contagious or epidemic diseases
> any wilful act which endangers human lives and
> the community and so on".19

The growing fear of terrorism compelled the League of Nations to form a Committee of some experts "to assure the repression of conspiracies or crimes committee with political or terrorist purpose".[20] These efforts of the League of Nations were included in the adoption of two conventions: The first one was on 16 November, 1937 at the Diplomatic Conference attended by 35 states, one was on the prevention and punishment of terrorism and the other one was on the creation of an International Criminal Court.[21]

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18. Surya P. Sharma, "International Law; Consensus, Still Elusive"; World Focus, Vol.VII, No.2, February 1986,p.7.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

But these conventions could not get sufficient number
of ratifications and they could not enter into force. The Conven-
tion on Terrorism, now a dead letter, was signed by 24 states,
but received sole ratification of India on 1 January, 1941.[22]
According to the Article 1(2) of this Convention, the Acts
of terrorism were referred, as "criminal acts directed against
a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror
in the minds of particular persons, a group of persons or the
general public".[23] Article 2 formed an enumeration of such
acts, with main emphasis on any ruthless act causing any kind of
harm to: (a) heads of state, person exercising the prerogatives
of the head of state, their hereditary or designated successors;
(b) the wives or husbands of the important persons; (c) persons
charged with public functions or holding public position when
the act is directed against them in their public capacity.[24]
The convention included conspiracy, death, incitement to offen-
ces, wilful participation and knowingly given assistance.
Similarly the subject of international terrorism has also been
a regular item on the agenda of the United Nations. Walter
Laqueur says that "terrorism is an attempt to destabilise
democratic societies and to show that their governments are
important".[25]

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22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.,pp. 7-8.

25. Walter Laqueur, "Reflections on Terrorism", Foreign
Affairs", Vol. 65, New York, (Fall 1986), p.87.

Although people have given different definitions of terrorism and in spite of immense inclination of world community in the problem of terrorism, there has not been any agreement on its satisfactory definition.[26]

For example, the Government of France has given different arguments in terms of defining terrorism. According to it "any act of barbarism committed in the territory of third state by a foreigner against a person who has a nationality - other than that of the offenders for the purpose of exerting a pressure on a conflict not strictly internal in nature is called an act of terrorism and that foreigner is terrorist".[27]

On the other hand, government of Haiti defines terrorism as an act of violence committed by a person or a group under international jurisdiction against any one for political purpose.[28]

Grant Wardlow defines political terrorism as "the use of violence by an individual or a group, whether acting for or in opposition to established authority, when such action is designed to create extreme anxiety or fear indicating effects in a target group larger than the immediate victims with the purpose of coercing that group into the acceding to the political demands of perpetrators".[29]

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26. John F. Murphy, "International Legal Controls of International Terrorism", Illinois Bar, Vol.63, (1975), p.444.

27. U.N. General Assembly Official Records, Supplement No.28, (A/9028), 1973, p.21.

28. Ibid., p.22.

29. K. Subrahmanyam, n.17, pp.238-39.

These definitions include state terrorism, state sponsored terrorism and terrorism by non-state actors, like the various factions of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Baader MeinholfGang of West Germany, Sikh extremists, Red Brigade of Italy, etc.[30]

Grant Wardlow's definition also includes the use of terrorist violence by a state against its own people as military regime of Chile, Apartheid regime of South Africa and so on.

In the use of political violence of terroristic mode there is an attempt to attract attention to communicate a purpose and to intimate a target group larger than the victims.[31] Political terrorism is an act of war against the state and in this way it is different from criminal terrorism. Therefore, terrorism can be defined as the systematic use of terror, in various ways, as a means of gaining the aims by force. International terrorism includes all acts of violence which have been identified by international agreement. It also includes the violence which is outside the generally accepted norms of international rules of war, and diplomacy. It may also include diverse definitions given by various governments.

The United Nation has not been able to formulate any accurate definition of terrorism. It was decided in the

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30. Ibid, p.239.

31. Ibid.

Aberdeen Conference that the more meaningful task would be to talk of the use of political violence instead of terrorism which includes certain value judgements. Perhaps it will be easier and possible to design and formulate certain norms in respect of the use of political violence of low intensity between state and non-state actors in the situation of inter and intra state conflicts than to develop a comprehensive definition of terrorism.[32]

The concept of "motive" as an important element of the definition of international terrorism has been an important issue of controversy in UN debates and among the international law scholars. The element of motive was included in the definition of terrorism convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism of 1937. It was also used in the UN draft Convention presented to the Ad Hoc Terrorism Committee. The US position was reinforced by France, Italy, Germany and U.K. In contrast, Article 2(1) of the draft articles of the International Law Commission for the Protection of Diplomats does not recognise the role of motive, but only of internationality.[33]

Oliver Tambo defined terrorism by saying that "the fundamental terrorism in South Africa is that of apartheid

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32. Ibid, p.240.

33. Surya P. Sharma, n.18, p.10.

and not that of umkhonto we sizwe", the armed wing of the African National Congress. "We will not take to arms if they give us human rights".[34]

The 1937 Convention of the League of Nations for Prevention and Punishment of the Terrorism made an important attempt at the definition of terrorism. The Convention defines terrorism as "all criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons, or a group of person or the general public".[35]

An incident of violence can be judged to have an international terrorism dimension if it signifies that (1) the terrorists action is supported by one or more foreign proterrorist regime; (2) the act was aimed to influence international opinion and if the attack is on foreign personnel or it is aimed at overthrowing a foreign government.[36]

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34. Vijay Gupta, "Liberation Movements : The Means of Violence", World Focus, Vol.7, No.2, February 1986, p.14.

35. Saleem Qureshi, "Political Violence in the South Asian Sub Continent", in Yonah Alexander, ed., International Terrorism : National, Regional and Global Perspectives (Praeger, New York, 1976) pp.151.2.

36. Ibid, p.152.

Over the last 15 years or so there has been a signi-
ficant increase in the number of terrorist incidents.
Yonah Alexander says that "the year (1985) is not over
yet, but we predict that 1985 might be the bloodiest year
yet perhaps the so-called year of the terrorist.[37] He
also called on the international community to respond by
attaching high priority to terrorism.

The international concern about increasing terro-
rism can be easily judged in the resolution adopted in the
UN General Assembly by 159 members House through consensus
on 9 December, 1985. The resolution condemned "All acts,
methods and practices of terrorism whenever and by whom-
ever committed; including those that jeopardise friendly
relations among states and their security.[38]

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

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37.   R.G. Sawhney, "International Terrorism : Focus on
      Western Europe", Strategic Analysis, Vol. XI, No.10,
      January 1987, p.1159.

38.   Ibid.

## CAUSES OF TERRORISM

We accept violence and war as a normal expression of
human nature, a product of our innate aggressiveness,
inevitable at all times.[39]  Now two important questions
arise : Is this a normal pattern of human behaviour?  or
is this a pathological reflection of a sick society?  It
has been said that war begins in the minds of men and if it
is so, does it begin in healthy or in perverted minds? and
if in perverted minds then is it a problem for psychiatry?
The Psychiatric thinking has been influenced in the recent
years by the ideas of K. Lorenz, M. Tinbergen and others
who have studied the aggressive behaviour of animals in
their natural surroundings.  It is doubtful to what extent
aggression in animal is comparable to man but this much is
sure that human nature is a very complex phenomenon and
human relations on different levels have been characterized
by decisions demonstrating the Lasswellian method, "who
gets what, when and how", often accompanied by the threat
and use of force.  Political and ideological violence, which
sometimes arises from and contribute to such conflict,
includes what is commonly known as "terrorism.[40]  It is

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39.    Derek Richter, The Challenge of Violence (Aruna,
       Jadworth Surrey , 1972),pp.13-14.

40.    Yonah Alexander, "International Terrorism : National
       Regional and Global Perspectives (Praeger, New York,
       1976), p.XI.

also said that "terrorists are not born but created by
particular, sociological, economic and political condition-
ing processes. Unlike ordinary criminals terrorists are
ostensibly dedicated to some ideological or political
cause.[41]

Misery, Zionism, Frustration, Fundamentalism,
Racialism, Political intolerance, Religious motivated
crusades, Insecurity, Grievances and confusion --
political moral informative - are growing in this world
and contribute psychological conditions for the growth of
violence and terrorism. States and governments are unable
to agree how to arrest the escalation of violence and ਿ ்
plunge into chaos.

The underlying reason for the terrorism lies in the
important political and economic interest of the powerful
groups who are in a position to support the acts of terro-
rism through powerful governments. The linkages between
domestic political powers and processes with identical
forces abroad are known to subsist.[42] Terrorism is an act
of vilence and war against the state and in this respect
different from the criminal terrorism.

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41. Yonah Alexander, "Terrorism : A National Issue",
    Seminar Neal C.Livingstone, ed., World Affairs,
    Vol. 146, no.1,(1983), p.83.

42. D.C.Pande, n.12, p.3.

The decolonisation process has led to the formation of many mini and micro-sovereign states with populations of a million and less. This has resulted in stirring of ambitions of many small ethnic groups in various nations to recognise their separate identities and seek separate nationhood.[43]

Sections of Quebecords in Canada, Basques in Spain, Croatians in Yugoslavia, Armenian in Turkey, Tamil in Sri Lanka, 'Khalistanis' in India and Maros in the Philippines are a few among such saccessionist groups resorting to political violence as a method for the realization of their aims.[44] At the root of terrorism lies the basic attitude of mankind towards use of violence against fellow human beings. Today, many nations of the world believe in a doctrine of nuclear deterrence which holds whole populations as hostages. It is true that all religions have taught non-violence but violence for justifiable purpose or means has been expounded over millenia of our history, for example, whether it was in the Gita's Dharma Yudha, Karan's Jehad or St. Augustine's just war. Even Mahatma Gandhi could continue to practise non-violence in the offensive mode when he compaigned to change the status-quo but he could not use non-violence in defensive mode against

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43. K. Subrahmanyam, n.17, p.245.
44. Ibid.

the violent anti-social communal forces. He fell victim to that violence.[45] Therefore, religious fanaticism is also an important cause of terrorism.

Sometime terrorism is being sponsored by the economically powerful nations. They resort to violence and indulge in blatant coercive diplomacy with a view to intimidating the poor and less powerful developing countries. One of the resultant consequences of such action to retaliatory action by small developing nations against powerful nations in the form of state sponsored international terrorism.[46]

Different types of violence are being spread in various sections and segments of our society. These are political, religious, educational and other social organisations function-ing in a corporate way. All these institutions, and organisat-ions are integrated in a framework and primarily promote the main policies and programmes of the welfare state. Many of these entities survival depends upon the recognition and patronage extended by the State.[47] These corporate entities were considered as the basic autonomous units for stabilising

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45. Ibid, p.246.

46. R.G. Sawhney, "Democratic States and Response to Terrorism", Strategic Analysis, Vol.X, No.4, July 1986, p.375.

47. D.C. Pande, n.12, p.4.

and advancing the pace of democratic processes in the welfare state. The question of autonomy leads to the emergence of anti-social behaviour and the corruption of all kinds in the name of conducting the affairs of these bodies. Consequently, many of these entities contribute crimogenic conduct to the society.[48] This kind of behaviour gives rise to anti-social power seeking and terrorist activities. Terrorism lies in the state of lawlessness and insecurity it can be surmised that two are hand in glove. Their joint efforts alone can keep the masses at bay to act unitedly to contribute and solve the vital issues concerning them to the people, both the terms "Terrorist" or "Terrorism" signify "perfected devices for keeping the people in a state of siege, fear and ransom by the brute forces of the state, and those engaged in the "pogroms" of the resurgent masses seeking to assert their claim against the vested interest as well as for their rights invested in them against the state".[49] In modern times terrorism has posed serious challenges to the state to save democracy freedom and dignity of the people.

It is the class of lumpens who supply the components of terrorism. "The lumpens are the "Offal" or the 'scum' of

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48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

society. Those who have successfully secured for them-
selves a parasitic existence are labelled as 'rich' and
the ones queued up in the career are the 'rogues'.[50]
Although there are various factors which are responsible
for terrorism but many acts of terrorism are the outcome
of a deeply ideological conviction or dedication to a
certain political cause.[51]

The terror and terrorism is also an outcome of many
years of brutal suppression, physical torture and cultural
dehumanisation which is used by the colonial power in a
foreign country. In the process of anti-colonial struggle
for national liberation, violence and terrorism became a
necessary strategy. Terrorism is brought about where and
when open political participation is not possible due to
oppression. Frantz Fanon has given a very good picture
about it which brings about a dialectical relationship
between "state terrorism and individual terrorism".

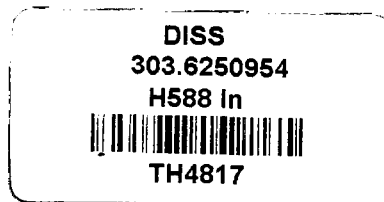Frantz Fanon observes that:

> In the colonies it is the soldier and
> policeman who are the official institu-
> ted to go between the spokesman of

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50. Ibid.

51. UN General Assembly's 6 Committee Report which is a
    study on Causes of International Terroris, No.2,
    1972, Doc.A/C, 6/418.

settler and his rule of oppression - on
the other hand in colonial countries -
the policeman and the soldier by their
immediate presence and their frequent
and direct action maintain contact with
native and advise him by means of rifle
and napalm not to budge. It quite
obvious that the agents of the govern-
ments use pure force only. The inter-
mediary does not lighten the oppression,
nor seek to hide the domination, he shows
them up and puts them into practice with
the clear conscience of an upholder of
peace, yet he is the bringer of violence
into the home into the mind of native. [52]

The causes of terrorism are more or less the same
unredressed grievances by the government, denial of legiti-
mated political, economical and civil rights, frustration
because of unemployment, social and political injustice,
terrorists do not respect the law or the normal rules of
political conduct. In fact, they look upon laws as unjust
impositions and, law makers as usurpers and prejudiced
people who somehow manage to occupy the seats of power.

Nevertheless, despite these connections and causes
of terrorism, the struggle for liberation from foreign rule
brings about another important dimension of terrorism which
is systematically deployed by revolutionary leaders as an
extension of guerrilla strategy.[53] Almost in all the
national liberation terrorism guerrilla tactics played very
important role.

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52.    Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (Penguin,
       Harmondsworth, 1967), p.29.

53.    Paul Wilkinson, n.7, pp.78-79.

This does not mean guerrilla "always employ terrorism, or even agree with the principle unless it is extremely carefully supervised. It can rebound on the guerrillas by alienating the popular support which they depend upon".[54] Sometime terrorism gets provoked by security forces which could wipe out guerrilla cells and capture supplies which have been gathered by months of patient work of revolutionaries.[55]

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

Kent Layne Oots in his study on terrorism emphasized on sixteen causes and motivations which are responsible for terrorism. He has put forward the following motivation with a view of finding the causes of terrorism.[56]

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54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Yogesh K.Tyagi "Terrorism: International Dimensions", The Indian Journal of International Law, Vol.27, No.2,8,9, April/September, 1987, p.167.

(i)     Terrorism may be motivated by a desire to provoke repression;

(ii)    Terrorism is committed to undermine authority;

(iii)   Terrorism could be the result of a need express frustration;

(iv)    Terrorism is also committed for publicity;

(v)     Terrorism is also committed by a need for financial resources to help future terrorist operation;

(vi)    Terrorism may be committed in order to free jailed friends;

(vii)   Terrorism may be committed with a view to punish the enemy;

(viii)  Terrorism may be motivated by financial gains.

(ix)    Terrorism is also motivated by the individual and collective guilt;

(x)     Terrorism may be committed to attract new members for the group;

(xi) Terrorism is also committed to bring disorder in society;

(xii) Terrorism could be a therapeutic act for the terrorist;

(xiii) Terrorism is also used as a substitute for full scale warfare;

(xiv) Terrorism may be an outcome of bad conditions;

(xv) Sometime terrorism is also a result of grievances.

(xvi) Terrorism is also committed to demonstrate the group's ability to act.

On the other hand, terrorism is being sponsored by foreign powers in the territory of a third country for its ideological motives.

## Chapter Two

## MAJOR TERRORIST GROUPS AND THEIR AIMS(TARGETS)

There are many terrorist groups operating almost
everywhere to create an atmosphere of extreme fear and
anxiety. There are revolutionary groups which have left
ideologies, such as the Italian Red Brigade, the Direct
action of France, The Japanese Red Army, the Baader-Meinholf
the BMS etc. Their main aim is to destroy "bourgeois-
capitalist American supported international system".[1] They
are not very clear and ignorant of the kind of utopia with
which they want to replace the existing order. For example,
Kozo Otamato of the JRA says "the Revolutionary struggle is
a political struggle between classes... we strive to build
a world in which war will be banished. But it will be a
long struggle and we are preparing for world war III through
tolling people, destroying houses, annihilating property..."
And to establish such a peaceful world, JRA's modus operandi
is to unleash terror unlimited against all people, symbols
and institutions of the incumbent decadent system.[2]

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1.   Sunil Adam, "Terrorism and International Relations",
     Strategic Analysis, February 1987, p.1327.

2.   Ibid, p.1328.

Otamato says, war involves "slaughtering and destruction.... we believe slaughtering of human bodies is inevitable. We know that it will become even more severe than battles between nations."[3] The Baader-Meinholf group, an urban guerrilla group in the Federal Republic of Germany, wants to throw the capitalism and present parliamentary system from the country. The Marxist people's Revolutionary party is determined to destroy the government of Zaire headed by President Mobotu. Similarly, Argentina's montoneros is a left wing peronist guerrilla movement challenges capitalism.[4] Certain other groups like Action Directe the Red Brigades are increasing cooperation between European terrorist groups and the west Asian during 1987.

Armenenians, particularly the Armenian secret army for the liberation of Armenia or the Armenian liberation Army have started with a great amount of violence and terror in U.S. Since 1981 there have been a number of attemps to create terror in Turkey by killing 'its diplomats or otherwise. During past few years atleast thirty six Turkish

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3. Christopher Dobson, Black September (Macmillan, New York, 1974), p.62.

4. Yonah Alexander, International Terrorism : A National Regional and Global Perspective (Praeger, New York, 1976), p.13.

diplomats have been murdered by Armenian terrorists inclu-
ding one in the United States. The recent attack by the
suicide squad of Armenia has created a havoc in Lisbon,
Portugal, in early August 1983. The minor Armenian terro-
rist organizations are the Marxist Armenian Secret Army for
the liberation of Armenia (ASALA) which took the responsi-
bility for the Lisbon attack. The justice Commandos of the
Armenian Genocide and the Armenian Liberation Army, Armenians
have a long tradition of terrorist violence right from
nineteenth century. Armenian terrorists made a number of
attempts to assassinate the Sultan and other senior members
of the Turkish government. Thousands of Armenians were
chucked out from the northern border of Turkey by the fearful
government in Istanbul, and many perished during the disloca-
tion. Russell Warrene Howe says, "the event of 1915 distorted
by Fantasy into genocide, from the rationals for the wave of
terror killings of Turkish officials and their families which
have seized todays headlines across the world".[5]

Armenian terrorists are fanatics and willing to under-
take suicide missions on behalf of their vain cause, and this
is what makes them so dangerous.

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5.    Neil C.Livingstone, ed., World Affairs, Vol.1,
      No.1, 1983, p.11.

Another type of terrorist groups are the "nationalist separatist" whose aim is to spread terror to achieve their political goals either at local or regional level. This group mainly consist of terrorist organisations carrying out terrorist acts in Europe and largely from the Arab region like Palestinian groups. For example, after the defeat of the Arab armies in six day war of 1967, the Arab governments and the Palestinians recognized their weakness and the limitations of their capabilities to defeat Israel in a conventional war. There was intra-Arab conflict which led to a steady decline of Arab's support to the Palestinian cause. In this situation the Palestinians were not left with any thing except to demonstrate their power through terrorism to keep up the fight for their homeland.[6] The decline of Arab support created grievances among them and therefore, they wanted to warn the Arab regimes that they too would not be spared. This way Palestinians terrorists created a favourable image, generated more support and in turn created the basis for more favourable image built on more substance.[7]

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6. Sunil Adam, n.1, p.1328.

7. Daniel Heradstveit, "The Role of International Terrorism in the Middle East Conflict and its Implications of Conflict Resolution" in David Carlton & Carlo Schaerf (ed.), International Terrorism and Western Security (Croombelm, London, 1975), p.93.

Similarly, terrorism in the northern Ireland assumed unprecedented and disturbing feature. The Irish Republican Army continued its unrelenting threat and terror campaign against the British. The world was frightened by two particularly bloody attacks in London during the summer 1982. In the first attack a powerful bomb was thrown on a car parked near Hyde Park as the Queen's household cavalry passed by, six band members and almost twenty eight other musicians and civilians were injured. Later on, in another incident a second bomb shattered a bus-stand in Regent Park, six band members were killed and at least twenty eight other musicians and civilians were injured.[8]

In the past four years the IRA and the INLA (Irish National Liberation Army) have made several attempts to emphasizing their rights, cohesive units characterized by a degree of professionalism. Both organizations are predominantly marxist with strong links with the PLO, the Basque ETA, and other terrorist groups. Although the Irish Republican has stepped up cooperation with the British in an effort to control nationalist terrorism, the violence continues.[9] The Irish Republican movement saw the unfailing

8.   Neil C. Livingstone, n.5, p.11.

9.   Ibid, p.12.

source of Ireland's woes in British occupation of the
six countries. In a disturbing development, voters in
Northern Ireland elected a member of the Sinn Fein and the
IRA's political army to British Parliament. It was its
first seat in almost 50 years. Support in the U.S. for
the IRA among Irish-Americans remains an acceptability
high despite public condemnation by this country leading
Irish American politicians of IRA to its activities.[10]

Another important terrorist group is The Euzkadi
Ta Askatasuna (ETA) which spread violence in Spain, Basque
separatist violence remains at a high level in Spain. A
number of attempts by the Spanish government to crush this
Marxist ETA containues to be an abortive effort. ETA
continues its attacks which include bombing, bank robberies,
murder of policemen, and kidnapping of businessmen and
officials. In 1982, construction of a 930 megawatt nuclear
reactor - cornerstone of the Spanish energy independence
programme - was suspended as a result of terrorist attacks
against the facility and its personnel.[11] During the last few
years the Basque terrorists have been caught in plots to
assassinate the Pope, bomb banks in Spain's costa del sol,
and killed government officials. Sancturies in France are

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10.    Ibid.

11.    Ibid.

eliminated, it is unlikely that Spain will be able to make significant inroads in controlling and suppressing ETA terrorism.[12]

Similar kind of terrorism was produced by Red Brigade in Italy. Red Brigade is the Italian terrorist organization and it identified itself as a part of an organization of Communist combat "engaged in struggle against NATO's heartland in western Europe". Although the Italian government made a number of attempts to stop Red Brigade's activities of kidnapping, bombing and terrorising but could not get much success in the earlier stage. James Dozier who was the U. S. Brigadier General and was attached to NATO's southern headquarter's command was kidnapped from his home in Verona, Italy, in December 1981 and taken away to secret place. Communication from the Red Brigades railed against NATO and the "installation of missiles" and indicated that the "Pig Dozier" would be tried by a Kangroo court.[13] Despite such a degree of terror, the Red Brigades violence has fallen down dramatically in recent years because most of its top leaders have been arrested.

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12.    Ibid, p.12.

13.    Ibid, p.13.

There have been a number of other important terrorist groups like the Armed Forces of National Liberation which is fighting for the independence of Puerto Rico. The Japan's Rengo, Sekigum (URA), in opposition to all forms of government law and order. Argentina's montoneros is a left wing organisation. Peronist guerrilla movement is challenging capitalism. Similarly, Siakhal tried to overthrow Shah of Iran. Moslem bans in Thailand seek equal rights in Buddhist dominated society. Rhodesia's Zimbabine people's union, a Moscow oriented Marxist group, fought both against capitalism and imperialism.[14]

Similarly (M-19) the April 19 movement in Columbia previously was one of the most terrorist unit in the world but now-a-days it is not in action. Shinning Path (Sendero Luminos) pose a great threat to the Peru Government.

Among the categories of terrorism, Pathological terrorism is a tragic nuisance whose security implications are normally limited to one community. Hedonistic terrorist or sadistic type occasionally operate independently but generally belong to small loosely structured groups that erupt on the spur of the moment. For example motorcycle

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14.   Yonah Alexander, n.4, pp.13-14.

gangs and ruffians who terrorise subway commuters.[15]
Larcenous terrorist generally believe in financial gain
rather than on impersonal means. Public support for
conventional crime is close to non-existent, except by a
few counter cultures and mislead minorities. Terrorism
authorized, encouraged or controlled by government may also
be used to try to crush resistance in occupied territories
this is a form of official terrorism. For example:
Repression by Gestapo and Waffen SS was rampant after Mazi
troops overran Europe. East Asia in 1930s and 1940s feared
Japanese force far more after countries had fallen than
before.[16] Revolutionary terrorists generally replace exist-
ing styles of government and associated structures with
system which they select. For example, Hitler was a
revolutionary before he came to power. He formed an
organization or group to seek to manipulate masses. Publi-
city plays an important role and with it they (Revolution
Terrorists) cannot expeditiously expand the field of
influence. Therefore targets are more significant and are
mainly selected as a means or medium to spread messages

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15. John M. Collin, "Definitional Aspects" in Yonah
    Alexander and Charles K. Ebinger (ed.), Political
    Terrorism and Energy : The Threat and Response
    (Praeger, USA, 1982), p.2.

16. Ibid, pp.9-10.

to change or shape public attitudes and behaviour like by
blowing up a busload of school children they want to convey
that security forces are helpless to protect people.[17]
Reactionary terrorist are very target oriented, and dynamic
and sometime tend to take law into their hands if official
security forces fail to function effectively. This way they
bring about "a scene of political crap game to become
entangled with the one already in progress".[18] These groups
are generally small and they attract little popular support.

Therefore, it is generally accepted that whatever
the category of terrorism might be they are highly politically
and ideologically motivated groups and violence has been the
main means to achieve their goals. Therefore their aims
are more important and for achieving them they can utilize
any kind of methods.

## AIMS AND TARGET ANALYSIS

The target and aim of all different categories of
terrorist groups is to pose a threat against whom they think
oppressors, enemies and obstacles in the achievement of
their goals. Their goals are generally illegal, unethical

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17. Ibid, p.12.

18. Ibid, p.11.

and illegal tactics like, hijacking blackmail, ruthless killing by shooting and use of bombs, etc.

Terrorist groups are generally very small and too weak to achieve a positive result against governments. Therefore, violence is not their immediate goal and that's why they insist upon psychological than practical results. The purpose of terrorism theorefore, is to create an emotional state of extreme fear among specific groups, and thereby, to ultimately alter their behaviour and disposi- tions, or bring about a general or particular change in the structure of society and government.[19] For example, the aim of Palestinian terrorist attack in Jerusalem in 1975 was to make it a popular movement or revolution. Therefore, terro- rists are generally dedicated to a cause, for the achieve- ment of which even the sacrifice of human life, including his own life is considered not very important. Therefore, he becomes a rebel, a hero and a martyr. He wants to be an example for others. Although his acts are criminal but become a sign of courage to be followed by the rest of followers. Qurr's proposition seems to be quite right that "the more intensely people are motivated toward a goal or

19.    Yonah Alexander, n.4, p.14.

committed to an attained level of values, the more sharply
is interference resented and the greater the consequent
instigation to aggression".[20]

Terrorists are highly political and ideologically
motivated groups and their aim is also to represent their
motivation because terrorist involve themselves in criminal
activities with illegal methods without considering the
fact that whether his targets and victims are national or
international. Sometime they think that they can bring
about a fundamental change in the social order and politi-
cal system, that's why they commit acts for mutual support
on international scale. Therefore, their main aim is to
create violence against civilian targets and try to achieve
maximum publicity.

Sometimes this kind of violence is spread to satisfy
their demands like release of their comrades and payment of
ransom money. They often try to attract world wide atten-
tion and spread fear and violence because they are sentimen-
tally involved in their cause and that's why they are not
even afraid of death in their struggle. For example, the
IRA of Japan, the Black Panther Organization of the Brader
Meinhoft and Purtito Communist Revolutionaries of Italy to

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20.     Paul Wilkinson, <u>Political Terrorism</u> (London, 1974),
        pp.126-7.

popularise themselves as a national movements and they always utilise violence to achieve their goals. This represents a supreme act of commitment and sacrifice. William Hannary, rightly said that "to argue that a just cause can neither justify or legitimize terrorism, does not mean that a study of its causes is irrelevant. For it may reveal that some politically motivated acts are rooted so deeply in dedication to a cause that no sanction can deter them and also that other acts of terrorism spring from a frustration of legitimate means, causes in turn by acts of governmental repression and terrorism" which it would be anamolous for an International Organization like the U.N, dedicated to equal rights and justice-to ignore.[21] Therefore, it is true that terrorists are not born but are created by a particular historical, social, economic circumstances and unlike ordinary criminals they are highly political and ideologically motivated groups.

These terrorists are reasonably confident of the access to the vincible point before any of their attacks or plan and they plan their attack as a heoric effort for the fulfilment of a cause whom they think is a just order

21. William, A. Hannary, "International Terrorism, The Need for a Fresh Perspective", International Law, Vol. 8, (1974), p.279.

according to their own feeling of justice and this leads to overthrowing of a particular capitalist, colonial, racist imperial regime or order. Therefore, terrorists attempt by their acts to inspire and manipulate fear to achieve a variety of purposes.[22] Brian Jenkins has emphasized upon many of such purposes.

First: terrorism generally aims at getting specific concessions like the payment of ransom, the release of their comrade terrorist prisoners or publication of terrorist message. To achieve these goals they use violence as a main mean or tool to create horrible atmosphere in which they can sort out their problems.

Secondly, terrorists aim at changing public behaviour or attention and gaining more and more popularity which recognizes them and to achieve this goal they apply all types of possible means like, kidnapping, bombing, abduction of officials and spread of violence; these kind of activities strengthen their position.

Thirdly, terrorist may aim at disorder and demoralization prevailing in a particular society and changing it

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22.  Brian Jenkins, _International Terrorism : A New Mode of Conflict_ (California, 1975), p.3.

to prove themselves as an agent of desirable social change which indicates the revolutionary nature. Terrorists generally oppose the existing social norms and rules as an intolerable order and this way it becomes as an "arm the revolutionary can never relinguish".[23]

Fourthly, terrorism is also aimed at deliberately provoking repression, reprisals and counter terrorism which leads to overthrowing of an unpopular government. This is generally against government particularly against law, and security system. For example, kidnapping of a foreign diplomat.

Fifthly, terrorist's declare their victim as nasty, brutish and guilty. In this context they are highly ideologically motivated because they think whatever they are doing is right and necessary to create a just order. Sometime these victims are chosen because of their particular life style and sometime against a particular economic or social system and in this way terrorist always try to persuade other countries to persuade their adversary into a settlement favourable to the terrorists cause and that is because it is in their own interests to put an end to the terrorist violence.

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23.    Carlos Marighello, <u>Minimanual Urban Guerrilla</u>, <u>Tricontinental</u> (Havana, 1970), p.17.

Sixthly, the purpose of State or official terrorism
(what is frequently called institutionalised violence) is
to enforce obedience and cooperation, but extremist them-
selves also imply institutionalised violence against their
own fellowmen to ensure discipline and loyalty. This kind
of activities depend upon the creation of an atmosphere of
fear. Therefore, they use extreme and ruthlessly destructive
methods. They may range from genocide, massacre, murder
and torture at the end of the scale of violence.

Terrorist organizations also believe in changing
status quo and the balance of power on both domestic and
international levels and this is achieved only through
utilizing violence. It means, end justifies the means. It
means that, end is the supreme no matter what methods or
ways they have to go through to achieve it. Yonah Alexander
said that, quite contrary to the historical terrorists,
present day terrorists have introduced into contemporary
life a new breed of violence in terms of threat, victimi-
zation, response and technology. The globalization and
brutalization of modern terrorism make it quite open that
they have entered a new type of system with its frightening
ramifications. It indicates that there are many

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24. Neil C. Livingstone, n.5, p.83.

differences in the nature of past and present terrorist groups and present terrorists are very well organized and more professional than the past ones. These groups generally seek ideological goals. Generally, the sophisticated and small groups bring about more violence to terrorise people and they also use increasingly higher tactics to achieve massive destruction or political turmoil. Therefore, most of the violence is related to the welfare, safety and rights of ordinary people. Sometime, the energy industry, its personnel, facilities and operations are also attractive targets to terrorists. Not only this but the oceans and their related infrastructures, including critical ports and terminals, offshore facilities, vessels and unland waterways are also becoming more important targets of the terrorist because of their commercial, strategic and symbolic value.[25] Therefore, their objectives are to overthrow an established political order and, disruption of government controls, demonstration of the movement's strength and building solidarity within the movement and also effecting a complete revolutionary change within the movement and also effecting a complete revolutionary change within the political system. It has been understood and

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25. Ibid, p.84.

pleaded not without reason that when a terrorist delibera-
tely inflicts death and destruction on the innocent who
are not at all connected with his cause, he crosses the
ethical limitations and commits a crime against humanity
as a whole.[26] Therefore, terrorists are aimed at specific
types of violence which puts human rights in danger and
also poses threat to international community, no matter
whatever means they apply.

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26.    Andrew J. Pierre, "The Politics of International
       Terrorism", Strategic Digest, October 1976,
       p.23.

## Chapter Three

## TERRORISM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA

Human condition and behaviour have been related to terrorism whether in the form of independent action or reaction. Terrorism in India is not a new phenomenon; it has a long history of terrorist activities and different parts of the country have been facing many problems due to terrorist violence. India is a vast country of continental dimensions, with the second largest population in the world and seventh largest area. It has also been a home of a number of religions and languages. It has been conquered by many outsiders. The social, economic and political problems of the country arise due to illiteracy, ignorance, population and huge area. Religion has been an important issue and religious antagonism still exists. The first modern terrorism took the form of colonialism and most of the terrorist violence was spread by the European powers against poor native people of India which led to the killing of many innocent peoples and in this sense colonialism was also imposed through terrorism. The nationalism always demanded the removal of political dominance of colonialist and since then it has been the leaders of nationalism who demanded independence for their territory and to achieve it, they sometimes took to violence and terrorist activities.

On the other hand, political and ideological difference between communists and noncommunists have also led to terrorist violence to a great extent. Similarly, Hindus and Muslims, also indulged in political violence against each other. Therefore, religion was a important factor of moral values towards violence. Political violence has been the chief feature of terrorist activities in India and closely related to political life. Therefore, "there has been a close connection between the basic political process and the predominant forms of conflict".[1] There has been two groups or categories of terrorism till 1947 and those were:

    (1) Explict (organized, deliberate)

       (a) direct-rebellions

       (b) indirect-tactical and selective assassination;

    (2) Random, mass, unorganized.[2]

During the 19th century, the Wahhabi's violence was resorted. In 1872 one of its members assassinated Lord Mayo, the Viceroy in Andaman Island. Slowly and gradually by the

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1.    H.D. Graham and T.R. Gurr,(ed.), <u>The History of Violence in America</u> (Pragor, New York, 1969) p.2.

2.    Saleem Qureshi, "Political Violence in the South Asian Subcontinent" in Yonah Alexander (ed.), <u>International Terrorism, National, Regional and Global Prespectives</u> (Prager, New York, 1976), p. 157.

20th century revolutionary terrorism emerged and continued
as a freedom movement with freedom fighters. British
colonialism came to an end in India with the granting of
freedom to India and Pakistan but terrorist violence did
not come to an end which was quite evident from the violence
for the autonomy of Nagaland, Mizoram, Kashmir, Assam and
Punjab. Guerrilla warefare, Government reprisials, bombing
took place in all these areas and violence and terrorism
became very frequent. Therefore, since independence in
addition to communal riots a number of other riots took
place like Industrial, language, ideological and sectrain.[3]
Most of the riots had a communal character till independence
but in 1965 language riots took place against the imposition
of Hindi in South India. Industrial riots took place with a
great number in West Bengal, ideological terrorism and
violence was mainly spread by the communists and they decla-
red landlords and capitalists as their victim, and massacred
them ruthlessly. This type of terrorists were called
Naxalites. These Naxalite groups adopted a policy of
physical liquidation of the so called class enemies [4] of

3.    Ibid, p.184.

4.    C.P. Bhambhri "India. The Question Mark over Punjab"
      World Focus, Vol., 7, No.2 Vikas Publication, India)
      February 1986, p.19.

the poor and the Indian state tried its best and used all kind of possible measures to curb this curse. The Naxalites were highly ideologically motivated and used arms to achieve their goals. But Naxalites did not have mass support and the Indian Government successfully handled them by keeping them isolated from the general public. After Independence Communist Party of India (CPI) at its second congress in Calcutta in February March 1948, adopted an insurrectionary line. Similarly peasant movements in Telangane in Andhra Pradesh in West Bengal spread violence. Similarly, there were a number of incidents for example, violence spread out in Nagaland in the early 1950s, in Assam in 1979, in Mizoram in 1966, in Manipur in the late 1970s and in Tripura in 1980. (Marxism-Leninist) Communist Party of India resorted to violence in the whole of West Bengal and a few parts of Assam, Tripura, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Maharashtra. In 1984, the Eastern Region of India was mostly effected by the terrorist activities. The Tripura National Volunteer (TNV) are bent upon killing officials, civilians and security personnel. Their main aim is to terrorise civilians and officials and to wipe out all elements whom they consider enemy. The MNF (Mizo National Front) resorted to violence to get statehood. Although the

central government had negotiations with Laldenga but the
problem is complicated by the Mizo National Army (Military
wing of the MNF) headed by the self styled Colonel
Lalarwana who has been continuing his struggle for an
independent Mizoram. The TNV (Tripura National Volunteers)
have been posing a severe threat to the security by creat-
ing terror during the past few years. Several security
and particularly CRPF personnel have been killed and
ambushed by the TNV. The TNV has adopted a guerrilla
warfare strategy against police and security personnel.

Similarly a section of Naga youth still demand for
a sovereign republic of Nagaland and in this way they are
creating problem for the Indian government by ambushing
Indian security personnel and also by kidnapping officials
and other police personnel. Assam is the other part of
the country which has been suffering from terrorist
violence. It is also an issue of Assam Nagaland border
and there have been frequent border clashes between Assam
and Nagaland.

Another very important state which has been facing
the terrorist violence is Punjab. The most burning one,
Punjab has been badly rocked by the terrorists violence

during the past few years. The Sikh militants have carried out violent war against the Indian state, and hampering the national integration and also threatening the existing social and political system. The crisis has become more acute and could have serious implications though it was believed that with the Operation Bluestar in 1984 and with the Punjab Accord in 1985, the Punjab situation would improve but still it is unsolved. The Sikh terrorists in Punjab are different from other criminals and Naxalites as they have been successful enough to mix up religion with politics. The Sikhs in India are nearly two per cent of the total population. The orthodox among them do not consider other sects believing in the teaching of the Sikh Gurus-Nirankaris, Sahjedharis (Shaven), Namdharis, and the followers of Beas Guru as genuine Sikh but their role in Punjab particularly after the independence has attracted considerable attention.

Unlike other religious minorities Sikhs are most dominant in India besides they enjoy the constitutional status of a minority community including linguistic and religious rights within the constitutional framework. Punjab is merely a Sikh dominated area where fifty two per cent of population belongs to Sikh community having

upper hand in almost all the fields. Still it has come under the influence of terrorist violence whose main goal is to establish an independent Sikh state[5] and in order to achieve this goal they are bent upon killing the innocent people in different parts of the country.

On 22 March 1946 the Akali leaders for the first time demanded an independent state for Sikhs. Akali Dal is a political party of Sikhs and the SGPC (Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee) which manages the Sikh gurdwaras demanded the protection of their cultural economic, religious and political rights based on Sikh state theory which also includes majority of Sikh population and their gurdwaras with a provision for the transfer and Khalistan became quite common in recent years. A part of the Sikh Community raised its voice for the complete separation of Punjab as an independent state[6] and resorted to violence and terror which has posed threat to the entire security system of India.

Causes of Grievances:

Firstly, the Central Government did not pay much attention to industrial investment which led to severe

5.    V. D. Chopra "The Genesis of Punjab Crisis", early history of Sikhism" in V. D. Chopra, R. K. Misra, and Nirmal Singh (ed.) Agony of Punjab (Patriot, New Delhi, 1984), p. 40.

6.    Ibid, p. 989.

unemployment among educated youth.[7] These issues were related to the regional economic development like industrial development, employment, agricultural supporting price, and canal development, etc. It was felt among the Sikhs that Haryana the other beneficiary of canal projects in that particular region has no right to Punjab waters. According to the Act which created Punjab and Haryana, Punjab received 23% of water from its rivers. In 1978, Punjab state government brought suit for annulment of the settlement in the Supreme Court.[8]

Indira Gandhi's government arranged a new compromise between the Chief Ministers of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan in 1981. According to it, Punjab's share was raised to 24 per cent. According to Sikhs it was inadequate.[9] During Janta Party regime in 1978 Haryana was due to receive 50% of the water from Sutlej Yamuna. On the contrary the Chief Minister of Punjab, Prakash Singh Badal was of the opinion that Haryana should be given only 40% share. According to

7.  Amrik Singh (ed.), Punjab in Indian Politics: Issues and Trends (Ajanta Publications, India 1985) p.48.

8.  Murray J. Leaf, "The Punjab Crisis". Asian Survey (Vol. XXV, No. 51), May 1985, p.487.

9.  Pratap Singh Gill, Dismantling Democracy (Lancer International New Delhi, 1984), p.206-9.

the Sikhs the Bhakra Canal works had been build up by
the Punjab State development fund after 1947, but from 1967
onwards it was run by the central officials. This dam was
very important, since it had massive impact on agriculture.
Irregular supply of power and water may lead to bad
results. According to Sikhs the main issue is about the
control of dam and this dispute was raised because of the
inefficiency and indifference of the Central Government's
policies. They also say that power and water supply situa-
tion would have been greatly improved if it was left to
them. Therefore, Akali agitation took place, which stopped
the work for many months. The Sikhs claim that price
support system of agriculture during Indira Gandhi's
period was not reasonably fair, i.e., the cost of agri-
cultural input was raised at the rate of 20% to 30% in a
year while the increase in support prices was only 5% to
10%. According to them Central Government's "Food Zones"
policy prohibits the private commercial movement of food
stuff to the adjacent deficit districts in order to
forcibly depress the price which hampered the farmers
interests to a great extent. In 1976 or so industrial
issues cropped up. There were only few job opportunities
in comparison to the demands. Industries in Punjab were

not developed much in comparison to its agriculture.
Therefore it led to increased in unemployment in Punjab.
In the absence of sufficient job opportunities the move-
ment of Sikhs from Punjab to other states continued
unabated. Therefore, the Sikh leaders demanded greater
employment opportunities for checking the migration and
for ensuring their cultural continuity and integrity in
Punjab.[10]

## Economic Development and Emergence of Class Interests:

During the last two or three decades Punjab has
made a remarkable economic progress. Green revolution was
successful in Punjab which assured Sikh farmers that their
interests were secure. They became powerful and separatist
demands declined for some time. But "most of the resources
have been cornered by the big owners and the percentage of
work force on land of the total work force steadily
increased from 17.8 per cent in 1961 to 38.2 per cent in
1981".[11] Therefore, it created a rich landlords and peasant

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10.    Murray J. Leaf, n.8, pp.486-9.

11.    Nirmal Singh and V.D. Chopra, "Socio-Economic Roots
       of the Present Crisis", in V.D. Chopra, R.K. Misra
       (ed.), Agony of Punjab, (Patriot, New Delhi, 1984),
       p.148.

class which tried to maximize their profits. The process was further facilitated by the increasing debt trap of landless section.[12]

Whereas during 1961-71 period, the landless in rural Punjab were around 20 per cent, in the 1971-1981 period, the number of the landless rose by almost 10 per cent, that is around 30 per cent. This trend is still continuining[13]. The real profit of the Green Revolution was mainly taken by the upper strata of capitalist farmers. Therefore, the educated and semi-educated youth of the middle and marginal peasantry along with landless were highly frustrated and alienated by the end of seventies because of unemployment and under-employment as there were limited opportunities in the medium and small range industries in urban areas".[14] It was a golden opportunity for the Sikh fundamentalists as they were able to attract a large section of youth towards extremism.[15] Hence, the economic development in Punjab created a rural class structure in which capitalist landlords

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12. Gopal Singh, "Terrorism in Punjab: Support, Modus operandi and Objectives", Mainstream, Vol. XXIV, No. 38, 2 July, 1988., p.14.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

and rich peasants have an exploitative relationship with the agricultural workers.[16] Fundamentalism became a weapon as a bargaining counter for the rural rich which in Punjab means a major part of the upper class.[17]

Another important reason for the grievances was the development of Nirankari which claimed that the Sikh scriptures are their own and rejected their historical basis. The Sikhs misunderstood it and thought they were patronized by the Central Government to finish their identity. According to SGPC booklet Nirankari was being deliberately encouraged by the Central Government to destroy pure Khalsa and thought that it was another Hindu conspiracy to prevent the true Khalsa Raj."[18] Although Akali Dal was fully aware of the militant activities of Nirankari but did not oppose it because the Akalis wanted to monopolise the politics in Punjab with the help of all kind of money ° from the Sikh Gurdwaras but when the Akalis found it difficult to remain in power they launched

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16. Nirmal Singh and V.D.Chopra, "Socio-Economic, Roots of Punjab Crisis", n.11, p.148.

17. Ibid, p.149.

18. Murray J. Leaf, n.8, p.489.

a Sikh community's struggle for a separate state by mixing
religion with politics to forge unity to get more and more
public support. Secondly, the Akali Dal represents the
Sikh peasants and landlords who want to maximise their
benefits by controlling most of the farms in Punjab. This
type of feeling came out in Anandpur Sahib Resolution
which demanded a total restructuring of Federal system in
India.[19]

## Reaction of Sikhs:

After the reorganization of the state in 1966, the
Punjab Pradesh Congress demanded that demarcation of
boundaries should be done strictly on the linguistic basis.
They demanded that Punjab speaking areas of Kangra district
should be included into a new state. After that the Akalis
put up their demand for Chandigarh. The Akalis did not
stop here. They demanded that Chandigarh should be given
to them and in return Fazilka and Abohar areas should be
given to Haryana. Thus the reorganization of Punjab put
severe strain on the unity and integrity of the country
and this led to the communal distrubances and pol risation
of political forces. Reactionary Sikhs misused the

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19. C.P. Bhambhri, n.4, p.20.

situation and posed a severe blow to the entire political
structure. The Sikh fundamentalism brought about some
conservative organisations in India and abroad. In October
1971, Jagjit Singh Chauhan brought about an advertisement
in the New York Times stating the reason for the demand of
"Khalistan". Again in September 1971 a similar voice was
raised. On 12 April, 1980 Jagjit Singh Chauhan crossed all
the limits and declared the foundation of National Council
of Khalistan with himself as the President and Balbir Singh
Sandhu as its General-Secretary.[20]

Ganga Singh Dhillon an Indian born American national
described Sikhs as a nation and advised them to take member-
ship of the UN on the Palestine Liberation Organization's
line. The Akali Dal (Talwandi Group) also raised many
slogans and launched so called Dharamyudh in which many
innocent people were killed and a group of terrorists under
the leadership of Sant Bhindranwale emerged. Bhindranwale
had a peculiar strategy of killing innocent Hindus selecti-
vely and protecting the killers into the Golden Temple. The
Akali Dal was very much aware of these developments of
making the Golden Temple as a store of arms and ammunition

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20. V.D. Chopra, n.5, p.113.

but did not oppose it due to its political interests though
a big majority of Sikhs did not want a separate state and
wanted to live in secular India. This happened due to the
fact that in 1977-80 the Sikh Congress leadership used
Bhindranwale's extremism to embarrass the Akali Government
under Badal but soon after that Bhindranwale emerged as
the Frankenstein of Sikh communalism due to the government's
appeasement policy.[21] The preferential recruitment of
Sikhs in the services and the provisions of the Gurdwara
Act played an important role for the demands of the Sikh
separation which were exaggerated by the few rich interested
Sikhs. In 1980 after the dismissal of Badal government
some sections of Sikhs were alienated and hatred against
the Congress by accusing the Hindus of communalism thought
they themselves communalised their democratic grievances.[22]

Similarly when All India Sikh Students Federation
(AISSF) found that the general public was being influenced
towards the demands of Khalistan, they took to terrorist
activities leading to the murder of innocent Hindus and
Sikhs. They also indulged in bank robberies. Similarly,

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21.    K. S. Thapar. "Elements of Crisis in Punjab"
       Mainstream,(Vol. XXIV, No.40,), June 1986,p.10.

22.    Ibid.

from 1983 onwards there has been escalation in terrorists
activities. It was brought about in three forms; one was
the individual killing of those who were seen as enemies
of Sikhs. This was first of all directed against the
Nirankaris in 1978 and the policemen, mostly officers, who
were conducting investigation against terrorists. The
purpose behind this type of compaign was to terrorise the
people and demoralize the police forces. The worst
example of this type of terrorism was the assassination of
D.I.G.P. A.S. Atwal who was killed outside the Golden
Temple complex.[23] Another kind of terrorist activity started
towards the end of 1983 with the special killing of Hindus.
The aim behind this was to accentuate Hindu-Sikh tension.
The worst incident was the murder of eight bus passengers
on 6 October 1983, near Jodan village in Kapurthala
district. Similarly, four bus passengers were massacred
on 8 November 1983 in Tarn Taran and 40 more were killed
on 6 July 1987 in Laluru near Chandigarh.[24] On the other
hand in December 1983, the Babbar Khalsa group killed 35
Nirankaris. Sukhdev Singh, the Chief of Babbar Khalsa,
declared that this type of killing would continue in order
to protect Sikhism. Similarly, Sant Jarnail Singh

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23. Pramod Kumar, "Punjab Crisis : A Political Diagnosis",
   Mainstream, Vol. XXVI, no.5, November 14, 1987, p.19.

24. Ibid.

Bhindranwale created a terror and delivered a severe blow to the security structure of the country till he was killed during the Bluestar operation. The burning of Article 25 (11) of the Constitution was another major step taken by the extremist to strengthen their unity. Though the army, through the action of June 1984 tried its best to uproot these terrorist activities in the Golden Temple but their strength was not totally finished. Many secessionist organizations started operating abroad in the past few years. The main organizations were, the National Council of Khalistan, the Babbar Khalsa, Akhand Kirtani Jatha, the National Council of Khalistan headed by Jagjit Singh Chauhan, and Dal Khalsa which is mainly operating in UK and West Germany. Babbar Khalsa is mainly operated in Canada. The Akhand and Kirtani Jatha is also found in Canada and the UK. The main aim of these terrorist groups is the formation of an Independent Sikh State. The Rajiv Gandhi and Longowal accord was an attempt to win the support of the Sikh masses and to isolate the Sikh terrorist. But communalist and extremist forces were not curbed carefully and as a result the terrorists in Punjab still exist and still many innocent people are being

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24. Ibid.

massacred. The killing of Hindus increased enormously after
Akali Dal came to power in 1985. The situation in Punjab
is against the democratic values of the country. The dis-
missal of the Barnala government and the imposition of the
Governor's rule in Punjab in May 1987 brought about a ray
of hope to deal with this problem but still it has not
worked out positively. We find that many Hindus are being
killed and terrorists are still bent upon killing people,
including the security personnel.

<u>Administrative Measures</u>:

For effective administrative measures, various
sources of terrorism must be found first. These are smugg-
lers and habitual criminals. When these get clubbed with
terrorist they get cover.[25] These should be identified and
kept isolated and dealt with by the administration. The
police has to develop a system through which terrorist can
be recognized and kept isolated which means police should
be able to know their activities in advance. In rural areas
masses can be organized particularly the ex-servicemen can
be helpful in this regard. Unlike the Nexalite, the Sikh
terrorists have mass support and they are exploiting the
situation. A large number of Sikhs and Akali leaders are

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25. <u>The Hindustan Times</u>, 30 May, 1987.

sympathetic towards terrorists. Terrorism in Punjab has
survived because it has legitimacy among the Sikhs who are
actually supporting them.[26] Therefore, terrorists must be
out off from all kinds of help and the followers of
Khalistan who are supported by foreign elements should be
signed out immediately. Secondly, there are a few terro-
rists who are fighting against genuine social, economic and
political disparaties or corruption. They are neither
foreign agents nor Khalistanis. They can be taught positively.[27]
Another important measure would be to organize public
support against terrorism in Punjab and protect most of
the terrorist targets. This could be done through efficient
intelligence system. Security procedures should be able to
protect the people from terrorists. Although violence
breeds violence but this is not very much true in case of
political violence. Therefore, it cannot be contained
fully by resort to counter violence. Since the basic causes
of terrorism are in social, religious, political,economic and
administrative structures of society, appropriate political
measures are desirable to bring about some kind of a permanent
solution. On the other hand, democratic values in the masses
should be inculcated through strengthening healthy, democratic
institutions and proper education which can root out the
basic causes of terrorism.

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26.   C.P. Bhambhri, n.4, p.21.

27.   Hindustan Times, n.25.

## TERRORISM WITH REFERENCE TO SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka has been facing the most dangerous crisis due to terrorism. The conflict between Tamil and Sinhala has reached a crucial point. This conflict has caused enormous loss of life and has posed threat to the national unity and democratic structure of the country. The internal war between Tamil militants and military has caused raise in defense and security expenditure.

### Background of the Crisis

Since the 16th century Sri Lanka had been under the domination of foreign rulers. It was also a British colony for over 150 years. It finally acheived independence in 1948. Sri Lanka has the high life expectancy besides its developed communication network. The majority of the Sri Lankan population are Sinhalese, which are approximately 15.8 million according to 1985 data which means they are almost 74% of the total population, they predominantly settled over a large part of the country except in the northern an eastern regions. They believe in Buddhist way of life and speak Sinhala language.

"The other ancient people are the Sri Lankan Tamils who have also lived on the Island since before the common era,

they are similarly a migrant group from India, but unlike
the Sinhalese, they are from the Tamil Community of South
India".[1]

There has been a great deal of controversy over which
ethnic group arrived first on the Island, though it is
claimed that the Sinhalese were in fact the original
settlers.[2] "Some Tamils might have come to Sri Lanka as
early as, or even before, the Sinhalese, though the avail-
able evidence suggests that substantial Tamil settlement
occurred some centuries later."[3] The other main, Sri Lankan
people are the Muslims which constitute 7.1 per cent of the
total population. The Indian Tamils constituting 5.5 per cent
are brought by the British from South India to work on tea
and rubber plantations.[4] "The 1985 population distribution
according to religion shows that there are 69.3 per cent
Buddhists, 15.5 per cent Hindus followed by 7.6 per cent and
7.5 per cent Christian".[5] Therefore, language and religion

1.    Sujit M. Canagaretna, "Nation Fuilding in Multi Ethnic
      Setting" The Sri Lankan Case; Asian Affairs, vol-14,
      No-1, Spring 1987, An American Review, p.2.

2.    Ibid.

3.    C.R.De Silva in R.E. Goldman and A.J.Wilson (ed.),
      From Independence to Statehood, St.Martin Press,
      New York, 1984), p.111.

4.    Sujit M. Canagaretna, n.1, p.2.

5.    Ibid.

have been the two dividing factors. Tamils are generally
Hindus and speak Sinhala language.. The roots of the problem
lie in the struggle for dominance by the Tamil and the
Sinhalas for a long period of time. "The Sinhalas believe
that a north Indian (Aryan) King Vijaya, came to Sri Lanka,
2,800 years ago and established his supremacy in the southern
part of Island which marked the begining of Sinhalas dominance
over the area. Tamil on the other hand claim as the original
inhabitants of the Island and according to them the ancient
name of Sri Lanka is 'Eelam'. Tamils have always dominated
northern and eastern regions and Sinhalas captured and
dominated other parts of the Sri Lanka".[6]

Under the foreign domination the differences between
Tamils and Sinhalas were spread. British extended prefer-
ential treatment to the minorities in employment and economic
fields which led to polarization between majority Sinhalese
and other minorities, which eventually assisted the British
in the governing process.[7]

After Independence : Matter of Grievances

Before Independence it was decided that English will
be gradually replaced by Sinhala and Tamil as an official

6. P. Tharyan: "Ethnic Crisis; Tamil Deserve Autonomy"
World Focus, Vol.5, No.9, September 1984, p.11.

7. "Tilak Guneratne, "The Present Situation in Sri Lanka",
Asian Affairs. (London, February 1986), pp.33-35.

language but the emergence of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike as a leader of Sri Lanka Freedom Party shattered all the dreams of Tamils. Mrs. Bandaranaike compaigned as the "defender of a basieged Sinhalese culture", effected radical change in the system. In building up a popular following based on the Sinhala unlike of Christian influence, Mrs. Bandaranaike in effect, stoked the fire of communal and religious bigotry.[8]

The official language Act which declared Sinhala as the only official language of Sri Lanka, caused dissatisfaction and anger among Tamils as their language and culture was at stake. Mrs. Bandaranaike's government drafted one Tamil language special provision Act, which set out to protect the use of Tamil language in public examinations official correspondence, education and in the administration of the northern and eastern regions. But the regulation required for the effective implementation of this act were not submitted for parliamentary approval till 1966.[9]

Later on the Government did not introduce Tamil as a language which brought about severe tensions between the two communities. Another important issue of Tamil grievance was

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8.    Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama, Vol.1 (Pantheon, New York 1968), p.351.

9.    K.M. De Silva, Managing Ethnic Conflict in Multi Ethnic Societies: The Sri Lanka 1980-85, (Lanham Md: University Press of America, 1986), p.182.

that neither Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party nor Jayewardene's United National Party paid any attention to the Tamil's demands and on top of that, the government discriminated them in the distribution of development funds and encouraged the colonisation of Tamil areas by Sinhala.[10]

According to Tamil United Liberation Front(TUNLF's) leaders there has been massive increase in the per-centage of Sinhalas in Tamil areas particularly in a place like Trincomalee. Therefore, Sinhalas started settling down in Tamil areas which led to the feeling of insecurity among Tamils because of Buddhist influence in those areas was growing enormously.

The Constitution of Sri Lanka also talks that "the Republic of Sri Lanka shall give to Buddhism the foremost place_____"and also that it is the State's duty to protect the Buddhist Faith. Although, freedom of religion is provided but no other religions are mentioned which represents the Sinhala's interest. In 1978, J.R. Jayewardene's Government declared Sinhala and Tamil to be National languages of administration in Sri Lanka. Even then the use of Tamil language did not increase in accordance with the minority's expectations.[11]

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10.    P. Tharyan: n. 6, p.12.

11.    Sujit M. Canagaretna, n.1, P.3.

University admission policy was the another important factor which gave rise to the Tamil grievances. In 1970 Mrs. Bandaranaike Government introduced a quota of admissions from each ethnic group on the ground that it was difficult to make comparison between the students who attend the classes conducted in Sinhala language and those who had Tamil as their medium of instruction. This was done because data revealed that higher percentage of Tamil students were qualifying for limited number of places in the University. Therefore, various methods of standardizing marks and district quotas were enacted instead. But the main aim and ultimate result of these practices was to increase the proportion of the students who were studying in the Sinhala language and to decrease the proportion of those students who were studying in Tamil language.[12]

## Wrong Police Management(Police):

The government effort in a multi-ethnic society to safeguard its existance via ethnic manipulation of the police and military generally leads to greater insecurity.

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12.    Sunil Bastian; 'Ethnicity and Class in education and Ethnicity (Colombo: International Centre for Ethnic Studies July 1985), p.29.

This was demonstrated in Sri Lanka. First, there is a danger of "Seesaw coups (of which retrieval coups are varient), defined as occurring with a sudden drastic shift in the ethnic balance and bringing about an equally drastic change in another direction".[13]

The result of the coup failure, however, was the adoption of the third policy option, communalisation of the force. Resignations and retirements of coup participants resulted in the rapid Sinhalization of the police at all levels[14] and this led to the lack of carrer opportunities for those Tamils in police service combined with democratic system of government, and also "led ambitious Tamils to ensure their carrer by careful politicking, designed to prove their loyality and deservedness. Here clashes the desire for order with China feelings".[15]

Secondly the tendency of greater recruitment and promotion of the largest ethnic group made the police job difficult to gain reliable intelligence on possible attacks of minority Tamil community. For example, predominately

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13. Angela S. Burger, "Policing a communal Society, "The Case of Sri Lanka", Asian Survey, Vol.XXVII, No.7, July 1987, p.827.

14. Urmila Phadnes, "Ethnicity and Nation Building in South Asia: A case Study of Sri Lanka". India Quarterly, (July-September 1979), pp.329-350.

15. Angela, S. Burger, n.13, p.826.

Tamil Jaffna, where Sinhalese comprise 60 per cent to 70 per cent of police. Frequent transfers of officials and more and more recruitment of probationary recruits, who speak neither Tamil nor English, make interaction very difficult.[16]

Thirdly, lack of sufficient opportunities for the advancement of Tamil became a source of frustration which led to protests against the government policy. On top of that, the brutal methods used by police to gain intelligence information from dissidents, without looking into their demands, made the situation worse.

Fourthly, the decreasing level of recruitment of Tamils to the public sector in recent years also caused grievances and feeling of hatred among Tamil youths.

Finally, they formed a radical party called 'Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), whose main goal was to achieve a separate state (Tamil Eelam). This group consists of the frustrated and educated middle class youths who could not get selected in the universities, due to government's discriminatory admission policy. They boycotted 1972 constitution and passed 'Tamil Eelam' resolution in 1976 for the struggle for a separate homeland.

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16.    Ibid,   .

The Tamil Reaction:

The youths in Tamil United Liberation Front(TULF)
started more and more radical measures to achieve the goals
of a separate Tamil State.   This way, it started breaking
away from the 'moderate' and indulged in violence and
guerrilla activities to achieve their demands.   TULF contes-
ted 1977 election and became the largest opposition party.
Appapullai Amirthalingam acquiesced to become the leader of
opposition.   And it took hardly any time for the Tamil
militants to denounce the TULF and go their own way.[17]

The extremist group disagreed over several key issues.
Now there are five main factions, in addition to many smaller
groups.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamils Eelam(LTTE) led by
Velupillai Prabhakaran, emerged as the strongest militant
group.   This group consists of atleast four thousand and six
hundred trained guerrillas and a few thousand trained recruits
who were trained in Libya and Lebanan.   After coming back
from there, they trained many other groups in Sri Lanka and
Southern India.[18]   The Liberation Tigers have the resources in

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17.    Urmila Phadnes, "The crisis of Political Order"
       World Focus, Vol.5, No.9, September 1984, p.5.

18.    Sujit M. Canagretna, n.1, pp.6-7.

weaponry to fight battles with Sri Lankan armed forces. The Liberation Tigers, again and again putting forward their minimum, demand of an autonomy, for the northern districts of Jaffna and the eastern districts reaching as far as Trincomalee as a Tamil homeland. The Tamil claim over the eastern district is based on the fact that eastern district of Sri Lanka has a Tamil speaking majority, half of it is comprises of Muslims, who want no truck with the militant Hindu Tamils. The Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) has atleast three thousand trained fighters. But from 1986 onwards, it started having some ideological differences with the LTTE, which resulted in a number of TELO members killing.

In 1985, these major groups and two more groups called Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS) and the Eelam People's Liberation Front (EPLF) aligned themselves as Eelam National Liberation Front, (ENLF) to pose challenges to Jayewardene's government. But, LTTE came out to be the most powerful organisation. LTTE is also helped by a New York based organisation of expatriates called 'the Patriots of Eelam'. This organisation helped it economically and other-wise. Not only this, it came out openly backing Prabhakaran and LTTE as the sole leader of the Tamil Community. In 1986, the LTTE threatened PLOTE and EPLF to either surrender or join the ranks of LTTE.[19]

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19.   Ibid, p.7.

The People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam
(PLOTE) was formed separately in 1979, when its leader
Maheswaran separated from LTTE, opposing Prabhakaran and
LTTE style and became an armed group.[20]

Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS)
was engaged in the eastern coastal district of Batticaloa
with LTTE, where it got some success.

From 1979 onwards, there has been a great increase in
the number of killings of politicians, police, armed forces,
Sinhala civilians and so on.  There have been also a number of
banks robberies, frequent destruction of government property,
etc.[21] LTTE is a very well trained group and had sufficient
military control over Sri Lanka's Northern part and
particularly over Jaffna.

A large number of financial help to guerrilla, comes
from professional Tamil expatriates, working in Western
Europe and several other countries.

TULF, now-a-days, facing a number of problems from the
extremists and there have been acute differences between TULF
members and extremist Tamil groups.  This is because of

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20.    Ibid.

21.    Ibid, p.9.

ideological differences of individual leaders. Therefore,
LTTE turned out to be the soul representative of Tamil
interests. Most of the Tamil extremist groups generally
follow the classical guerrilla tactics and are very well
trained and fully equipped with sophisticated arms and
ammunition. It was observed that sooner or later, these
terrorists were about to get SAM-7 missiles which could
pose severe challenges to Sri Lankan air system.

## Government's Inadequacy

The post-colonial government was not able to cope
with the different problems of the country. Sri Lankan
Freedom Party (SLFP) adopted a socialist framework for
economic development of the country. United National Party
(UNP) adopted a Laissez Fair policy. But neither of them
was able to achieve its goals. The political instability in
Sri Lanka resulted in less economic growth. After the
independence, SLFP and UNP emerged as the two major parties
along with a few minor parties like, Lanka Sama Samaj Party
(LSSP), the Moscow Oriented Communist Party of Ceylon(LPC)
and Tamil Congress.

The UNP and SLFP have their support in the Sinhala
areas. And both of them try to be more Sinhala Buddhist
than the other.[22]

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22. Urmila Phadnes: "The Crisis of Political Order",
    n.17, P.4.

There were a number of coalition governments in
Sri Lanka during 1956-70 and Tamil Parties were alienated,
to a certain extent. But, in 1970 election, Mrs. Bandaranaike
won with massive majority representing the United Front.
The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) contested the
mandate of Tamil Eelam in 1977 and TULF turned out to be
the biggest opposition party headed by Appapollai
Amirthalingam.

The UNP won with a massive majority in 1977 election
and tried to give a new picture to the entire administration
to bring about political stability and modernization. But
the government did not pay much attention to Tamil's demands.
J.R. Jayewardene's government again served the majority
community and brought about rigid policies against Tamils.
In July 1983, the violence engulfed which led to 400 deaths
and atleast one lakh fifty thousand Tamils took help in
refugee camps and almost 10 thousand migrated to other areas.
It also led to enormous destruction of Tamil owned factories,
homes and property. It was being observed that many govern-
ment officials were involved in these activities. Similarly,
the introduction of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA)[23]
and emergency regulations, brought about massive violence

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23.    Sujit M. Canagaretna, n. 1, p.9.

and destruction of Tamils. The PTA contains broad provisions against the persons who ask for a separate state for Tamil or criticise the government minority policies. There was also a provision for police officers to arrest any person, search any individual, seize any document or item 'connected or concerned in any unlawful activity, even without a search warrant.[24]

In July 1983 riots, the police and armed forces massacred several Tamils and there was neither any inquiry into these killings nor any legal action was taken against the responsibles[25]. These kind of policies brought about hatred and animity among Tamils who in response posed many severe blows to the security and unity of Sri Lanka.

Since 1981, Jayawardene's government asked for help from the Western countries. The Moribund defence Agreement of November 1947, was aimed at the "Security of Territories and defence against the external aggression" which enabled Sri Lanka to ask U.K. for military aid. This agreement also includes the use of naval and air bases and ports and military establishments and the use of telecommunication

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24. Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary provisions) Act No.480/1979 (Colombo: Deptt. of Government Printers, 1979) Section 2 (1) Ch:Z, Section 6:4.

25. Sujit M. Canagaretna, n. 1, p.10.

facilities.[26] During July 1983, President Jayawardene
sought security help under this provision, to curb ethnic
violence and for this purpose, engaged the special Air
Services of Britain (SAS) for training Sri Lankan para-
military forces.

Sri Lanka also recruited British Commando and Israeli
intelligence agency Mossad, to strengthen the intelligence
gathering and operational efficiency of its security forces
against terrorists.[27]

Mossad was actively engaged in this work. The
opposition leaders openly protested against the UNP leader's
policies of receiving monetary and military aid from foreign
countries to complete Trißtcomalee deal. The opposition
also protested against the introduction of Mossad, S. A. S.
and CIA to wipe out the Tamil Tigers. Mrs. Bandaranaike
blamed Jayewardene for first conniving with the terrorism and
now rejecting all opportunities of negotiation with Tamils.

Moreover, Sri Lanka in response to terrorist activi-
ties, formed a National auxiliary force, a central command in
the North. It also planned to recruit trained personnel who

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26. Anuradha Muni, "Foreign Policy: Playground of Israel,
U. S., U. K.", World Focus, Vol.5, No.9, September
1984, p.20.

27. Ibid.

were fit for "counter insurgency". Police strength which
was 14,500 in 1979, raised 28,000 by the end of 1986 and
volunteer forces from 4500 to 5000. But still government
could not work out in a positive direction. It was observed
that full scale military operation is not the best way of
winning over a group of people. President J.R. Jayawardene's
government's security measures posed a severe blow to the
continuous tradition of democracy and civil liberties. As
he himself said in 1986, "it is very difficult to safeguard
against terrorism while guaranteeing the freedom of the
individual. It may not be long before we compromise the
very beliefs on which democracy is built".[28]

A list of Four Principles were put forward by the
Representative of Six Tamil political groups, in 1985. The
main demands were; (i) The creation of Tamil homeland, by
joining together the Northern and Eastern Provinces, (ii) The
right of citizenship to all Tamils living in Sri Lanka,
(iii) The recognition of Sri Lankan Tamil and (iv) The right
of self determination of the Tamil nation etc. But President
Jayawardene refused to accept three principles. The policy
of government was not to allow either TULF or Sri Lanka

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28.     "Address to Parliament by President Jayawardene on
        20th February 1986" J.R. Jayawardene to the Political
        parties" Conference as Chairman of the Conference on
        the Proposals for the Devolution of power to provincial
        council (Colombo: Deptt. of Govt. Printing 1986, Bryan
        Pfaffenberger Sri Lanka in 1986, A Nation of the
        Crossroad and Asian Survey, Vol. XXVIII, No.2, Feb.1987.

Tamil Organisations including militants, freedom to demand for a separate Eelam.

Again in December 1985, TULF put forward another revised set of proposals demanding that a Tamil state could be made within the present framework of the Sri Lankan constitution with powers similar to an autonomous state in India.

There were four demands: (i) Union of Eastern and Northern provinces should be treated as a single Tamil homeland, (ii) Devolution of Government powers, (iii) Provincial autonomy should be given to matters related to police and internal law and order, (iv) Provincial autonomy should be given to matters relating to the allocation of land (these proposals were given to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi also by M. Sivasithambaram, President TULF) and A Amrithalingam General Secretary, on 1 December 1985.

The Government of Sri Lanka considered a few of the TULF proposals and gave some concession. But it did not accept the political significance of Sri Lanka Tamil and rejected the proposal of making Northern and Eastern provinces as a Tamil homeland. In 1986, the former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka Mrs. Pandaranaike formed an organisation, MDN (Movement for the Defence of Nation). Its main

aim was to prevent the passage of legislation, authorising provincial council, by taking Sinhalese Budhist on its side.[29]

Though, few of the members of TULF considered government concession reasonable but later,on 3 November, 1986 they rejected the proposals, as they did not meet even the basic demands for political autonomy in Tamil homeland.

Soon after the rejection of the proposals, as many as 500 Tamil militants were put behind the bars in an incredible development by Tamil Nadu Government for the security arrangement of President Jayawardene, who was visiting to Bangalore, to attend the meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC). The Tamil militants were freed after the completion of SAARC meeting and on 17 November, 1986 Tamil militant withdrew their threat to declare the independence of Tamil Eelam unilaterally on 1 January, 1987.[30]

But, soon after,the leftist Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) entered into violent activities. Similarly, (PLOTE) People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam posed threats to the security by engaging in terrorist activities. The LTTE members became very active in Jaffna

29.    Ibid, pp.157-58.

30.    The Hindustan Times, 5 November, 1986.

Peninsula and their strategy was to fight against Sinhalese so as to expel their settlers from the lands which lie within "Tamil homeland. In 1984, they killed as many as 65 Sinhalese, including the members of their families who were settled in former Tamil refugee camps in the Northern Central Province. Similarly, in 1986, more than 90 Sinhalese civilians, including children were killed by Tamil militants.

The LTTE had sufficient guerrilla power to involve in such kind of activities. The police job became very difficult to get reliable intelligence about Tamil militant.

Towards A Solution: India's Critical Role:

Since, the outbreak of large scale anti-Tamil rioting in July 1983, India played a role of a mediator to bring about a political and ethnic solution of the burning ethnic problem of Sri Lanka, which has posed a severe blow to the entire security system of Sri Lanka. Tamil Nadu put enough pressure on the Indian Government to take a drastic course of action, which understandably provoked an equally belligerent reaction on the part of influential section of Sinhala opinion.[31]

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31. Umashankar Phadnes, "Indian Position: Sincere, Helpful", World Focus, Vol.5, No. 9, September 1984, p.23.

On the other hand, the 1983 anti-Tamil riots followed by the influx of 40,000 refugees into Tamil Nadu, created a serious administrative problem to Tamil Nadu. The emotional bond of ethnic identity between the Tamils of Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu,[32] also compelled India to intervene and to bring about some solution. There was also an understanding between the leaders of both countries to find out areas of cooperation which can bring about political and ethnic stability in Sri Lanka. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was very keen to offer political and other assistance to Sri Lankan government, to overcome Tamil-Sri Lanka controversy. Mr. G. Parthasarthi was thus appointed the Special Envoy to Sri Lanka. Parthasarthi's efforts which were later called Annexure C, because they were attached to the agenda papers of proposed All-parties conference.[33]

The proposal of a creation of separate regional council in the Northern and Eastern provinces was implicit in it. The regional council was to be granted substantial devolution of power, including the subjects of law and order, land policy education, etc., with the power of taxation.[34] Though in the begining, J.R. Jayawardene took interest but

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32. Ibid, p.24.

33. Sumit Chakravartty, "Behind Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement" Mainstream, Vol.XXV, No.47, 8 August 1987, p.5.

34. Ibid, p.5.

later on he rejected this proposal.  The Tamils became

frustrated and there were a number of killings and violence

throughout 1984.

In June 1985, Sri Lankan President visited India to

explore the possibilities of an agreement regarding Tamil

issue, which was followed by two rounds of direct negotia-

tions between Sri Lankan Government and Tamil groups in

July and August 1985, at Thimpu.  Sri Lankan government

agreed to have a separate provincial council formed, with

limited powers.  On the contrary, Tamil militants demanded

separate homeland.  These proposals were also discussed

by the Indian Government with Tamil militant groups but

they rejected them because there was no relation between the

Northern and Eastern provinces.  The Indian government

denied both harboring Sri Lanka's Tamil militants and

tolerating the presence of terrorist training camps on the

Indian soil.[35]

In September 1986, at the Harare Non-Aligned Summit,

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said "there are no training

camps in India.  I am very categorically saying this_____

Any of you are welcome to visit India at any time and if you

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35.    Sujit M. Cangaretna, n. 1, p.11.

find a camp I will close it down".[36] This was a reaction
against the people who talked about the presence of Tamil
terrorist camps in India. For further help to Sri Lanka,
in December 1986, Natwar Singh and Chidambram from India
paid a visit and put forth some new proposals which are
known as 19 December, 1986 proposals. But things could not
work out positively. After the failure of direct negotiation
attempt with Tamil militants, Sri Lankan government started
its military operation over Jaffna. There were many deaths,
particularly on 26 May, 1987. Most of Tamil cities were
broken down with heavy bombing. There was a massive violence,
were
so many people/killed and unarmed civilian were massacred.

Under this situation, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi
declared on 28 May, "It is apparent now that the Sri Lankan
government was buying time for pursuing the military option----
---- The military option is adding the carnage. Hundreds have
died in the last few days. The horrific loss of innocent
life of this magnitude is totally disproportionate to the
auowed aim of exterminating the Tamil militant groups".[37]

Soon, after this declaration on 4 June, 1987, the
Government of India decided to airdrop supplies in and around
Jaffna to help them out. This was a very crucial step. This

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36.    Ibid.

37.    Sumit Chakravartty, n.33, p.32.

did not become a target of criticism because it was based
on humanitarian ground in an extra-ordinary situation. J.R.
Jayawardene changed his strategy and moved towards negotia-
tion which resulted in Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement on 29 July
1987. For the first time, the northern and eastern provinces
were recognised in the agreement and they were allowed to
form one administrative unit with an elected provincial
council and a Governor. It was announced that "Government
of India will underwrite and guarantee the resolutions and
co-operate in the implementation of these proposals". This
included steps to ensure that Indian territory was not used
for activities, prejudicial to the unity and integrity and
security of Sri Lanka.[38]

It is also included that India would extend its
cooperation to Sri Lanka, even a military assistance, to
implement these proposals. The decision to post an Indian
Peace Keeping contingent in Sri Lanka, at the invitation of
Sri Lankan President to "guarantee and enforce the cessation
of hostilities was also taken.

Just after a few months of signing the agreement,
the IPKF was called upon to control the ethnic conflict which
broke out in the eastern province by LTTE. The LTTE militants
were bent upon killing the innocent civilians and officials,

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38.    Ibid, p.33.

Several Indian Peace Keeping Force personnels were massacred and killed in this process. The Indian government sent several battalions of the CRPF to Sri Lanka to maintain law and order. The situation in Sri Lanka started going worse because of the severe blow posed by LTTE militants. This conflict caused the death of over 5,000 persons and it is doing a lot of harms to the economy. India sacrified as many as 400 IPKF personnel to prevent terrorism from Sri Lanka. On 3 September, 1987 Sri Lankan government finalised the administrative set up, with the formation of an advisory council for the regional provinces in the North and East besides election are made possible by the time.

The interim advisory council will include the representatives of LTTE group, the representative of TULF and representative of EROS and two members each from Sinhala and Muslims. But still LTTE militant group is killing people and attacking on Indian Peace Keeping Force. Indian Peace Keeping Force has been successful enough to occupy the worst terrorist affected area Jaffna. Though in this process it has suffered from heavy casualties.

The IPKF started their operation with inadequate intelligence reports, in particular on the quality of arms in the LTTE possession. Now IPKF's main operation has been shifted to the jungles of the main land in north and the Batticaloa district

in the east. With the Tiger's communication network in disarry, their cadre has resorted to adventurist tactics.[39]

A coordinated effort for the negotiation is going on between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) of the government of India to pay the way for provincial council elections in the north and east, which will facilitate the holding of both presidential and parliamentary election in Sri Lanka.[40]

The negotiation between Indian government and LTTE had been bogged down on the question of presidential announcement.[41]

After consultation of Indian High Commissioner, J.N. Dixit with the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, it was decided that Sri Lankan President would have to make a public announcement on the merger of the two provinces.[42] As a result of this a communique was issued by President J.R. Jayawardene, on 30 June 1988 in which he announced his intention of allowing merger of northern and eastern provinces, forming a single provincial council after the election, establishing a single

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39.     V. Rama Krishnan, "Encourage Democratic Forces in
        Island State: A Sri Lankan Tamil View" Mainstream,
        Vol. XXVI, No.38, 2 July, 1988, p.12.

40.     The Times of India, 1 July, 1988.

41.     The Times of India, 30 June, 1988.

42.     Ibid.

high court, granting Tamil equal status as Sinhala and general amnesty to all those who took up arms against the state, provided the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam agreed to surrender arms and abide by Indo-Sri Lanka accord.[43] On the other hand, very next day, the LTTE's chief representative in India Sadasivam Krishnakumar alias Kittu, announced his decision to surrender arms and participate in the provincial council elections of Sri Lanka.[44] President J.R. Jayawardene stated that he would also be abide by the Indo Sri Lankan accord which provides for a referendum in the eastern province to decide the issue.[45]

Yet, no announcement was made by LTTE leader, V.P. Prabhakaran on this issue due to lack of communication channels between him and his representatives in India. According to Sadasivam Krishnakumar, the launching of "operation checkmates" by IPKF is mainly responsible for this situation.[46]

. The only option, in the present circumstances, for India/to encourage democratic forces to emerge and play a more effective role.[47]

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43. Ibid.

44. The Times of India, 1 July, 1988.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. V. Rama Krishnan, n.39, p.12.

## CONCLUSION

During the last few decades or so, no area whatever its social structure and form of governance, is free from the perils of terrorism. The long history of terrorism involving the people of the world and the large areas over which it has been spread gives the impression that almost every nation is effected by it. But still it remains a very complex and poorly defined phenomenon.

Different people and different states have different views on the definition of terrorism. But what shall be the universally acceptable definition of terrorism is still difficult to get. Therefore, each state defines terrorism in terms of its historical experience, sense of basic values and the state relation with other states.

Terrorism is not a recent phenomenon. It is older than the ancient civilization of Greece and Rome. Early examples include the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BC and zealot struggle in Palestine. The word terrorism was first used at the third conference for the unification of penal law held in Brussels in 1931. In this Conference terrorism was defined as "the deliberate use of means capable of producing a common danger" to commit "an act of imperalling life, physical integrity or human health or threatening to destroy substantial property".

Another attempt at defining terrorism was made in
the League of Nations by the 1937 Convention for the Punish-
ment and Prevention of Terrorism. The Convention defines
terrorism as all criminal acts directed against a state
and intended to create a state of terror in the minds of
particular persons, or a group of persons or general public.
There have been many interpretations about the definition of
terrorism. But Grant Wordlow's definition seems to be most
appropriate because his definition of terrorism includes
state terrorism or state sponsored terrorism and terrorism
by non-state actors. Therefore terrorism signifies,
systematic use of murder, assassination and violence by an
individual or a group to create a state of extreme fear and
anxiety indicating effects in a target group larger than the
immediate victims for political and ideological motives.

An act of terrorism can be judged to have an inter-
national dimension if it signifies that the terrorists action
is supported by foreign proterrorist regime and the act was
aimed to influence international opinion or aimed at over-
throwing a particular government. But whether terrorism is
unleashed at local, regional, national or international level,
the means of the terrorists remains almost the same.

There are a score of factors contributing to the
spread of terrorism and these are, frustration, fundamentalism,

racialism, political intolerance, religious motivated crusades, insecurity grievances, misery and political moral informatives etc. It is also said that particular sociological economic and political conditioning processes contribute psychological situation for the growth of violence and terrorism. Sometime powerful groups exploit the situation for their political and economic interests.

Sections of Quebecords in Canada, the symblonese liberation Army of the U.S., the People's Revolutionary Army of Argentina, the Irish Republican Army of Ireland, the Baader Meinholf group of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Red Brigades of Italy, the Palestinian guerrillas and Arab terrorist groups such as the Black September organizations, the Hukbalahaps of the Philippines, Red Army of Japan and Croatians in Yugoslavia have been the notable terrorist groups which are resorting to political violence.

Terrorist groups, by their very nature are not powerful enough to get an upper hand in an open struggle for sheer power. Therefore, their aim is to create a state of extreme psychological fear among the people and specific groups and alter the behaviour or bring about a general and particular change in the structure of society and government. Terrorists aim at securing a change or modification in the behaviour of intended victim and they also want to use themselves as an example for others.

During the last two decades or so the U.S.A., France, Britain, Japan, Canada, Sri Lanka, India and almost all the Latin American countries have faced challenges of terrorism in one way or another.

Terrorism in India is not a new phenomenon; in one form or another it pervades the recorded history. The political system of India has been at the throes of political violence due to terrorism. The first modern terrorism took the form of colonialism and colonial wars were fought by the European powers against less well prepared native people of India.

Insurrectionary violence was spread in Nagaland in the early 1950s in Mizoram in 1966, in Manipur in the late 1970s, in Assam in 1979 and in Tripura in 1980. In 1984 the region in eastern India most effected by terrorism was Tripura. The Tripura National Volunteer's main aim is to terrorise civilians and officials and to wipe out all elements whom they consider their enemy. The TNV adopted a guerilla warfare strategy against police and security personnel. The story of sikh terrorism in Punjab is different from the Naxalities. The sikh terrorist in Punjab have successfully mixed religion with politics. The Akali Dal launched Dharamyudh during the last few years and created a group of

terrorists under the leadership of Sant Bhindranwale. This caused enormous loss of life and has posed threat to the national unity and democratic structure of the country. The lesson of Operation Bluestar is that the Indian state was illegitimised and the terrorists and killers were declared martyr by sikh community. The Rajiv Gandhi and Longowal accord was an attempt to win the support of sikh masses and to isolate the sikh terrorists. But communalist forces were not curbed carefully and as a result the terrorism in Punjab still exists and still many innocent people are being massacred. The dismissal of the Barnala government and the imposition of the Governor's rule in Punjab in May 1987 brought about a ray of hope to deal with the problem of terrorism but still it has not worked out positively.

Similarly, Sri Lanka has been facing the most dangerous crisis due to terrorism. The conflict between Tamil and Sinhala has reached a crucial point. The struggle for dominance by Tamils and the Sinhalas over the years however, provides the background for the conflict. Religion and language are the two factors. Tamils are Hindus and the Sinhala Buddhists. The extremists among Tamils have adopted the path of violence hoping that it will ultimately pay. Extremists among Tamils formed a radical party called 'Tamil United Liberation Front' (TULF), whose main goal

was to achieve a separate state (Tamil Eelam). The
liberation tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) emerged as the
strongest militant group. This group consists of atleast
four thousand trained guerrillas. It is the tigers who
insist that they will not settle for anything but a separate
state. The tigers attack the army and the civilian
population. The worst outbreak of violence was in July
1983, thereafter, India played a role of a mediator to
bring about political and ethnic solution of the burning
ethnic problem of Sri Lanka. In July 1985 Sri Lankan
President visited India to explore the possibility of an
agreement regarding Tamil issue, which was followed by two
rounds of direct negotiations between Sri Lankan government
and Tamil group in July and August 1987, at Thimpu. Sri
Lanka government agreed to having a separate provincial
council formed with limited powers but rejected Tamils
demands for a separate homeland. After the failure of direct
negotiation attempt with Tamil militants Sri Lankan govern-
ment started its military operation over Jaffna. There were
many death. Most of the Tamil cities were broken down with
bombing. Under this situation soon after 4 July 1987 the
government of India decided to airdrop supplies in and around
Jaffna to help them out. It was a very crucial step but
did not become a target of criticism because it was based
on humanitarian ground in an extra-ordinary situation. Finally

J.R. Jayawardene moved towards negotiation which resulted in Indo-Sri Lankan agreement of 29 July 1987. In this agreement for the first time, the northern and eastern provinces were recognised and they were allowed to form one administrative unit with an elected provincial council and a governor. It was also announced that Government of India will underwrite and guarantee the resolution, and corporate in the implementation of these proposals. But still a Section of Tamil militant the LTTE(Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) demanded a separate homeland and for this purpose they adopted insurrectionary strategy of killing officials and civilians. After a few months of signing the agreement, the Indian Peace Keeping Force was called upon to control the ethnic conflict which broke out in the eastern province by the LTTE. During the last few months several Indian Peace Keeping Force personnels were also massacred in this process. The situation in Sri Lanka is going worse because of the severe blow given by LTTE militants. This conflict caused many deaths and lot of harm to economy. Although now the situation seems to be under control, still we find a few incidents of violence and conflict in Sri Lanka.

For effective administrative measures, various sources of terrorism must be found first. There is a need for truly effective preparedness program at the government level. First

of all we must know about the people involved in terrorist activities and their motivation. The relationship dealing with terrorist incident and mitigating its consequences need to be carefully thought out. Sufficient data about the area within which the event is unfolding could be of immense use. This is a simple work of good intelligence and police. The intelligence should be able to provide the information about terrorist's targets, timings and sites in advance. But government alone cannot do much to stop it. Individuals and groups can make a significant contribution towards improving the general security environment. Therefore, there is a need for a positive response from all individuals who can bring about general awareness. Similarly, there is a need for organizing and producing public support against terrorists. In this process we have to indicate that we have something worth supporting in which they have confidence.

On the other hand there is a need for the sophisticated security procedures which can go all the way from airport screening to the border area. There is also a need of a right negotiator - the one who can understand terrorists, who can speak their language, understand their background and culture. This kind of negotiator will be helpful to establish relationship of trust and faith with hostage

takers, and then to wear terrorists out. Another important factor which is very important to deal with terrorism is that there should be some kind of positive programmes which can replace their frustrations and feelings with some kind of positive work. There is also a need to promote open institutions, including political institution to absorb the ethnic, religious and political pressures and allow them (the terrorism) to vent their feelings in a proper way which will change their minds and will encourage them to settle their differences in some other way, than by murdering and killing. On the other hand, the knowledge of the antecedents of terrorists is very important we must answer a few questions, like why are people hunting around for religious and cultural safeguards against the burning reality of hunger and poverty? Who are the powerful syndicates, creating a state of extreme fear psychosis among the masses? Who is benefiting through this process? Without answering these questions or going into the basic causes of terrorism it is difficult to combat it. Since the basic causes of terrorism are in social, religious, political, economic and administrative structure of society, appropriate political measures are desirable to bring about some kind of permanent solution. Similarly, democratic values among the masses should be inculcated through strengthening healthy, democratic institution and proper education which can root out the basic causes of terrorism. Terrorism is a social disease, not an adaptation, it must be avoided at any cost.

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