

# GEOPOLITICS OF CROSS-BORDER TERRORISM: A CRITICAL STUDY OF SOUTH ASIAN REGION

Dissertation Submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

Master of Philosophy

Neeraj Tomar



Political Geography Division,  
Center for International Politics,  
Organization and Disarmament,  
School of International Studies,  
Jawaharlal Nehru University,  
New Delhi- 110067  
INDIA  
2001



CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, ORGANIZATION & DISARMAMENT  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**  
NEW DELHI - 110 067

Gram : JAYENU  
Phone : 6107676, 6167557  
Extn.: 2349  
Fax : 91-11-6165886

20 July, 2001

## CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled "**GEOPOLITICS OF CROSS-BORDER TERRORISM: A CRITICAL STUDY OF SOUTH ASIAN REGION**", Submitted by **NEERAJ TOMAR** is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**. 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 be placed before the examiner for evaluation.

**(DR. VARUN SAHNI)**

**(CHAIRPERSON)**

**(DR. S.S. DEORA)**

**(SUPERVISOR)**

Chairperson  
Centre for International Politics,  
Organization and Disarmament  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi - 110 067

Dedicated  
to my  
Parents

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I am grateful to my supervisor Dr. S.S. Deora who offered all kinds of help to me. He helped me to present my half-baked ideas in a concrete form and in a coherent fashion and sharpened my views and provide reassuring support.

I am also thankful to the library and staff members of Jawahar Lal Nehru University, the Library and Staff members of Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis.

My parents, elder brother and sister and my relative, Shamsheer Singh have always been a constant source of support, inspiration and encouragement. I express my sincere and profound gratitude to them.

I am also thankful to Aparna Sharma, Vikas Ahlawat, Dinesh Rana, Nandita Chatterjee, Kavita Arora, G.Vikram Goud, Manan Diwedi and Madhawi who were always the first to bear my illogical ideas and helped me in various ways.

My special acknowledgement to my friend Mehboob (Kashmiri friend), Shadab Khan, Rajeewa Suresh Jayasinghe (Srilankan friend) for extending help and encouragement, whenever, it was needed.

I am really grateful to Master Amar and Ajay for the wonderful typing work.

For any drawback in this dissertation, if any, I alone am responsible for it.

**Neeraj Tomar**

New Delhi

July, 2001

## CONTENTS

S.No.	Particulars	Pages
1.	<b>Acknowledgement</b>	I
2.	<u>Chapter 1</u> <b>Geographical Features of the South Asian Region</b>	1-9
3.	<u>Chapter 2</u> <b>Historico-Political Background and the Emergent Phenomena of Terrorism in South Asia</b>	10-17
4.	<u>Chapter 3</u> <b>Geopolitics of Cross-Border Terrorism</b>	18-61
5.	<u>Chapter 4</u> <b>Cross-Border Terrorism in South Asia: Modus Operandi</b>	62-81
6.	<u>Chapter 5</u> <b>Cross-Border Terrorism in South Asia: A Region-Wise Comparison</b>	82-96
7.	<u>Chapter 6</u> <b>Conclusion: Future Trends and Prospects</b>	97-101
8.	<b>Appendix</b>	i - x
9.	<b>Bibliography</b>	102-106

## LIST OF MAPS

<b>S.No.</b>	<b>Particulars</b>	<b>Pages</b>
1.	<b>South Asian Region</b>	2
2.	<b>South Asia</b> <b>Public Expenditure on Education (%)</b>	19
3.	<b>Distribution of Indian Tamil and Moor Population in Sri Lanka 1981</b>	22
4.	<b>Sri Lanka</b> <b>Ethno Spatial Clusters of Sinhala Group and Sri Lankan Tamil Group – 1981</b>	25
5.	<b>Literacy (%) in Jammu and Kashmir (District Level), 1981</b>	28
6.	<b>Jammu and Kashmir</b> <b>% of Religious Groups to Total Population, 1981 (District Level)</b>	30
7.	<b>North Eastern India</b> <b>Insurgency and Illegal Movement From Neighbouring Countries</b>	40

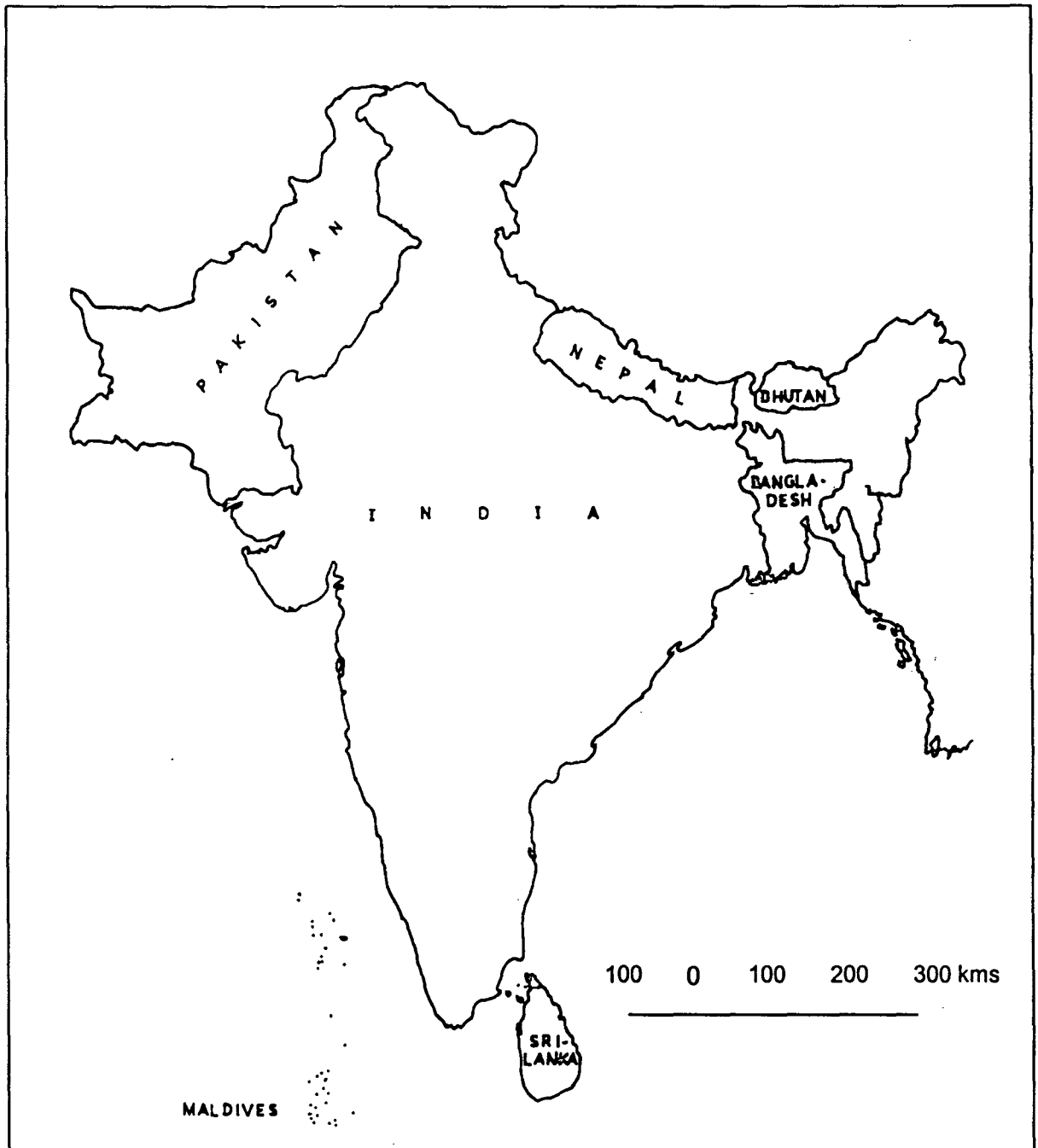
# CHAPTER I

## Geographical Features of the South Asian Region

The Sub-Continental land mass within which India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka all set falls into 3 major geological regions completely with a distinct origin. Its (latitude and longitude) extent is from 7° North to 37° North and from 60° W to 90° East. The built up of this region is largely controlled by the old Gondwana land blocks of the Indian Peninsula. It is a plateau of ancient crystalline rocks (Archean Gneisses). The Himalayas and their associated mountain ranges to the west and east and to the Southern Peninsular in India represents one of the oldest and least disturbed large landmasses in the world. Between the two, lies the Indo-Gangetic plains stretching from the valley of the Indus river in Pakistan to that of the Brahmaputra in Assam (India) and also includes the deltaic lowlands of Bangladesh. While Sri Lanka is geologically a-part of Indian Peninsula, the Maldives to the southwest are coral atolls. This is precisely due to dense forests and topography of the region that terrorists hide and seek support from it.

Due to the topographical landscape that the acts of terrorism are successful in the Northeastern and Kashmir regions of India and also in Eastern region of Srilanka. These three most important geological regions have limited correlation with contemporary political units. The largest part of the plains lies in India in the form of Indo-Gangetic plains. Western portion lies in Pakistan in provinces of the Sind while the Ganges-Brahamaputra delta in the east now comprises some 90% of Bangladesh's surface area. The island state of Sri Lanka is geologically a continuation of Indian Peninsula.

## SOUTH ASIAN REGION



*Source: Schmidt, Karl J., Atlas and Survey of South Asian History, Vision Books, Pvt. Ltd., U.S.A., 1999.*



## **Indian Peninsula**

Indian plateau is a plateau of ancient crystalline rocks sloping eastward from heights of 900-1220 meters along the Western Ghats, which overlook the Arabian Sea. In the extreme South, the Nilgiris and adjacent mountain rise to 2400 meters, similar mountains from the Core of Sri Lanka. The Northwest of the Peninsula, the Deccan Plateau is covered by great horizontal flows of lava. The drainage of the peninsula is mainly eastward down the long slope of the sub-continent to the Bay of Bengal except Narmada and Tapi river which flows westward between the Vindhya and Satpura Hills. The north eastern part of the peninsular block in Bihar and Orissa is the most highly mineralised area of the sub-continent with coal fields of Permo-Carboniferous Age, with large deposits of high grade hematite iron ore, manganese, copper, chromite and useful alloy metals such as vanadium<sup>1</sup>.

## **Indo Gangetic Plain**

This plain is formed by the river basins. On the north, the plain is bordered by the folded Himalayas and on the south by the ancient plateau block of Peninsular India. The plain project eastward along the valley of Brahmaputra river in Assam. The important physical variation is between the older, higher and drier alluvium (bhangar) in the interstream areas and newer alluvium along the present valley floors. In the northwest, Agriculture is entirely dependent on

---

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge Encyclopedia of India, Pak. Bangladesh etc (south Asian countries) Cambridge University Press, 1989.

irrigation from the Indus and its tributaries. In the Gangetic plain, the greater amount of alluvium brought from the Himalayas by the Ganga and its tributaries have pushed the main stream away from the mountains, against the peninsular plateau of the south.

### **Himalayas or Extra Peninsular Mountain Ranges**

The Himalayas proper dominate the northern flank of the sub-continent between 150 to 400 km wide. The great Himalayas ranges stretches 2500 km from northwest to southeast. The associated ranges provides an enclosing front for the western borders of Pakistan and for the northeast region of India. Conventionally, the main Himalayan ranges, stretching from the Pamis in Pakistan to the eastern most bend of the Brahmaputra in Assam have been divided in to 3 main zones: the outer ranges or Shivaliks, middle ranges of Panjal and Dhauladhar and the inner Himalayas and the cross-border terrorism is very successful in the mountainous region, state uses mountain boundaries and support terrorism and settles its goals with the other state. The extension of the Himalayas almost due south from the Pamirs, through the western borders of Pakistan are of tertiary origin, permo-carboniferous-rocks dominate the Hindukush, while to the south of the Khyber Pass are the sandstone ranges of the Safed Koh. So, the altitude and general topography is very important for the state in order to spread the terrorism across its boundaries and settled down the old scores with the other state. So, topography, dense forests, altitude are important throughout the Asian region and terrorists hiding themselves and carried out their activities against the state sovereignty.

## **Climate**

The Indian Sub-continent, lying almost under the tropic of Cancer from the equatorial Maldives to the Mediterranean latitude region of North Kashmir, the climate of South Asia is dominated by the monsoons, is a pronounced feature of the sub-continent climate. There are great climatic variations from region to region. The countries of South Asia include both the wettest and hot and cold deserts. Climatic variation ranges from the equatorial ocean climate of the Maldives atoll to the most extreme mountain climate in the world. For e.g. cold climate in Kashmir is somewhat helped the terrorists, as due to altitude and intense climate conditions, borders cannot be guarded throughout the year and terrorists taking due advantage of the climate carried out various activities successfully.

India, regional climate range from the desert of Rajasthan to the wettest area on earth, the Shillong plateau. Despite its tropical latitude, it experiences huge contrast both of rainfall and temperature from region to region. The precise transition depends on the arrival of monsoon, although, micro-climates are too affected by altitude. The climate of almost entire Himalayas largely dependent upon altitude. Tamilnadu, the southern state of India receives its 80% rainfall in Oct-Nov from the northeast monsoon. While on the other hand, the narrow strip of Punjab receives rainfall through depressions i.e. westerlies. Although, Precipitation decreases from east to west in common with the border Ganges valley and generally, temperature drops with latitude. Pakistan's climate is characterized by extremes of temperature and aridity.

Nepal and Bhutan climate is severely modified by their predominantly mountain environment. The broad pattern of climate is dictated by the sub-continental monsoon system. While in case of Sri Lanka and Maldives both having a more equable, oceanic climate than much of continental south Asia. Sri Lanka is under the dominant of southwest and southeast monsoon. None of them have great variation in temperature throughout the year. The northern and eastern part of the island have a long dry season induced by the rainshadow effect of the central highlands until, the northeast monsoon brings the bulk of its precipitation. The climatic conditions favour cultivation of poppy and the political conditions helps Pakistan organize the Mujahidden and other groups to achieve its foreign policy goals in India.

### **Vegetation**

Today, over 55% of India's surface area is cultivated while over 75 % of Bangladesh. In the Himalayas region of Pakistan, India, Nepal and Bhutan, greater part of territory are losing the forest cover while in case of Bangladesh, over 15% is forested. In case of India only about 375,000 sq km of forest remains. Vegetation is a way in northeast region, Kashmir region and north and northeast Sri Lanka played an important role. Terrorism in a way, somewhat impossible in cleared forests, as in a dense forests, difficult to detect the terrorists hiding in the vegetational and forest areas.

South Asia has a wide range of vegetation cover. In south Asia, soil reflects the characteristics of the underlying geology, tectonic and

geomorphological history, climate and resulting weathering process, as well as the natural vegetation covers and also the activities of man's and animals. Tropical deciduous forests form the original vegetation covers most of India between the Himalayas, Thar Desert and the Western Ghats. It also extended to other countries of south Asia except Maldives. It is over 90% of the sub-continent possess a deciduous forest bio-climate Sal and Teak species of deciduous tree are well known and extensive<sup>2</sup>.

Some over 40,000 sq kms of Sri Lanka; its dry zone lies in the deciduous belt. This belt is climatically induced type as rainfall under 700mm but towards northeast, there are often scrubs, jungle and tropical thorn forests, there are also semi-evergreen forests in the dry zone and it includes over 1300 species of flowering plants.

The Himalayas forest remains the largest and comparatively least interfered with forest zone in south Asia. Wet hill forests including evergreen Oaks and Chestnuts predominate between 1100 m - 2000 m in the eastern ranges of India, Bhutan and Nepal, while towards the west are belts of subtropical pine at similar latitudes. From the western region of Nepal such as the valley of Tilla Khola, through to Pakistan, deodars form large stands. In Nepal, Rhododendrons are most widespread in area of heavy rainfall. On the upper stretches of rivers, Arun and Tamur at above 2500m lie a zone of almost pure rhododendrons, poplars are found in Kashmir as far east as Bhutan while

---

<sup>2</sup> Taylor and Francis, Europa World Year Book; 2000 Europe Publication Ltd. England.

larches absent from the northwest Himalayas are found from East Nepal through to Bhutan.

Natural vegetation is very sparse in both Bangladesh and Pakistan. Pakistan arid climate restricts the range of plants in many areas to Xerophytic or Shurbs; In the eastern part of Bangladesh, there is around 1,50,000 sq km of semi-evergreen forests associated with bamboo jungles and in the south, tidal Sunderbans covered around 6000sq km of mangrove forests. Despite of original natural barriers, invaders found ways to enter the region. They came through passes and brought with them their languages, religion and other aspects of culture. Soon, the region was inhabited by people belong to different religions, ethnic groups with distinct dialects and languages i.e. Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists and Jains etc.

During the colonial period, Hindus and Muslims fought among themselves for power and later, united to overthrow Britishers. Again, when Britishers agreed to India's independence after II<sup>nd</sup> World War, a bloody riot broke out between these two communities. As a result of which, two nations, India and Pakistan, were formed on religious lines. But, proxy war continued over control of Kashmir in the northern section of West Pakistan. Even, these two nations fought three wars, as a result of which in 1971, war, an independent nation, Bangladesh emerged.

Both Nepal and Bhutan, two small kingdoms in the northeast region, also had to fight to keep them independent. Sri Lanka, an island off the

southern tip of India, became an independent republic in 1972. In 1948, Ceylon became an independent domain of the British Commonwealth, a new constitution in 1972 finally setup the independent republic of Sri Lanka.

## CHAPTER II

### A Historico-Political Background and The Emergent Phenomenon of Terrorism in South Asia:

Terrorism in South Asian region emerged on a large scale in mid-80's and particularly from a decade, it has taken lives of more than 80,000 Kashmiris and many thousand Security personnels. Terrorism in South Asia is not confined mainly to India-Pakistan, but in Sri Lanka too. Ethnic conflict between Sinhala majority and Tamil minority. In Bangladesh Islamic fundamentalist have become active while in Nepal, in the form of Maoist-insurgency in western Nepal and South Bhutan have become a safe haven and hidden place for militants which operate in India and escapes to Bhutan during difficult times. As a result, the security environment in the South Asian region has deteriorated lately because due to escalation and intensification of Violence in the region.

The *State of Kashmir* remains a bone of Contention between India and Pakistan. India considers Jammu and Kashmir as a integral part of India while Pakistan consider it as a disputed territory; India 's claim is based on historical reality.<sup>3</sup> Sri Nagar, capital city of the state, was founded by great Mourya King, Ashoka, who ruled the valley during 3<sup>rd</sup> Century B.C.<sup>4</sup> Pakistan rejected this historical reality. Their knowledge of history of Kashmir goes back only to the Medieval period, when majority of Kashmiri Hindus who believed in monism

---

<sup>3</sup> See Kaumidi Kashmir: Its culture heritage (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1952).

<sup>4</sup> Premnath Bazaz, The History of struggle for freedom in Kashmir, (New Delhi, Kashmir publishing Co., 1954).



i.e. Shivaism, converted to Islam whereas India knowledge of history of Kashmir goes back to beginning of civilization in Kashmir, Pakistan claim for Jammu and Kashmir is based on the principle of ethnic demography laid down by Mountbatten for the partition of the Indian Sub-Continent .It was decided that there will be two dominion in the Sub-Continent and all princely states had to accede to either of the two. As Britain government impatient to transfer the power, and transferred the power to innumerable princely states.<sup>5</sup>

The Maharaja of Kashmir, opted for an independent status rather than acceding to either of the two dominions. He signed a stand still Agreement with Pakistan and send the same proposal to India but Pakistan was impatient to integrate Jammu and Kashmir. Jinnah's suspected maharaja Hari Singh's integrity and could not trust him. He imposed economic sanction on Jammu and Kashmir to exert pressure on him for accession to Pakistan. It was this action of Pakistan government that brought India's active involvement in the affairs of the state. The situation worsened on 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct – 1947. Pakistan launched an armed attack on Kashmir and penetrated up to Baramulla in the vicinity of Sri Nagar.<sup>6</sup> The Pakistani aggressive was in the form of guerilla warfare, indulged in looting, arson and plunder of Kashmir.

The first tribal force that numbered 2,000 passed through Abbottabad in trucks fully equipped with arms and ammunition. Most of the war equipments

---

<sup>5</sup> V.P. Menon, *Integration of Indian States* (Bombay, orient Longman).

<sup>6</sup> B.M.Kaul, *confrontation with Pakistan*, Delhi, Vikas Publication pp. (6-12).

were supplied through Pakistan's Muslim league offices. A separate cell called Kashmir fund was set up to meet expenditure for the invasion.<sup>7</sup>

It was under these circumstances that the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir in confidence with the National conference leader Shaekh Abdullah, sought assistance from India. One important thing is to noted that the accession of Kashmir to India was not the pre-condition for the rescue operation in Kashmir at the crucial hour. India did not ask the Maharaja to accede to India<sup>8</sup> and until, the major raids began, India made no move towards Kashmir<sup>9</sup> but in the meeting it was finally decided that Jammu and Kashmir had to accede to India if Indian troops were to protect the state from further plunder and siege. The outcome was accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India on Oct.26, 1947. As a result, of which India interfered and tension prevailed in the region between the two nations, even continuing after 50 years. As, the state with 80% Muslim population acceded to India causing immense harm to Pakistan's credibility as the champion of Muslims in South Asia. Pakistan, however, never accepted the validity of Kashmir's accession to India.

Ever since, Kashmir issue has dominated Pakistani politics, Kashmir has become a constant source of friction between the two nations, even the local politics of Pakistan is also determined by Kashmir issue. For Pakistan, Jammu & Kashmir is a core issue, and for India's its security is depended on its retaining control of Kashmir, also, its geopolitical aspects are important, as it

---

<sup>7</sup> Lord Birdhood, *two nations & Kashmir*, London Rober Hale, 1956 pp. (53-6).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, Page 377.

<sup>9</sup> Russel Brines, *The Indo-Pakistan conflict*, London Pall Mall Press, 1968 & M.C. chagta, *Kashmir 1947-65*, New Delhi. Publication Division 1965.

shares common border with Afghanistan, Central Asian States and China. So, any erosion of India's jurisdiction over Kashmir diminishes India's strategic defence capacity.

Most important is the preservation's of India's territorial integrity, as India comprised number of states based on secular principle, based on multiplicity of identities and associations. The religious make up of Kashmir exemplifies the secular principles on which India was founded.

While, on the other hand, Pakistan feels that if the Indian state of controlled Kashmir were to accede to Pakistan, this would reverse their humiliating defeat of the 1971 war by India also, it may challenge India's territorial integrity. Also, feared, that if the Pak-occupied Kashmir decides to join India, the very foundation of Pakistan would be threatened. So, Pakistani government believe, waging a proxy war, encourage militancy and terrorism in the region would caused substantial political damage to India's territorial integrity and also, tarnessed India's image in the international arena and opposed it at every level and also damage in economic and military terms. So, the damage to India in any form either, diplomatic, economic, military, social, or political is perceived as a benefit to Pakistan; Also, it is damaging India's image on issue of violation of human rights in Kashmir. In case of both countries, Kashmir is the core issue in their foreign policy and considered important from strategic point of view, economy, political, etc. As Pakistan is well aware it cannot win in a war it decided to wage a proxy war or a cross-border terrorism in Kashmir against the civilians and the security forces. In this

it (Pakistan) has been using other territorial space, such as of Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh by using and supporting fundamentalist group by providing them money, arms and weapon, logistic support, training, etc. and involved with them in illegal narcotics, so, Pakistan is continuing its proxy war in Kashmir region against India harming it on every diplomatic front.

*Sri Lanka* is a multi racial, multi lingual, and multi religious country with Sinhalese and Sri Lankan Tamils, Indian Tamils and Sri Lankan Moors or Muslims are major ethnic groups. The huge migration process created a bulk of Sri Lanka population as well as provided by the majority-minority components of its social Structure. Majority of Sinhalese are Theravada Buddhists and are economically and politically dominant. The Sri Lankan Tamils are mostly Hindus, lived primarily in the eastern and Northern provinces with cultured political activity centered on the Jaffna Peninsula. The ethnic terrorism is basically the fall out of the long colonial rule. The British divided the whole island in to 5 provinces all of them subjected to a single English speaking administration in Colombo. The British rule brought the Tamils into the island primarily for transportation work and later as plantation workers, which even created a vast difference in societal order. First of all, it was in 1958 that the Sinhalese – Tamil resentment turned bloody when some Sinhalese rioted against Sri Lankan Tamil in the south. Following two decades, situation in Sri Lanka worsens economy deteriorated and unemployment rate shot up. Also, the government policies and programmes i.e. state-sponsored peasant resettlement schemes which created a sense of insecurity and also, a

fear of reducing to a minority and losing their language, culture, etc. and also language, was another area of disagreement. The official language act of 1956, declared that Sinhalese language should be the only official language of Sri Lanka, others were, state employment i.e. jobs under public sector were reduces to an low level and also, university education and admission which too were also discriminated and number of seats reduced for the Tamil Provincial areas and reserved for the rest of the provinces.<sup>10</sup> Tamil students who accounted for 40.7, 40.8 and 31.1 % of the total admissions to the faculties of engineering, medical and science for the year 1970-71 had declined to 14.1, 17.4 and 21% respectively for the same faculties by 1975. Thus, for the first time to ascertain their survival and progress, Tamil (1976) decided to demand a separate and sovereign state. Other factors which led to their frustrations were economic advantage and resources, property right, power structure, development policies state institution all were largely occupied by the Sinhala group in majority on this demand, minority wakes up in overwhelming majority 95.6% in one province, Jaffna, 33% in Triconmalee and 70% in Batticola. So, the distribution of economic wealth and employment along with culture and religious symbolism constitutes the sore point in the relations.

Later, The Sinhalese community formed a leftist youth movement the Janatha Vimurkhi Peramuna or People Liberation Army as a powerful political

---

<sup>10</sup> See, Gemini Samarayanke, *Ethic conflict in Sri Lanka and Prospects of management: An Expired Enquiry: Terrorism & Pol. Violence.*

force. On the other hand, Tamil community went ahead with the formation of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).<sup>11</sup>

The first violent attack in 1958 and there after more frequently in 1977, 1981 & 1983, till date witnessed increasing fights between waring groups. The matter further worsened when the Muslim began demanding significant autonomy for the community and territory they occupied. So, in order to suppressed these demands, Sri Lankan government further intensifies their military action against the minority Tamils and other groups. Still, the conflict is continuing between the army and the fraction groups. Even, many times, India mediated, especially in 1947, with army men and resources in order to control the violence in the region. Currently, Norway is a mediator is trying to resolve the conflict and differences between the two rival communities and yet, not succeeded in its attempt.

So, the current strife in Sri Lanka is a violent, ethnic separatist movement involves mainly the Sri Lankan Tamils and Sinhalese community. The factors which contributed to this conflicts are colonial legacy, misgovernance with distorted economic policies, violation of human rights, corruption, crime and also ideology, religion and ethnicity and also, the involvement of the neighbouring states which contributed much into ethnic conflicts between the two communities.

*Nepal* is not a country which is spreading terrorism across the South Asian region but its space has been used very frequently by other states in order

---

<sup>11</sup> V. Surya Narayan: Ethnic Cauldron in Sri Lanka in Chopra (ed.) Rise of terrorism & Seccessionies in Eurasia pp. (278-298).

to carry out terrorist activities but Nepal is facing a domestic terrorism in the form of Maoist insurgency, who are continuing the present regime and wanted to overthrow the present rule. So, the terrorism is somewhat repressive and revolutionary in Nepal.<sup>12</sup> Also, the entire population of Nepal is not pro India, so, it is easier for other state to carry out their activities successfully, event the locals are deeply involved in the struggling of drugs, weapons, explosive and fake currency rackets.

The ISI and various Islamic fundamentalist groups have established basis in *Bangladesh*. They established links with separatist elements in Assam, Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, etc. through their base in Bangladesh. The separatist forces in the northeast region receives regular supplies of weapon and explosives from the ISI through this area. The border between Bangladesh in India remain porous, so, smuggled of weapons and drugs easily along these border, also, the illegal migration from Bangladesh is contributing much in illegal activities in this region.

While *Bhutan* is considered as a safe heaven for ULFA militants, as they easily cross over to Bhutan as refugees. Since mid 1990's, the Bodo & ULFA militants have set up camps in Southern Bhutan while they also pose a threat to Bhutan's internal security, these militants able to escape from the Northeastern States. ULFA has established training camps and sanctuaries in the Manas Reserve and other densely forested area of Southern Bhutan. ULFA Camps at Deothang and Koipani areas of Bhutan and at Chittagong Hill camps of Bangladesh have been reactivated through ISI support.

---

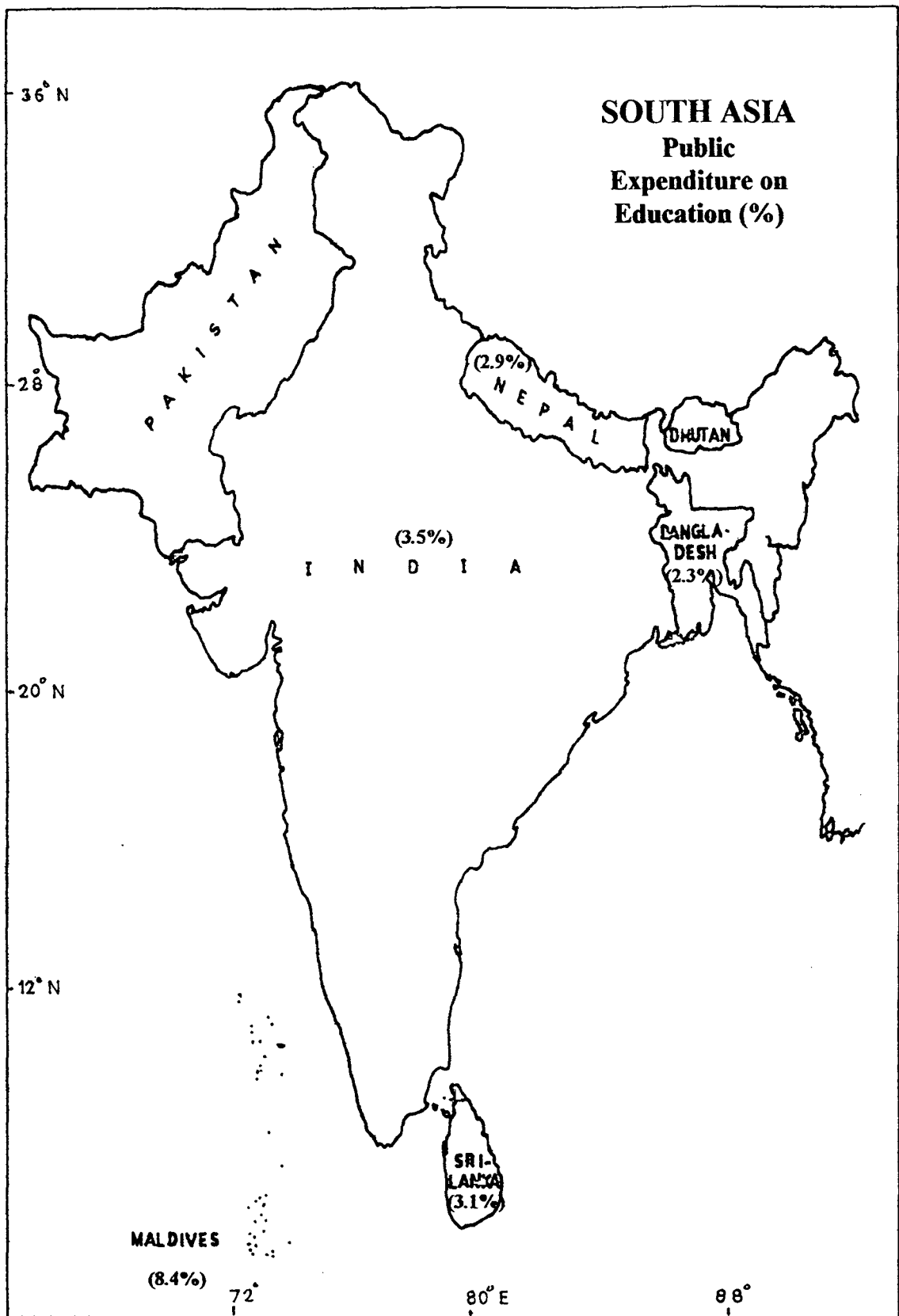
<sup>12</sup> Permanand: Maoist terrorism in Nepal: Growth spreads & prospects in Chopra V.D. Rise in Terrorism & Secessionism in Eurasia, pp. (299-314).

## **CHAPTER III**

### **Geopolitics of Cross-Border Terrorism**

South Asia comprises of seven sisters: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives. It has a total area of more than 4 million sq km and a population approximately around 1.3 billion. It is situated between East Asia and Central Asia and located on the northern shore of the Indian Ocean. This makes it region of strategic importance. Due to its location, its geopolitical importance has increased. At present, South Asia faced spectre of terrorism as a central and a dangerous political phenomenon which indirectly poses a threat to the governance as well as to the social system in South Asia. Every country at one point of time or another faced terrorism due to reasons: sometimes, perpetrated by tyrannical and aggressive governments, group of rebels, native vs settlers, urban vs rural interests, oppressive cultural norms and tradition, ideological confrontations, religious beliefs and majority vs the minority. Socio-economic factors such as poverty hunger, backwardness, unemployment, illness have created inhuman condition and all these extreme wants to lead to outbreak of extreme action i.e. terrorism. Other brands of terrorism which are found on the terrain of South Asia are related in political, ethnic, sectarian, ideological, language based, rooted in cultural differences ethnic, religion and so on. The following economic-socio, parameters which has directly contributed to terrorism in South Asia has been discussed below separately:



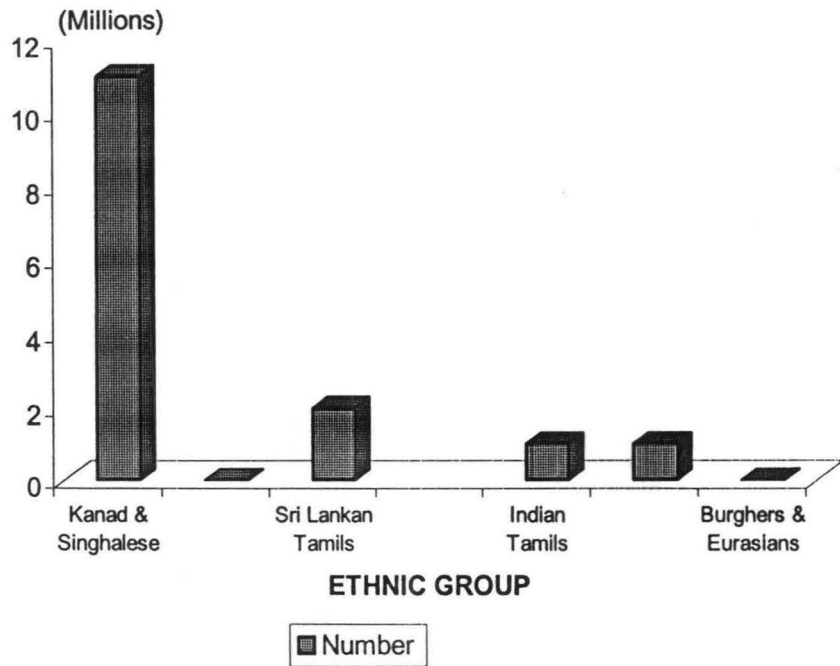


Source: Schmidt, Karl J.: *Atlas and Survey of South Asian History*, Vision Books, Pvt. Ltd., U.S.A., 1999.

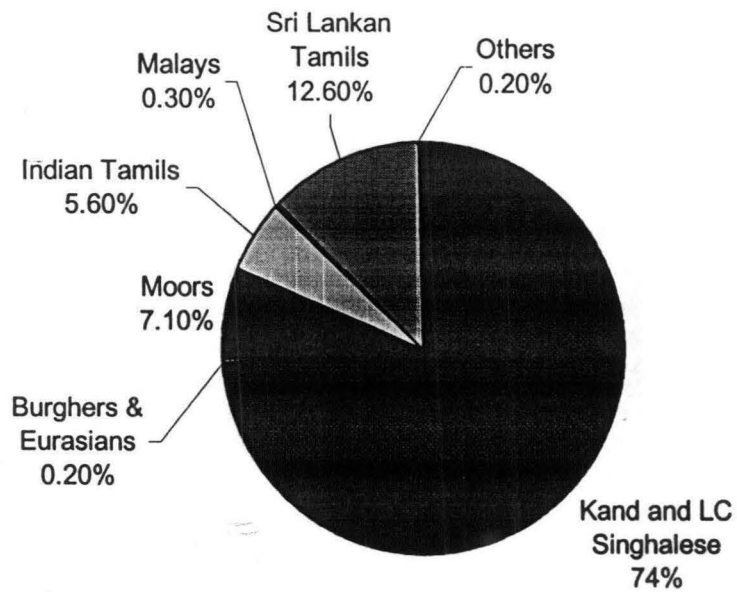
All these parameters i.e. % of urban population, public expenditure on health and education has played an important role in the growth of terrorism, if the population is deprived of basic necessities, it may be either life, food, cloth, shelter, access to education, access to health or any urban-rural disparities related to infrastructural facilities. All these causes a sense of frustration, insecurity and anguish, often such psychological conditions causes violence and terrorism. Economic resources and infrastructure available, yet inaccessible agitate minds of the denied class. *(See Appendix 3.1)*

Illiteracy in the South Asia region is one of the reason why terrorism related activities are successful, as illiterate people are easily allured, and also, economically poor are easily exploited of assuring them financial help, caring of the families etc. Even, in some states, education follows the religious lines and are easily allured and exploited on the name of religion, spread activities which are against the interests of the other States, as for e.g. literacy for Bangladesh and Nepal is 38% and 27%. So, the masses of these countries are used by ISI of Pakistan, assuring them monetary help, used against northeast Indian states. Also, in case of Nepal, only population engaged in services + industry is 10% and only 10% is access to health services, so it causes immense frustration among the masses and compelled them to take some extreme action against the State, with outside help in the form of finance, explosives arms and ammunitions, also political, ideological and moral support by external powers. *(See Appendix 3.2)*

**POPULATION OF SRI LANKA BY ETHNICITY, 1981**



**POPULATION OF SRI LANKA BY ETHNICITY, 1981**



TH-9240

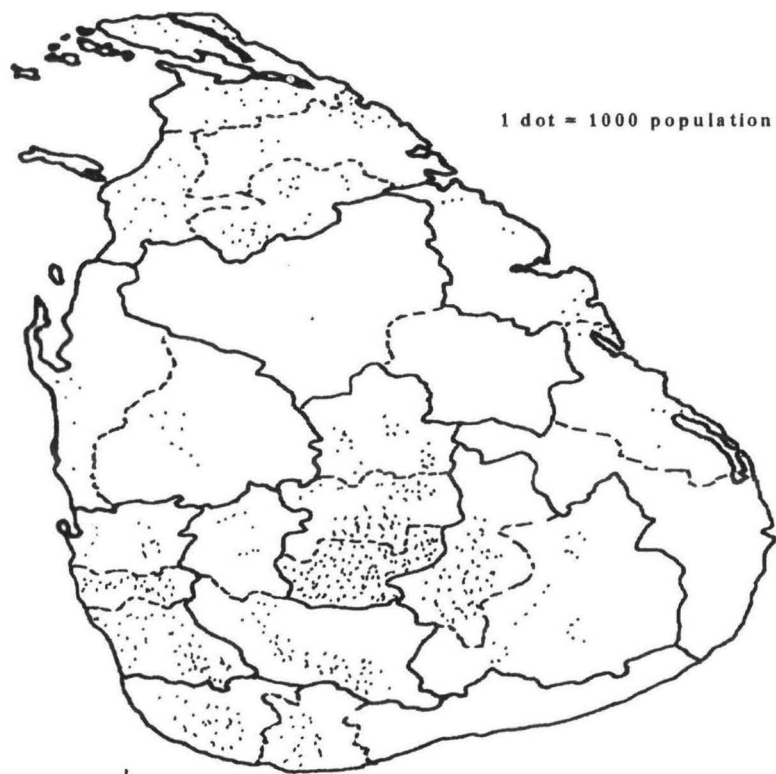


DISS  
363.3250954  
T59 Ge



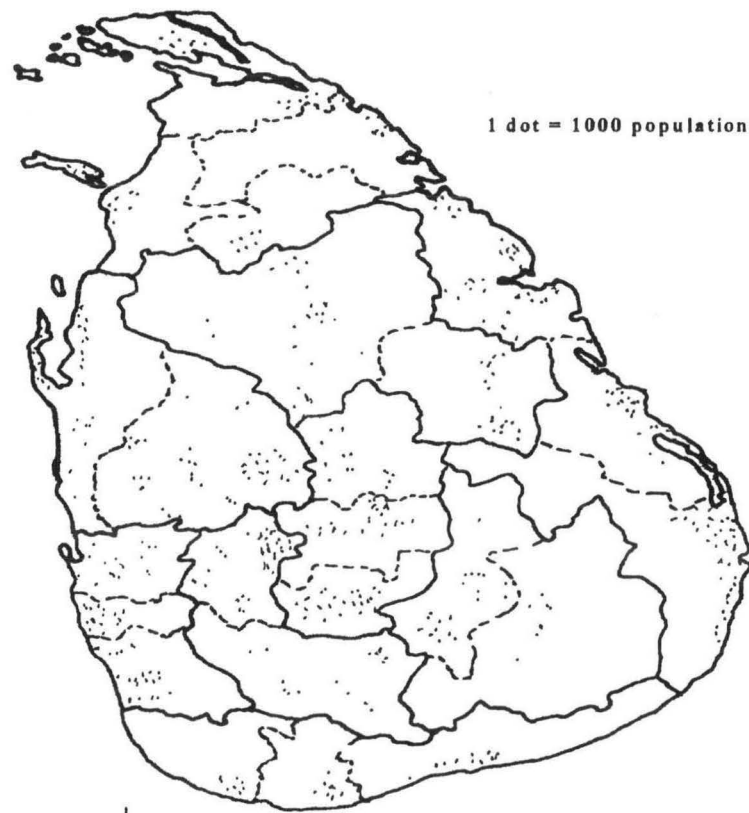
TH9240

**Distribution of Indian Tamil Population in Srilanka-1981**

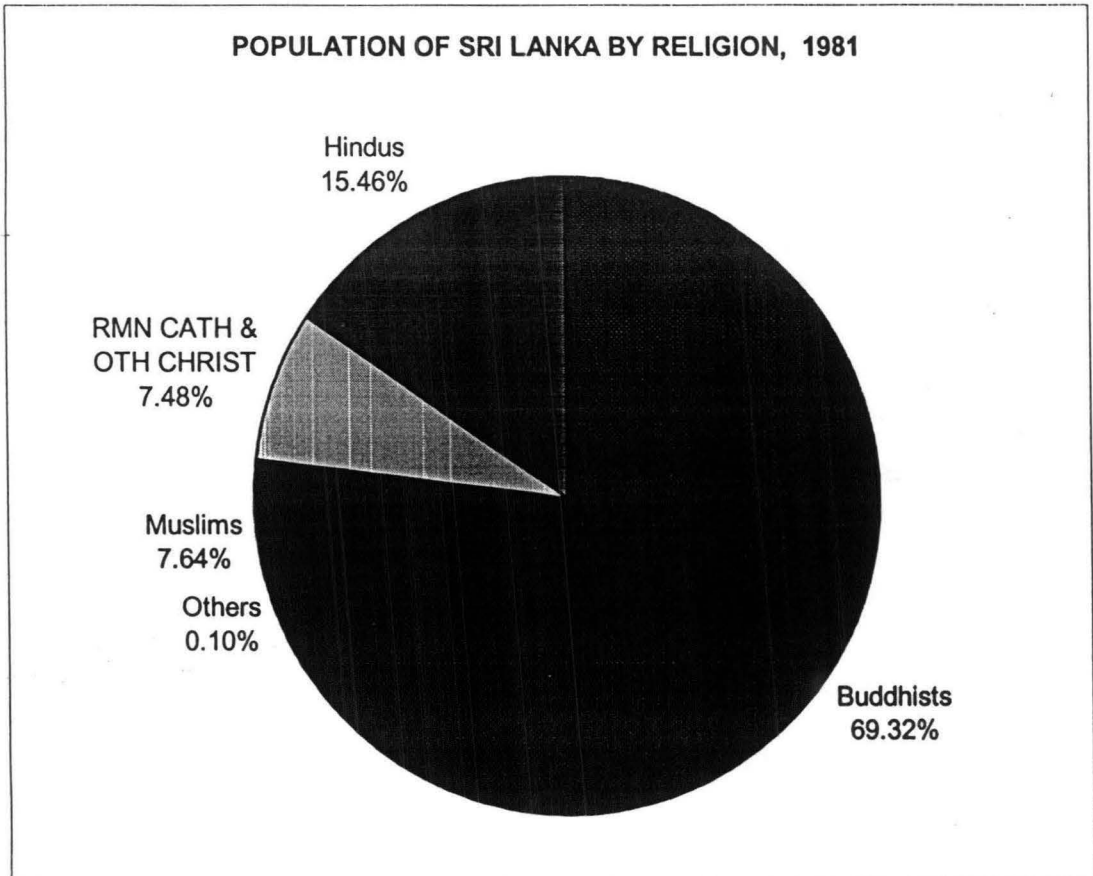
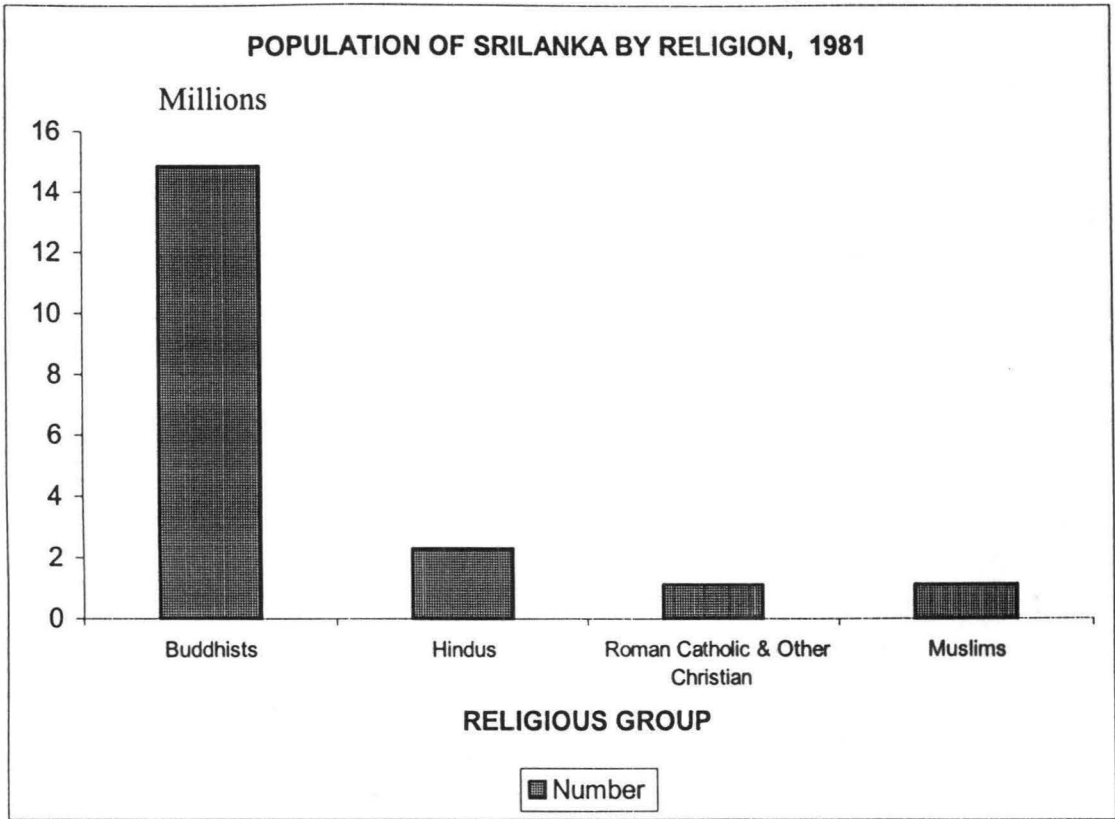


*Source: Census of Population, Sri Lanka, 1981*

**Distribution of Moor Population in Srilanka-1981**



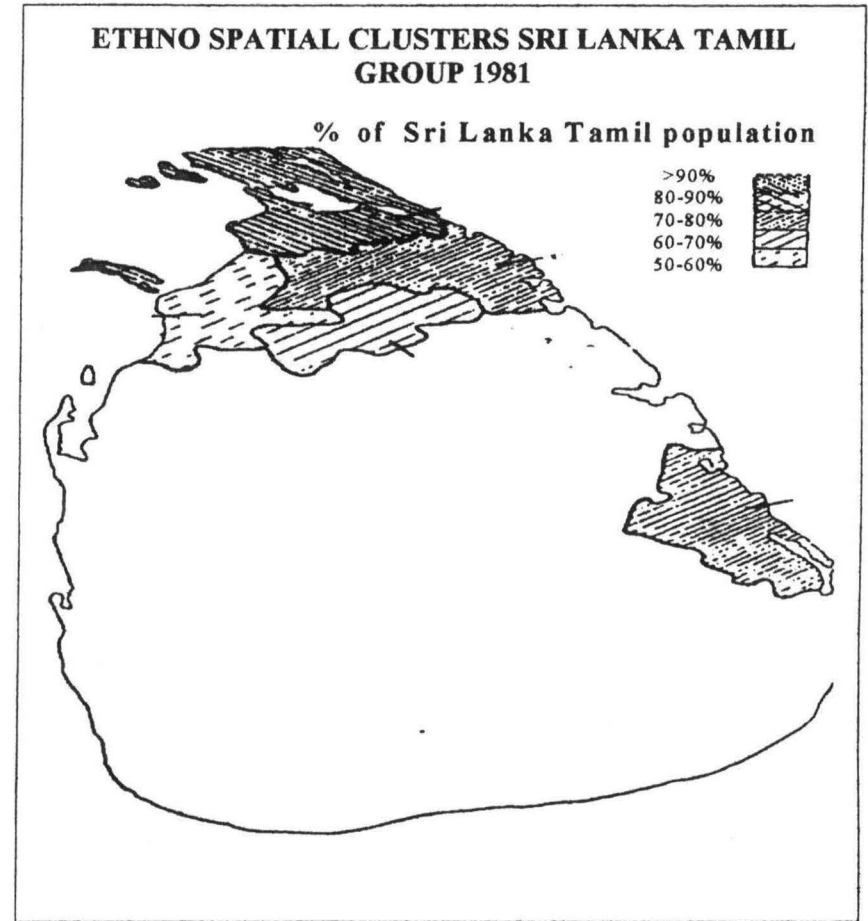
*Source: Census of Population, Sri Lanka, 1981*



The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka lies in Southern Asia, comprises one large island, and even, smaller ones situated in the Indian Ocean. Sinhala, Tamil and English are the recognised national languages. Sinhala is spoken by more than 70% of its population, Tamil, second official language spoken, recognised in 1988. The main source of conflicts are the ethnic and religion groups i.e. majority and minority issue and also, the government dominated by Sinhala group, policies and programmes, such as state sponsored peasant resettlement schemes i.e. resettlements of peasants in sparsely populated areas of Sri Lanka, mainly in the dry zone but in the northern and Eastern part (*See Appendix 3.3*). It is considered as a political strategy designed to reduce the Tamil numbers within their own territorial bases boxes, others such as university admission policy and also, before 1988, official language was another area of disagreement and discontent. So, ethnic conflict between the Sinhalese (74%) and the Tamils (12.5) in deeply entrenched and the communities are divided by differences of race, language and religion (*See Appendix 3.11 & 3.12*). As Sinhalese claim, they belong to the descent of the Aryans of North India, while Tamils originate from Dravidian stock of south India. As, the ethnic conflict changes its colour with passage of time. Now Tamils complained and protest, that they are being denied basic services, access to education, health, access to public services etc. and even, the basic necessities are being denied i.e. life, shelter, health, education, food, employment, etc. which basically lead to immense frustration and ultimately, extreme action, i.e. terrorism thereby. Even, when Tamil



*Source: Census of Population, Sri Lanka, 1981*



*Source: Census of Population, Sri Lanka, 1981*

(Hindus) demand autonomy for the Northern and Eastern provinces, on the other and, Muslims demanded the same for other provinces. So, this created and develops an unfavourable atmosphere, creating insecurity among the Sinhalese and also, government refused to consider their demands, as a result creates aloofness and frustration among the minority groups, when such conflicts between the communities took place, neighbour countries taking advantage of it and supported the tribal groups with material and political support, complemented by weapons and military training.

As India and Pakistan divided on the religious lines, so, religion is the cause of conflict only between India and Pakistan which even led three wars between them and in 1972, creation of Bangladesh an independent entity. It is Pakistan, which is using religion as the weapon against India. As Pakistan constitutes 97% of the Muslim population whereas in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) Muslim population comprises 86.6% (*See Appendix 3.4*). So, Pakistan on the name of religion is spreading terrorism in the region specially against India, sending Islamic militants across the border through Kashmir, Punjab, Bangladesh, Nepal and has been used in creating disorder and chaos in the society across the borders while in case of Sri Lanka, the conflict is basically an ethnic lines, also, socio-economic factors which has created disparities between the two communities since independence, which ultimately develops immense frustration among youths and compelled them to take an alternative route i.e. terrorism. Even, Pakistan using religious minorities in Nepal and Bhutan on the name of religion against India's interests and earlier, they exploited Sikhs on both sides of borders i.e. allured them of creating an

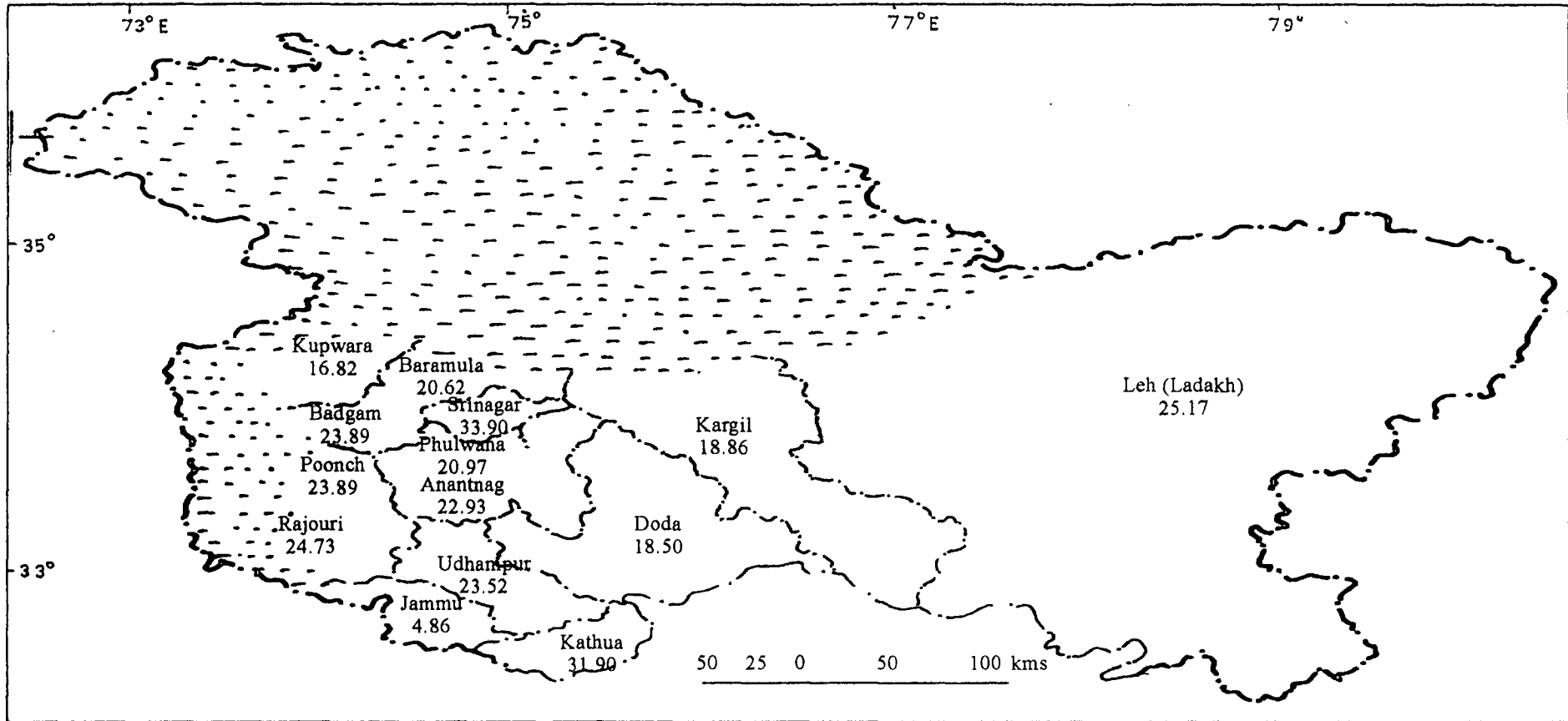


independent entity in the form of Khalistan, comprising Indian side of Punjab. Separate data has been accumulated for the state of Jammu and Kashmir and North-eastern states, i.e. Insurgency in North-East India. Data has been presented along with the explanation, why terrorism & insurgency is being carried out successfully by outside powers.

The major conflict between the two communities, i.e. Hindu and Muslim population, According to 1981 census, Jammu and Kashmir as a whole is – comprises of 64.19% of Muslim population while Hindus only 32.34%. So, Pakistan is demanding the Kashmir state, on the basis of (%) Muslim population, which India denies, against the principle of its secularism. So, the conflict continued since independence and Pakistan is engaged in a low intensity conflict, wage a proxy war against India (*See Appendix 3.5*). Since then, so, taking advantages of the Islamic state and also its population and other socio-economic factors, which are being denied to the people of state engaged India in a continued proxy war. As a result of this continued proxy war (terrorism); Hindu and other minor religious groups has been migrated in masses from Kashmir, as the conflict between the two countries has claimed many lives and has wrought destruction to economy and society. Even, the conflicts hinder the establishment of new ventures in the state.

The separatist movement in Kashmir began to metamorphose in the military in 1988, and later, the movement was taken over by Pakistan ISI, sponsored radical Islamist groups, making terrorism, insurgency and ethnic cleansing as its main weapons.

**LITERACY (%) IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR, 1981**  
**(% DISTRICT LEVEL)**



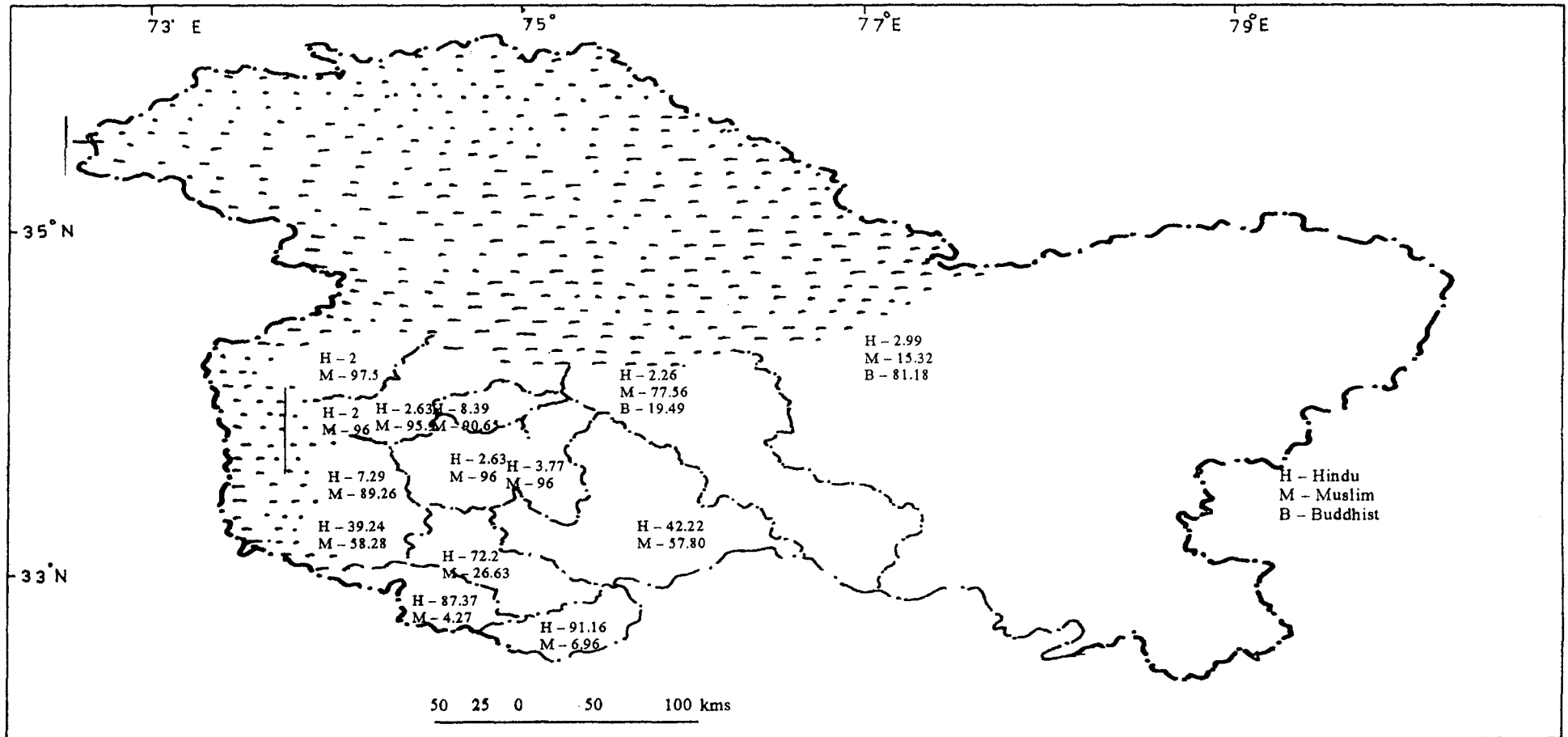
Source: Census of India, Jammu and Kashmir, 1981.

Literacy percentage in Jammu and Kashmir districts according to 1981 census, the districts which are adjacent to Pakistan occupied Kashmir or line of Actual control are Baramulla (20.62%), Kupwara (16.82%), Kargil (18.86%), Kathua (31.90), Jammu (42.86%), Rajauri (24.73%) and Poonch (27.89%). The literacy level of the state is very less (only 26.67) as compared to national average, and also, the literacy percentage of the districts bordering Pakistan occupied Kashmir is also low. So, the illiterate population of the state is easily used by the militant groups and Pakistan ISI and are exploited on the religious lines, unemployment rate is very high, even, the educated ones have nothing to do to sustain and support themselves and their families. So, Pakistan provided Kashmiri youth their money, logistic support, material and ideological support and moral support. So, youth follows and practised a path from which it later becomes difficult for them to return. Also, the main workers percentage for entire Jammu and Kashmir is 30.37 and in case of Kathua, Jammu, Rajauri and Poonch, it is well below the state level, on an average 27% of main workers. So, Pakistan and other militant groups taking advantage of the frustration of the youth and situation, seeks Kashmiri people support, so that Kashmir state can be relieved & snatched away from the clutches of India. *(See Appendix 3.6)*

The districts which are adjacent to line of control are Kupwara, Baramulla, Badgam, Poonch, Rajauri and Jammu where Muslim population is dominant as compared to Hindu or some other religion. As India-Pakistan separation was based on religion lines, but in 1947, Kashmir chosen to remain separate from these two states. Although, the entire state of Jammu and

## JAMMU AND KASHMIR

### % OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS TO TOTAL POPULATION, 1981 (DISTRICT LEVEL)

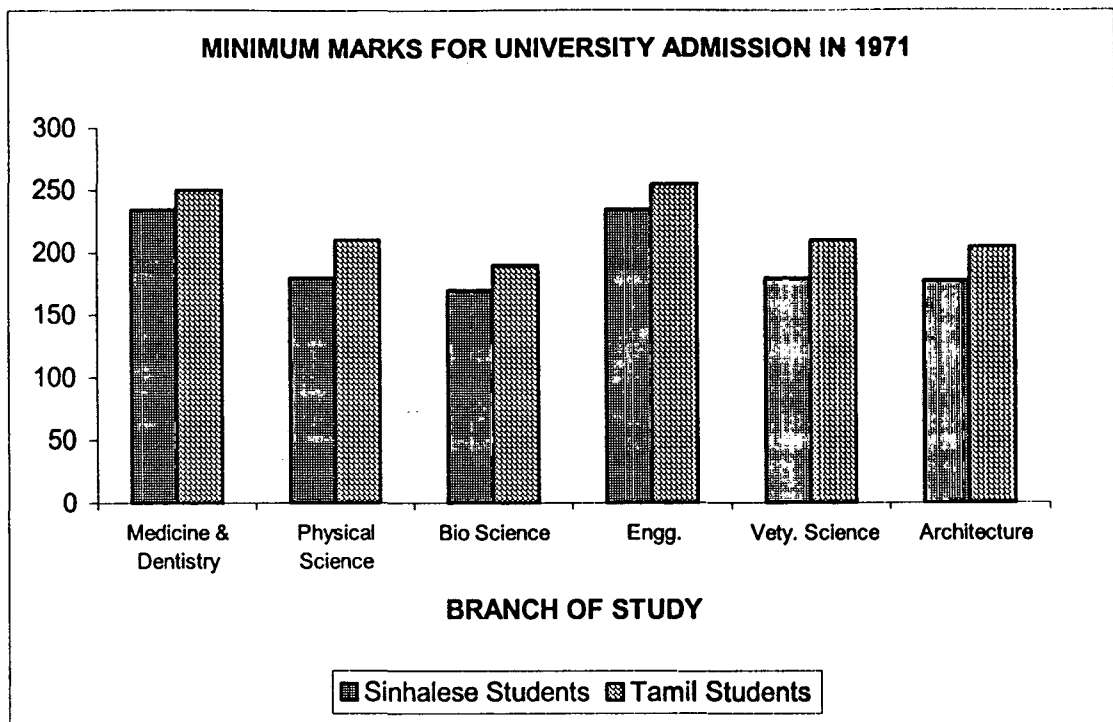


Source: Census of India (Religious Data), Jammu and Kashmir, 1981

Kashmir was Muslim dominant, except Jammu and Ladakh where Hindu and Buddhists are in majority (according to 1981 census). As these districts which are adjacent to the line of control and are Muslim dominated (e.g. Rajauri and Poonch, terrorism figures). So, exploited by an Islamic nation on Islamic lines and on the other hand, the Muslim communities are giving shelter and sometimes compelled to give shelter, food, accommodation etc. to extremists which are being sent by the State across the borders in order to expand their base in terms of economic, military, political etc. whereas on the other hand, in Ladakh, Kargil where Buddhists are dominant, and also because of extreme climate throughout the year terrorism related activities are almost negligible . Similarly, in Doda, Udhampur and Jammu, where Hindu population is dominant, terrorism related activities are increasing, now as because the extremists want to drive the Hindu population from the region, so that the entire region be declared as Muslim inhabited area and is dominated by Muslim population, so that the geopolitical situation changes in Kashmir and Kashmir state is acceded to Pakistan, if plebiscite takes place in future. So, Hindu-Muslim population majority-minority played a bigger role in Kashmir. It is the Muslim population which are in majority, and are poor, illiterate easily exploited by the enemy on religious lines and are been compelled to adopt steps which are against the nation and its people. *(See Appendix 3.7)*

The figure indicates from 1994 to 2000 that terrorism is on the rise in Jammu and Kashmir, *(See Appendix 3.8)* terrorist killed and arrested have increased over years, and also, the security force personnel's and civilian killed

has increased over years. Terrorism in Rajouri and Poonch has increased over years. Terrorism in Rajouri and Poonch has increased over year, especially from 1996 to 2000 where number of casualties has increased and property damaged over years. It is the Muslims in Rajouri and Poonch who refused to give shelter sided with the government are been gunned down by the militants (*See Appendix 3.9 & 3.10*). Rajauri and Poonch have been the principal thrust areas of Pakistan based terrorist groups in Jammu and Kashmir, along with areas further to the south along the LoAC in Jammu, and there is marked escalation of violence along the international border in Jammu and Kathua which were silent up to 1998. Poonch and Rajauri are considered important due to strategic significance, as terrorists who cross the LoAC along them head east in to Udhampur and Doda through Manjakote or the Fathepur enclosure or north through Thana Mandi in to Poonch and in Kashmir. Similarly, the Surankota area of Poonch is a hub for terrorists crossing the Pir Penjal range into Kashmir valley. As infiltration among these districts was high, but number of terrorists killed in these districts were also highest in the state. So, terrorism activities are increasing at a very fast pace in the state and specially along border districts, where casualties are also very high, along with infiltration.



Up to 1970, faculty of medicines and engineering were determined by the Tamil students, but by 1971, when Sinhala community perceived it as a denial of equal opportunities in university admissions in various departments, a system of standardisation was introduced under pressure from the Sinhala community. The objective of the new system was to give students from areas with reduced facilities an equal opportunity to compete with students from areas with improved facilities (*See Appendix 3.13*). As a result of which, there was a marked decline of Tamil students in Medical, Engineering and Science faculties. So, the actual selection of students were drop almost by 50 percent, (as figure is given of university admission in 1975 by the districts of origin). This, competitiveness of university admission and the constraints laid have played a significant part in the ethnic conflict.

The ethnic conflicts takes place due to identity crisis among its members, economic and political disadvantages, social deprivation, and there is competition between these groups for scarce resources. Also, the ethnicisation of politics and politicisation of ethnicity escalate the conflict and terrorism between the two ethnic communities. *(See Appendix 3.14)*

In case of Sri Lanka's (ethnic conflicts and terrorism) factors involved between the ethnic groups are as follows:

- Unequal power structure among ethnic groups in Sri Lanka.
- Ethnic conflict is also caused by the fear of the future.
- Ethnic consciousness and radicalism.
- Uneven level of development has spread in to cultural differentiation.
- Ideology, religion and ethnicity used as a pretext in the competition for power.
- Colonial legacy, misgovernance with distorted economic policies, violation of human rights, corruption and crime and the involvement of external powers – all lead to violent conflicts.
- Property rights, jobs, educational policy, language rights and other developmental allocation.

Sri Lanka is a multiracial, multilingual, and multireligious country, Sinhalese, the majority community are Theravada Buddhist and Roman Catholics and are politically and economically dominant whereas Sri Lankan Tamils are in minority with its cultural, and political activity centred around Jaffna Peninsula. The roots of insurgency in Sri Lanka lie deeper in to social,



economic and political situations. There are sharp divisions within the society owing to regional, ethnic, religion and communal differences along with issues of legitimacy and authority. The cultural and religious symbolism played an important role with the structure of the state, both the communities accused each other of enjoying the supremacy in bureaucracy governmental patronage and running the elite based institution.

- There is a need to decentralize power, resources, regional autonomy and federation and provide psychological security to the minorities in order to solve majority-minority problems and differences which divides them along ethnic, sectarian or communal lines.

### **Strategic and Geopolitical Characteristics of Kashmir Region**

The region of Kashmir that forms a part of Pamir has geostrategical and geopolitical characteristics that increase its strategical importance. Pakistan, China, Afghanistan and India are its direct neighbours.

As a part of Pamir Plateau, Kashmir over look, the lowland around it namely the Deccan Plateau. India Eastern Iranian Plateau and Afghanistan, Punjab plain in Pakistan, Tajikistan in Central Asia, Tibet Plateau and Sinkiang in West China are lower than Kashmir region and Pamir. These region therefore sense danger from Kashmir region from military point of view and

presence or control of Kashmir by any neighbour in the region, considered as a source of temporary or permanent threat.<sup>13</sup>

The region of Kashmir serves as very important position, as it severs the link between South Asia with Central Asia and Tibet West China and Sinkiang East China. The region of Kashmir and northern part of India and west of Tibet form an watershed basin of 5 rivers, Sind, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Sutleuj and also form a topographic unit, and also its valley passes and course of its water direction are important from strategic point of view. So, control of whole of it or part of it by any neighbours considered as a permanent source of danger by others to their national security and vital interests. After the collapse of the USSR, one of the four went out of competition. In the new geopolitical model after the collapse of USSR, therefore have remained only 3 powers.

### **Geopolitical Significance of Kashmir: for India, Pakistan**

Kashmir's total area is 218,780 sq kms, in a central Asia position, it share borders with India in south, Pakistan in the west, Afghanistan in the Northwest, China in the north and east and Tibet to the east. Kashmir accommodates three religious groups along with minorities. The Kashmir problem crisis, after India and Pakistan were created an independent entity in 1947. Since then, India and Pakistan fought three wars over Kashmir<sup>14</sup> and low intensity proxy war continued in Kashmir since 1980's onwards. Since 1989,

---

<sup>13</sup> Hafezia, M.R. Geopolitical Analysis of Kashmir Crisis, 50 year of Indo-Pak Relation. The Initial Phase: Pattern of India, 2000 Indo-Pak-war: Deep and Deep Publication, UNO, N.D.-27.

<sup>14</sup> UN, Blue Helmets: A Review of United States Peace Keeping, UN Deptt. Of Public Information, 1990 in true cost of conflict. Pp (56-63).

India occupied Kashmir has claimed many lives and also caused destruction to economy and society, community health has been crippled due to prevalence of military in this region<sup>15</sup>. Education system has been collapsed, since emergency began government services, administration and criminal justice system all have been collapsed.<sup>16</sup> Income earning activities, tourism and cottage industries, handicrafts etc. all have been shattered. Kashmir symbolizes the major flashpoint between India and Pakistan. Even this time, Pakistan threatened India with first use of Nuclear weapons if tension continued to escalate in Kashmir.

**Geopolitical Significance for India:** India's security is dependent on India retaining control of Indian occupied Kashmir, (feels Indian population and political parties in India). What's Nehru telegram to British Prime Minister Clement Atlee on 25 Oct 1947 says, Kashmir's Northern frontiers run in common with those of three countries, Afghanistan, former USSR and China. Security of Kashmir, which must depend on internal tranquillity and existence of stable government is vital to security of India.<sup>17</sup>

According to retired Indian foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit states, Any erosion of Indian jurisdiction over Kashmir diminishes India's strategic defence capacity.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Gossman P; and Iacopino V, *The Crackdown in Kashmir Torture of Detainees and Assaults on the medical community*, Asia Watch and Physician for Human rights, Feb 1993 is edited book *true cost of conflict* (pp 59-63).

<sup>16</sup> Shah, S., 'The Kashmir Conflict', Kashmir Council for Human rights and Kashmir watch, London 1994.

<sup>17</sup> Lamb, 1994, *op.cit* is *true cost of conflict*.

<sup>18</sup> Dixit, April, 1994 *op. cit*.

Most important is the preservation of India's territorial integrity as India comprises of number of states, based on secular lines based on multiplicity of identities and associations. The religious make up of Kashmir exemplifies the secular principles upon which India was founded and India is keen to ensure that this situation continues. Kashmir separation from India considered as a challenge to the principles underlying India's existence and to India's secular and socio-political fabric.

So, there is a fear, separation of one state will have knock-on-effects, other states in a similar way encouraged by successful succession elsewhere, to express their dissatisfaction with central rule in a similar way. So, India will never allow Jammu and Kashmir to be either merged or become independent. Many views may conflict in Kashmir as being beneficial to all Indian as it shows a desire on the part of the Indian government to uphold the Union.

The conflict benefits the defence industrial sector. The arms and nuclear industries receive a great deal of investment as a result of high defence expenditure, as investment in the military industry enables India to advance technologically and to earn valuable foreign exchange through military sales.

### **Geopolitical Significance for Pakistan**

The Pakistani government and its people see India as a major constraint to their nation. So, in this context, conflict in Kashmir is viewed as the most important. Security concern for Pakistan if Pakistan loses Kashmir, it would be difficult for him to contain its own unity, as separatist in Sindh and Baluchistan are trying their best to declare themselves independent. If Indian controlled

Kashmir acceded to Pakistan, then this would reverse the humiliation of 1971 war and also it may challenge Indian territorial integrity. Pakistan feels, if India maintain its grip on Kashmir, through military terms, than a prolonged conflict would cause substantial political damage, in addition to economic and military costs to India. Any cost to India, whether diplomatic, economic, or territorial is perceived as a benefit to Pakistan. The investment in the defence industry have served to increase jobs and technological advance, self sufficiency would enable Pakistan to maintain a consistently strong position against India over Kashmir.<sup>19</sup>

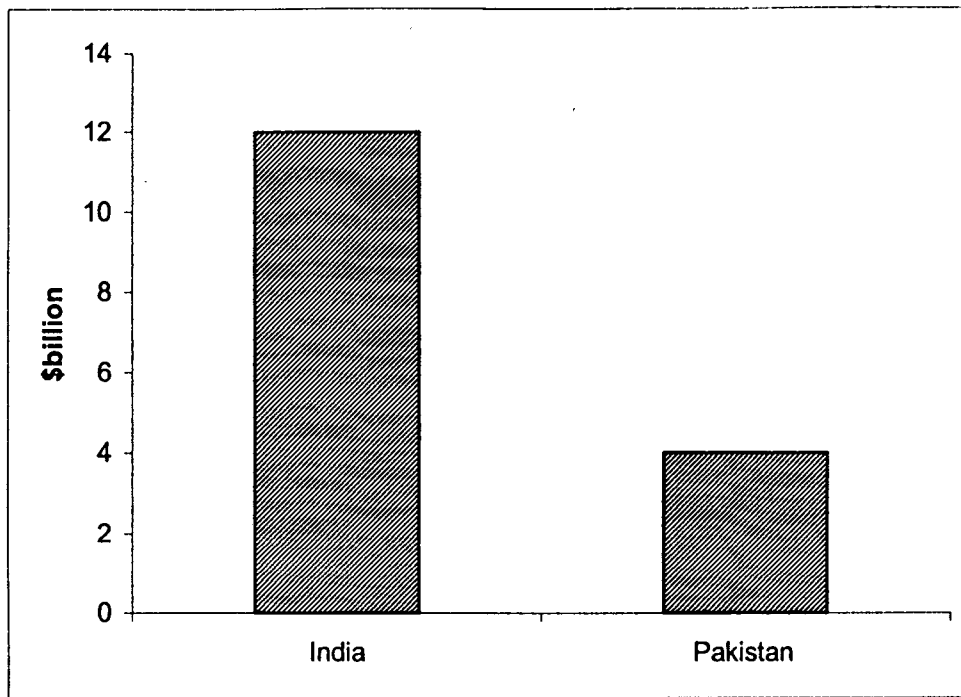
### **Geopolitical Significance to China**

China fears the instability in Kashmir may spill over to its Muslim province, Xinjiang in Northern China. It may create unrest among Islamic fundamentalist in Xinjiang and also threaten important Chinese routes. Longer the conflict, greater will be threat to China's own internal security. Chinese benefit from Aksai Chin are largely strategic because of its comprehensive road network and the trade routes crosses it.

Karakoram highway provides China's access to the Indian Ocean. This is the reason why China wanted Pakistan to preserve Kashmir problem as status-quo. Still, it is not in China interests to abandon Pakistan, as there are internal security concerns and it need to keep open its roads links though Aksai Chin and the Karakoram highway. China is wary of an independent Kashmir, as it may become an American surrogate on its Southern Borders.

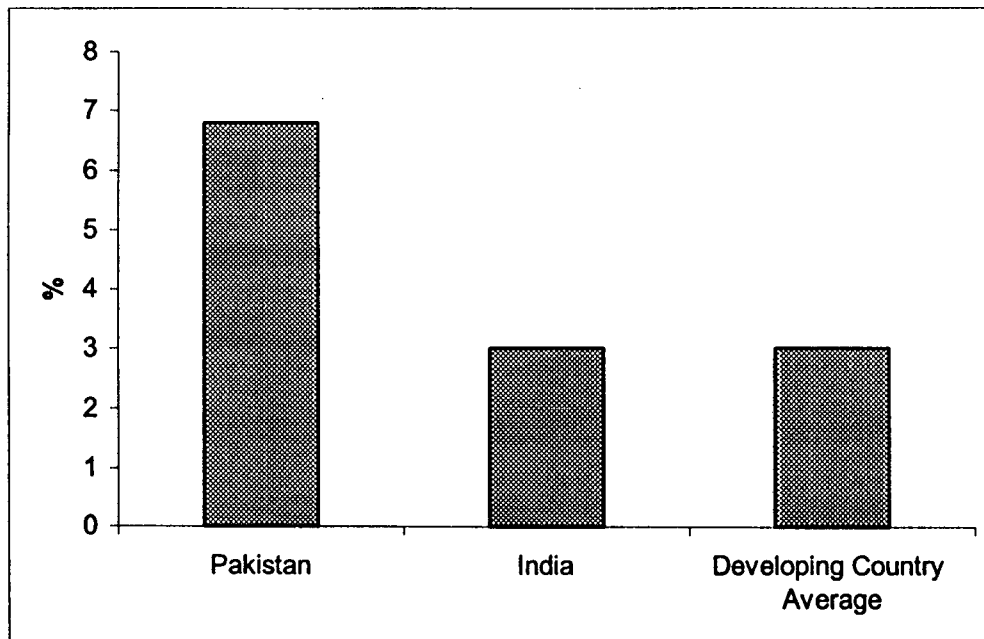
---

<sup>19</sup> International Herald Tribune 25 Nov, 1993 and the Daily Telegraphy, 31 Dec. 1993 in edited book true cost of conflict.



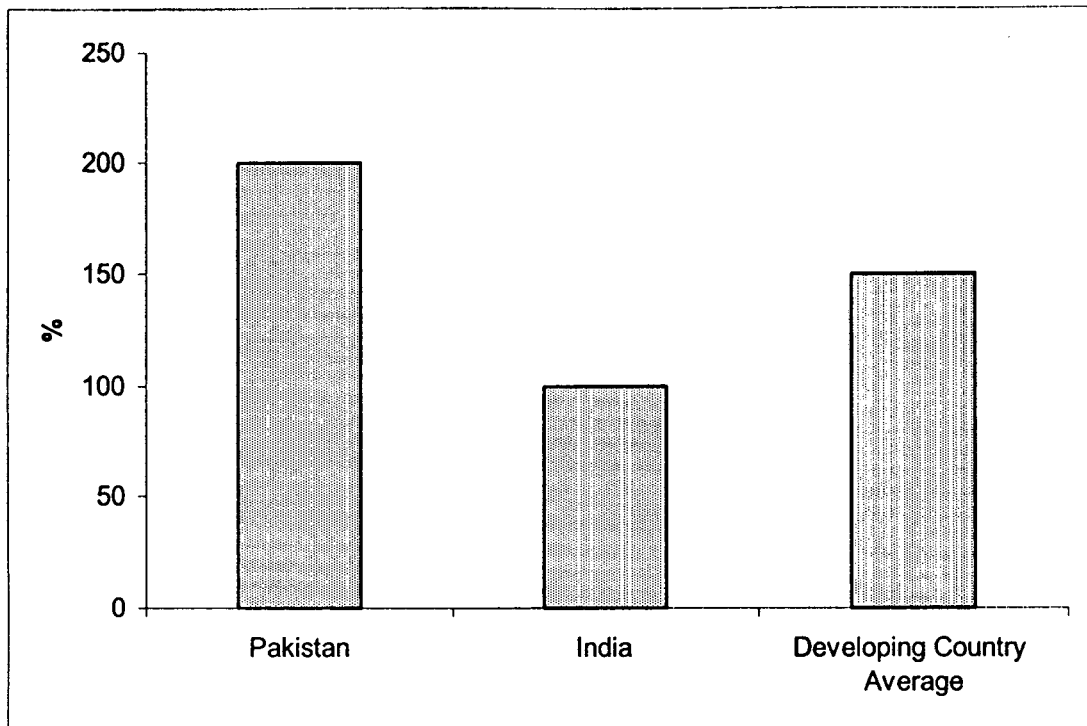
Source: SIPRI, 1993 Year Book

**Fig: Value of Purchase of Conventional Weapons by regional parties 1988-92 (India and Pakistan)**



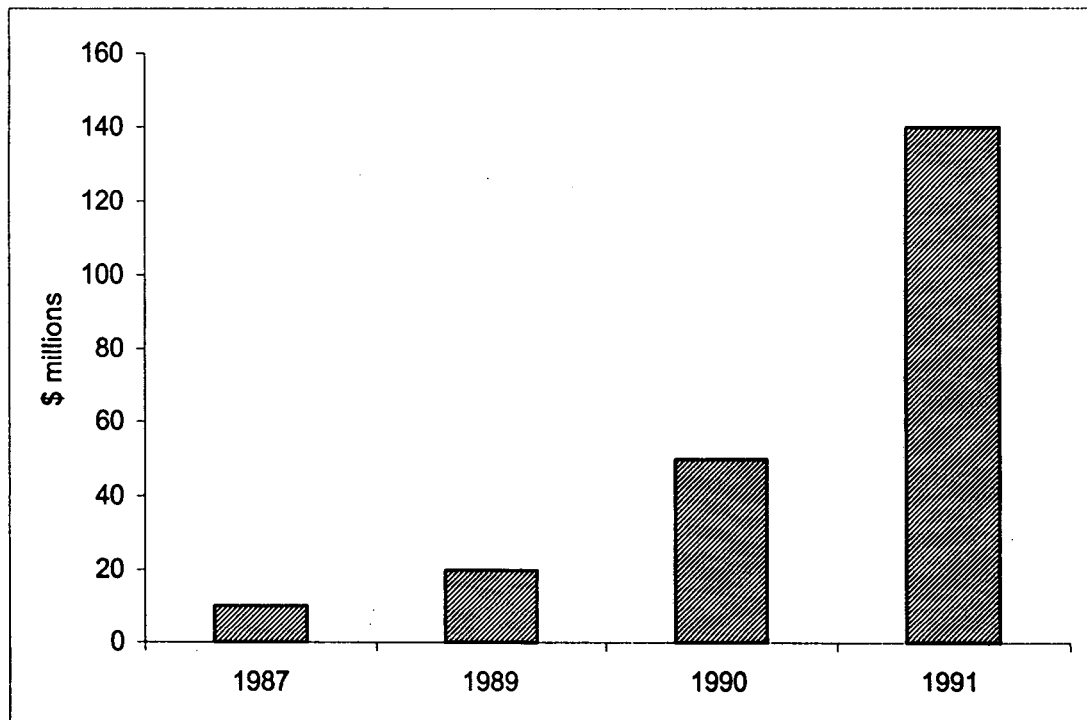
Source: United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report, Oxford Univ. Press London, 1983.

**Fig: Percentage (%) of GDP spent on military (1990).**



Source: UNDP, 1993

**Fig: Military Expenditure as % of amount spent on education and health combined (1990).**



Source: SIPRI (U.S. \$ Million at constant)(1990 prices)

**Fig: Exports of major conventional weapons by Pakistan.**

## **Terrorism and Insurgency – Emergent Phenomenon and the North Eastern India**

North-east States of India are located in the North eastern sector of the Indian Union, on the International frontiers on three sides, it lies geographically between 22° and 29° North Latitude and 89° 46' and 97° 5' E longitude and it covers an area of 25,5083 sq km. The region is in a geostrategically vulnerable geographical situation and surrounded by countries like Myanmar, Bhutan and Bangladesh from three sides. It is linked with the rest of the country by a narrow corridor, (Silguri neck) 20 Km wide.

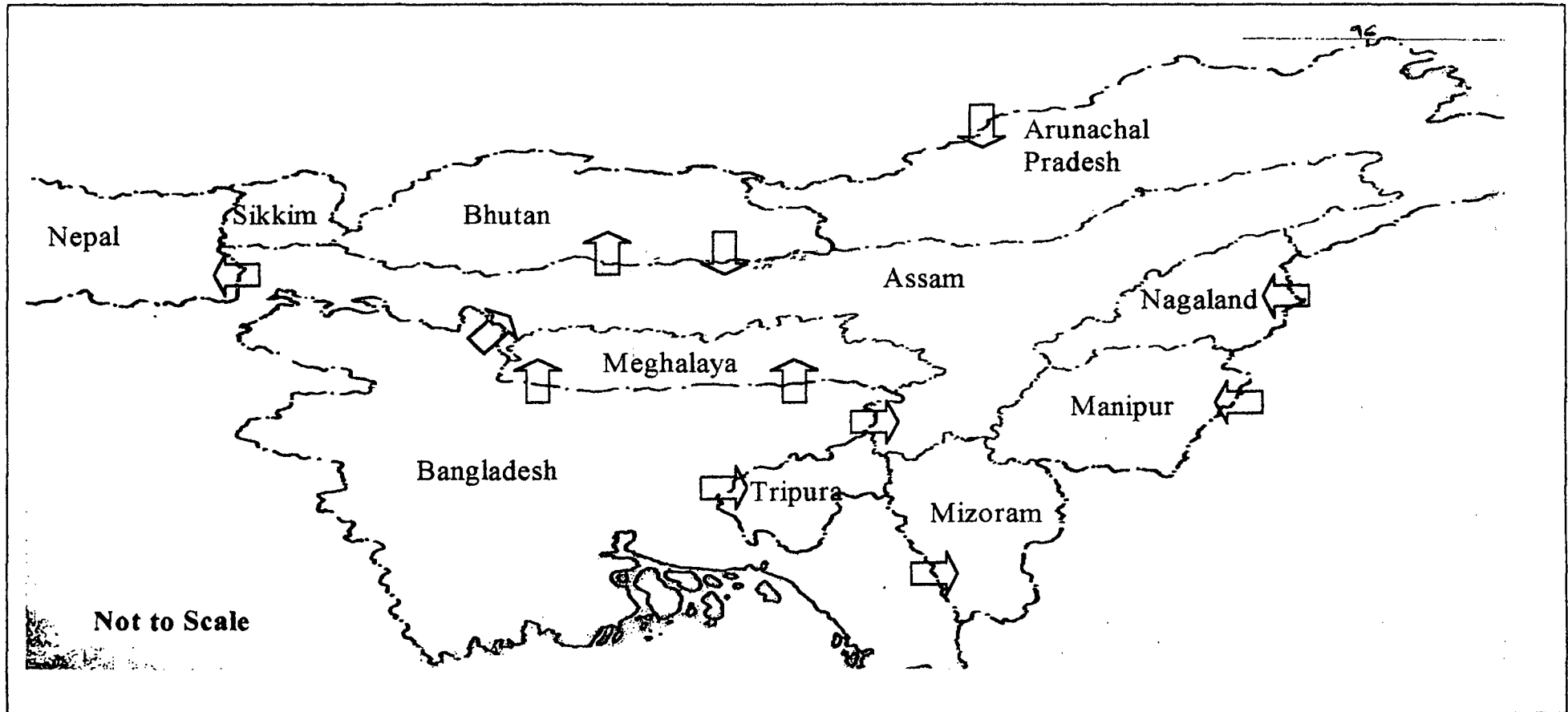
The region, politically divided in to seven units, Assam, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, Arunachal and Mizoram. The geography, history and tradition often transcend the political boundaries, have brought the whole region in to as single entity. It is also due to geopolitical reasons, whole region is treated as a single entity. Physiographically, Northeast region consists of three distinct regions: Assam valley, Purbanchal and Meghalaya Mikir region.

Northeast region is inherited by races of Mongoloid stock, also the Indo Aryan groups. Almost, all hill tribes belong to the Tibeto-Chinese linguistic family and Tibeto-Burman sub-family.

Peripheral location, geographical location and the land locked character of Northeast India, facing countries like Bangladesh, Myanmar and China has great geo-political significance in the domain of emergency.



**NORTH EASTERN INDIA  
INSURGENCY AND ILLEGAL MOVEMENT FROM NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES**



*Source: Rashtriya Atlas Indian Book Depot, Delhi.*

Insurgency is an organised attempt to exploit a region, faced with deteriorating socio-economic conditions, i.e. through the use of irregular warfare to achieve its political goals. Insurgency has both military and political components, political components mobilizes the people on the basis of grievances against the government while military involves violence.<sup>20</sup> Insurgency is prevalent in the region as a result of:

**A) Historical Legacy**

Colonial government keeps the people of the region away from the mainstream by creating 'crown colony'. They restrict the social and political mobility between the hills and plain people, social cultural assimilation remain confined to the region, with the passage of time, people and region exposure to modernity, life style and social ethos and political perceptions have change overtime, during which insurgency hardens itself.

**B) Cultural Cleavage**

Physiographic constraints, geographical isolation, peripheralisation of the region, communication gap, long years of neglect indifference of the nations to the hardships, unimaginative government policies, and gross ignorance of the tribal ethos have created among the Tibeto-Burman people a sharp awareness of their ethnic and cultural differences from the national mainstream.

---

<sup>20</sup> Dinesh Kotwal, Insurgency in Assam: Demographic dimension, strategic analysis and contours of Assam Insurgency, Strategic Analysis March, 2001.

### **C) Economic Backwardness**

Economic hardship due to poor and underdeveloped agriculture, alarming mass unemployment problem, rampant corruption, lack of educational and medical facilities, exorbitant prices and shortage of essential commodities in the far flung areas of the north-east forced the promising youth to turn towards extremist activities. The unemployment problem has helped in creating separatist forces, with various insurgent outfits in all states of northeast India. These outfits fall prey to external geopolitical forces.

### **D) Geopolitics**

Geopolitics forces are very active in this region in attempting to split India on the basis of ethnicity and religion. Pakistan's ISI played a major role in destabilizing this part of northeast India. All Naga and Mizo insurgents seek financial and military help from Pakistan. Taking advantage of geographical surrounding, ethnic homogeneity, external geopolitical forces has given shelter and provides safe sanctuary to many of the militant outfits like ULFA, PLA, NSCN (National Socialist Council of Nagaland), MULA (Meghalaya United Liberation Army) and National Democratic front of Bodoland, Mizo National front etc.

### **E) Demographic Aggression**

Infiltration of Bangladeshi nationals into Assam and Tripura with the motive of upsetting the demographic balance, basically to seek shelter and jobs.

Most noticeable rise in the Muslim population in Assam represents immigration from Mymensingh and East Bengal.

Demographically, Assam has been the fastest growing area in the sub-continent, its population grown by 676% from 3.3 million in 1951 to 22.3 million in 1991 as compared to India 354% as a whole from 238.4 million to 843.9 million, (1991) (*See Appendix 3.15*). Had Assam population increased at the same rate as India's then its population would have been 14.9 million which is rather 22.3 million. So, this is due to large scale infiltration from Bangladesh, which has shaken the Assamese social structure and created solidarity among the Assamese and also generated cleavages between the indigenous Assamese and the indigenous tribals. It has influenced the educational, social and economic aspiration. It has given rise to powerful assimilationist and nativist sentiments and back lash separatists agitation, to massive conflicts over languages, education and employment policy.

Over the past 100 years, Tripura has registered more than 20 times increase in its population. The population rise is due to great influx from Bangladesh. This demographic distortion has caused disturbance in the region, indigenous people increasingly feels that they had been marginalized and they can no more preserved their identity and cannot even developed their region. (*See Appendix 3.16*)

Taking advantages of all repercussions, Pakistan ISI, and other foreign agencies have become active in geopolitical machinations in India. Northeast region has become the centre of international intrigues. Extremist outfits in the

region has been supported and encouraged by Bangladesh and Pakistan and providing them training and logistic support and taking undue help of the terrain with thick vegetation and unprotected international boundaries, the insurgence outfits sneak in to neighbouring countries after committing crime and terrorists acts. Pakistan ISI in Bangladesh is helping these militant outfits of the Northeast to destabilise India geo-politically. These countries utilized Islamic sentiments to achieve their motives, and also help insurgents groups of Northeast region financially, providing them training, arms, explosives and ammunition.<sup>21</sup>

Other reasons may be why terrorist insurgency got success in the region:

- There is a political-terrorist nexus in the region.
- High level of corruption and Nepotism.
- Insurgents movements led by politician in order to attract additional central assistance.
- Inadequate socio-economic development of diverse ethnic groups.

Either it is low intensity conflict threatening internal security or a clash between the traditional social structure and the changes and challenges of economic development and modernization, or the extractive and colonial policy of the Union government, may be demand to right to self determination, or the political suppression; Economic factors remain common to most of these schools of thinking. Economic activities got concentrated in selected pockets.

---

<sup>21</sup> Dinesh, Kotwal: Instability parameters in Northeast India Strategic Analysis April 2000 and Sree Radha Datta: What ails the Northeast, An Enquiry to Economic Factors: Strategic Analysis, April, 2001.

According to Buddhadeb Ghosh and Prabir De: Four deficits confront the northeast region:

- a) a basic locational deficit
- b) an infrastructural deficit
- c) a resource deficit
- d) two way deficit in understanding the rest of the country which compounds the others.

The share of the region in all India Net Domestic product is less than 3%.

**Agriculture:** Arable land use in Assam, Meghalaya and Nagaland in between 40-50 %, only a small portion of this has irrigation facilities. The area under Jhum cultivation is 30% of the total settled agriculture. Nagaland has highest land area under Jhum cultivation. The number of families dependent on Jhun is also highest in Nagaland.

Bottom 10 states in Infrastructural facilities: (descending order)

1994-95:	Arunachal
	Tripura
	Mizoram
	Nagaland
	Meghalaya
	Sikkim
	Assam
	Manipur
	Orissa
	U.P.

**Industry:** Assam has the largest concentration of Industries: roughly 70% of the total industry of the region. Gross output per employee as well as fixed capital employ is less in the region as compared to all India average. The region contributes a little over 1% to the value of output of the manufacturing sector of India. *(See Appendix 3.17)*

**Transport Sector:** The Northeast has 12.98% of the total national highways of the country while, it has 7.6% of the geographical area of the country. *(See Appendix 3.18)*

Insurgency has become the only sustainable expanding industry in the whole of the northeast, an industry with great promise and less risk. Insurgency as a consequence of poor development performance of local and central governance has now become the cause of the economic backwardness of the region. The insurgency in the northeast is purely a political one and the roots lie deep in to fundamental economic dynamics of the insurgency movements. Taking advantage of the grievances in the northeast region, Pakistan ISI, is spreading its tentacles in the region and spreading terrorist activities and supporting separatist movements in the region against the Indian system.

### **Regional Co-operation in South Asia: SAARC and Terrorism**

Regional co-operation as an organised collective approach to meeting the social, political and economic problems of the region. The countries of South Asian share common historical, cultural and historical ties between them. It was for the first time, the government of Bangladesh proposed the idea of Regional Co-operation among South Asian countries. As a consequence of this,

first meeting was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka in 1981. This meeting identified five specific areas of co-operation namely Agriculture, rural development, telecommunication, technology, health and population activities, as agreed areas of SAARC co-operation.<sup>22</sup>

In the first SAARC Summit in Dhaka in December 1985, all the heads of government approved, that the standing committee should set up a study group to examine the problem of terrorism as it affect the security and stability of member states of SAARC, but this sensitive issue such as terrorism, itself question the very existence of this organisation. So, in 1986, Government of Bangladesh convened a meeting of SAARC study group in Dhaka but its scope was limited as it emphasise on co-operation in the exchange of information and expertise on anti-terrorists measures, negotiations of extradition treaties etc.<sup>23</sup>

The Sri Lankan delegation stressed the need to widen the scope of proposed measures of co-operation and urged the group to emphasise on practices measures: firstly, combating of Cross Border Terrorism by denying the use of territory of a state to commit terrorist activities against another state. Secondly, the formulation of an arrangement within the SAARC region for the extradition of terrorists and to regard terrorist offences as non-political for purposes of extradition. Allegations of the use of territory of one state had become a recurrent feature in the Inter-state relation in the region.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> International Terrorism; Amrith Roshan Parera. Current International Initiatives on Terrorism in Regional Organisation.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.



However, the proposal of Sri Lanka called for a regional arrangement on the lines of European convention on suppression of Terrorism for the SAARC region, even other countries like Pakistan, Nepal, and Bangladesh favoured it, but India did not favour it as it preferred a bilateral approach then a multilateral approach. India's natural preference to deal with every country on a bilateral basis and to address particular issue through bilateral arrangement.

The study group finally adopted the following recommendations i.e. we it is the member states to identify the offences which are regarded as terroristic and which acts or offences are not regarded as political for purpose of extradition, so, the formulation left open the form of mechanism which would identify the terroristic offences for purposes of extradition. So, the declaration leave open to the states to enact necessary extradition legislation to treat terroristic offences as extraditable nots withstanding their political character.<sup>25</sup>

SAARC study group on Terrorism carefully avoided the contentious issue of attempting to define terrorism and instead adopted the approach of identifying common crimes involving serious and indiscriminate violence i.e. the terrorism in fact consists of common crimes. Such as murder, kidnapping, extortion or hijacking. Groups of experts later adopted restrictive approach and finally reach a consensus was on a regional commitment to treat all form of terrorism as criminal.

It was in second SAARC Summit, in Banglore, India, in 1986, saw some positive movements in the SAARC initiative to combat terrorism in the region.

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

All States recognised the importance of principles laid down in UN Resolutions 2625 that each state should refrain from organising, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorists acts in another state or acquiescing in organised activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts. The SAARC convention on suppression of terrorism was formally adopted at the III<sup>rd</sup> SAARC summit in Kathmandu on Nov 4, 1987.<sup>26</sup>

Finally in 1988, at Kathmandu, several positive features on the extradition or prosecution of terrorist offenders

- On the offences to be regarded as terroristic and non-political for the purposes of extradition. It covered a range of offences and general criminal offences such as murder, manslaughter etc.
- It deserves the right to refuse extradition in respect of any offence, which it considers a political offence.
- In the absence of an extradition treaty between two states, extradition option was based on the option of the requested state.

Thus, progress has not been encouraging in working out practical measures of co-operation among SAARC countries in the combating of terrorism. Given the prevailing political tensions in the region, it appears that SAARC is still a long way from emulating achievements in this area.

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

## **Geopolitical Interest of the Extra Regional Powers in the Region:(i.e. People's Republic of China & the United States of America)**

### **1. People's Republic of China**

During the Cold War Era, China's policy towards South Asia was shaped by two main considerations:

- Opposing Soviet Social imperialism and Hegemonism.
- Opposing Indian 'Expansionism' in the region by supporting smaller sub-continental powers.

India due to its size, location, and non-aligned policy, drew more benefits than other during Cold War Era. That's why smaller countries had the opportunity and at times, compulsion to forge relations with China, which at times, act as a counter balance against Indian dominance.

Sino Indian Relations: has been discussed under following heads:

- If we look in to historical records, cultural and commercial relations were continuous, political relations sporadic and less significant.
- China's abiding concern has been its Western borders and also its Southern borders with South Asian states. Tibet became strategically important for both countries India and China because of its 4000 km long common border, China till date claims Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh as disputed territory, while India's claims to Aksai chin and also the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) region.

- China is also sensitive about Tibet. To China, South Asian countries are the biggest hidden threat to its security especially, the big brother, India.
- China's interests mainly in the region is strategic and defensive and is devoid of cultural or ethnic affinity and without much scope for political penetration. China special relationship with South Asian military regimes especially with Pakistan, moulds the South Asian security profile and tried to tie down India in South Asia by building friendship with all its neighbours.
- Beijing's strategic vision of emerging as the Asian leader. This is the reason why it had a direct bearings on South Asian security; so, with times, Beijing continues to mould its South Asian policy objectives to suits its national objectives:

### **Present Scenario**

At present, both India and China are in a favour to work together to evolve their common ideas and also to evolve the new world order for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Both are in favour of a multi-polar world and are interested in resolving their boundary disputes peacefully. According to Chinese experts, despite fast changing realities of geo-strategy and geo-economics, the China's connection to South Asian security continued to be integral, even in the coming years. So, taking in to consideration, the post Cold War Era and its increasing global interests and steady movements towards becoming the next global power of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. So, China-South Asian security connection is very likely to persists in the coming decades as well.

*According to Chinese South Asian expert, what he says is*

After the end of the Cold War, every country wants to go for partnership relations. There are no ideological enemies – only neighbours, close neighbours and distant partners; who gets the advantage depends on who can use the opportunity to develop economic relations.

Presently, China is in the throes of modernising its economy and keen on getting foreign funds, investment and technology. In future, China plays a meaningful role in conflict-resolution in South Asia since its policy hinges on maintaining good relations with all neighbours. So, in this case, its traditional friend Pakistan expects that China will be able to dissuade India from any future military adventure against it. However, China has been emphasising that the Kashmir dispute should be settled through “dialogue and discussion.” It has also given friendly advice to India and Pakistan not to raise the issue in international forums. So, China has no intention to mediate in the dispute. So, Pakistan was advised to exercise self control and solve conflict through peaceful means and avoid worsening the situation, as China also feared danger to its Western Muslim region of Xinjiang autonomous province. China also condemned supporting and abetting Cross border terrorism against other country’s interest.

While it can be said that the present division of Kashmir suits China but China fears the instability in Kashmir and what China government thinks it no longer confined to the valley, may also spills over to unstable Muslim-populated province of Xinjiang (China’s province); also Chinese fear that

independent Kashmir may create unrest among Islamic fundamentalists in Xinjiang and also threaten important Chinese trade routes. So, therefore, regional insecurity is not in Chinese interests, as side by side it also fears the knock on effect of the Kashmir conflict in Xinjiang could be exploited by a foreign power. So, this could be the main reason that China urges Pakistan government to restrain itself and stops abetting and supporting cross border terrorism, as conflict in Kashmir could trigger instability in Xinjiang province (China).

### **China Strategic Benefits**

China does not want to see an independent Kashmiri state, hence any conflict which ensures Kashmir independent does not favour Chinese interests. China's benefits from its administration of the eastern part of Kashmir (Aksai Chin) are largely strategic. Chinese involvement rests first on the perception that its border with India occupied Kashmir in an area of instability and thus danger to the Chinese mainland and secondly, with its belief that Akasi chin has vital strategic importance because of its comprehensive road network and the trade routes that cross it. After 1962 War with India, China found a strategic ally in Pakistan. "China was the chief instrument by which Pakistan got its bomb, provides critical knowledge and technology, design data, training and even nuclear materials". With the construction of the Karakoram highway an all-weather motorway stretching from China in to Pakistan administered Kashmir through the Karakoram pass, further stabilise the links between the two countries. This highway provides China's access to the Indian ocean. By

creating this important trade and transport link, China has given Pakistan a reason to preserve the status-quo.<sup>27</sup>

Since the Cold War ended, there has been a slight warming of relations between China and India. So, China is sensible in making stable relations with India and Pakistan both, as still there is internal security concerns and the country needs to keep open its roads links through Aksai chin and the Karakoram highway.

Now, China is interested in maintaining its immediate economic interests with India against Pakistan. China is motivated by pragmatic national interest which in relation with a country are judged on its merits without ideological basis.

## **2. U.S. Geopolitical Interests in the Region**

U.S. analysts and foreign policy experts focuses on China as a hurdle in achieving U.S. global objectives. They pondered over ways of containing the fast growing military and economic muscles of China at regional level. A new strategy of balance of power was formulated that totally shifted the U.S. settings in South Asia. Even, U.S. also did not want to annoyed his old traditional friend, Pakistan, which U.S. used during Cold War era against Russia, in every sense, i.e. diplomatically, politically and military and also uses his soil for activating the criminal and terrorists activities against the Soviet regime. So, geo-political interests of U.S. are significant and important in the region:

---

<sup>27</sup> Nils Bhinda; The Kashmir conflict in True Cost of Conflict, PP 75-76.

- India, as due to its vast potential appeared likely candidate to built up as a counter force to China.
- U.S. if distancing itself from Pakistan, there are two reasons behind this
  - (a) Pakistan close links with China, U.S. suspected China of even transferring missile technology to Pakistan.
  - (b) Pakistan as a country with an Islamic orientation was perceived as much more likely to transfer the sophisticated technology to other Muslim countries which might pose threat to Western World interests in general and security of Israel, in particular.
- U.S. perceived central role for India in support to its goal and perceptions in South Asia.
- India accusations Pakistan of cross border terrorism and U.S. promised to join hands to fight against terrorism.
- U.S. also wants to maintain its predominant economic strength political stability, military power and technological capacities.
- U.S. interested, in maintaining economic relations with South Asian countries both in investment and technology.
- In terms of strategic issues, the rise of China and continuing uncertainty in the Asia-Pacific region should be of critical importance and concerns to both New Delhi and Washington: (Major factors include such as diplomatic manoeuvring, China factor, Pakistan factor, economic option).



## **Strategic Costs**

U.S. interests up to Cold War until the collapse of the Soviet Union were mainly strategic concerns, but now the situation is radically different. Now, the west faces strategic concerns that there is a possibility of full scale war between India and Pakistan in which nuclear weapons could be used and the west is well aware of its ramifications and aftermath's and also, the limited nuclear war responsibility lie with the west, as they were the one who supplies conventional weapons and nuclear technology. While in regard to India and Pakistan, west if favours and disfavours any of them will depend on how much they are perceived to be geopolitically valuable at that point of time, as in the past, Kashmir had a unique geo-strategic location.<sup>28</sup>

## **Economic Benefits**

Kashmir could be important (Strategically) both for India and Pakistan, or may be priority security concern for both the countries, the west has benefited economically from the sales of military equipment and technology to both the countries. Sales to India of major conventional weapons amounted to \$ 12.236 billion (1990 price) while to Pakistan of \$ U.S. 3.486 billion. During Cold War rivalries, U.S. and China sold weapons to Pakistan only while Soviet Union sold to India. Now, both Pakistan and India refused to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty for nuclear weapons and believe nuclear weapons strength is essential to protect their respective territorial integrities. So, in

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. pp. 76-78.

general the end of the Cold War has not meant an end to the tension between India and Pakistan.<sup>29</sup>

### **Strategic Advantage – Past and Present**

The U.S. has deep interest in the future of Kashmir during the Cold War era as independent Kashmir would have had share borders with Soviet Union, China, Afghanistan, India and Pakistan. It could have served as a vital post to monitor both communist China and the Soviet Union and by luck it may have been converted in to an American military base, like many other bases in Asia. As Pakistan was its strongest ally in 1950's and 1960's, American's continued to support Pakistan's demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir. Now, after the Cold War, after the disintegration of Soviet Union, there is a radical change in American policy as there are other gates open to central Asian than through Kashmir. Now, at present, American is interesting in preventing the war in Kashmir, particularly in presence of nuclear weapons, as it feels, that war could deeply destabilise the international system and every hegemonic power would be deeply concerned of Islamic Jihadis in Pakistan, who are unleashing terror in regions even beyond South Asia and are particularly targetting the U.S.. Now, both Washington and New Delhi believe that borders cannot be rewritten in South Asia and certainly not by force. However, the U.S. involvement in South Asia is limited especially in putting pressure on Pakistan to stop aiding and abetting militancy in Kashmir while it support India's initiative aimed at an internal package of autonomy.

---

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

Now, the U.S. position and its perception of South Asian terrorism, is entirely different. At present, U.S. is willing to co-operate with India in combating terrorism. The U.S. is persuading Pakistan to sign the CTBT, exercise nuclear restraint, negotiate a solution of Kashmir problem and ending counter terrorism. All these became the main goals of U.S. foreign policy but still it has consistently rejected the demand for the declaration of Pakistan as a state sponsoring terrorism, as U.S. still fear that situation might change in future and are still uncertain about future geo-political relations. Even, U.S. still hoped that Pakistan would help in containing the rising tide of religious extremism in the Muslim world, especially in Central Asia. The terrorism and radical Islamic elements became a direct obstacle to the U.S. interest in this region. The U.S. multinational companies plans to bring energy source materials (natural gas and crude oil) from land locked Central Asian Republics could not be implemented due to threats posed by the radical Islamic elements. Also, after May 1998, nuclear explosions by India and Pakistan, the U.S. had been working keenly to promote confidence-building measures between the two countries and now U.S. fears and anxious about possible nuclear wars between the two South Asian nuclear powers.

## CHAPTER IV

### **Cross-Border Terrorism in South Asia: Modus Operandi**

#### **(a) Intra Regional/Sub-Regional Scenario:**

The roots of conflicts in south Asia lie in a broad areas namely the legacies of colonialism: the conflicts which arose as the newly independent countries of the sub-continent sought to develop their national identities and strengthen their securities and also, lack of an adequate conflict control mechanism allowed disputes between states to escalate. Various challenges in front of south Asian countries, firstly they lacked common political, security and strategic perception vis-à-vis the outside world, their foreign policy perception differs widely. Secondly, given the disparities, geographically as well as in the respective levels of economic and industrial development, the majority of countries felt that economic co-operation among them may not accrue to the benefit of smaller states in the region.<sup>30</sup> Also, the geographical location of the region is more or less influenced by one country i.e. India, being the largest and politically stable and developed country in south Asia; it also constitutes the core of the region. Other countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka etc showing peripheral outlook and are looking outside the region in search of identity and securities. The smaller countries are threatened by the Indian power in the region. So, these countries look for and seek help of extra

---

<sup>30</sup> Amara, Saeed: *Terrorism: South Asia Experience: Regional Studies*, 1999 PP (31-73).

regional powers in order to counter Indian threats. These smaller countries also concerned about their economic conditions and feared they might being submerged by the Indian goods. So, never in any favour of cooperation in the economic sphere.

Other reasons as such are: that the internal political system of the countries of the region is under varying form of authoritarianism, and various contentious issues between these countries. For example, Kashmir question, people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka, presence of Sri Lankan Tamils in India, refugees from Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Also, the interests of these countries varies, as Pakistan after II<sup>nd</sup> world war aligned with U.S. whereas on the other hand, Indian-Soviet political support for each other. Also, superpowers interests and presence in Indian Ocean and nuclear armaments, further accentuates regional friction between the countries. Ethnic terrorism in south Asia are Indo-centric i.e. clear emphasis on particular religion, ethnic and linguistic component of the social fabric. All these creates rifts and conflict, tension between the countries of the region.

Terrorism within the region i.e. between the countries of the region i.e. terrorism within the boundaries of the countries of the south Asian region i.e. Domestic terrorism. The motives of the terrorism in the region (within the countries of the region) reflects:

- Terrorism within the country may be committed for publicity.

- Terrorism may be committed in order to undermine authority and also to express frustration.
- It may be motivated by a desire to provoke repression and to create disorder in the society
- may for financial gains and also, to demonstrate groups ability to act.

### **Terrorism in Sri Lanka**

The ethnic terrorism in Sri Lanka, is basically the fallout of the long colonial rule. The British rule brought the Tamils to the island, primarily as for transportation work and later, as plantation workers. The main cause of the prolonged ethnic conflict and terrorism in Sri Lanka is the economic advantage which is being denied to the Tamils minority groups. Other main causes are the competition for scarce resources, property rights, jobs, educational policy, language rights and other development allocations which creates rift between the minority Tamils and Sinhalese. Also, the ideology, religion and ethnicity, have been used as a pretext in the competition for power.<sup>31</sup>

Sri Lanka is a multi racial, multi lingual and multi religious country with Sinhalese, Sri Lankan Tamils, Indian Tamils and Sri Lankan moors or Muslims are major ethnic groups. Majority of Sri Lankan Sinhalese are Theravad Buddhists and rests are Roman Catholics. They are confined to Western, Central and Southern provinces. The Sri Lankan Tamils are mostly Hindus and

---

<sup>31</sup> P. R. Rajeshwari: Ethnicity: causes and possible solutions: the case of Sri Lanka, strategic analysis.

are confined to Northern and Eastern parts of Sri Lanka, with cultural, and political activity centered on the Jaffna Peninsula. The roots of insurgency lie deep in the social, political and economic situation at a given point of time. The insurrectionary movements took shape due to the existence of sharp divisions within the society owing to regional ethnic, linguistic religious and communal difference along with issue of legitimacy and authority. It was for the first time in 1958, that the bloody riot took place between Sinhalese and Tamils. In the following two decades, the situation worsened, as the economy of Sri Lanka worsened and unemployment rate shot up. So, to ascertain their survival and progress, Tamils for the first time in 1976 demand a separate and sovereign State. So, the current strife in Sri Lanka is a violent, ethnic, separatist movement involves mainly, the Sri Lankan Tamils and the Sinhalese, on this demand situation becomes worse, as minority makes up an overwhelming majority i.e. 95.6% of one province, situated on the Jaffna Peninsula, 38% of Trincomalee and 70% of Batticaloa. So, the distribution of wealth and employment along with the cultural and religious symbolism constitutes the sore point in their relations. So, side by side these two communities started forming different movements and organisations for say, Sinhalese Community created a leftist youth movement, the Janatha Vimukhi Peramuna or people liberation Army as a powerful political force. On the other hand, the Tamil Community went ahead with the formation of liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

Gamini Samaranayake Article examines the background and the pattern of conflict in Sri Lanka. He examines issue such as state sponsored peasant resettlement schemes, official language policy, public sector employment and university administration policy as the background of the conflict. The pattern of the conflict began as political terrorism in 1972 gradually expanded and developed in to organised guerrilla warfare.

The first violent attack between the two communities occurred in 1958 and thereafter more frequently in 1958, 1977, 1981, 1983, till date, witnessed increasing fights between the waring groups. The matter further worsened when the Muslim community began demanding significant autonomy for their own community and the territory they occupied, so, in order to suppress such type of demands within different communities, Sri Lankan government, dominated by Sinhalese majority further intensified their military action against the Tamil minority groups.<sup>32</sup> Till date, conflict is continuing between these two different communities. Even many times, India mediated in especially in 1987 in order to control violence in the Tamil region. At present, Norway (country) the mediator is trying to resolve the conflict and utmost trying to bring two communities together. So, that their differences could be resolved altogether, but till date unsuccessful in its attempt.

The LTTE recently demonstrated their military prowess by counter attacking and capturing large areas in North Eastern part of Sri Lanka in

---

<sup>32</sup> Gamini Samaranayake: Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka and Prospects of Management,: An Empirical Inquiry, terrorism and political violence.



November 1999. In the wake of military operations, the terrorists activities of the LTTE continued unabated.

## **Nepal**

Nepal as such a country is not supporting or spreading terrorism in the region, but several times, its space has been used by outsiders in order to spread terrorism in the region. Pakistan's ISI is been using Nepal's territory or space in order to widen its activities and to settle its scores with India. Nepal shares borders with three North Indian states, UP, Bihar, and West Bengal. The border is approximately 1800 km long and remains largely unguarded because of traditional peaceful ties between India and Nepal. The border is porous and movement of goods and people is very easy. As a result, Pakistan's ISI has developed its links with the smugglers of Nepal and with their support smuggles weapons into India, especially the belt or place which is occupied by vast jungles called 'Terai' region. It is Pakistan's ISI has been using its Airlines flights (with Nepal) in order to sent subversive elements in to India and also, with smuggling of arms and explosives, a large amount of fake currency notes are changed here. The recent hijacking of Indian Airlines brought terrorist and ISI activities into light. Taliban sponsored Narco-terrorists considered as a safe heaven in Nepal and also, it is not the entire population of Nepal, which is pro India. As a result of this, local crime syndicates have been deeply involved in the smuggling of drugs, weapons, explosives and fake currency rackets.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> V. D. Chopra, *Rise of Terrorism and Secessionism in Eurasia*, New Delhi.

## **Bangladesh**

Similarly in Bangladesh, terrorism, Islamic fundamentalists and ISI have established bases. They established their links with various Islamist separatist groups in Bangladesh and also, establish links in Northeast region of Indian states i.e. Assam, Nagaland and Tripura through their bases in Bangladesh. The separatist organisations operating in the North Eastern region of India receiving regular supply of explosives and weapons from the ISI through this area. As border is porous, so, smuggling of explosives and weapons becomes easy and also, the illegal migrants from Bangladesh especially exploited on religion lines provide camouflage to terrorists and smugglers.

India shares border with Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh which are geo-strategically placed, only India's fear from these small countries, might be used by any third country against India's interests and can harm India by putting foothold in any of the country bordering India and may successfully carried out its plan. So, it is in India's interest, that these countries are not vulnerable to any third power and to maintained political, economic and social stability of these countries. So, given their geo-strategic significance and other concerns. All these countries are important from India's security point of view.

While highlighting India- Sri Lanka viewpoint on ethnic crisis, it somewhat clash, their perceptions are different. India's views in the beginning were influenced by the pressures and perceptions of her own Tamil population while on the Northeast front, India is facing illegal migration from Bangladesh

and also support to anti social elements in the Northeast by the Islamic fundamentalists who are camping on the soil of Bangladesh. While Bhutan is considered as safe heaven for ULFA militants, as they easily cross over to Bhutan as refugees. While in Nepal, ISI is taking due advantage of low economic development, anti-India feeling in Nepal, and also, using the Muslim minorities of Nepal against India.

From 1996, Nepal itself is facing the internal challenge of the Maoist insurgency. All these combination of ISI activities, Maoist Insurgency, problem of nascent democracy, economic backwards in Nepal, all together are of great concern for India. Also, the instability in Nepal could ensue vulnerabilities, which is worse for India's security point of view. Similarly, in Bangladesh, the illegal migration, demographic aggression, ISI operation along with fundamentalist elements of Bangladesh, and also, the instability in Bangladesh which lead to spread and consolidation of fundamentalist elements. Even, Taliban is having supporters in Bangladesh. While in Bhutan, since mid 1990's the Bodo and ULFA militants have set up camps in South Bhutan, they pose a threat to Bhutan's internal security.

In case of Sri Lanka ethnic crisis, India ruled out military intervention and stated clearly, that it was not for separate Eelam. India re-emphasize its commitment to a sovereign, united and multi ethnic Sri Lanka where all minorities live together with dignity and without fear. On the another hand, India's fear about possible infiltration of Sri Lankan Tamil militants in the

guise of refugees, involved themselves in smuggling petroleum products, medicines and life saving drugs back to Lanka.<sup>34</sup>

Countries surrounding India have been active in exploiting the volatile situation presented by the turmoil in the Northeast. Countries like China, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar; also, Nepal and Bhutan to some extent, have been involved in the region through political backing, economic assistance, logistic support, military training and arms supplies.

In the North Eastern states, after the creation of Bangladesh, the Pakistani were left with two choices i.e. keep the war as much as possible on the Indian soil or raise the cost of an Indian attack. Since, the establishment of the Naga National Council in 1956, Pakistan was the first to step in with moral and material support Pakistan's gave material support with weapons and training in Guerrillas warfare as well also attempted to internationalised the issue. The Naga insurgents had been receiving weapons and training in Eastern Pakistan till the formation of Bangladesh and at present, through ISI and Muslim fundamentalist groups.

Since 1980's ISI has consistently kept up its cross-border activities for instigating, supporting and directing insurgent activities in the Northeast India. The aim may be to weakens internal security, also to divert its attention from Kashmir and Pakistan. In recent years, ISI is exploiting the communal elements

---

<sup>34</sup> Padwaja Murthy: Indo-Sri Lanka Security Perception: Divergences and Convergences: Strategic Analysis, May 2000.

in the region, there has been a mushrooming of Islamist groups in the region, even Madarsas in Assam are helping in growth of separatist forces in the Northeast region.

ULFA has established training camps and sanctuaries in the Manas reserves and other densely forested areas of South Bhutan; ISI remain the principle backer of ULFA, especially ULFA camps at Deothang and Koipani areas of Bhutan and Chittagonj hill tracts in Bangladesh; Pakistan's ISI operating terrorists cells in Bangladesh and their biggest concentration in Tinkuria area of Assam. They are provided with the logistics and reconnaissance in order to carry out their operations. The trans border nature of one ethnic and religion affinities provide a fertile ground for external environment.

As a result, of which various militants groups and outfits operating in the Northeast India received political and financial support across the borders. The porous nature of the border makes it easier for militants to operate and maintain military and logistics bases in the neighbouring countries. Pakistan support comes through ISI in the form of financial assistance, ideological, indoctrination and logistic support in the form of false passports and documents because of geographical consideration, Bangladesh, Nepal have emerged as the prime conduits for Pakistani activities in the Northeast.

Similarly, in Kashmir, which remains a bone of contention between India and Pakistan. From 1947 onwards up to date, tension prevails over Kashmir between the two actions. For Pakistan, Kashmir is a core issue which is to be emerged with main state while on the other hand, India claims that its security is depended on India's retaining control of Kashmir. So, Kashmir is an important flash point from geo-strategic and geo-political point of view for both the nations, as its frontier run in common with Afghanistan, Asian republics and china. So, any erosion of India's jurisdiction over Kashmir diminishes its strategic defence capacity. As both the countries claim control over Jammu and Kashmir, so, Pakistan from 1980's onwards waged a proxy war in the region and caused substantial economic and military costs and supporting the separatists groups in Kashmir. So, any costs to India either in diplomatic terms, economic or territorial is perceived as a benefit to Pakistan. Both the countries are abusing each other violating human rights in the region, i.e. Pakistan supporting cross border terrorism, supplying explosives, weapons, finance, across its borders and calling Indian military men as terrorists violating human rights. So, both the state are calling on each other as terrorist states as both of them have claimed control over Kashmir territory and its people. So, Pakistan is continuing waging a proxy war in Kashmir against India in the name of Islam and hatred.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Geopolitical analysis of Kashmir Crisis (ed.), Virender Grover and Ranjana Arora.

## **(b) Inter-Regional Dimension**

Cross Border terrorism sponsored by individual state poses a threat to International peace and development and it is sponsored by one state against the other for subversion, de-stabilisation and fragmentation of the targeted state. The linkages between the terrorist groups and the states contributed to the intensity of terrorists acts across the national frontiers, also provide them with financial, logistical, weapons and organisational support.

India has faced the challenge of externally sponsored terrorism right from the time of its independence. Terrorists and separatist elements operating in India have at different points of time received support from other nation like China, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar. Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, and states of India as well as in Tamil Nadu, all have been subjected to terrorist activities originating in foreign countries or being supported by external elements or nations, in order to achieve their foreign objectives in International relations.<sup>36</sup>

The national interests is vital to every nation either motivated by religion or political modernism and its foreign policy depends on various issues such as external threat, geographical location, strategic significance, political aspirations, economic requirements, ideology, ethos, personality of the statesman and overall national interests of the country and also, to achieve its foreign objectives, nation employs various instruments such as diplomacy,

---

<sup>36</sup> Kshitij Prabha: *Terrorism: An Instrument of Foreign Policy*, South Asian Publishers.

propaganda, International law, International organisation, foreign aid and overt welfare.

In International Relation, a stage comes, when conventional instruments of foreign policy failed to influence the International Relations and the conflict becomes envitable and instead of full-scale war, terrorism or low intensity conflict comes as an alternate. Terrorism's aim is to destabilise a established government by means of violence and conspiracy. The best example of escalation of terrorism in the post Cold War situation develops in Afghanistan and Jammu and Kashmir: as Afghans Mujahideens used by Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir to achieve its foreign policy goals. The stockpile of arms and ammunitions left behind by the U.S. and the Soviets are conveniently available to Mujahideens. Pakistani leaders are keen to bring the Muslim dominated countries of this region in to a Islamic block and thereby trying to influence the regional politics of South Asia and Central Asia.

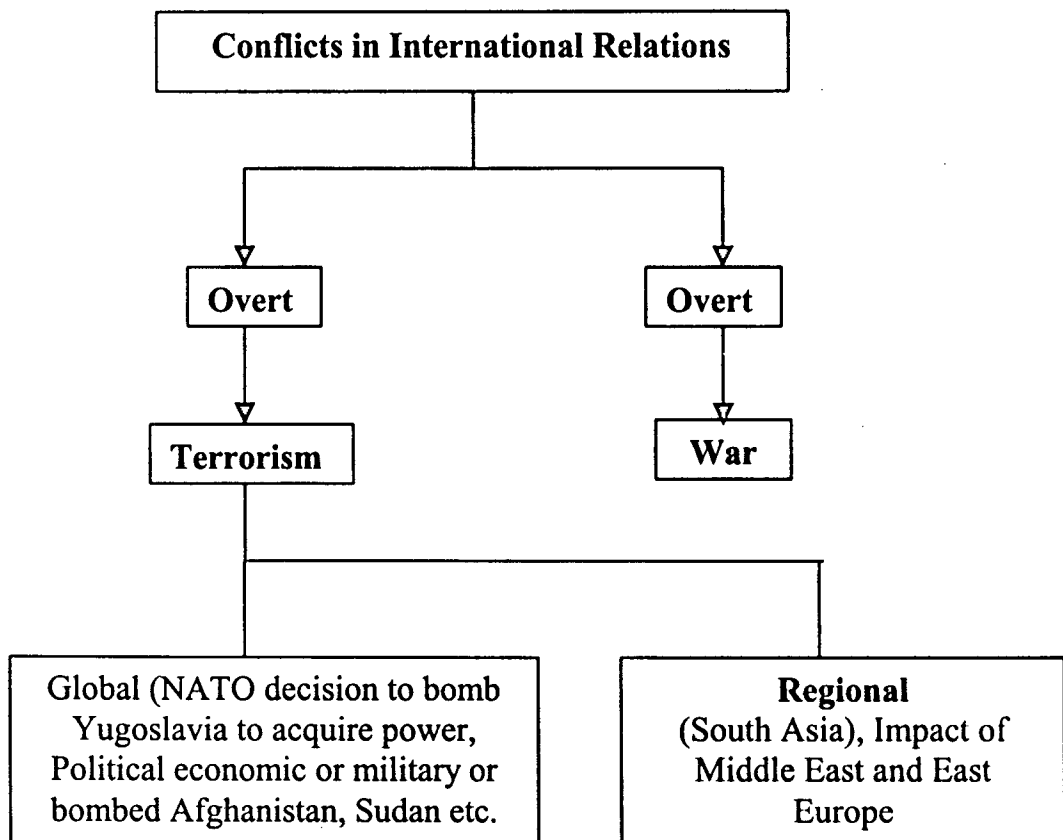
Terrorism is transactional by its very nature aimed to achieve certain objectives; it seeks assistance from across the borders and uses international forms to get their demand accepted. They operate in an interwoven organisational structure which is spread all over the world. There are various causes of terrorism:

- It may be Physiochological.
- It may be Social.
- It may be Economic.



- It may be Political.
- It may be due to frustration.

Terrorism is an international phenomena employed by independent sovereign nations. This phenomena occurs as to acquire wealth, power or to achieve political goals by states. This phenomena is carried out at the behest of state involved which is supporting and abetting it. For example, Libya, Syria, Iran, Israel, Pakistan, Cuba, U.S., etc. could be using terrorism now and earlier to achieve their foreign policy goals:



Source: Ksitij, Prabha "Terrorism – An instrument of Foreign Policy"

It is only after the II<sup>nd</sup> World War that the idea of surrogate warfare became an important instrument to achieve foreign policy goals. Terrorism was

used for many purposes, ideology, security or political, economic. This develops as a result of ideological dimension, military strength and nuclear capability between the nations. Even, the Kashmir terrorism is as a result of 1974, nuclear explosion by India.

U.S. supplied arms to Pakistan in 1970's and 1980's in order to curb down Soviet's communism but ultimately, these weapons used for terrorism in India, resulted in to overt conflict in the sub-continent and also, the power rivalry at the regional level among nations to dominate regional politics in different pockets of the world. For example, India in a South Asian region. Also, the struggle for power at the global level among advance nations like U.S., UK, Germany, France, Russia, China etc i.e. conflict in International politics promoted growth of transnational terrorism like U.S. used Pakistan during II<sup>nd</sup> World War while on the other hand, Russia used Cuba, Lebanon and Syria, both used their allies in the middle East region, Southeast, South Asia, and Pacific countries as bases for sponsoring covert acts of terrorism. All this brought changes in the power structure at the regional levels across the world, as armed with sophisticated weapons and arms, and flow of financial assistance, gave them the opportunity to settle down their disputes either related to ethnic problem or territorial conflicts. These regional countries armed with sophisticated weapons and economic assistance become powerful and developed tendency to dominate and use force to achieve their foreign policy goals in the region. For example, Pakistan sponsoring terrorism in India and

Syria's support to Palestine liberal organisation; Syria receives assistance from Russia while Pakistan from U.S.

The terrorism also develops as a result of political instability in the region and also developed as a result of political economic crisis. It also develops due to global insecurity, rises as a result of inamicable action of major powers, like after II<sup>nd</sup> World War. Nation states were compelled to join either two superpowers. So, it created a sense of insecurity among the state nations and develops an alternative as counter productive. So, use terrorism to defend themselves.

Regional powers too get involved in proxy war and low intensity conflict causes insecurity in the region. The ultimate goal is the regional politics. As due to absence of equally strong power, U.S. hegemony created an atmosphere of insecurity among nation states, situation too lead to terrorism. Thus, power is one of the decisive factor in International Relations. Even, it goes to the extent of using terrorism to achieve its foreign policy goals i.e. to acquire political and economic power in International Relations.

### **Terrorism in Punjab**

The most significant reason for the blood shed in Punjab in 1980's is Pakistan support to militants for secessionism of state from India and the creation of an independent Sikh nation i.e. Khalistan: Punjab was targeted as it shares borders with Pakistan even shares common, social and political behaviour, as in 1947 major part of Punjab goes to Pakistan, as the main source

of livelihood was scrapped. People of Punjab lost their commercial base, losing economic resources, bloodshed in riots compelled people to migrate to India and also, may lost their centre of religion.<sup>37</sup>

Political, Economic, Religious, defence and Regional, all these factors were as foreign policy goals for Pakistan in Punjab: The 1971 war for the independence of Bangladesh was the turning point in Indo-Pak relation. India's active participation in the guerrilla war by the Mukthi Bahini against Pakistan Government changed the entire gamut of relationship between the two countries. Pakistan foreign policy makers intend to average the loss of East Pakistan in 1971 war by helping Punjab in creation of separate Sikh state. Also, defeat in 1971 war, caused fear Psychosis of being contained by India and Pakistan leader were reluctant to accept India's hegemony in the region. So, in a well-planned strategy, Pakistan launched state sponsored terrorism in Punjab to create Khalistan.<sup>38</sup>

As Pakistan itself was created on the basis of ethnic demography and religion, Pakistan lead as branded India as repressive 'Hindu' regime rather than a secular state. So, create communal rift in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir and also, it aims to weakens India's defence strength by fragmenting it. Pakistan wanted to create a buffer state in the form of Punjab between them and also, its creation cuts Jammu and Kashmir from rest of India i.e. from

---

<sup>37</sup> H. R. Khanna, et as..., *Terrorism in Punjab*, Panchad Research Institute and Kshitij Prabha: *Terrorism: Instrument of Foreign Policy*.

<sup>38</sup> Verma, Prakash, *Terrorism in Punjab as a factor of India's counterpracy International Relations* CIPOD, JNU, 1980.

Indian roads and railways, and also, Khalistan formation could have brought stability in its domestic politics.

### **Nature and Infrastructure of Pak-Sponsored Terrorism in Punjab**

The nature of terrorism in Punjab was alienation of Sikh population from the mainstream of India. Also, it emphasised need for conversion of the state machinery and mass agitation against the government. Also, the people of Punjab becomes victims of violence and counter violence by the militants and the administration respectively and also, Pakistan provides infrastructure to Sikh militants through Intelligence and Pakistan based Panthic Committee.

Panth and politics go together in the social and political life of Punjab because of religious interference in politics which is the way of social life in Punjab. So, Panthic committee propagated hatred and violence against the government of India in Punjab. The religious position is emotionally exploited by the Panth and their religious sentiments swayed people and marched on the path of no return.

### **Use of Terrorism in Kashmir**

Pakistan's claim for Jammu and Kashmir is based on the principle of ethnic demography laid down by Mount batten for the partition of the Indian sub-continent. Ever, since the accession, Kashmir has dominated Pakistan Policies. Kashmir has become a frequent constant source of friction between

India and Pakistan. Even, the local politics of Pakistan is dominated by the Kashmir issue.<sup>39</sup>

- Pakistan sole objective is to acquire Kashmir state from India and is on the top priority of the foreign policy of Pakistan, also dominated the defence, economy and domestic politics.
- Pakistan also perceived threat from India.
- Ideological threat from India.
- Also, fear of accession of Jammu and Kashmir with India; as its affects the territorial integrity and ideology.
- Pakistan look towards Kashmir to compensate the loss of Bangladesh.
- Pakistan aims to achieve leadership of Islamic countries and also it may solve its internal problems in Sindh and Baluchistan; so, this is the reason. It gave utmost priority to Jammu and Kashmir State and its accession to Pakistan state.

Till date, Pakistan has used all acceptable foreign policy investments to conquer Jammu and Kashmir i.e. through political processes, through warfare, (1948, 1965, 1971 and now in 1999), through International organisation, diplomacy and propaganda and through foreign aids. Foreign aids in terms of economic assistance and military assistance used by Pakistan to achieve its

---

<sup>39</sup> B. P. Saha, *Trans Border Terrorism: Internationalization; of Kashmir Tangle*: Saha publications, New Delhi.

foreign policy goals in Jammu and Kashmir. The external aid given to Pakistan by Arabs and Americans is used by Kashmiri militants. Money and defence equipment supplied to militants in Jammu and Kashmir across the borders in to India and also mercenary training provided to Kashmiri militants by the Pakistani army. During the Cold War era, Pakistan became the frontline state against expansion of the Soviet Communism, U.S. provided the economic and military assistance to Pakistan against Russia but it was used against India and inspired Pakistan to settle its scores and Kashmir dispute by force and by sponsoring cross Border terrorism into Jammu and Kashmir. The annual flow of sophisticated weapons into Pakistan during 1979-1982, estimated to be around \$1 billion.<sup>40</sup>

As the International scenario was not favourable enough to declare war against India. So, Pakistan use these weapons for abetting terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and elsewhere in India and its vicinity and also indulged in organising bases for military training for the militants and the agents provocations engaged in subversive activities against India.

---

<sup>40</sup> Kshitij Prabha: Terrorism: An Instrument of Foreign Policy.

## CHAPTER V

### **Cross-Border Terrorism in South Asia: Region-Wise Comparison**

South Asian Region is not alone in facing terrorism. Survey reveals that nearly all democracies world over are facing terrorism in one form or the other. It is difficult to fight terrorism in democracy, as freedom of expression is a fundamental right in almost in all democracies.

Present day societies themselves threatened by sophisticated form of terrorism; there are two types of terrorist: one class is entirely political and other is criminal indulged in kidnapping for ransom. Political terrorism has now developed in a very serious form in India and earlier, as it was in France, Italy etc. There are groups around the world involved in terrorist activities motivated by ideologies Anarchist, Castroite, Leninist, Maoist, Nationalist and Trotskyists.

Today, terrorism has spread to parts of Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, China, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Algeria, parts of Africa and South East Asia and even U.S. There is hardly any part in the world which has remained untouched. Terrorist all over the world are armed, trained, and under some command and control and appears to move with ease across national boundaries and today, what we called as a International terrorism is basically emanates from our immediate neighbourhood.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> S. D. Muni, *South Asia: Challenges of the Millennium*.



## **Pattern of Terrorism: Region Wise**

The pattern varies from region to region, in some, it is state sponsored, in some it is revolutionary, state sponsored, repressive, or secessionists, in some, ethnic, religion based, or ideology based. So, varies region to region: Pattern of terrorism is dealt separately for every region.<sup>42</sup>

### **Africa's Pattern of Terrorism**

The terrorism is basically confined to North African states and Eastern states especially in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar-es Salaam, Tanzania etc. Recently, Islamic extremists caused more casualties to U.S. embassies and its people, indicating its potentiality in African nation and its global network. State sponsor of terrorism, especially Libya are significantly increasing their activities in the sub-Saharan Africa. Although, in South Africa, terrorism as defined is of different sort. It is based on Apartheid, race discrimination. So, a fight between Blacks and Whites over control of resources and basic rights in the region, as black are in majority in South Africa. What is said as terrorist activities are based or related to inequality, injustice, and distribution of resources. So, chances of terrorism in Africa may increase in future, for example, conflict between warlords in Africa. In Angola, groups which are engaged in terrorist activities are National Union form total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and other is Cabinda Liberation Front – Cabindan Armed Forces (FLEC-FAC).

---

<sup>42</sup> Pattern Of Global Terrorism: U.S. Deptt. of State publication, April 1999.

In Kenya, a group calling itself the Islamic Army for the liberation of the Holy places claimed responsibility of bombing Kenya in 1998. In Sierra Leone, Revolutionary United front is active and similarly, extremists are active in Nigeria, Somalia, Tanzania, South Africa and Uganda.

### **Pattern of Terrorism in South Asia**

Terrorism is driven by a sense of injustice as when a nation does not have independence in the family of nations or where a minority feels, its rights are ignored. Much of the modern terrorism is connected to the struggle for a separate territory within the given national boundaries resulting in clashes between two cultures, religion and ideological groups. The problem is every where in the world be it middle East, Sri Lanka, Ireland, Latin and South America, Puerto Rico and parts of Africa. The various terms are used for those who are involved in nefarious activities are militants, extremists, migrants, naxalities, anti-nationals, mercenaries and terrorist.

In Jammu and Kashmir, various groups are known such as Harkal-ul-Ansar, Hizbul Mujahideen, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, Lasker-i-Taiba etc. where in North Eastern India, groups are United Liberation Force of Assam (ULFA), PGW, Bodo militants etc.

Many of the terrorist outfits in India are openly backed by ISI of Pakistan which supplies them with guns and explosives. ISI has supplied landmines, anti aircraft guns, stringer missiles, AK-47's and AK- 56's. State sponsored terrorism and religious extremists are the two forces which have

been unleashed to weaken and destabilise secular activities in South Asia. Besides terrorism, illegal narcotics trafficking, smuggling of arms and explosives, subversion of secular ethos, socio-cultural cohesion is also a part of this war. State sponsored terrorism aim to destabilise a country using ethnic violence, religious strike, general unrest, and chaos to destroy economic, social and political infrastructure of a country. Three main components under attack by the militants i.e. physical, Institutional, infrastructure and constitution of a state and finally, the idea of a state which is acceptable to the people and which ruled over people.

The sponsored political violence and terrorism in Kashmir and other parts of India and ethnic violence in Sri Lanka threaten peace in the entire South Asian region. The ethnic and religions affinity on either side of the border and the porous terrain of the border areas provided condition for the infiltration of terrorists and insurgents to operate in various parts of India and Sri Lanka. Now, radical religion is being used by Pakistan to attain its politico-strategic objectives of weakening and destabilising several parts of India.<sup>43</sup> In case of Sri Lankan island, the conflict is between the ethnic groups i.e. Tamils and Sinhalese. Injustice and relative deprivation are the main factors, contributed to the conflict between them.

Maoist terrorism in Nepal aim is to established revolutionary government. They are in favour of a republican state. They are aimed at truth,

---

<sup>43</sup> K. Warikoo: *Islamist Extremism and Terrorism in Kashmir*.

justice, equality, freedom and liberation. It is giving rise to a new culture and also replacing the decadent capitalist art and culture by people's art, literature and culture. So, Maoist people put forward an alternative. This alternative is based on the Marxist-Leninist Maoist philosophy and ideology which claims to uproot exploitation and ensure equal rights to the people. These Maoists are functioning as an underground organisation in Nepal. However, Maoist terrorism is more repressive and revolutionary while that of LTTE in Sri Lanka and Hizbul Mujahideen in Kashmir pertains more to be secessionism.<sup>44</sup>

After independence of the five former soviet central Asian republics, there is sudden and unexpected rise of the Islamic factor and danger of a fundamentalist threat. It is in this region that Pakistan is in favour of using central Asian states in south Asian politics in order to bolster its own geo-strategic advantage. Pakistan supported fundamental groups in these states with moral support, finance, logistic support etc. Islamic terrorism from the region collaborating in terrorist training and narco trafficking, and militants are been sending to Chechnya, Kashmir in order to fight the Russian forces and Indian forces, so that these could be liberated from their clutches.

India is aware that the spill over of terrorism from the Afghan hub has larger geo-political ramifications. The spread of terrorism in the region can destabilise the resources rich central Asia. Also, the consolidation of radicalism in Afghanistan will hardens extremist pressure on Kashmir. Central Asia lies at

---

<sup>44</sup> See, *rise of terrorism and secularism in Eurasia*, edited by V. D. Chopra under article: *Maoist Terrorism in Nepal* (by Parmanand); *Growth, Spreads and Prospects*.

a strategic junction between the two nuclear powers Russia and China and the interface between Russia and the Islamic world. It also shares border with Afghanistan which is a major source of spreading religious extremism in this region. Taking in to consideration the Kashmir tangle, India cannot overlook over what is happening in the region. India's strategic concerns are tied up with the region bordering its North and Northwest. For India, issue pertains not only to 4 million Muslims in Kashmir but to peace and security of 130 million Muslims elsewhere in India. Also, the instability in Afghanistan adversely influence peace and security in our region i.e. the extremist consolidating in Afghanistan under Taliban will destabilise central and south Asia.<sup>45</sup>

So, Central Asia and South Asian countries are concerned over rising cross border terrorism and state sponsored terrorism; religious extremism, political Islam and ethnic unrest, radiating out of Afghanistan and Pakistan. India is facing cross border terrorism sponsored by Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir, Russia in Chechnya and central Asia in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

### **Terrorism in South East Asia**

In Philippines, violent attacks in Southern province of Mindanao from rebels in the Moro Islamic Liberation army and Abu Sayyaf group, even attacks on rural police posts around the country and kidnapping of foreign

---

<sup>45</sup> Chopra, V. D. Rise of Terrorism and Secessionism in Eurasia; Strategic Analysis Feb 2001; Mann Poonam, Fighting Terrorism: India and Central Asia; page 2035.

nationals. In Thailand, Muslim separatists of the New Pattani United Liberation Organisation (New PULO) are active and involved in terrorist activities. Opium and heroin have a malignant influence in the Golden triangle – Myanmar, Laos and Thailand – with the heroin traffic passing mainly through Bangkok and Hong Kong, and in other places, it generates international crime and terrorism; the Khmers' Rouges (KR) are likely to continue to use terrorism in destabilise the established government and Philippines is going to face international terrorist movements in future.

### **Terrorism in Europe**

Terrorism in Europe is rallied behind political and ethnic controversies. Terrorism in Spain was attributed entirely to Basque fatherland and the liberty group. In Turkey, incidents are mainly related to Kurdistan worker's party (PKK): In Greece, a variety of anarchist and terrorist groups continue to operate with united impunity. In Northern Ireland, the conflict is between the Catholics and Protestant communities. In Germany, the Red Army Fraction (RAF) is active and is among the world's deadliest.

### **Terrorism in Latin America**

Columbia principle insurgents group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELA), stepped up attacks against security forces and civilian, despite a budding peace process with the colonial government. They continue to conduct kidnapping, bombing and extortion campaigns against civilians and commercial interests. Guerrillas

launched a concerted offensive attack against police and military bases throughout the country: Guerrillas continued to bomb U.S. commercial interests such as oil pipelines and small businesses.

There is a steady decline in Sendero Luminoso (SL) and Tupac Amaru revolutionary movement (MRTA) in Peru. In the triborder area, Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay consolidated efforts to stem the illicit activities of individuals linked to Islamic terrorists groups. These 3 countries consulted closely on enforcement efforts and actively promoted regional counter terrorist cooperation.

### **Terrorism in Middle East**

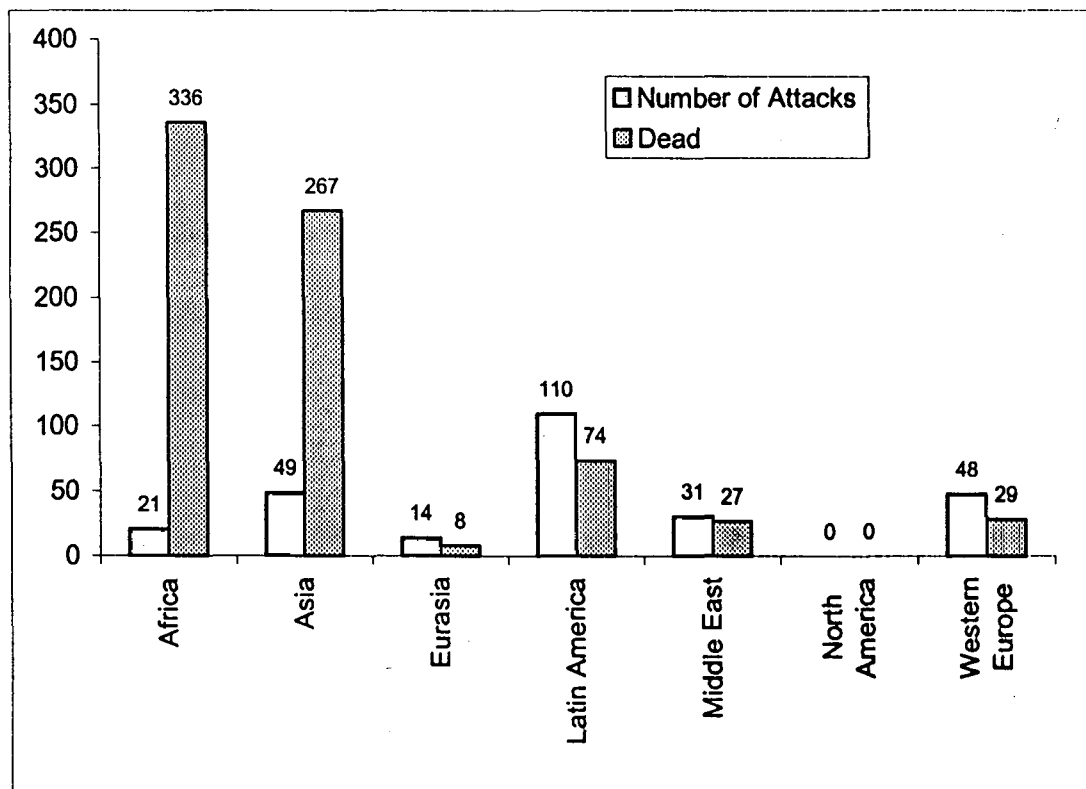
Middle Eastern terrorist groups are sponsored by states against other states. They continue to plan, train and conduct terrorist acts. Terrorism in Middle East is mainly revolve around the Arab-Israeli conflict. Palestinian groups, continued to conduct attacks in Israel, west Bank and Gaza; Hamas and Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ) launched suicide bombing attack at Jerusalem markets.

Hizbollah, Hamas, PIJ and the popular front for the liberation of Palestine, used camps in Lebanon for training and operational planning. The conflict in southern Lebanon between Lebanese armed groups and Israel and its local allies continued unabated. Islamic fundamentalism for the time being poses a bigger threat to peace in the Middle East, along with the Arab-Israeli

dispute. It is spreading fast in the Middle East and even in African countries which have large Muslim population.

In Egypt, government security forces secured little success in reducing the influence of Islamic opponents, particularly by Al-Gama-at-al at Islamiyya. There is growing collaboration between Egyptians extremists and other groups led by Osama Bin Laden. The Algerian government made progress in combating domestic terrorism, undertaking aggressive counter insurgency operations against the Armed Islamic groups (GIA) and slowed down its indiscriminate violence against its civilians.<sup>46</sup>

**Present Scenario of Terrorism: Region-wise  
Total International Attacks, 1998**

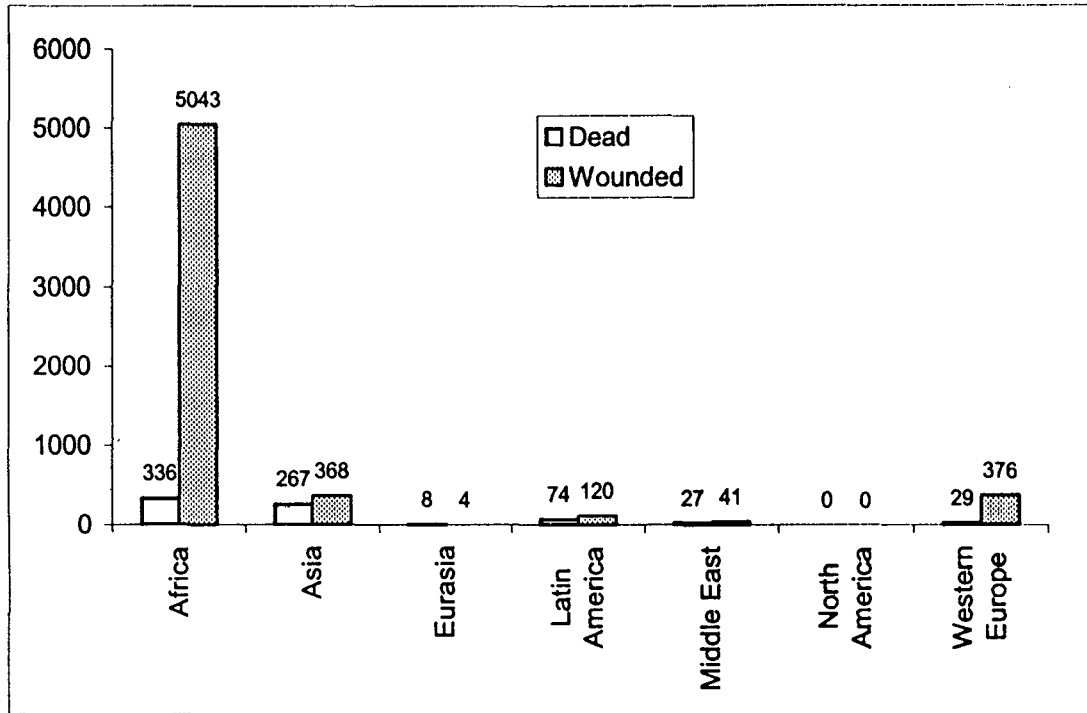


Source: *Patterns of Global Terrorism, U.S. 1998 Deptt. of State.*

<sup>46</sup> Terrorism in an Unstable World: by Richard Clutterbuck, London, New York, Patterns of Global Terrorism 1998 U.S. department of state.

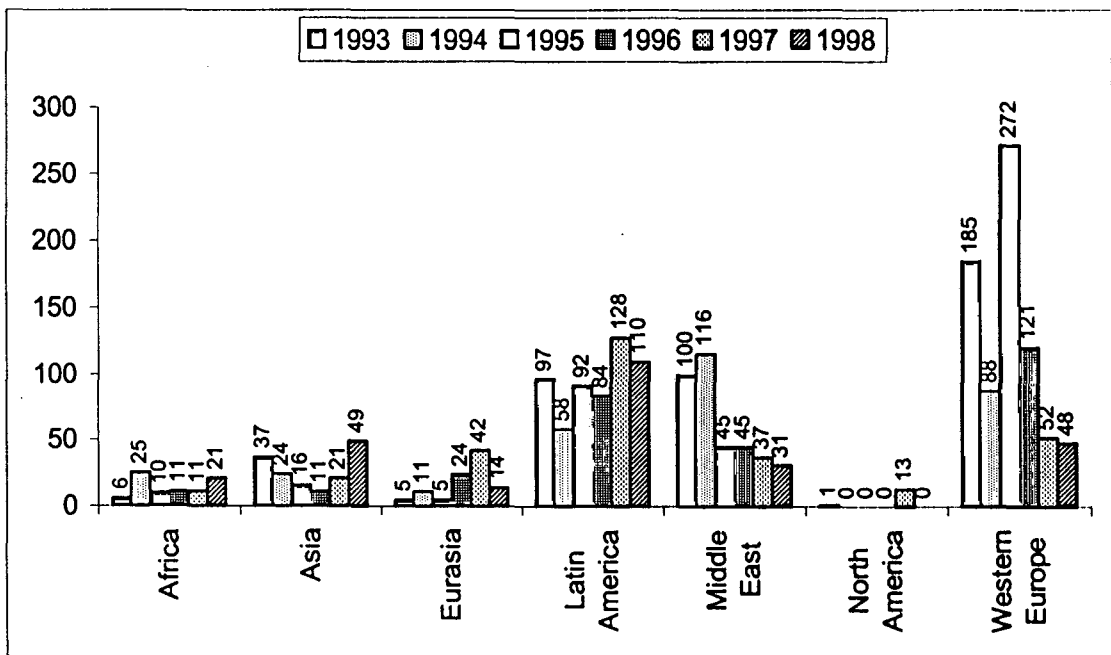


### Total Casualties Caused by International Attacks, 1998



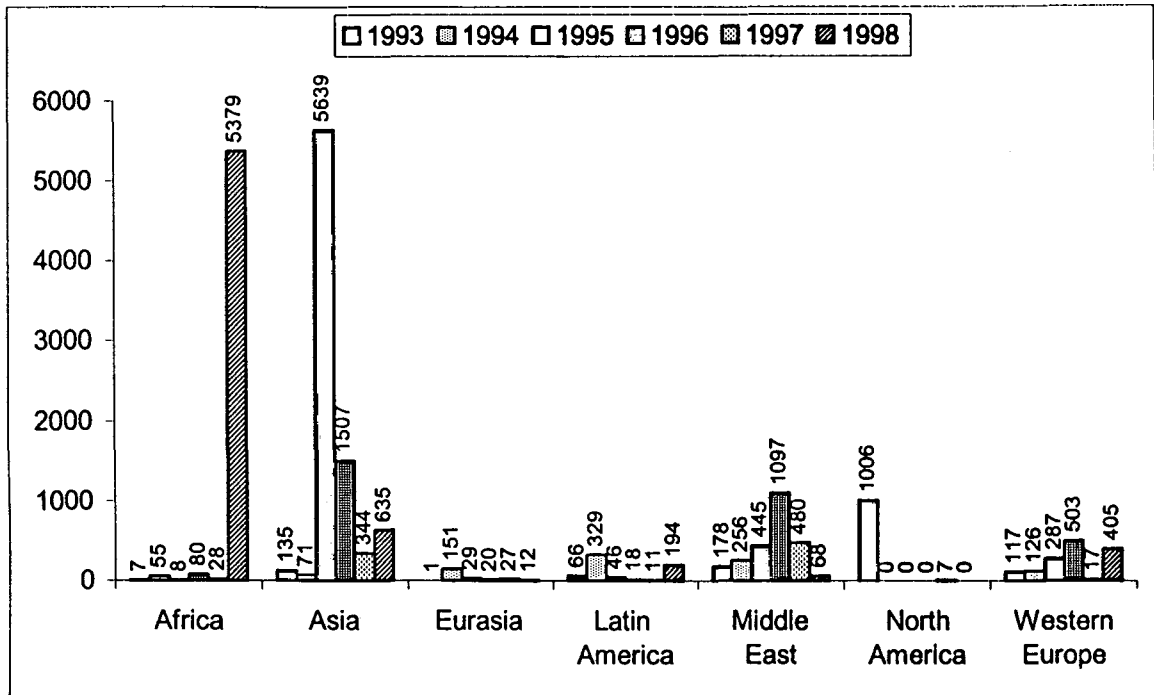
Source: *Patterns of Global Terrorism, U.S. 1998 Deptt. of State.*

### Total International Attacks by Region, 1993-98



Source: *Patterns of Global Terrorism, U.S. 1998 Deptt. of State.*

## Total International Casualties by Region, 1993-98



*Source: Patterns of Global Terrorism, U.S. 1998 Deptt. of State.*

### Overall Analysis

Terrorism in South Asia and Middle East have similar traits that causes it: the terrorism in both the regions is state sponsored and based on Islamic factor. Islamic fundamentalism is prevalent in both the regions. The countries in these regions are sponsoring terrorism against the interests of other countries in order to fulfill their foreign policy goals. Although, terrorism in Sri Lanka is based on ethnic strife, while it is given the name of nationalist violence as in Spain and Northern Ireland, while in Africa, terrorism is related to Islamic fundamentalism and the conflict between the warlords in Africa. Drug related terrorism plagues both Latin America, South and East Asia, while in Europe, it is more political and ethnic rather than religious, but in Eurasia, it is more religious. Although, in Philippines it is domestic terrorism i.e. related to

internal problems. At present, Islamic fundamentalism has overtaken Marxism as the prime ideological generator of international terrorism.<sup>47</sup>

### **Typologies of Terrorism**

Holton (1978) group terrorism in to 3 classes:

Type I: Terrorism committed by small groups or individuals as in Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives or in North Eastern India.

Type II: Terrorism conducted by governments. This is according to groups or individuals, who are not happy or satisfied with the present governments or their dreams are not fulfilled under the present regime, and defined government action as terrorist act against the innocent people or individuals.

Type III: where government gives supports or hire Type I, as in case of Pakistan government or its ISI agency which support the extremists and other ignored people, against India's interests in order to fulfill its foreign policy goals or as in case of Bangladesh, where Pakistan's ISI is operating and supporting fundamentalists and extremists (which thrives in Bangladesh,) against India's North Eastern part.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Terrorism – an instrument of foreign policy- Kshitij Prabha, forwarded by J. N. Dixit- South Asian publishers, New Delhi.

<sup>48</sup> A political organisation Approach to Transnational terrorism – common roots – Kent Layne Oots connecticut, USA.

Similarly, according to Shultz and Sloan there exist five types of terrorist groups:

- Ethnic separatists as in case of Sri Lanka, where Tamils minority and Sinhala majority, two ethnic groups are clashing with each other, where Tamil ethnic groups demanded a separate Tamil state named Eelam: second groups claimed to be called themselves as nationalists and demanded a separate nation state for example various groups in Kashmir and North Eastern India. Others included are ideological, extremists, interests groups and sociopathic groups.<sup>49</sup>

According to Shultz, He sees terrorism as goal directed behaviour for political purposes and divide terrorist in to 3 classes: Revolutionary terrorists seeks complete social change, sub-revolutionary terrorists seek structural – functional changes in the political system and the established terrorist wish to prevent changes and preserve current authority.

Several different types of terrorism has been delineated below:

- Ideological terrorism in committed in order to influence government.
- Criminal terrorism is committed for economic gain.
- Type I terrorism is committed by autonomous groups.
- Type II terrorism is committed by government.
- Type III terrorism is committed by support groups.

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

Non-Government terrorist group may be further divided into several classes ethnic, ideological, issue based, nationalist and sociopathic, divided into number of categories based on:

- tactics
- objectives
- targets

Transnational terrorism (Farewell) is an act which occurs outside the state of which the perpetrator is a citizen. It is conducted either outside the target State or with the target State against a nationality of another State. It is intended to damage the interests of a State or an International organisation.

Motives causes and purposes:

- Political goals.
- Obtaining freedom for Jailed Colleagues.
- Obtaining money to finance further operations.
- Can be used to gain specific concessions from the authorities.
- To create disorder.
- Collapse the social system.
- Provoke repression with the ultimate goal of collapsing the government.
- To express frustration.
- May be committed in order to undermine authority.
- Used as a substitute for full scale warfare.
- May be rationale choice under given conditions.

- Collective or personal guilt can motivate the terrorist.
- To demonstrate the groups ability to act.
- To recruit new members for the group.

Terrorism may be used by states as a low cost form of warfare. Goals of terrorist is to bring change in the leadership, structure or policies of a particular state. It also includes instilling fear through unpredictable violence, publicity and specific social and political concessions.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **Terrorism: Future Trends and Prospects**

Even if we wish it away, the recurrent phenomenon of terrorism is going to remain with us, as long as the causes of terrorism remain unaddressed. State need to tackle the social, economic and political conditions that give rise to terrorism. Terrorism did not disappear with the end of the Cold War, but indeed, its ends, unleashed a new wave of ethnic and ethno-religious conflict in and an around the entire world. Terrorism is still with us, only its face has changed.

A growing disenchantment between the Western industrialized nations and the developing world, will may lead to political violence in future in the less developed countries. Population trends and inequalities will feed and encourage extremism and violent political protest which will in return lead to direct action. There is possibility in future, looking at the trends in demographic growth and ecological and ethnic pressure, all may leads to terrorism and crime in the south Asian region. There is no positive response from the states across the border, that in future, may stop sponsoring terrorism to achieve their goals. Terrorist attacks have grown far more lethal over the past 15 years i.e. there is a shift from hijacking to the Sabotage bombings of the

jumbo jets, there is also a possibility of using chemical, biological weapons or nuclear materials in future.

Terrorism has emerged as an instrument to achieve foreign policy goals of nation-states. With the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, a new wave of thinking emerged, i.e. Disintegration has created a vacuum in the power politics of the world. In the post Cold War, every nation was desperate to explore its status in the emerged world order, but the situation in South Asia region is altogether different, one is terrorism is on rise, and the other is nuclearisation of India and Pakistan has restrained both of them from waging a declared war, so, state instead of using a direct war, has switched itself to limited war (proxy war) and terrorism to achieve its foreign policy goals across the border.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons has not ended limited regional conflicts but made them more frequent. The post Cold War geopolitical equations has created unstable environment in which the dangers of regional conflict and terrorism have increased. Religious fundamentalism, ethnic extremism and tribalism have provided new incentives for small arms. These Small Scale proxy wars are fought in the shadow on every territory without overt involvement of the sponsoring country. Terrorism and regional conflicts have created instability in several parts of South Asia. Trans nation terrorism has intensified regional conflicts which have often escalated into limited war.



Terrorism is in the garb of religious fundamentalism, illicit narcotics trade or random violence, now appeared to pose great dangers in south Asia and in an around the world and may in future create instability and an environment dangerous for world peace. Islamic insurgency main thrust will be to enlarge areas of conflict, undermine secular regimes and to establish authoritarian religious orders.

According to one view, political, religion, ethnic Sectarian, ideology, language based, culture different etc all are different brands of terrorism and the other view is that Socio-economic factor such as poverty, hunger, backwardness, illness etc, all are the root causes of terrorism. All these are found on the terrain of south Asian region. All this is as a result of loss of politics as an ethical space and its inability to translate the diversity of interests. As a result, it has given rise to communalism and terrorism in India, ethnic and Sectarianism in Pakistan, language as an issue in Sri Lanka, while fractionalism on political lines in Bangladesh.

According to *Kothari's* view, it is the inequities in the social agenda and the development divide which has provided the environment for criminalisation of politics and resultant terrorism within sections of Indian society. With decades of unending inequity, misery and poverty, the masses feel deprived. It laid the basis of communally based or regionally based demands. The deviants among them often turned towards acts of terrorism as a means to readdressal with grievances. The causative factors of terrorism in the South Asia region

have their roots in socio-economic inequities and politically manipulative processes.

Communal organisations are important players on the South Asia scene. They have their own nexus with terrorism, also provides conducive environment for terrorist acts to take place and a platform at which these terrorists refine their thought process and establish their presence. It has both cultural and religious underpinnings for e.g. political differences on ideological lives have led to violent confrontations and fragmented Bangladesh society, along a variety of allegiances of a communal kind. Similarly in Sri Lanka, war could be termed as ethnic and language based communalism.

Political systems and ideologies have proved to be another nursing ground for terrorist activities, like secularism in India, absorbs multiple identities of culturally diverse Societies while on the other hand, religious Orthodoxy feels that too much secular thought may developed as an anti-thesis to Islam.

The information technology too also has greatly enhanced the ability of groups to spread terror among the people. Modern media networks have provided terrorists with readymade Communication Channels and provide an effective platform for the most far-flung and isolated terrorist groups i.e. from Black in South Africa to Palestinian in west Asia, from Afghans group in Afghanistan to Mujahideens in Kashmir and from Catholics in Northern Ireland to Basque in Spain and Kurds in Turkey.

Along with nationalism and ethnicism, Religious terrorism emerged since 1988 after the Cold War. All this attributed to the widespread belief that a group respective religion lies at a vital historical point, so, religious terrorism is believed to be stems from increased globalisation and the perceived erosion of traditional values, along with widespread economic and political upheaval and inequality, leading to heightened feelings of fragility, instability and uncertainty about the future. Terrorism feel the need to preserve their religious identity and also believe that there is the opportunity to fundamentally alter their future.

The way to get success against terrorism in a democracy is winning the intelligence war and mobilizing the political will and democratic support for a multi pronged Strategy, physical Security along with the well planned and coordinated measures are required in order to reduce threat especially in an open plurastic society. There is a need to look that the domestic terrorism does not seek any help either money or arms, training or other assistance for its cadres from abroad or from any international organization.

**Appendix 3.1**  
**Quality of Population**

<b>Countries</b>	<b>Urban population as % to total population</b>	<b>Public expenditure on health (% of GDP)</b>	<b>Public expenditure on Education (%)</b>
Bangladesh	16	1.4	2.3
Bhutan	15	-	-
India	26	1.3	3.5
Maldives	25	-	8.4
Nepal	10	2.2	2.9
Pakistan	28	1.8	-
Sri Lanka	22	1.8	3.1

*Source: Human Development Report, 2000.*

*UNDP, Oxford, New York, 2000.*

**Appendix 3.2**  
**Quality of Population**

		<b>Population literacy</b>	<b>Population engaged in services + industry</b>	<b>Population access to health services</b>
1.	Bangladesh	38%	34%	74%
2.	India	62%	36%	75%
3.	Nepal	27%	6%	10%
4.	Sri Lanka	88%	52%	90%
5.	Bhutan	42%	6%	80%
6.	Pakistan	38%	49%	85%
7.	Maldives	93%	37%	75%

*Source: World Yearbook, UN, 2000.*

**Appendix 3.3**  
**Sri Lankan Ethnic Groups and Religion**

Ethnic Groups (1981)		Religions Groups	
Sinhalese	10,979,561	Buddhists	69.81%
Sri Lankan Tamil	1,886,872	Christians	7.62%
Indian Tamil	818,656	Hindus	15.17%
Sri Lankan Moors	1,046,926	Jains	-
Others	114,735	Muslims	7.36%
		Others	0.4%

*Source: Europa, world yearbook, 2000, England.*

**Appendix 3.4.**  
**Religious Groups: South Asian Countries**

	Bangladesh	Bhutan	India	Maldives	Nepal	Pakistan	Sri Lanka
<b>Buddhists</b>	.60%	-	0.71%	-	5.3%	-	69.81%
<b>Christians</b>	0.69%	-	2.43%	-	0.21%	1.3%	7.62%
<b>Hindus</b>	12.21%	-	82.64%	-	90%	1.6%	15.17%
<b>Jains</b>	-	-	0.48%	-	-	-	-
<b>Muslims</b>	86.6%	-	11.35%	-	2.7%	97.1%	7.36%
<b>Sikhs</b>	-	-	1.96%	-	-	-	-
<b>Others</b>	-	-	-	-	2.29%	-	0.4%

*Source: UN Year Book, 1999.*

### Appendix 3.5

#### Jammu and Kashmir (1981) Religion wise (%)

	Religious Communities	% of total population
1.	Buddhists	1.17%
2.	Christians	0.14%
3.	Hindus	32.34%
4.	Jains	.03%
5.	Muslim	64.19%
6.	Sikhs	2.23%

Source: Census of India 1981, Jammu and Kashmir.

### Appendix 3.6

#### Jammu and Kashmir – Districts: (1981)

S.No.	Districts	Literacy %	Main Workers
1.	Anantnag	22.93	31.67%
2.	Pulwana	20.97	29.04%
3.	Sri Nagar	33.90	30.12%
4.	Bedgan	17.86	32.81%
5.	Baramula	20.62	31.43%
6.	Kupwara	16.82	30.37%
7.	Kargil	18.86	45.33%
8.	Leh (Ladakh)	25.17	43.55%
9.	Doda	18.50	33.48%
10.	Udhampur	23.52	31.62%
11.	Kathur	31.90	28.82%
12.	Jammu	42.86	26.62%
13.	Rajouri	24.73	27.59%
14.	Poonch	23.89	27.72%
	Jammu and Kashmir	26.67	30.37%

Source: Census of India, Jammu and Kashmir, (1981).

### Appendix 3.7

#### Percentage of Religious Groups to Total Population: Jammu and Kashmir (1981)

Districts	Buddhists	Christian	Hindus	Jains	Muslim	Sikhs	Others
Anantnag	-	N	3.77	-	95.64	0.59	-
Pulwana	-	-	2.5	-	95.88	1.62	-
Sri Nagar	.03	.03	8.79	.01	90.65	0.89	-
Badgam	Negligible (N)	.03	2.63	-	95.94	1.40	-
Baramulla	N	.02	2.02	N	96.50	1.46	-
Kupwara	-	.01	2.02	-	97.53	0.44	-
Kargil	19.49	0.12	2.26	-	77.90	0.23	-
Leh (Ladakh)	18.18	0.23	2.99	-	15.32	0.27	.01
Doda	0.26	.01	42.22	N	57.30	0.20	.01
Udhampur	-	0.28	72.20	.02	26.23	1.27	-
Kathua	.01	0.22	91.16	N	6.96	1.65	-
Jammu	N	0.57	87.37	0.15	4.27	7.64	N
Rajouri	N	.06	39.24	-	58.28	2.42	-
Poonch	-	.02	7.29	-	89.06	3.63	-

Source: Census of India, 1981, Jammu and Kashmir.

### Appendix 3.8

#### Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir

Year	Terrorist killed	Terrorist Arrested	Security force personnel killed	Civilians killed
1994	88	128	45	136
1995	83	162	35	139
1996	106	118	18	155
1997	183	255	42	141
1998	348	211	105	324
1999	460	125	140	331
1999 (Aug 31)	270	77	97	271
2000 (up to Aug 31)	450	104	118	157
Total				

Source: Frontline Oct 27, (2000) [Frontline source: Jammu and Kashmir Police, Jammu Zone].

**Appendix 3.9**  
**Terrorism in Rajouri**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Terrorist Killed</b>	<b>Terrorist Arrested</b>	<b>Security personnel killed</b>	<b>Civilians killed</b>
1990	36	0	1	1
1991	0	9	1	4
1992	6	2	0	0
1993	4	57	4	3
1994	5	.2	11	3
1995	4	19	4	.5
1996	10	.5	5	7
1997	55	7	13	2
1998	114	35	43	92
1999	155	13	47	83
2000	148	7	54	30

*Source: District Police, Rajouri in Frontline, Oct 27, 2000.*

**Appendix 3.10**  
**Terrorism in Poonch**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Terrorist Killed</b>	<b>Security personnel killed</b>	<b>Civilians killed</b>
1995	6	50	0
1996	10	0	6
1997	43	9	26
1998	98	20	54
1999	144	45	67
2000	168	40	45

*Source: District Police, Poonch in Frontline, Oct 2000.*



**Appendix 3.11**  
**Srilanka (1981)**

<b>Ethnic Groups</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Kandyan and low country Sinhalese	74%
Sri Lankan Tamils	12.6%
Indian Tamils	5.60%
Moors	7.10%
Burghers and Eurasians	.20%
Malayas	.30%
Others	.20%

*Source: Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka.*

**Appendix 3.12**  
**Sri Lanka (1981)**

	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1.	Buddhists	69.32%
2.	Hindus	15.46%
3.	Raman Catholics	7.48%
4.	Muslims	7.64%
5.	Others	.10%

*Source: Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka, 1981.*

### Appendix 3.13

#### Sri Lanka (1975)

#### University Admission, 1975, Distribution of Students by their Mere Districts of Origin

Districts	Population %	Medicine and Dental Surgery		Engineering and science	
		Actual selection of District Basis	Hypothetic selection according to merit	Actual selection of District Basis	Hypothetic selection according to order of merit
Colombo	21.03	110	132	70	129
Kalutaia	5.76	15	11	20	16
Kandy	9.34	24	17	31	11
Metale	2.49	08	03	08	03
Nuwara Eluja	3.57	02	02	06	-
Galle	5.80	29	18	20	24
Matara	4.63	08	05	15	20
Hambantra	2.68	01	-	08	-
Jaffna	5.54	29	.61	20	56
Mannar	0.61	01	01	01	-
Vavuniya	0.75	-	-	-	-
Batticola	2.03	06	04	07	02
Amparai	2.14	-	-	01	01
Triconmelle	1.51	03	01	05	05
Kurungela	8.09	12	03	26	09
Puttalam	2.99	03	02	10	02
Anuradhepur	3.06	02	01	04	01
Polon narwa	4.29	01	-	01	-
Badulle	4.84	02	01	07	02
Moneragls	1.51	-	-	02	01
Ratanpura	5.21	11	07	10	05
Kegalle	5.13	08	06	18	03
	100	275	275	290	290

Source: Planning and Research Unit, University of Srilanka.

### Appendix 3.14

#### Ethnicity (%) (District level)

##### Percentage Distribution of Population by Ethnicity

Districts	Sinhalese	Sri Lankan Tamils	Indian Tamils	Moors	Burghers	Malays	Others
Colombo	77.9	9.8	1.3	8.3	1.1	1.1	0.5
Gampaha	92.2	3.3	0.4	2.8	0.6	0.6	0.1
Kalulais	87.3	1.0	4.1	7.5	0.0	0.1	0.0
Galle	94.4	0.7	1.4	8.2	0.0	0.1	0.2
Melais	94.6	0.6	2.2	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hambantota	97.4	0.4	0.1	1.1	0.0	1.0	0.0
Moneragala	92.9	1.8	3.3	1.9	0.0	0.1	0.0
Badulla	68.5	5.7	21.1	4.2	0.1	0.2	0.2
Kandy	75.0	4.9	9.3	9.9	0.2	0.2	0.4
Metale	79.9	5.9	6.7	2.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Nuwara Eliya	35.9	13.5	47.3	2.8	0.1	0.2	0.2
Kegalle	86.3	2.1	6.4	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
Retnapur	84.7	2.3	11.1	1.7	0.1	0.1	0.1
Kurungella	93.1	1.1	0.5	5.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Puttalan	82.6	6.7	0.6	9.7	0.1	0.2	0.1
Trveaivalle	33.6	33.8	2.6	29.0	0.5	0.3	0.2
Batticaloa	3.2	70.9	1.2	23.9	0.7	0.0	0.1
Ampara	37.6	20.1	0.4	41.5	0.2	0.0	0.1
Anuradhapura	91.3	1.4	0.1	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
Polonnaruwa	90.9	2.2	0.1	6.5	0.0	0.1	0.2
Jaffna	0.6	95.3	2.4	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Killinochi	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
Mullethir	5.1	76.0	13.9	4.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
Mannar	8.1	50.6	13.2	26.6	0.0	0.0	1.4
Vayuniya	16.6	56.9	19.4	6.9	0.0	0.0	0.2
Total	74.0	12.6	5.6	7.1	0.3	0.3	0.1

Source: Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka.

### Appendix 3.15

#### Population Variation (Assam and India)

Year	Asam (%)	India (%)
1901-1911	16.99	5.2
1911-1921	20.48	0.3
1921-1931	19.91	11.0
1931-41	20.40	14.2
1941-1951	19.93	13.3
1951-1961	34.95	21.6
1961-1971	34.85	24.6
1971-1991	52.44	48.2

Source: Census Report, Census of India (1911-1991), Assam and India.

### Appendix 3.16

#### Population Variation (Tripura and India)

Year	Tripura (%)	India (%)
1931-41	34.14	14.2
1941-51	25.02	13.3
1951-61	78.71	21.6
1961-71	36.8	24.6
1971-91	51.4	48.2

Source: Census Reports: Census of India

### Appendix 3.17

#### Number of Investment Intentions

States	Pre NIP Jan 88-July 91	Post NIP (New Industrial Policy) Aug 91-Dec 94
Assam	73	48
Arunachal	3	4
Manipur	16	0
Mizoram	1	0
Sikkim	1	9
Nagaland	5	3
Meghalaya	6	3

Source: Strategic Analysis, Indian Defence and Strategic Analysis, May 2000.

### Appendix 3.18

State	Length of National Highway/1000 sq km
Arunachal	3.94
Nagaland	6.82
Tripura	19.07
Manipur	19.30
Meghalaya	21.04
Mizoram	26.14
Assam	29.27
All India	10.56

*Source: Strategic Analysis, Indian Defence and Strategic Analysis, May 2000.*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

Chopra V. D., (ed.) Rise of Terrorism and Secessionism in Eurasia, Gyan Publishing House, 2001, New Delhi-14.

Clutterbuck, Richard: Terrorism in an unstable World, London, New York.

Crana, Michael: The True cost of Conflict, Earth Scan Publication Ltd., London 1994.

Dubey, Ravi Kant: Indo-Sri Lankan Relation with special reference to the Tamil Problem: Deep and Deep Publication, New Delhi-27.

Dutt. Ashok K. and M. Margaret Geib: Atlas of South Asia, West View Press Boulder and London, USA, 1987.

Engineer, Ashgar Ali: Secular Crown on Fire: The Kashmir Problem, New Delhi, 1991, Ajanta Publication.

Grover, Virender and Arora, Ranjana (ed.): Fifty years of Indo-Pak, Relations, Deep and Deep Publication, UNO, New Delhi-27.

Halsey D. William and Fried Mann Enamauel: Colliers Encyclopaedia with bibliography and Index, Macmillan Education Company, New York, USA.

Jetley, Nancy and Gaonsalves, Eric (ed.): Dynamics and South Asia: Regional Cooperation and SAARC.

Kurian, George Thomas: (ed.): Encyclopaedia of the Third World, Revised, New Delhi, Saga Publication, 1999.

Kushner W. Harvey (ed.): The Future of Terrorism: Violence in New Millennium Sage Publication, International Educational and Professional Publishers, 1998.

Mishra H.B.: Terrorism: Threat to Peace and Harmony, Authors Press, 2001, Delhi.

Mishra R.C.: Security in South Asia: Cross-border Analysis, Authors Press, 2000, Delhi.

Mitra, Subrata K. and Rothermund Dietman: Legitimacy and Conflict in South Asia: Manohar Publishers and Distribution, New Delhi-1997.

Neill, O.E. Bard: Insurgency and Terrorism, Brassey's (US), 1990, Inc. Maxwell Macmillan Pergamon Publishing Corporation.

Oots Kent Layne: A Political Organisation approach to transnational terrorism  
Connecticut, USA.

Perera, Amrith Roshan: International Terrorism: Vikas Publication House Pvt.  
New Delhi-14.

Prabha, Kshitij: Terrorism: an instrument of foreign policy, South Asia  
Publication, New Delhi-14.

Robert, Norton and Coetz: The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Encyclopaedia  
Britannica Inc.

Robinson, Francis (ed.): The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of India, Pakistan,  
Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives, Cambridge University  
Press, 1989.

Saha, B.P.: Trans Border Terrorism: Internationalisation of Kashmir Tangle,  
Har Anand Publication, New Delhi.

Sahai, Shashi B. "South Asia – from freedom to terrorism, 1998 Vikas  
Publishing House, New Delhi.

Schmidt, Karl J.: Atlas and Survey of South Asian History: India, Pakistan,  
Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bhutan, Vision Books, pvt. Ltd. USA, 1999.

Schwartzberg E. Joseph: A Historical Atlas of South Asia, New York, Oxford  
University, 1978 and 1992.

Sederberg, P.C.: Terrorist, Myths, Illusion, Rhetoric and Reality, Prentice Hall.

Singh, S.K. Terrorism: A Global Phenomena: Authors Press, Delhi-2001.

Slann Martin and Schechterman Bernard: Multidimensional terrorism: Lynne  
Rienner Publishers, Colarado, USA, 1987.

Stern Jessica: The Ultimate Terrorists, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.  
Massachusetts, London, England, 1999.

Taylor and Francis (gp): Europa World Year Book, 2000, Vol. I and II Europe  
Publications Ltd., England.

Thomas C. Joshua: Sri Lanka: Turmoil and India "Government: A Study of  
Ethnic Conflict, Omnsors Publication Rajan, New Delhi-27.

Tiwari, S.C. (ed.) Terrorism in India, South Asian Publishers 1990, New Delhi.

Wilkinson, Paul: Terrorism Vs Democracy: The Liberal State Response Frank  
Cass Publishers, New Bury House, London, Great Britain, 2000.

Wirsing, H. Robert: India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute, on Regional conflict and its Resolution, USA, 1994.

Wolpert (Stanley): Roots of Confrontation in South Asia, Oxford Press, 1982.

### **Articles and Reports**

Behera. D. Ajay: Loomings Dangers of Terrorism, World Focus, Oct-Nov-Dec-2000.

Bhatty, Maqbool Ahmed: International Terrorism: Global and South Asian Perspectives: Regional Studies, Spring 1998, pp. (138-50).

Census of India, 1981, Jammu and Kashmir, Directorate of Census Operations, Jammu and Kashmir, Religion, Distt. Wise data.

Chaudhary, Mriganka Singh: Terrorism as a warfare metaphor: an Analysis of terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir, New Delhi, CPS/JNU, New Delhi.

Datta, Sreeradha: What Ails the North East – An Enquiry is to Economic Factors: Strategic Analysis/April 2001, Vol. XXV, No.1.

Detta, Sreeradha: Security of India, North East, External Linkages, Vol. XXIV, NO. 8 Strategic Analysis, Nov. 2000.

Deutch, John: Terrorism # Foreign Policy # Fall, 1997 pp. (10-22).

Enders, Walter and Sandher, Todd.: Transnational Terrorism is the Post Cold War Era, International Studies Quarterly, 1999, March.

Gohain, Hiren: Extremist Challenge and Indian State: Case of Assam: Economic and Political Weekly 3 Aug 1996 (2066-68).

Gupta, Rakesh: Comparative Perspectives on the Causes of Terrorism International Studies, 1998 (Jan-March) (23-53).

Hafenneia, M.R.: Geopolitical Analysis of Kashmir Crisis (in 50 years of Indo-Pak Relations, edited by Grover and Arora): Deep and Deep Publication.

Human Development Report, 2000, Published for the UNDP, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000.

International Terrorism: A Great Menace: World Focus, Jan 2000 (Series of Articles) (3-24).

Jane '95' Special Report Terrorism: A Global Survey: Amalia Humphreys, May 1997.



Kanwal, Gurmeet: Proxy War in Kashmir: Jihad or state sponsored terrorism: strategic analysis, April, 1999.

Karim Afsir (Maj. Gen. Retd.): Terrorism in South Asia Vol.3, No.6 AAKROSH, January, 2000 and Rise of Terrorist Culture in South Asia, Jan, 1999 (7-19).

Kartha, Tara: Converting transnational terrorism, Strategic Analysis Vol. XXIII No. 11 Feb, 2000 (pp-1831-1855).

Khalid, Saiffudin: Cold War in the Sub-continent: Strategic digest, June '96' (pp 807-21).

Khanna H.R. et al ..... Terrorism in Punjab, Chandigarh, Panchad Research Institute, 1987.

Kidwai, Saleem: US and the Kashmir issue: "Asian Studies" January-June '98' (1-26).

Kotwal, Dinesh: Instability Parameters in North Eastern India Vol. XXIV No-1 Strategic Analysis, April, 2001.

Kotwal, Dinesh: Insurgency in Assam: The Demographic Dimension Vol. XXV No-2, Strategic Analysis, May-2001.

Kotwal, Dinesh: The Contours of Assam Insurgency: Vol. XXIV No-12 Strategic Analysis: March, 2001.

Laqueur, Walter: Post-modern Terrorism # Foreign Affairs # Sep-Oct 1996.

Mann, Poonam: Fighting Terrorism: India and Central Asia, Strategic Analysis, Vol. XXIV No-11 Feb, 2001.

Mudgal, Vipul: Roots of Violence in Indian Punjab: Aakrosh 1999, April (36-56).

Muni S.D: South Asia, The Challenge of the Millennium, Vol-21, World Focus, Oct-Nov, 8 Dec 2000.

Murthy, Padwaja: India and its neighbours, The 1990's and beyond, Vol-XXIV No-8 Strategic Analysis Nov 2000.

Murthy, Padwaja: Indo-Sri Lanka Security Perception: Divergences and Convergences Vol-XXIV No-2 Strategic Analysis May, 2000.

O, Brien, Sean P.: Foreign Policy Crisis and the resort to terrorism: A time Series Analysis of Conflict linkages: Journal of Conflict Resolution, June '96'.

Pasanki, Milan: Globalisation of Terrorism # Review of International Affairs, # 5 Feb 1991.

Patterns of Global Terrorism, 1998, U.S. Deptt. of State, April, 1999. Office of the Secretary of the State and Coordinator for Counter Terrorism.

Rajeshwari P.R.: U.S. Initiatives on Terrorism: Patterns of Terrorism, 1999 Aug, 2000, vol XXIV No-5 Strategic Analysis.

Rajeshwari, P.R.: Ethnicity: its causes and possible solution: the case of Sri Lanka, Strategic analysis, June 1999 (pp 483-495).

Ranstrom, Magnus: Terrorism in the name of Religion: Journal of International Affairs, Summer, 1996 (41-62).

Roy, Meena Singh: India's Interests in Central Asia, Vol XXIV No-12 Strategic Analysis/March, 2001.

SAARC convention on Terrorism: Strategic Studies, Winter, 1988 (88-91).

Saeed, Amera: Terrorism: South Asian Experience, Regional Studies, 1999, Autumn (31-73).

Samanayake, Gamini: Ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and prospects of Management: An Empirical Inquiry, Terrorism and Political Violence pp (75-557).

Singh, Ramesh Kr.: Terrorism in North East India (Dissert.) Centre for Political Studies, JNU, 1995.

Singh, Swaran.: China and South Asia Security, Vol-21 No-X XI and XII, World Focus, Oct-Nov-Dec-2000.

Sinha, P.B.: Pakistan The Chief Patron and Promoter of Islamic Militancy and Terrorism: Strategic Analysis June 1996.

Sreedhar, Kaul and Kapil: Politics of Islamic Terrorism in West Asia Internal and External linkages: Strategic Analysis June 1996.

Verma, Prakash: Terrorism in Punjab, as a factor in India's contemporary International Relation (diss.) Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament Studies, JNU, 1990.

World Book Encyclopaedia, World Book Inc., a Scott. Fetzer Company, USA, 1983.

World Development Report, 2000/2001 Attacking Poverty, The World Bank, Oxford University Press, USA, 2000.