INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: A STUDY OF US RECENT STRATEGIES AND RESPONSES

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Master of Philosophy

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **"INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: A STUDY OF US RECENT STRATEGIES AND RESPONSES"** submitted by **ARVIND KUMAR SHUKLA** in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University, to the best of our knowledge, this is a bonafide work of the candidate.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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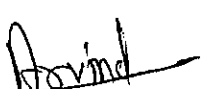

ARVIND KUMAR SHUKLA

Dedicated To My Parents

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

"Terrorism is where politics and violence intersect in the hope of delivering power. All terrorism involves the quist for power: power to dominate and coerce, to intimidate and control, and ultimately to effect fundamental political change"[1].

- Bruce Hoffman

In periods of accelerated global change when patterns are elusive and predictions are difficult, one is more likely to accept conterminous events as signs of what is to come in international relations. When states resort to "self help" measures to deal with problem of international organizations.

If we are mesmerized by the violence or blink from the horror of terrorism, we are likely to miss the significance of the aftermath. When the calculas of the state force multiplied by the media and the fear of the body politic drops like a stone through the web of its own sovereignty myth. Terrorism is essentially and inescapably a political concept and most debates actually hinges on whether or not to describe certain activities as terrorist. Terrorism is not an instrument solely, of the weak, terrorism has often been used by states to govern, and it has become an increasingly common instrument of foreign policy as well.

The flexibility of terrorism has made it a unique fixture in modern international relations. Because terrorism exploits modern technology, because it play a role in the construction and distraction of states, and because it has became a foreign policy option for governments, we must study terrorism as one of the essential component of international relation.

Terrorism can influence the course of a nations foreign policy. The diplomats who carry out US foreign policy and the US embassies where they

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1 Hoffman Bruce, " Inside Terrorism" (Colambia University Press) 1998 p. 183.

work have become targets of terrorism. Secretary of state Albright says "although" the face of terror is changing the need for international cooperation to protect our people and our interest is not". She told that the United States helps friendly governments through diplomacy and training programms to" improve border security and share information about those suspected of being affiliated with terrorist network, she made her comment in conjunction with the state Departments release of its annual "Pattern of Global Terrorism, , 1999 Report. She said we are seeing a shift from well organized local groups supported by state sponsors to more for flung and loosely structured webs of terror. She further says we are detecting a shift from state funding to private sponsorship in criminal enterprises such as blackmail and trafficking in durgs, guns and even human beings, and we are seeing an eastward shift in the terrorism centre of gravity from the Middle East to sough Asia, Particularly Afghanistan. The Taliban continued to provide safe haven for international terrorists, particularly Osama Bin Laden and his network, in the portions of Afghanistan they controlled. Despite the serious and ongoing diologue between the Taliban and the US, Taliban leadership has refuged to comply with a unanimously adopted UNSC resolution demanding that they turn Bin Ladin over to a country where he can be brought to justice.

The US made repeated request to islamabad to end support for elements harboring and training terrorist in Afghanistan and urged the government of Pakistan to close certain Pakistani religious schools that serve as conduits for terrorism, credible reports also continued to indicate official Pakistani support for Kashmir militant groups, such as the Harkat Ul Mujahidine that engaged in terrorism.

For from being made redundant by the end of the cold war terrorism remains the favored instrument of the extreme and politically disaffected. Indeed in many ways, the practice has become even more complex multifaceted and lethal. It continues to effect many region of the world particularly in the third world, repeatedly demonstrating its ability to undermine the normal course of socio-political interaction. In chronically affected states such as Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan and Algeria, it is arguably one of the most

important contributing factors to the wholesale breakdown of effective societal functioning. The use of terrorism has also widened in the 1990's devolving down to the level of the amateur and part-timer. As the 1995 Oklahama bombing vividly demonstrated this type of adhoc terrorism can be just as effective and deadly as that carried out by more established, "Professional " groups. As a mode of violence terrorism has become progressively more violent and extreme, appearing in certain instances, to be almost as an end in itself (rather than a rational and limited means to an end)

Terrorism has thrived unchecked because of political polarisation during the cold war period. The term was used merely to condemn adversories and no serious attempt was made to analyse the phenomenon and its global ramification.

The recent bombings on Afghanistan and Sudan is a continuation of the cold war policy, of pursuit of national interest through military intervention. After the end of cold war it was expected the U.S. as the only Super-power would be able to rise above its narrowly defined national-interest take from major for establishment of a just equitable and Democratic world order, the concept of Democracy should be seen not only in the context of the right of individual and groups in domestic politics but also in terms of the right of a state in relation to another.

The United States battle against terrorism assumed a new dimension with the cruise missle strikes at targets in Afghanistan and Sudan. The action signals a shift to more aggressive United States counter-terrorist tactics in response to a new phenomenon –"the Privatization of terrorism", in which individual such as Osama Bin Ladin have replaced state-sopnsored terrorism.

Objective of the Study

The proposed study aims to examine the difference between counter-terrorism as a set of operational strategies against terrorist and their supporting structures, and the strategies that are followed by a country to deal

with terrorism as a phenomenon. In effect, counter terrorism is a narrower field dealing primarily with intelligence activities, tactics on the grand, and sabotaging and infiltration of terrorist groupings, selected targeting of such figures and such operations that are associated with covert activities by a state to deny a terrorist activity.

One major objective of this research is to understand the United States contention that it was guided by its national interest as for as bombings were concerned. However it opposed such action on the part of other states. In trying to understand the United States position this research will focus on terrorist activities perpetrated on United States embassies by allied Islamic groups that promoted the United States intervention and the need for such intervention.

The United State government described the bombing as a pre-emptive strike in the fact of compelling evidence that further attacks are being planned against them. The question is – If the United States prepared to defend its National interest through military action, why does it deny other's the right to follow the same course of action when their national interest are at stake, most notably Indian with respect to terrorist training camp in Pak-occupied Kashmir.

This research assumes the United State has as part of his national interest the willingness to maintain strategic superiority in most part of the world, Americans National Security concerns have led to a position of dictating the term of hegemonic stability and accordingly its action directed towards strengthening its national security appears to be of a policing nature.

Chapter First *International Terrorism: Historical Perspective,* deals with definitions and historical perspective of International terrorism, particularly emergence of Islamic Terrorism. Defining terrorism is an academic exercise. The definition inevitably determines the kind of data we collect and analyze, which in turn influence our understanding of trends and our predictions about the future.

Chapter Second *American Policy on International Terrorism* focus on American policy on International Terrorism, especially after the terrorist bombing of US Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania on 7 August 1998. Clinton administration issued various directives to strengthened US counterterrorist programmes. US diplomatic efforts and legislative requirement has been focused sharply with view of Universally acceptable counterterrorist plans. US efforts to establish a joint working group with India to fight terrorism has taken into consideration because at present US and India both countries are target of Bin Laden's Network, which is operating from Afghanistan with the support of Pakistan.

Chapter Third *American Bombing of Terrorist Hide Out in Afghanistan and Sudan* examine the US retaliatory action, especially US bombing on terrorist hide out of Afghanistan and Sudan, which has responded by strong criticism by some countries and praises by many. In context of India it is very important because it has been victim of terrorists sponsored by Pakistan since long time. Is the US action is justified? If so why Indian can not take similar action in case of cross border-terrorism.

Chapter Four *International Perspective* is concentrated on recent terrorist act around world, especial attention have taken for South Asia, where increasing terrorist act created a big threat for society. Particularly India. Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Overview of Middle East, Europe, Latin America and Africa too have taken to the consideration.

At the end the **Conclusions** of dissertation are drawn on the bases of entire study with a hope for a better world order based on peace and multilateral cooperation.

Chapter – I

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

"All politics is struggle for power and the ultimate kind of power is violence"[1]. - C Wright Mills

Terrorism has continued to be matter of much public concern. Growing number of terrorist violence has over the years engaged the attention of the entire global community. The United States has taken a lead to promote international effort to tackle with their menace. Terrorism now primarily runs on the wheel of religious belief. Where as in 1968 none of the 11 identified terrorist groups were religious, their number increased to seven by 1980 and six times that number by 1992.[2] Further empirical data generated reveal that 64 out of total of 96 active terrorist groups are clearly identified as being religiously motivated even if the doctrine and theology that they swear by is violently extremist and far from actual persects.[3]

Terrorism has been prevalent throughout history, engulfing all region of the globe. Use of terrorist techniques by factions against regimes is an age-old phenomenon. It can be traced to the Roman emperors who used such means to discourage any threat to their rule. However the first prominent instance of a movement resorting to terrorism as a major weapon was the Assassin Sect of the Middle East which had sent its agents throughout the Muslim world to carry out a chain of murders during the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.[4] Significantly enough, the contemporary wave of global terrorism received a major boost in the late 1960's from the same area. Terror was openly sponsored during French

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1 C. Wright Mills, "*The Power Elite*" (London and New York: Oxford University Press 1956) p. 171.

2 This is as per the Rand data base on terrorism since 1968. Hoffman Bruce "*Responding to terrorism across the Technological Barrier*". (Rand Corporation Santo Monica), P. 7874.

3 This data is generated from both the terrorism: *A Global Survey Jane's Information Group* (Surrey, UK: 1999) and IDSA files.

4 Josephus Flavius, "*The Great Roman Jewish Way: AD 66-70*" (New York: Harper 1960) Sec. Vii Ch. 8, p - 336.

Revolution in order to instill a revolutionary fervor among the people.[5] Gradually the supporters of anarchism in Russia, the United States means to bring about revolutionary political and social changse from 1865 to 1905, the scene of global terrorism was thus restricted to these countries where prime official were killed by anarchist guns or bombs.

Terrorism threatened and actual resort to ideological and political violence for the purpose of achieving limited and broad imaginary or realistic goals has become a permanent fixture of contemporary life.[6] The twentieth Century brought about revolutionary changes in the techniques and use of terrorism. Technological upgraduation gave the terrorist a new mobility and lethality.[7] Political movement of all shades of the political spectrum began to use such tactics. In fact, totalitarian regimes of Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler and the Soviet Union under Stalin virtually adopted terrorism as their state policy though they did not acknowledge it publicly[8]. In these states such techniques like torture and execution were carried out without legal restrictions to make people fearfully adhere to their policies and ideologies. Mao introduced a reign of terror on a much wider scale than Stalin did.[9] Iran too experienced a phase of terror and counter-terror during the regime of Reze Shah and Khomeine when executions and mass murders were carried out on large scale.[10] Similarly, Spain too experienced violence of numerous kinds of terrorist, leftist state sponsored and the like.

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5 Palmar R. R. *"Twelve Who Ruled: The York of Terror in French Revaluation"* New York, Autumn 1965, p-5.

6 For Recent Studies on Terrorism, see for example Yonah Alexander ed. *"International Terrorism. National: Regional and Global, Perspective"* (New York: Pragar 1976) Waltar Laqueur *Terrorism* (Boston Little, Brown 1977) Paul Wilkinson *"Political Terrorism"* (London: Macmillan Press 1974).

7 Haffman Bruce *"Inside Terrorism"* (New Yark: Colombia University Press 1998) p-31.

8 Avrich Paul, *"The Russian Anarchists"* (Princeton, NJ Princeton University Press 1967) p-60.

9 Adelman Jonathon R. *"Terror and Communist Politics"* (Boulder Colo : Westview Press 1984) p-108.

10 Kuper Leo, *"Genocide : Its political Use in the Twentieth Century"* (New Haven : Yale University Press 1982) p-124.

At the global level terrorism has been used in anticolonial conflicts whether by both the side or by one side (Algeria and France) it has been used by groups of different religious denominations (Catholics, Palestinian and Israel) and also in disputes between revolutionary forces and established governments (Iran, Indonesia, Argentina etc.).

The most prominent terrorist groups of the latter twentieth century include the Baader-Meinhot G of West Germany. Italy's Red Brigades, France's Direct Action, al-Fatal and other Palestinion organization's and the like international collaboration are an essential feature of modern day global terrorism.[11] The terrorists operating on a global scale are today establishing linkages worldwide and are basing their connections on religion race or political ideology.[12]

By the 1990's the concept of terrorism had become so elastic that there seemed to be virtually no limit to what could be described as terrorism[13]. For example, among titles of Books published in 1989 and afterward were the following, "Narcoterrorism", "Western state terrorism", "Apartheid Terrorism", "The Destabilization Report and Pornography", "The New Terrorism"[14], "Nuclear Terrorism", An attempt by criminals to extort money from manufacturers by lacing jars of baby foods on supermarket shelves with broken glass tacks, and other harmful objects was quickly labeled "consumer terrorism" by much of the media.[15] In the United States the long-established phenomenon of anonymous obscene phone calls was given the new description "Telephone Terrorism", an academic text analyzed rape as "a terrorist institution[16]. On the eve of the

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11 Ramond R. Corrado "*Ethnic and student Terrorism in Western Europe*" ed. Michael Stohls. "*The Politics of Terrorism*" (New York : Marcel Dekker 1979), p-198.

12 Paul Galloway "*Red Brigades : like the Guy next door*", Chicago Suntimes 5 June 1978, p-16.

13 Adrian Guelke, "*The Age of Terrorism and the International Political System*" (London. Tauris Academic Studies 1995) p-1.

14 Rachel Ehrenfeld, "*Narcoterrorism*", (Basic Books, New York 1991);
Alexander George "*Western State Terrorism*", (Polity Press Cambridge 1991).
Phyllis Johnson and David Martin, "*Apartheid Terrorism*", (London 1989).
Clodagh Corcoran, "*Pornography; the New Terrorism*", (Attiel Press 1990).

15 B.B.C. Michel Winner's "*True Crime*", (4 August 1991).

16 Claudia Card. "*Rape as a terrorist institution*" ed. R.G frey and Christopher W. Morris (EDS) Vidince, "*Terrorism and Justice*", (Cambridge University Press. Cambridge 1991) pp. 196-319.

Argentinean presidential election in 1989, the countries finance minister-described speculation against its currency as "economic terrorism"[17]. The beginning of 21st century introduced us with a new phenomenon "Cyber terrorism". These examples should be distinguished from the metaphorical use of the terms "terrorism and terrorist by the media, such as the description in a British newspaper of a breed of dog involved in a series of attacks on children as "a terrorist on four legs"[18].

"Academic studies followed in the wake of media usage. It is therefore not surprising that the overwhelming majority of Books and articles with the term "terrorism in their title should date from the 1970s and 1980s".[19]

Yet the term itself was not by any manner of means on invention of the late 1960's According to the Oxford English Dictionary the terms "terrorism and terrorists were first used in English language in 1795 in response to the reign of terror in post revolutionary France. The conservative Edmund burke on the unleashing on the people of "hell-hounds called terrorists[20]. By the turn of 20th century the Bomb throwing anarchist imposing the nation of "propaganda by the deed" came to be seen as the "archetypal terrorist"[21], establishing a link between anarchism and terrorism that remains important to the interpretation of terrorism as ideology.

According to U.S. secretary of state Madeleine K. Albright, bombing on U.S. embassy in Kenya and Tanzania were not two more examples of old fashioned terrorism. "What is new", she declared "is the emergence of terrorist

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17 "*Financial Times*" (London) 10 May 1989.

18 Simon de Bruxelles, "*Terrorist on four Legs*", The Observer, 4 June 1989.

19 Norman Provizer has noted that in two major bibliographies on terrorism over 99 percent of the general work cited had been published from 1968 on. His "*Defining Terrorism*", in Martin Slann and Bernared Schechterman (eds.) *Multidimensional Terrorism*, Lynne Rienner, (Boulder Colorado 1987).

20 *Oxford English Dectionary* : Volume XVII Clarndon Press Oxford 1989, p-2.

21 For a critical discussion of the popular association of anarchism with heinous act of violence, see David Miller, "*Anarchism*", (Dent London 1984), p-109-16. See the account in Walter Laqueur "*Terrorism*" (Sphere Books, London 1980), pp-67-72.

coalitions that do not answer fully to any government that operate across national borders and have access to advanced technology".[22] The bomb victims, she claimed, were caught up "in a new kind of confrontation that looms as a new century is about to begin a clash between civilization itself and anarchy-between the rule of law and no rules at all"[23].

Huntington wrote:– *The fundamental source of conflict in this New World would not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great division among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation state will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs but the principle conflicts of global politics will occur between nation and groups of civilization. The clash of civilization will dominate global politics[24]".* .

Madeleine Albright's word would have been accurate had they been uttered a century earlier, when a loose-knit transnational movement quit literally devoted to the promotion of anarchy wreaked havoc across the globe[25]. From 1894 to 1901 anarchist managed to assassinate the President of France, the Prime Minister of Spain, the Empress of Austria, the King of Italy, and the President of the United States. All this was accomplished without downloading weapons diagrams from the Internet; they relied instead on manuals such as Johann Mosts widely distributed pamphlet: *"The Science on Revolutionary Warfare"; "A Little Handbook of Instruction in the use and Preparation of nitroglycerin, Dynamite Gan-Cotton, Fulminating mercury, Bombs Fuses, Poisons" etc.*[26]

One British Police officer wrote in 1898, "Murderous organizations have increased in size and scope; they are more daring, they are served by more

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22 *U.S. New and World Report*, August 17- 24, 1998.

23 *The New Republic Report*, August 31, 1998.

24 P.V. Hutington "*The Clash of Civilization: The Remaking of World Order* (London: Touchstone Books 1997).

25 Gideon Rose, "Review Essay", "*It Could Happen Here, Facing the New Terrorism*", Published in *Foreign Affairs* Volume 78, March/April 1999, p-132.

26 Ibid. p-132.

terrible weapons offered by modern science, and the world is nowadays threatened by new force which may someday wreak Universal destruction".[27]

Danger of Terrorism

Warfare as an organized endeavor is facing a paradigmatic shift, Throughout most of history, only state could effectively muster the capacity to kill an enemy in significant numbers, the weakness of the Nation-State and the increasing permeability of borders are reducing the effectiveness of the state and increasing the role of non-state actor's. Concurrently, the increasingly cheap availability of technical information and dual use material is making mass killing possible for small groups, or even for individuals. Biological weapons, with their easy accessibility, lack of effective international controls, and disproportionately large effectiveness offer a singularly attractive mix to radical groups. Due to these changing circumstances, the use of biological weapons as a terror weapon should be seen as inevitability[28].

Terrorists may gain access to Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), including nuclear devices; germ dispensers, poison gas weapon, and even computer viruses. Also new is the world's dependence on a nearly invisible and fragile network for distributing energy and information. Although the United States still takes conventional terrorism seriously, as demonstrated by the response to the attacks on its embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in August 1998, it is not yet prepared for new threat of catastrophic terrorism[29].

Extralegal political violence by individuals and groups has occurred throughout history hysterical media coverage of today's terrorism "Crisis" notwithstanding. Even religious terrorism is nothing new. "Thug" "Zealot" and "Assassin" are now generic terms of abuse, but each entered the language as

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27 Ibid. p-132.

28 Martin Shubik "*Terrorism Technology and the Socioeconomic of Death*" Comparative Strategy 1997 # 16 pp. 399-414.

29 Ashton Carter, John Deutch, and Philipzelikow "*Catostrophic Terrorism: "Tackling New Dingier*", Foreign Affairs, Volume 77, No. 6, November-December 1998, p-80.

the name of a religious terrorist movement centuries ago (emerging from Hinduism, Judaism and Islam, respectively). And contrary to official statements about the grave danger terrorism poses, most American national security experts and bureaucracies have traditionally paid it scant attention[30].

In the last few years, however, this dismissive attitude has come under fire. Some argue that terrorism merits a higher priority now because other threats like great power war, have grown so remote. Others say the danger is mounting in absolute as well as relative terms because of change in terrorist motivations, methods and organization. And almost everyone was scared by the 1995 nerve gas attacks on a Tokyo subway by the Japanese cult Aum Shinrikyo. As terrorism expert Brine Jenkins has remarked, before that incident the debate over terrorists using (WMD) pitted "disbeliveers", who though it would not happen because it had not, against "Murphy's Lawyers" who thought catastrophes were inevitable.[31]

Human are creatures of habit, furthermore, even when confronted with reasonably documented new facts that they understand intellectually, they frequently fail to grasp the new message at the vicious level. The opportunities for mass destruction and "Armageddon on the cheap" have proliterafed. Communication and new means of transportation essentially have wiped out the comforts of international isolation; Geography still matters, but no longer provides a safe haven for any state[32].

American military superiority on the conventional battlefield pushes its adversaries towards unconventional alternatives. The United States has already destroyed one facility in Sudan in its attempt to target chemical weapons. Russia, storehouse of ten of thousands of weapons and material to make tens of

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30 Gidion Rose, *"It Could Happen Here: Facing the New Terrorism"*, Foreign Affairs Vol. 78, No. 2, March-April 1999, p-132.

31 Ibid.

32 Martin Shubik *"Terrorism Technology and Socioeconomic of Death Article Published"* Comparative Strategy # 16, 1997, p-399-414.

thousands more, may be descending into turmoil. Meanwhile, the combination of new technology and lethal force has made biological weapons atleast as deadly as chemical and nuclear alternatives. Technology is more accessible, and society is more vulnerable. Elaborate international network has developed among organized criminals, drug traffickers, arms dealers, and money lounderers, creating an infrastructure for catastrophic terrorism around the world[33].

Many of the features characteristics of the nation ,state of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries are becoming obsolete. In particular, borders are highly permeable to individuals, weapons and communication. Change in technology is intimately intertwined with, fundamental changes in the organization and attitudes of society. Transnational firms, associations, and trade patterns are crossing national boundaries with increasing frequency. The intense nationalism and isolationism of pre World War II is giving way to countries with many small special interest groups, a number of which are well organized with close international connections and may share value for different from the country as a whole. The potential lethality of small organized, reasonably well financed groups, be they inside or outside of the country, has been changing by orders of magnitude in the past few decades. "The clearly defined concept of deterrence by a large power, if not completely dead, is dying fast for several reasons. There is no longer even an approximately politically bipolar world. Furthermore, the size of the group need to become an organized agency of mass destruction is fast shrinking to a handful of individuals, less number than most terrorist organizations[34]".

"Previous predictions of rampant catastrophic terrorism have proved grossly exaggerated. Although WMD have been available for decades, terrorists have generally not tried to acquire them, let alone use them against actual

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33 Ashton Carter, John Deutch and Philip Zelikow, "*Catastrophic Terrorism: Tackling New Danger*", Foreign Affairs, November-December 1998, Vol. 77, No. 6, p-81.

34 Ibid. p-81.

targets, until recently, infect, terrorists had not even begun to exploit the full destructive potential of conventional weapons[35]. The reason is simple; most terrorism involves careful celebrated acts of symbolic violence designed to advance a political, social or bureaucratic agenda, and true mass murder could be counterproductive. It might stigmatize the cause in the eyes of important international or domestic, audiences, provoke massive retaliation from the authorities, or spark conflict within the terrorist group itself. Garden-variety terrorists, as Jankin[36] once famously put it, want a lot of people watching not a lot of people dead.

To the extent that such rational calculations are indeed the reason we have escaped catastrophic terrorism in the past, they should continue to impose restraints in the future on mainstream terrorist groups, those within a known address and somewhat limited objectives. The History of such organizations from the anarchist and leftist terrorism of the late nineteenth century through the nationalist and separatist terrorism of the colonial and postcolonial era, to the international and state-sponsored terrorism of the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's. In recent years, he notes, religious terrorism has increasingly come to the fore, and while the number of causalities per attack has increased.[37]

Increasing danger of nontraditional terrorists whose behavior is less predictable and who might seek to maximize is less predictable and who might seek to maximize bloodshed. Three such types religious fanatics who consider violence a sacramental act or believer they are the direct instruments of divine retribution: eschatological cults which a penchant for violence, and disturbed or hate-filled activist who to inflict pain on a grand scale. That such groups and individuals are few and for between. All three types do exist as the World Trade

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35 Hoffman Bruch "*Inside Terrorism*" (New Yark : Colombia University Press 1998), p-132.

36 Jankins Brain " *Likelihood of Nuclear Terrorism* " (Santa Monica CA : Rand Corporation)

37 Hoffman Bruce "*Inside Terrorism*" (New Yark : Colombia University Press 1998), p-145.

Center bombing, the Japanese subway attack and Oklahoma City bombing testify that there is reason to believe their numbers may be growing.[38]

"The threat is now out there front and centre and world have to prepare for a new and more dangerous era of terrorism" as we enter the new century, we are having to start from scrach in terms of anticipating terrorist targets or groups who may use biological or chemical, weapons because the tactics and the targets will not necessarily be the same as we have seen in conventional terrorism"[39] armed with advantage of efficient, economical, mass killing capabilities, any nation or terrorist can raise the stakes considerably in a world in which little preparation has been taken against such attacks, any group with access to reasonably advanced pharmaceutical and medical facilities has the capacity to build biological weapons. The disadvantage they face are few; limited life spans of the organism, loss of a percentage of the agent in an explosion and a stigma much worse than that experienced by Oklahoma city bomber Timothy McVeigh. The bombing in East Africa killed hundreds. A successful attack with weapons of mass destruction could certainly take thousands, or tens of thousands of lives. If the device that exploded in 1993 under World Trade Center had been Nuclear, or had effectively dispersed a deadly pathogen, the resulting horror and chose would have exceeded our ability to describe it, such an act of terrorism would be a watershed event in American history. It could involve loss of life and property unprecedented in peacetime and undermine Americans fundamental sense of security, as did the Soviet atomic bomb test in 1949. Like Pearl Harbor, this event would divide past and future into a before and after[40]. WMD capability is gradually coming within range of many sub state actors through the general diffusion of scientific skills and dual use technologies. To be sure terrorist content to cause dozens or hundreds of casualties will probably stick with conventional

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38 Richard Falkenrath, Robert D. Newmen, And Bradley A Thayer. "*Americas Achilles" Heel : Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack*", (Cambridge: MIT Press 1998).

39 Jaffery Simon director of the Political Risk Assessment, Co. a consulting firm specializing in security and terrorism research in Santa Monica Calit.

40 Ibid.

method. Yet the more ambitious of them might be tempted by chemical, biological, or nuclear alternatives, Chemical Weapons suitable for mass casualty attacks can be acquired by virtually any state and by non-state actors with moderate technical skills. Certain very deadly chemical warfare agents can quite laetrile be manufactured in kitchen or basement in quantities sufficient for mass-casualty attacks.[41]

Many states and moderately sophisticated non-state actors could construct improvised but effective biological weapons. Culturing the required microorganism, or growing and purifying toxin, is inexpensive and could be accomplished by individual with college level training in biology and a basic knowledge of laboratory technique. Acquiring the seed stock for pathogenic microorganisms is also not particularly difficult[42].

Nuclear weapons are within the reach of tens of state with the most significant constraint being the ability to produce plutonium or highly enriched uranium. If this obstacle were avoided through the theft or purchase of fissile material, almost any state with a reasonable technical and industrial infrastructure could fabricate a crude nuclear weapon, ... [As could] some exceptionally capable non-state actors.[43]

Heymann[44] offers a range of intelligent, if unsurprising suggestions from handling traditional terrorist threats from avoiding concessions, cooperating with allies and prosecuting suspects to relying on crack hostage rescue teams or military retaliation where appropriate. He makes a persuasive case for avoiding over reaction, arguing both that it would be tragic for democracies to abandon their cherished freedom and principles in quest for absolute security and that

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41 Falkenrath A. Rechard, "*Americas, Achilles Heel, Nuclear Biological and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack*" (Cambridge : MIT Press 1998), p-86.

42 Ibid., p-87

43 ibid., p-87

44 Heymann Philip-B – "*Terrorism and America : A Commonsense Strategy for a Democratic Society*", (Cambridge MIT Press 1998), p-113

there is little reason to believe that a heavy-handed approach to counterterrorism would work.

Given that there has been a tendency to apply the term terrorism by and large to political violence in western liberal democracies or directed against such states internationally, the enormous disjunction that exists between the numbers killed in acts of terrorism and the global figure for those who die in all forms of political violence becomes explicable. Western Libral democracies predominate among stable polities, and virtually by definition, face for less political violence than their less stable counterparts. It is therefore not at all surprising that number killed in terrorism appears to be very small in relation to those killed in all form of political violence. It could hardly be otherwise. The consequences is that it is inevitable the citizenry of the industrialized democracies that appears to be most at risk from terrorism. This impression is compounded by the concentration of the statistical research into terrorism or international Terrorism interpreted in the first instance as situations in which the nationality of the victim and that of the perpetrator differ. Unsurprisingly, the highly mobile people of the First World tend to be disproportionately represented in such situations. Consequently the figures on international terrorism simply provide further evidence for what is a logical but ultimately somewhat absurd implication of current usage of the term. This is the affluent and secure citizen of the west who are most threatened by terrorism and not the truly terrorised people in countries affected by civil war, whether in the Third World or in formerly communist states[45].

Earlier some of the reasons for the reluctance in the Western media to apply the term "terrorism" to conflict in Third World were exploded. An important aspect of reluctance, which is particularly salient to the conflicts in Central America remains to the discussed. This issue is the role of the state in political violence. In most serious civil conflicts, action by the armed forces of the state account for a large majority of the deaths. This is partly because the lethal capacity of the state is almost invariably greater than that of its opponents. It is

[45] Ibid., p-132

also because there are few restraints on the behavior of the forces of the state in situations of the breakdown of political authority. In extreme cases of the massacre of large numbers of civilians, the action of the security forces would be likely to attract international criticism as a human right violation. However, such cases are not generally described as acts of terrorism. The charge of state complicity in terrorism usually refers to its involvement in covert action undertaken outside the boundaries of the state in question. For example during the 1980s America State Department's, "Patterns of Global Terrorism" limited its accusations against the Afghan government of involvement in terrorism to activities undertaken outside Afghanistan itself[46]. Reluctance to use the term "terrorism in relation to the actions of the state stems from an important principle that underlies the political organization of the modern world. This is the principle that the state possesses a monopoly of legitimate violence in any society.

Defining Problems

Walter Laqueur defines "*terrorism as act of violence and repression as carried out by the government against their own people as terrorism*".[47] In the same vain Neil Livington says that the state is the main perpetrator of terrorism today.[48] Corroborating the same idea Jay Mallin defines "*terrorism as a substitute for overt warfare. When diplomats foil soldiers take over, when soldiers foil terrorist take over*".[49]

As the overarching authority within domestic society, the state is responsible for the maintenance of law and order within its owe boundaries. In the absence of an overarching authority within the society of states it is also solely responsible for defense of the realm against external attack. These two role have reinforced the privileged position of the state in relation to the use of

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46 Jenkins, Brian, "*International Terrorism, a new mode of conflict*" p-5.

47 Laqueuer Waltar, "*The Age of Terror*" (London Wiedenfield and Necolson 1987), p-29.

48 Neil Livington "*The war Against Terrorism*" (Massachusette D.C. Health and Co. 1982), p-11.

49 Jay Millin "*Terrorism as a Military Weapon*" Air University Review, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, January/February 1977, p-54-64.

violence or force, or the action of the state to maintain order or for self defense is more commonly called. In general, a presumption of legitimacy attacks to action of the sate in this field.

Terrorism has been widely perceived as an increasingly important international problem. There are reasons for: First terrorism is particularly odious from political violence. Second, its impact affects all of us by making us feel vulnerable as potential victims of both near and remote conflict. Third, terrorist threats are diverse, which makes them difficult to understand. International Terrorism has some peculiarities that need to be underlined. Though more than one state is involved, international terrorism refers to crimes by 'non-state' actors directed against recognized state actors of international community.

Jenkins has added another dimension when he says that "*international terrorism comprises of violent action having global repercussion of laying beyond the accepted standards of war and diplomacy*[50]". Most widely acceptable definition is the one offered by Yonah Alexendre he defines terrorism as "*the use of violence against random civilian targeted in order to intimidate or to create generalized pervasive fear for the purpose of achieving political goals*".[51]

The Rand conference in 1982 termed terrorism as a "low level conflict[52]. If terrorism is a form of warfare then following the logic of Clauzewitz, terrorism is politics by other means distinct from total war[53]. Terrorists whatever their origin or cause have demonstrated the possibility of a third alternative besides a conventional war which emphasis relines on fire power and low level protracted war that tests the staying power of the adversaries.[54]

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50 Jenkins Brain M. "*International Terrorism a new mode of conflict*" ed. Colton David and Schart, Carlos, "*International Terrorism and World Security*" (London Croom Helm 1975), p-5

51 Alexander Yonah "*International Terrorism : National Regional and Global Perspective*" (New Yark : Praeger Publisher 1976) Journal of International Affairs, p-14

52 Reuben Miller "*Acts of International Terrorism: Government responses and Policies*", Comparative Political Studies, 19(3) October 1986, p-385.

53 Ibid. p-386.

54 R.K. Singh. "*International Terrorism: An Instrument of State Policy*". Paper Presented in seminar, JNU 1994, p-2

The United States battle against terrorism assumed a new dimension with the cruise missile strike at targets in Afghanistan and Sudan. The action signals a shift to more aggressive United States counter terrorist tactics in response to a new phenomenon "The privatization of terrorism" in which individual such as Osama Bin Laden have replaced state sponsored terrorism.

The basic problem with, concept like International Terrorism is that it lacks an internationally accepted definition. Despite the lack of a consensus on what constitutes terrorism and who are the terrorists, there appears to be a broad degree of convergence among scholars and strategists on its various aspects. Basically it is a complex politico-psycological and military Phenomenon[55].

In the context of the developing societies. "In its essentials, it is the deliberate employment of violence by a state to attain strategic, political or religious objectives by criminal acts intended to create overwhelming fear in the psycho-social stability and governance of pluralist representative states based on democracy."[56]

Definitions of terrorism as well as descriptive or historical studies are many and several attempt have been made to outline prescriptions for the prevention's, control and management of the phenomenon. Historically the most significant of all terrorist movement according to Grant ward law "was the Narodnaya Volya" which operated in Russia between January 1878 and March 1881 "it was formed by anarchist and Nihilist. Michael Walzer Believes that random terror after World War II.[57]

Wardlaw identifies three types of acts of terror- an *act promoting personal ends (an ordinary criminal act); an act furthering military ends (Guerrilla*

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55 Dr. Bansidhar Pradhan – "*The Fedayeen*" Seminar on "*International Terrorism and State Policy*", March 1992, pp-23-25.

56 Ashwini kumar, "*AK-47 Culture, How to Tackle Terrorism*", World Affairs (New Delhi), December 1993, p-16.

57 Michael Walzer, "*Political Principles*" (New Yark : Basic Books 1980), p-201-203.

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operations in wartime), an act advancing political ends (act of psychological warfare). He considers terrorism a political act[58].

T.P.Thornton is another author who views terrorism as a political phenomenon. He defines it as "*the use of terror as a symbolic act designed to influence political behavior by extra normal means, entailing the use or threat of violence*[59]. The terrorist is basically nothing but a criminal offender in terms of national law."[60] William L. Waugh another scholar, also defines terrorism as a political act, "*Terrorism is political, goal oriented, involving the use or threat of extraordinary violence performed for psychological rather then material effect, and the victim of which are symbolic rather then instrumental*[61]. G.Pontara's definition "*A terrorist act is any action carried out as part of a method of political struggle, aimed at influencing or conquering, or defending the state power, implying the use of extreme violence (inflicting death or suffering or injuries) against innocent noncombatant persons*[62]".

Political Terrorism is violence, which is directed toward creating general climate of fear in order to influence political events. It is generally considered to be an especially odious from political violence. Using "extraordinary" and "abnormal" techniques in order to manipulate or coerce relevant targets and events, Frequently innocent victims are attacked.

Willkinsion has argued that terrorism is "inherently international in character" and that is very hard to find a pure case of international terrorism[63].

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58 Grant wardlaw, "*Political Terrorism: Theory Tactics and Countermeasures*" (Cambridge University Press 1982), p.9.

59 T. P. Thornton "*Terror as a weapon of Political Assassination*" H. Eckstein (ed.) *Internal War* (London, Macmillan) 1965, p.3

60 Rumpf. Helmut "*International Legal problem of terrorism*", (Aussen Politik 1985), p-394.

61 William, L. Waugh, Jr. "*International Terrorism*" (Selisbur, N.C. Documentary Publications, 1982) p. 27.

62 G. Pontara "*Violanza Terrorismo, It Problema Dilla*" Petinizone e della gustificazione in Dimension Del Terrorismo Politico, (ed.) L, Bonanate (Milan Franco Angeli 1979) p. 25-98.

63 Paul Willkinson "*Trend in International Terrorism and the American Response*", (ed.) Lorence Freedman, Chritopher Hill, Adam Roberts R.J. Vicent, Paul Willkinsion and Philip Windsor, "*Terrorism and International order*" , (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1986) pp. 49 and 39.

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This is at least partly due to the disposition to attach the label of terrorism to political violence that crosses international boundaries and disturbs the peace of the stable liberal democracies of world.

Definition formulated by the United States Government: "*Terrorism is premeditated politically motivated violence perpetrated against non combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine state agents*[64]". Terrorism has been defined as "*a specific weapon in the struggle for political power, employed either by groups of the extreme left or extreme right but also quite frequently by national minorities*[65]".

The fact that terrorism occurs in relatively stable social milieus means that it can be contrasted with the constitutional procedures prescribed for established state representative[66]. However, the efficacy of terrorists in achieving their goals is a matter of some dispute. Walter Lequeur insist that 'their Exploits", however unpleasant for the victims are more or less irrelevant. Yonah Alexander on the other hand has said that having been treated as just a nuisance for many years, it is now clear that terrorism is the new mode of warfare and worthy of study in strategic terms[67].

Political Terrorism has been used by many social groups by minorities, by nationalist or anti-colonial movements in order better to attain their ends, and of course by those in power to control unruly subjects. Undoubtedly the most fearful and effective terrorism is that of a highly organized and dedicated group with its own vision of a new future, equipped with some justifying ideology, and operating with complete ruthlessness and efficiency in a disturbed and disaffected society among whom it has supporter able to sustain it materially[68].

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64 U.S. Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, September 1984.

65 Laqueur Walter, "*International Terrorism*", Washington Post, 29 April 1984.

66 Nal'O'Sullivan, "*Terrorism, geology and Democracy*", p.3.

67 David Shribman "*The Textbook approach to terrorism*", New York Times (22 April 1984)

68 C.H. Dodd – "*The Continent of Terrorism: Violence in Turkis Politics 1965-80*" (ed.) Noel 'O' Sullivan's "*Terrorism Ideology and Revolution*", 1986 p.147.

Recent study of terrorism has tended to concentrate heavily on opposition groups, at the expense of neglecting its use by regimes. Most conventional definition of terrorism distinguishes it from other form of political violence (revolution, war and so on) because the use of force against symbolic or indirect targets violates certain social legal and political norms of acceptable behavior. However, there is no universal agreed definition of terrorism because the act of so labeling certain actions is a normative and controversial exercise, impaling acceptance of the status quo in a conflict situation. As Jankins notes "*terrorism is what the "bad Guys*" do. He writes that the threat of violence, individual acts of violence or a compaign of violence designed primarily to instill fear is terrorism.[69] Burton has observed that the conventional view of terrorism and deviant behavior as a departure from prevailing social and legal norms is based on an acceptance of a set of fundamental assumptions. These concern that consensual nature of society, the legitimate use of force by authorities and the existence of alternative channels of grievance redress and meaningful social change. These criticisms are useful for understanding the current lack of progress in developing widely accepted analytical concept for studying terrorism.

Robert A Friedlander, commenting on this dichotomy approach observes that "*For some, terrorism existed in the mind of the beholder, depending upon one's political views and national origin.*[70] *For others, terrorism consists of a criminal act or acts, according to the law of any civilized society".* Friedlander argues that "*an exact legal definition of the term terrorism is unnecessary and advocates an approach, which would deal with terrorism as a common crime.*[71] "It is not necessary to have an exact legal definition, if terrorism is dealt with as a common crime. Concentration on the element of the "actus-reas" may be all that is needed by way of definition, for murder, arson, kidnapping, bombing, serious body harm and the infliction of severs mental distress are criminal act in

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69 Jankins Brain "*International Terrorism : Trends and potentialities*", Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 32, No.1, Spring/Summer 1978, p-113-123.

70 Friedlander Robert "*Terrorism Encyclopedia of Public International Law*" 1986, p-373.

71 Ibid. p-374.

themselves and need only be proved as such. Thus, a precise legal formulation need not be required in order to confront the terrorist menace, for the preservation of social and world order.[72]

Terrorism is a global phenomenon which is easy to recognize but difficult to define.[73] Terrorism involves two significant aspect training and international support. These two aspects are highlighted in the definition of Cristopher Dobson and Marth Crenshaw. The necessity of training is expressed by Dobson who writes that use of explosive devise used by terrorist rued appropriate training;[74] the need for international assistance is expressed in the definition of Marth Crenshaw. She opines that *"terrorism is a means to accomplish Arian political objections with international support"*.[75]

International terrorism has additional elements as provided in the above. These are the concept of extra normality and the transcending of national boundaries. Terrorism is abnormal because it often, choose as target innocent diplomats in embassies, (Like Terrorist bombing in Daresalam and Tanzania) and passengers of an airways (Like IC – 814 Indian Airway Hijacking). These target have no connection with the cause prompted and the victims are used cynically as the tools whereby public attention can be focused on a political cause and a wider international audience can be influenced.

The US strike on terrorist training camp has raised a calmer in India of why not we can take same action in same situation. Thomes Pickering's statement that similar action by India will not be appreciated is the centre piece of the controversy. For India, the country most affected by terrorism, the US strike on Ben Laden's camp might seem suspect, particularly given the western world's

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72 Ibid. p-374.

73 Dr. Kshitij Prabha *"Defining Terrorism"*, Strategic Analysis. Vol.24, No.1, April 2000. p-2.

74 Cristopher Dobson and Ronald Payne. *"The Weapon of Terror"* (London Macmillan Press 1979), p-67.

75 Marth Crenshaw *"Theories of Terrorism"* The Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol. 10, No. 4 (December 1987) p-13.

studious indifference to India's assertions about transferred mercenaries terrorism in Kashmir. However it is matters of national security.

For India as for a number of other countries terrorism has emerged as one of the major threats to National security and peace. The biggest threat that the nation-state faces today emanates from Terrorism which is widespread geographically and diverse ideologically in a period of globalization of economy polity and when the concept of one world based on equality and social justice has begun to emerge, terrorism have raised head to reverse this process. One of the consequences of hijacking of Indian Airlines flight IC-814 has proved that while the end of the millenium may or may not have marked the end of history, the end of geography have definitely been declared under the reach of Terrorism.

Islamic Terrorism

The Rise of militant Islamic inspired terrorism, in addition to high level of ethno-nationalistic separatism, the incident rise in fundamentalist Islamic inspired terrorism. In political groups inspired by such motivational imperatives appear to have become progressively more violent and increasingly willing to strike at western, U.S., Israeli and other targets around the world in the post cold war era. Their influence has been the primary driving factor behind savage civil conflicts and violence in places as far afield as Algeria, Egypt, the Israeli occupied Territories, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, India and, Southern Philippines.

Islamic fundamentalists have also carried out some dramatic international attacks during the 1990's. These have included, among others, the 1993 bombing of the New York World Trade centre.[76] The 1994 bombing of a Jewish community centre in Argentina, The 1996 bombing of the US Kohbar Towers housing complex in Saudi Arabia, the 1997 Laxor tourist massacre in Egypt and the 1998 twin bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.[77]

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[76] New York Times "*Pieces of Terrorism: Accounts Trace the Trade Center Explosion*", 26 May 1993.

[77] Sydney Morning Herald "*Prime Suspect*", 15 August 1998.

The popular perception of Islamic fundamentalism being intrinsically violent and synonymous with terrorism is far from accurate.[78] Islam is neither a single unified religion nor is it necessary fundamental in nature. Furthermore just because one is an Islamic fundamentalist, it does not necessarily follow that one is also a Holy worrier willing to die, if necessary as a martyr to the faith it is only possible to equate the use of terrorism with a militant, and-accommodative version of Islam. This sect rejects modernization as a force responsible for the wholesale and systemic corruption of the Islamic ideal. It calls for a revolutionary transformation of society through the al jihad al sager", and a complete rejection of western modernization. Central Intelligence Agency factfile listed him aim as being one of "uniting all Muslims", and supporting fighters in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chcenya, Tajiklista, Somalia, Yemen and Kosova.[79]

Laden's announcement adding India and Kashmir to his list of targets comes a year after the U.S. attacked his suspected hide out in Afghanistan and Sudan. His gaze has now shifted to India with his open proclamation of Jihad against the country. In a statement released to Pakistani daily "Jung" Bin laden declared, "India and America are now our biggest enemies..... all mujahedeen groups in Pakistan should come together now to target India".[80]

At the international level western countries are surely recognizing the fact that the challenge of terrorism has to tackle on a global scale. Islamic fundamentalism is taking the contours of global terrorism, is presently threatening Russia in big way. Dagestan has become a thorn in the flesh for Russia where separatist militant is spearheaded by mostly groups of Islamic militants from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Jordan and other Islamic nations along with mercenaries and the checahnya rebels. It is being suspected that the terrorism in Dagistan in which the services of overthrown intruders from Kargil are being used. Lately the separatism has spread across Chechnya too in which the extremist group of

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78 Chalk Peter "*The Evolving Dynamic of Terrorism in the 1990s*" Australian Journal of International Affairs Vol.53, No2, 1999, p-155

79 Sunday Telgraph (U.K.), "*Iran Builds Up Network of Terror Schools*" 7 July, 1997.

80 The Observer, October 12, 1998.

Chachnya is playing a pivotal role, Grozny the Chechnyan capital, has turned into a virtual battleground between Russian troops and the terrorists.[81]

The popular perception of Islamic fundamentalism is being intrinsically violent and synonymous with terrorism.[82] Three main factors have driven the force of militant Islamic fundamentalism since the end of the cold war: Sponsorship by Iran and Sudan; the legacy left by the Afghan war; and the fall out from the Palestinian Israeli peace process. The first consideration related to the support the extremist organizations have received from Iran and Sudan, two Islamic states driven by a millenarian vision. So strong that each does regard violence as a legitimate means to an end. Since coming to power, both the Tehran and Khartoum fundamentalist regime have taken a "rhetorical" leap beyond other Islamic organizations adopting the concept of the al jihad al soggier as an integral component of there domestic and foreign policy. It has essentially become a "raison detre" a way of defining their regimes in terms of the bestiality they perceive (and encourage) in the outside world.[83]

"Iran and Sudan are now thought to have established strong financial and operational links with numerous extremist Islamic groups in Middle East, North Africa and Asia. US intelligence sources have intimated that Iran supplies as much US $30 million a year in training, cash and arms to extreme Muslim groups around the world.[84] In addition, at least "11" military camps have been identified in Iran as locations used to train foreign groups who are sympathetic to the Iranian Islamic cause. An estimated 5000 volunteers pass through these camps every year, of whom about 500 are believed to receive extensive training in a wide range of terrorist skills.[85]

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81 Tara Kartha "*Countering Transnational Terrorism*", Strategic Analysis, Vol.-13, No.-11, February 200, p-69.

82 Chalk Peter "*West European Terrorism and Counter Terrorism, The Evolving Dynamic*" (London Macmillan), 1996, p-74-75.

83 Clalk Peter. "*Grey Area phenomenon in Southeast Asian*" Canberra Papers on strategy and Defense No.123, 1997.

84 Sunday Telegraphy (UK), "*Iran's Scramble for Africa*", 9 march 1996.

85 Sunday Times (UK), "*Bagdad Raid a Warning to Zealots*", 4 July 1993.

Equally Sudan, thanks largely to considerable financial backing from Tehran, has been able to develop a beachhead to Islamic militant radicalism in Africa. U.S. officials believes this country currently serves as one of the main external havens for groups opposed to the middle east peace process and Arab regimes backed by Washington.[86] It is also alleged that the spiritual leader of the Sudanese governing party, Hassein Al Turbai, is a close ally of Osama Bin Laden. American Intelligence sources maintain that this link was vital in allowing bin Laden to use Sudan as a logistical staging post for the 1998 bombings, which together, constitute one of the most deadly anti-US attacks yet to have been carried out.[87]

The legacy that has been left by the Afghanistan war is a further factor that has amplified the contemporary force of militant Islamic fundamentalism.[88] With the successful entry of the Mujahideen into Kabul in 1992, thousands of volunteer guerilla fighters, who were as anti west as they were Anti Soviet, literally become "rebels without a cause.[89] Lacking any effective outlet for there religious zeal and military expertise, many left Afghanistan to take up the 'cause' within the rank of other Islamic organizations targeting a new enemy liberal Arab governments and their allies in the West.[90]

The influence of Afghanistan is not only serving to foster the development of insurgent skill in many places of Islamic unrest around the world; it is also providing a necessary ideological framework for the graph of fundamentalist extremism. "The Afghan Jihad, become a ideological obsession among Islamic youth that were studying in the United States and Europe. They had liberal ideas, but they saw that western liberalism was not the answer for what they were

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86 Sunday Morning Herald, "*The World Shudders as Kosova Quakes*", 7 March 1998.
87 New York Times, "*Militant Was a US Target Since Sprig*", 6 September 1998.
88 Chalk Peter, "*West European Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: The Evolving dynamic*", (London : Macmillan), 1997. P-14.
89 Economist "*Soldiers in Search of a War*", 5 June 1993.
90 Sunday Times: UK, "*Bagdad Raid a Warning to Zealots*, 4 July 1993.

looking for, they tried to discover themselves. The instrument of discovery was the jihad.[91]

According to western middle eastern and Asian intelligence officials, it is the influence of the Afghan that is behind the growing violence of some of the most external fundamentalist movement currently operating in the international system,[92] their militancy and experience have been identified having a particularly marked effect on internal instability in places as for afield as Egypt Algeria Tunisia the Israel occupied Territories, Pakistan and the Philippines.[93]

The U.S. Government continues its commitment to use all tools necessary-including international diplomacy, law enforcement, intelligence collection and sharing, and military force-to counter current terrorist threats and hold terrorists accountable for past actions. Terrorists seek refuge in "swamps" where government control is weak or governments are sympathetic. Through international and domestic legislation and strengthened law enforcement, the United States seeks to limit the room, in which terrorists can move, plan, raise funds, and operate. U.S. goal is to eliminate terrorist safehavens, dry up their sources of revenue, break up their cells, disrupt their movements, and criminalize their behavior. They work closely with other countries to increase international political will to limit all aspects of terrorist efforts.

U.S. counter terrorist policies are tailored to combat what they believe to be the shifting trends in terrorism. One trend is the shift from well-organized, localized groups supported by state sponsors to loosely organize international networks of terrorists. Such a network supported the failed attempt to smuggle explosive material and detonating devices into Seattle in December 1998. With the decrease of state funding, these loosely networked individuals and groups have turned increasingly to other sources of funding, including private sponsorship, narcotrafficking, crime, and illegal trade. This shift parallels a

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91 Hamid Gul a retired Pakistani General quoted in "Metz", 1994, p-77.

92 Builta Jiff, "*The Origins and Future of Terrorist Act's, Criminal Justice in Europe*", 1993, p-1-6.

93 United State Department of States "*Pattern of Global Terrorism*", 1996.

change from primarily politically motivated terrorism to terrorism that is more religiously or ideologically motivated. Another trend is the shift eastward of the locus of terrorism from the Middle East to South Asia, specifically Afghanistan. As most Middle Eastern governments have strengthened their counter terrorist response, terrorists and their organizations have sought safehaven in areas where they can operate with impunity.

Chapter - II

AMERICAN POLICY ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

AMERICAN POLICY ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

"In theory the threat or imposition of embargoes and sanctions would appear to the powerful leveraging tool in the conduct of foreign relation between countries. In practice, no state sponsor of international terrorism against which the US has enacted an embargo or section has renounced its role of sponsorships or denounced terrorism as a tool of its foreign policy. Nor has any state once placed on the state sponsors list ever been removed"[1].

The United States counter terrorism policy that was advanced aggressively during 1998, had three pronged strategy: First - make no concessions to terrorists and strike no deals, second - bring terrorists to justice for their crimes, third - isolate and apply pressure on state that sponsors terrorism to force them to change their behavior and forth- to bolster the counter terrorism capabilities of these countries that work with the United States and require assistance[2]. This last element is especially important in light of evolving there from transnational terrorist groups. These loosely affiliated organizations operate more independently of state sponsors, although that relationship still exists. They are highly mobile and operate globally, raising large amounts of money from, training in various countries, and possessing sophisticated technology. "The United States aims to continue to work together with like-minded nations to close-down these terrorist network wherever they are found and make it more difficult for them to operate any place in the world[3]".

US Response of Bombing on its Embassies

Following the bombings of the two US Embassies in East Africa, the US Government obtained evidence implicating Osama Bin Laden's Network in

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1 Quoted in "Haffman Bruce "*Inside Terrorism*" Colombia University Press, 1998, p, 191. Unpublished Discussion paper on *"preventing Terrorism" US Government preventing capabilities*: 23 July 1996, p. 6.

2 United States Department of States , *Patterns of global Terrorism, 1998.*

3 (United Kingdom, Canada, Israel, and Japan)

the attacks. To preempt additional attacks, the United States launched military strikes against terrorist targets in Afghanistan and Sudan on 20 August 1998. That same day. President Clinton amended executive Order 12947 to add Osama Bin Laden and his key associates to the list of terrorists, thus blocking their US assets including property and bank accounts and prohibiting all US financial transaction with them. As a result of what Attorney General Janet Reno called "the most extensive overseas criminal investigation in US history", and working closely with the Kenyan and Tanzanian Governments, the US Government indicted Bin Laden and 11 of his associates for the two bombings and other terrorist crimes. Several suspects were brought to the United States to stand trial". The department of states announced a reward of up to $5 million for information leading to the arrest or conviction of any of the suspects anywhere in the world[4].

The following person work indicted: Osama Bin Laden, Mohamed Rashed Daoud Al. Owhali, Muhammad Atef, Momdoud Mahmud Salim, Auman al Zawahiri, Mustafa Mohammed Fadhil, Khaled al Fawwaz, Khalfan Khamis Mohamed, Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani, Wadin EL Hage, Fahid Mohommed Ally Msalam, Fazul Abdullah Moammed, Sheikh Ahmed Salim Swedan, Mohammed Sadeek Oden, Ali Mohammed.

Five of these suspects are in US custody; one is in custody in the UK. El Hage and Ali Mohammed were arrested in the United States, Two other suspects, Odeh and Al-Owhali were turned over to US authorities in Kenya and brought to the US to stand trial. A fifth suspect, salim was arrested in Germany and extradited to the United States. Khalid Al-Fawwaz is in Custodey in the UK pending extradition to the US. Nine other's are fugitives[5].

In addition to these indictments, a criminal complaint was filed on July 12 1999 against suspected bin Laden associates Adel Mohamed Abdul, Almagid Bary and Ibrahim Hussain Abdehad; Eidarous in connection with the

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4 United States Department of States , *Patterns of global Terrorism, 1998,* Legislation passed by Congress and signed by the President in 1998 increased the maximum amount of a reword offered under the counterterrorism reward programme from $2 million to $5 million.

5 "*Fact Sheet*" United States Information Service. August 5, 1999.

embassy bombings and other crimes.[6] The two had been arrested in the UK, the US is now seeking there extradited. In June 1999 Usama bin Laden was added to the FBI's Ten Most Wanted Fugitives list. The Department of state has announced a reward of up to five million dollars for information leading to arrest or conviction of any of the suspects anywhere in the world[7].

The United States worked very closely and collaboratively with the Kenyan and Tanzanian authorities in the aftermath of the terrorist bombings. On 7th August 1998 terrorist bombers attacked US, Embassies in Nairobi, (Kenya) and Dar-es Salaam, (Tanzania). In Nairobi, 34, Embassy personnel war killed, including 12 Americans and 22 Kenyans. In Dar-es-Saleam 8 Tanzainia employees of the Embassy were killed. In total, blasts killed 213 and injured almost 5000 in Nairobi and killed 11 and injured 72 in Dar-es Salaam. Immediately following the bombings, The US contributed more then $5 million in emergency assistance. US developed a plan to assist citizens in both countries in recovering from the attacks with funds provided through a Congressionally approved supplemental budget and existing USG program funds. In total, the US provided approximately $50 million in assistance.[8]

The United States is working with several international organizations, such as the International Federation of the Red Cross, to implement the assistance in Nairobi and Dar-es Salaam. The funds are being used to pay for continued medical treatment of the wounded, disaster preparedness training and reconstruction of buildings damaged or destroyed in the blasts. The highest priority in the short term is the disbursement of funds to those families most attested by the terrorist attack. That process is will underway.[9]

New Presidential Decision Directives

"On 22 May President Clinton announced the signing of two new Presidential decision directives or PDDs on combating terrorism and protecting critical infrastructures". The first directive. PDD-62 highlights the

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6 United States Department of States "*Pattern of Global Terrorism*, 1998".

7 "*Fact Sheet*" United States information Services New Delhi, August 5, 1999.

8 Ibid.

9 "*Back Grounder*", United States information Services New Delhi, January 13, 2000.

growing threat of unconventional attacks against the United States and details a new, more systematic approach to fighting the terrorist threat. It reinforces the mission of the many US agencies charged with roles in defeating terrorism. It also codifies and clarifies their activities in the wide range of US counterterrorism programs, from apprehending and prosecuting terrorists to increasing transportation security, enhancing response capabilities and protecting the computer based systems that lie at the heart of the US economy. The new directive also establishes the position of the National Coordinator for Security, Infrastructure Protection, and Counterterrorism programs[10].

The second directive PDD-63 calls for a national effort to insure the security of the United States increasingly Vulnerable and interconnected infrastructures. These infrastructures include telecommunications, banking and finance, energy, transportation and essential government services. The directive requires immediate US Government action, including risk assessment and planning to reduce exposure to attack.[11] It stresses the critical importance of cooperation between US Government and the private sector by linking designated federal agencies with private-sector representatives.

PDD-63 which stated that the United States had no higher priority than stopping terrorists from acquiring weapons of mass distraction. More then 40 agencies vied for a piece of the new federal pie, egar for part of the billions of dollars that congress began appropriating for anti terrorist programs.[12]

"The United States Government is engaged in a long term struggle against international terrorism. US uses a variety of foreign policy tools, from military forces when necessary to vigorous diplomacy, law enforcement, improvements in US security, and the development of new technology, in cooperation with other governments, and go after terrorist finances, shut down

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10 United States Department of States , *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, 1999.

11 United States Department of States, *Pattern of Global Terrorism 1998.*

12 United States Department of States *Patter of Global Terrorism 1998 "New Presidential Decision Directives".*

illegal activities, restrict travel, disrupt training, break up support cell, and bring suspects to justice"[13].

The General Accounting office, in report December 1998 faulted to government for a serious lack of coordination in efforts to counter the terrorist threat. For instance, it said there was no mechanism to prevent huge duplication of effort in some areas as inaction in others.

Richard A. Falkenrat, executive director of Harvard's centre for science and international affairs, criticized the Governments efforts "*there is still no overarching federal blueprint for response" he said "what you have now are mostly grass roots efforts springing up in a wide range of agencies*". The government concedes at least some of its failings. According to a draft of an interagency study, Governments counter terrorism programs suffer from a lack of intelligence sharing and a lack of information about what individual terrorists or groups may be plotting[14].

The US government must create unglamorous civil, military and intelligence expertise throughout the chain of commands; integrate planning and operational activity; build up institutional capacities, and highlight defensive needs before an incident happens. This strategy has four elements; intelligence and warning prevention and deterrence crisis and consequence management; and coordinated acquisition of equipment and technology[15].

The intelligence role in preventing terrorism is complicated by non-state actors, concealed weapons development and unconventional deployments, all of which are hard to monitor and preempt. In cyerattacks for example, the deployment of weapons can be entirely electronic. The US government should therefore have the authority to monitor any groups and its potential state sponsors that might have the motive and the means to use weapons of mass distruction. "In order to detect such weapons anywhere in the world, the United States should Utilize remote sensing technology and cultivate global

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13 "*Fact sheet*" US Department of State office "U.S. Counterterrorism Efforts".

14 Richard A. Falkenrath author of 'America's Achilles Heil' (The MIT Press) a new book on high technology terrorism.

15 Ashton corter "*Catastrophic Terrorism: Tackling the New Danger*". Foreign Affairs. November/December, 1998, Vol. 77, no. 6, p. 83.

sources such as a foreign news papers and the internet as well as a full exchange of information with key allies"[16].

US President Bill Clinton says "*the purpose of the military strikes against Sudan and Afghanistan was" to strike at the network of radical groups affiliated with and funded by Usama Bin Laden, perhaps the preeminent organizer and financier of international terrorism in the world today*"[17]. Our target was terror. Our mission was clear. *"Let our action today send this message loud and clear: There are no expendable American Targets. There will be no sanctuary for terrorists. We will defend our people, our interests and our volumes. We will help people of all faiths in all parts of the world who want to live free of tear and violence. We will persist and we well prevail*"[18]. Clinton said the groups associated with Bin Ladin "comes from diverse places but share a hatred for democracy, a fanatical glorification of violence and a horrible distortion of their religion, to justify the murder of innocents".[19]

US President Clinton Describes Terrorism "*Threat for 21st Century*, he explains that any terrorist activity would be met with a swift and appropriate response. Clinton said "*he had been persuaded by intelligence report that the United States need to bolster it defences*". Elaborating on some of initiatives he is weighing a proposal from the Defense Department to establish a commander in chief for the defiance of the continental United States a step that civil liberties groups strongly resist. Such a step would go for beyond the civil defense measures and bomb shelters that marked the cold war, setting up instead a military leadership to help fight chaos and disarray if an attack occurred. "*The Pentagon has commanders over seeing region around the globe, but none for the continental United State*".

During Mr. Clinton presidency terrorism has emerged as one of the country's thorniest security threats[20]. In an address at the National Academy of Sciences. Clinton said that "*terrorist with computer skills and access to*

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16 Ibid.

17 News Week, August 20. 1998.

18 "*Official Text*" USIS New Delhi, August 28-1998

19 New York Times 1998, August 25, 1998.

20 Judith Miller and William J. broad "*Exercise Finds US. Unable to Hardle Germ War Threat*". New York Times. April 26, 1998.

chemical and biological agents had extended the field of battle from physical space to cyberspace and from land, sea and air to the human body"[21]. President Bill Clinton appointed a national coordinator for security, infrastructure protection, and counter terrorism in May 1998 to "bring the full force of all their resources to bear a swift and effectively". Clinton told Government officials and scientists. "*The enemies of peace realize they cannot defeat us with traditional military means, so they are working on two new forms of assault, cyberattacks on our critical computer systems, and attacks with weapons of mass destruction – chemical biological, potentially even nuclear weapons*" [22].

US Government views "terrorists are criminals, whatever their ethnic religious, or other affiliation. It is obvious to oppose their crimes not any religious or moral cause they purport to represent. When it comes to dealing with terrorism, there should be no differences of opinion based on religion or ethnicity. The only dividing line is between those who practice, support or tolerate terrorism and those who understand that it is criminal behavior. Terrorism is a crime that affects innocent men, women, and children everywhere. Its victims have been on all continents. It is in the common interest of all nations to fight terrorism. International cooperation is required to bring terrorists to justice and to establish and maintain the rule of law. There is no justification for the indiscriminate killing of civilians. Neither ideology nor religion nor politics can justify cold-blooded murder. All members of the international community of nations subscribe to the Geneva Conventions, which proscribe indiscriminate attacks on civilians. All nations have an obligation to protect the lives of their citizens and to safeguards their national security. All nations should be committed to apply the rule of law in terrorism cases and to bring terrorists to justice. Any country that provides refuge or other support to terrorists operates outside the values of the international community of nations. "States that sponsor or otherwise support terrorism are

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21 Judith Miller and Willian J. Broad, "*Clinton Describes Terrorism Threat for 21st Century*" New York Times January 22, 1999.

22 John M Broder "*President Steps Up. War On New Terrorism*" – New York Times January 23, 1999.

playing a losing game. They lay themselves open to international sanctions and to attack by opponents of the groups that they sponsor[23]".

Legislative Requirements

This report is submitted in compliance with Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f(a), which requires the Department of State to provide Congress a full and complete annual report on terrorism for those countries and groups meeting the criteria of Section (a) (1) and (2) of the Act. As required by legislation, the report includes detailed assessments of foreign countries where significant terrorist acts occurred and countries about which Congress was notified during the preceding five years pursuant to Section 6(j) of the Export Administration Act of 1979 (the so-called terrorism list countries that repeatedly have provided state support for international terrorism). In addition, the report includes all relevant information about the previous year's activities of individuals, terrorist organizations, or umbrella groups known to be responsible for the kidnapping or death of any US citizen during the preceding five years and groups known to be financed by state sponsors of terrorism.[24]

In 1996, Congress amended the reporting requirements contained in the above-referenced law. The amended law requires the Department of State to report on the extent to which other countries cooperate with the United States in apprehending, convicting, and punishing terrorists responsible for attacking US citizens or interests. The law also requires that this report describe the extent to which foreign governments are cooperating, or have cooperated during the previous five years, in preventing future acts of terrorism. As permitted in the amended legislation, the Department of State is submitting such information to Congress in a classified annex to this unclassified report.[25]

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23 *Fact Sheet* – USIS, New Delhi, August 1999.

24 United States Department of States *Pattern of Global Terrorism 1998*, "Legislative Requirements",.

25 Office of the coordinator for Counterterrorism "*Pattern of Global Terrorism* 1996, US Department of state publication (10433) (Washington, DC: State Department, April 1997), p. vi

No one definition of terrorism has gained universal acceptance. For the purposes of this report, the definition of terrorism contained in Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f(d). that statute contains the following definitions:[26]

1. The term "terrorism" means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents usually intended to influence an audience[27].
2. The term "international terrorism" means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country.
3. The term "terrorist group" means any group practicing, or that has significant subgroups that practice, international terrorism.

The US Government has employed these definitions of terrorism for statistical and analytical purposes since 1983. Domestic terrorism is a more widespread phenomenon then international terrorism. Because international terrorism has a direct impact on US interests, it is the primary focus of this report. Nonetheless, the report also describes, but does not provide statistics on, significant developments in domestic terrorism. The American definition of terrorism is far more comprehensive.

Adverse mention in this report of individual members of any political, social, ethnic, religious, or national group is not meant to imply that all members of that group are terrorists. Indeed, terrorist represents a small minority of dedicated, often fanatical, individuals in most such groups. It is those small groups-and their actions-that are the subject of this report.

Furthermore, terrorist acts are part of a larger phenomenon of politically inspired violence, and at times the line between the two can become difficult to draw. To relate terrorist events to the larger context, and to give a feel for the conflicts that spawn violence, this report will discuss terrorist acts as well as other violent incidents that are not necessarily international terrorism.[28]

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26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 United States Department of State, "*Pattern of Global Terrorism*", 1998.

US Diplomatic Efforts

On 24 August, Secretary Albright, in an effort to bring to justice the two Libyans suspected in the Pan AM 103 bombing, announced a joint US-UK proposal to try them in the Netherlands before a Scottish court with Scottish judges applying Scottish law. The Arab league, the organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and the Non-Aligned Movement endorsed the proposal. At yearened, however, Libya continued to defy UN Security Council resolutions by refusing to turn over the suspect for trial.

The Group of 8 (G_8) partners intensified their exchange of basic information on persons on persons and groups suspected of terrorist-lined activities. The eight nations also focused their efforts on trying to deprive terrorist groups of the money, acquired through criminal activities or raised by front organizations, used to fund operations. Toward this end, the G-8 placed major emphasis on countering terrorist fundraising and did substantial work to advance a French draft international convention to make such fundraising illegal. The G-8 also worked for the acceptance of an assian- proposed international convention against nuclear terrorism, discussed improved export controls on explosives and other terrorist-related materials, and considered guidelines for the prevention and resolution of international hostage-taking incidents.

Representatives from the Organization of American States met in Mar del Plata, Argentina, on 23-24 November for the second Inter-American Specialized Conference on Terrorism. They agreed to recommend the creation of an Inter-American Committee on Terrorism to combat the threat in Latin America. They also agreed to a establish a central database of information about terrorists, to follow certain guidelines for improving counter terrorism cooperation, and to adopt and protecting the computer-based systems that lie at the heart of the US economy. The new directive also establishes the position of the National Coordinator for Security, Infrastructure Protection, and Counterterrorism to oversee the broad variety of relevant policies and programs.

State Sponsored Terrorism

Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria are the seven governments that the US Secretary of State has designated as state sponsors of international terrorism. US policy is to pressure these states to cease their support by applying a broad range of sanctions, both unilateral and multilateral. International cooperation is essential in making these sanctions work, and more needs to be done in this area.[29] Cuba has reduced significantly its support to leftist revolutionaries in Latin America and elsewhere, but it maintains close ties to other state sponsors of terrorism and leftist insurgent groups and continues to provide safehaven to a number of international terrorists.

Iran continues to plan and conduct terrorist attacks, including the assassination of dissident's abroad. It supports a variety of groups that use terrorism to pursue their goals—including several that opposes the Middle East peace process—by providing varying degrees of money, training, safehaven, and weapons.[30]

Libya continues to harbor two Libyan intelligence operatives charged in the United States and Scotland for the bombing in 1988 of Pan Am Flight 103. Libya's action defies UN Security Council resolutions requiring Tripoli to surrender them for trial and ignores a US-UK offer to prosecute them before a Scottish court sitting in the Netherlands. Libya also harbors six suspects in the bombing of UTA flight 772 in 1989, although French authorities agreed to try the six in absentia. Several Middle Eastern terrorist groups continue to receive support from Libya, including the PIJ and the PFLP-GC. There is no evidence of Libyan involvement in recent acts of international terrorism, however.[31] North Korea has been linked definitively to any act of international terrorism since 1987, it continues to provide safehaven to terrorists who hijacked a

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29 United States Department of States "*Pattern of Global Terrorism*" 1998.

30 *Iraq provides safehaven to terrorist and rejections groups and continues its efforts to rebuild its intelligence network, which it used previously to support international terrorism. The leader of the Abu Nidal organization may have relocated to Baghdad in late 1998.*

31 United States Department of States "*Pattern of Global Terrorism 1998*".

Japanese airliner to North Korea in 1970. Sudan provides safehaven to some of the world's most violent terrorist groups, including Osama Bin Laden's al-Qaida, Lebanese Hizballah, the PIJ, the ANO, and HAMAS. The Sudanese Government also refuses to comply with UN Security Council demands that it hand over for trial three fugitives linked to the assassination attempt in 1995 against Egyptian President Mubarak in Ethiopia.[32]

Cuba no longer actively supports armed struggle in Latin America or elsewhere. Previously, the Castro regime provided significant levels of funding, military training, arms, and guidance to various revolutionary groups across the globe. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Havana has been forced to reduce dramatically its support to leftist revolutionaries.[33] Cuba, nonetheless, continues to maintain close ties to other state sponsors of terrorism and leftist insurgent groups in Latin America. For instance, Colombia's two main terrorists group the FARC and the ELN, maintain representatives in Cuba. Moreover, Havana continues to provide safehaven to a number of international terrorists and US terrorist fugitives.

Iran in 1998 continued of to be involved in the planning and execution of terrorist acts. Tehran apparently conducted fewer antidissident assassinations abroad in 1998 than in 1997. Tehran continued, however, to support a variety of groups that use terrorism to pursue their goals. Despite Iranian public statements condemning certain terrorist acts or expressing sympathy for Kenyan and Tanzanian victims of the August 1998 bombings of the US Embassies in Nairobi and Dar-Es Salaam, Iranian support for terrorism remains in place.

Tehran is reported to have conducted several assassinations outside Iran during 1998. In June the "League of the followers of the Sunni" accused Iranian intelligence agents of murdering an Iranian Sunni cleric, Shaikh Nureddin Ghuraybi, in Tajikistan. In September the leaders of Sipah-e-

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32 *There is no evidence of direct Syrian involvement in acts of international terrorism since 1986, but Syria continues to provide sanctuary and support for a number of terrorist groups that seek to disrupt the Middle East peace process.*

33 United States Department of States, "*Pattern of Global Terrorism*", 1998.

Sahaba Pakistan, a virulently anti-shia sectarian group, accused Iran of responsibility for the murders of two of the organization's leaders, Allama Shoaib Nadeem and Maulana Habibur Rehaman Siddiqui. In late November the National Council of Resistance claimed that the Iranian regime had kidnapped and killed Reza Pirzadi in Pakistan. Pirzadi was described as a warrant officer who had been released from prison in Iran in 1996.[34]

Members of Iran's Ministry of Security and Intelligence (MOIS) have conducted five mysterious murders of leading writers and political activists in Iran. Late in the year, Tehran announced the discovery of an operational cell within the MOIS that it alleged operated without the knowledge of senior government officials. Tehran reportedly arrested the cell's members. The Iranian Government stated publicly that it would take no action to enforce the fatwa on Salman Rushdie, a British citizen, which has been in effect since 1989. The Iranian Government's assurance led the UK government to upgrade its diplomatic relations with Iran. Tehran stated, however, that revoking the fatwa is impossible since its author is deceased. Moreover, the Iranian Government has not required the Fifteen Khordad Foundations to withdraw its reward for executing the fatwa on Rushdie, and in November the foundation increased its offer to $2.8 million. Iran continued to provide support to a variety of terrorist groups, including the Lebanese Hizballah, HAMAS, and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, which oppose the Middle East peace process through violence. Ira supports these groups with varying amounts of training, money, and/or weapons. In March, a US district court ruled that Iran should pay $247 million to the family of Alisa Flatow, a US citizen killed in a PIJ bomb attack in Gaza in April 1995. The court ruled that Iran was responsible for her death because it provided funding to the PIJ, which claimed responsibility for the act. Palestinian sources said Iran supported the PIJ's claimed attack in Jerusalem in early November 1998, in which two suicide bombers injured some 21 persons.[35]

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34 United States Department of States "*Pattern of Global Terrorism 1998*".

35 *Iran still provides safehaven to elements of the PKK, a Turkish separatist group that has conducted numerous terrorist attacks in Turkey and on Turkish targets in Europe.*

Iran also provides support to North African groups. In an interview in April 1998, former Iranian president Bani Sadr accused Tehran of training Algerian fighters, among others. Teharan accurately claims it also is a victim of terrorism. In 1998 several high-ranking members of the Iranian government were attacked and at least two were killed in attacks claimed by the terrorist group Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK). The MEK claimed responsibility for the killing on 23 August of Asadollah Lajevardi, the former director of Tehran's Evin Prison[36].

Mohsen Rafiqdust, head of the Foundation for the Oppressed and Disabled, escaped an attack on his life on 13 September. He said counterrevolutionary elements had embarked on efforts to make the country insecure[37]. In 1998, Baghdad continued efforts to rebuild its intelligence network, which it previously had used to support international terrorism. Press reports indicated that Iraqi intelligence agents may have been planning an attack against Radio Free Europe in Prague in October 1998. Other press reports citing "reliable diplomatic sources" in Amman claimed that Iraq had sent abroad for terrorist purpose intelligence agents who pretended to be refugees and businessmen. Iraqi oppositionists have claimed publicly that the regime intends to silence them and have accused Baghdad of proanning to assassinate Iraqi exiles. There are various claims that the Iraqi intelligence service was responsible for the killings of some nine persons in Amman.[38]

In southern Iraq, Ayatollah Morteza Borujerdi—a senior Shia cleric—was killed on 22 April. Oppositionists claimed the Iraqi Government

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36 *It also claimed responsibility for the deaths in June of several persons, including Haj Hassan Salehi, allegedly a torturer at the prison, during a bombing attack on the Revolutionary Prosecutor's Office in Tehran.*

37 *At least nine Iranian diplomatic and associated personnel died when unknown persons invaded the Iranian Consulate in Mazar-e Sharif, Afghanistan, in early August during the Taliban takeover of that city. The Taliban denied responsibility for the deaths.*

38 *In January 1998 an Iraqi diplomat was fired on in Amman, Jordan. Jordanian authorities arrested five persons who subsequently confessed responsibility. In a separate incident, eight persons—including an Iraqi diplomat—were murdered in the home of an Iraqi businessman. Jordanian authorities in April arrested several persons for this crime.*

assassinated Borujerdi because he refused to cease leading prayers. A second high-ranking Shia cleric, Ayatollah Ali Gharavi, was killed on 18 June. The oppositionist Supreme Assembly for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq accused Baghdad of responsibility. Both men were respected Shia clerics of Iranian origin and their murders remain unsolved.

Iraq continues to provide safehaven to a variety of Palestinian rejectionist groups, including the Abu Nidal organization, the Arab Liberation Front (ALF), and the former head of the now-defunct 15 May Organization, Abu Ibrahim, who masterminded several bombings of US aircraft. In December press reports indicated that Abu Nidal had relocated to Iraq and may be receiving medical treatment. Abu Nidal's move to Baghdad—if true—would increase the prospect that Saddam may call on the ANO to conduct anti-US attacks. Iraq also provides bases, weapons, and protection to the MEK, a terrorist group that opposes the current Iranian regime.

Despite a joint US-UK offer to prosecute the two Libyans charged with the bombing in 1988 of Pan Am Flight 103 before a Scottish court sitting in the Netherlands, Libya remained unwilling to meet the demands of UN Security Council resolution 731, 748, 883, and 1192. These measures call upon Libyan leader Qadhafi to cease all support to terrorism, turn over the two indicated Pan Am 103 suspects for trial, and cooperate in the investigation[39].

French officials in January completed their investigation into the bombing in 1989 of UTA flight 772. The French officials believe that Libyan intelligence service was responsible and named Qadhafi's brother-in-law, Muhammad Sanusi, as the attack's mastermind. Six Libyan suspects all intelligence officers, were tried in absentia by a French court in March 1999. The suspects were convicted on 8 March 1999.)

Libya remains the primary suspect in several other past terrorist operations, including the La Belle discotheque bombing in Berlin in 1986,

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[39] *On 5 April 1999, Libya turned over the two suspects, Abdul Basit al-Megrahi and Lamin Kalifah Fhima, for prosecution in the Netherlands under Scottish law.*

which killed two US servicemen, one Turkish civilian, and wounded more than 200. The trial in Germany of five defendants in the case, who are accused, of "an act of assassination commissioned by the Libyan State," began in November 1997 and continued through 1998[40].

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has not been linked solidly to the planning or execution of an international terrorist attack since 1987, when a KAL airliner was bombed in flight. North Korea continues to provide safehaven to members of the Japanese Communist League-Red Army Faction who participated in the hijacking of a Japanese Airlines flight to North Korea in 1970. In March, Pyongyang allowed members of the Japanese Diet to visit some of the hijackers.

According to report of United State Department of State "*pattern of Global Terrorism 1998*" Sudan continued to serve as a meeting place, safehaven, and training hub for a number of international terrorist groups, particularly Usama Bin Ladin's al-Qaida organization. The Sudanese Government also condoned many of Iran's objectionable activities, such as funding terrorist and radical' Islamic groups operating and transiting Sudan. Sudan still has not complied fully with UN Security Council Resolutions 1044, 1054, and 1070, passed in 1996, despite the regime's efforts to distance itself publicly form terrorism. The UNSC demands that Sudan end all support to terrorists. It also requires Khartoum to hand over three Egyptian al-Gama'at fugitives linked to the assassination attempt in 1995 against Egyptian President Mubarak in Ethiopia. Sudanese officials continue to deny that they are harboring the three suspects and that they had a role in the attack.[41]

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40 *Despite ongoing sanctions against Libya for its sponsorship of terrorism, Tripoli in 1998 continued to harass and intimidate expatriate dissidents. Moreover, Qadhafi continued publicly and privately to support Palestinian terrorist groups, including the PIJ and the PFLP-GC. Libya has not been implicated in any international terrorist act for several years, however.*

41 *Khartoum continues to provide safehaven to members of several of the world's most violent terrorist groups, including Lebanese Hizbullah, the PIJ, the ANO, and HAMAS. Khartoum also supports regional Islamic and non-Islamic opposition and insurgent groups in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda, and Tunisia.*

Sudanese support to terrorists includes provision of paramilitary training, money, religious indoctrination, travel documents, safe passage, and refuge. Most of the organizations in Sudan maintain offices or other types of representation. In August the United States accused Sudan of involvement in chemical weapons development. On 20 August the United States conducted military strikes against the al-Shifa pharmaceutical plant in Khartoum, which was associated with Usama Bin Ladin's terrorist network and believed to be involved in the manufacture of chemical weapons, to prevent an anti-US attack. Sudan has denied that the plant was involved in chemical weapons production and vigorously has protested the US bombing.[42]

According to report of United states Department of States "*Pattern of Global Terrorism 1998*" There is no evidence that Syrian officials have engaged directly in planning or executing international terrorist attacks since 1986. Syria, nonetheless, continues to provide safehaven and support to several terrorist groups, allowing some to maintain training camps or other facilities on Syrian territory. Ahmad Jibril's Popular Front for the liberation of Palestine-General Command and the Palestine Islamic Jihad, for example, have their headquarters in Damascus. In addition, Syria grants a wide variety of terrorist groups—including HAMAS, the PFLP-GC, and the PIJ—basing privileges or refuge in areas of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley under Syrian control.[43]

Although Damascus claims to be committed to the Middle East peace process, it has not acted to stop anti-Israeli attacks by Hizbollah and Palestinian rejections groups in southern Lebanon. Syria allowed—but did not participate in—a meeting of Palestinian rejectionist groups in Damascus in December to reaffirm their public opposition to the peace process. Syria also assists the resupply of rejectionist groups operating in Lebanon via

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42 United States Department of States "*Pattern of Global Terrorism 1998*".

43 *In response to Turkish pressure, Damascus took several important steps against the Kurdistan Workers' Party in October. PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan departed Syria, and Damascus forced many PKK members to relocate to northern Iraq. It is unclear whether Damascus has made a long-term commitment to sever its ties to the PKK.*

Damascus. Nonetheless, the Syrian government continues to restrain the international activities of some groups and to participate in a multinational monitoring group to prevent attacks against civilian targets in southern Lebanon and northern Israel.

Treaty Targeting the Financing of Terrorism

The United States is urging other nations to sign the newest convention in a series of international anti-terrorism instruments, the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. The treaty, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1999, was opened for signature at UN headquarters on January 10, 2000. Ambassador James Cunningham, the U.S. deputy UN representative, signed the convention on behalf of the United States.[44]

"In signing this new convention on the day it first opened for signature, the United States is sending a strong message of support for international efforts to combat terrorism at one of its most critical points – raising and spending the money needed to finance terrorist activities, "an announcement from the U.S. Mission to the United Nations said.[45]

The United States encourages all countries to further the global fight against terrorism by joining the new convention to suppress the financing of terrorism and all preceding counterterrorism conventions, the announcement said.[46]

The new convention is an approach that will add substantial strength and enforcement opportunities to the network of interlocking conventions created by the international community during the past 30 years. It recognizes that financing is at the heart of terrorist activity and paves the way for

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44 "*Back Grounder*" United States information Services, January 13, 2000.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.

concerted actions and close cooperation between law enforcement and financial authorities.[47]

The treaty takes the existing acts that have been defined as terrorism in other treaties and says that anybody who provides or collects money for those acts is also guilty of the crime, the official explained. The international community historically has been unable to agree on an overall definition of terrorism because in certain cases some individuals may perceive terrorists as freedom fighters. Because of this problem, countries have taken an issue-by-issue approach, creating a network of conventions criminalizing specific acts, such as bombings, kidnappings, or hijacking airplanes.

Ambassador Philippe Kirsch of Canada, chairman of the committee that drafted the text, "*said the convention recognizes the fundamental importance of the problem of financing terrorism in an era when huge quantities of money can circle the globe electronically in seconds*".

The convention, Kirsch said at a press conference "establishes the act financing terrorism as an independent crime. It does not require that an act of terrorism actually be committed. For the first time a convention specifically targets the financial sponsors of terrorist activity rather than only the actual perpetrators. Previously, financial backers of terrorist acts could be charged only with aiding or abetting that crime. The new convention criminalize the act of providing or collecting funds with the intention or knowledge that those funds will be used to carry out a terrorist act, whether or not that act of terrorism takes place.[48]

If a significant number of countries become parties, the convention will provide powerful enforcement possibilities to government that want to put an end to acts of terrorism, diplomats say. Every time terrorist monies pass

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47 "*What is important about the convention is the continuing effort of the international community to combat terrorism," a senior U.S. official said after the signing. "The process is continuing to work away the problem*".

48 United States Department of States "*Pattern of Global Terrorism 1999*".

through the territory of a party to the convention, an international crime will be committed which can be prosecuted.[49]

The convention defines a terrorist act as one that is intended to cause death or serious injury to a civilian with the purpose of intimidating a population or compiling a government or organization either to carry out or not to carry out a particular action.

Report Say:- States parties will be required to adopt national laws paralleling the convention making such offenses punishable by appropriate penalties which take into account the gravity of the crimes. States parties also must make the offenses extraditable and include the offenses in any extradition treaties they conclude. They also will be required to cooperate and assist other states in investigations and preventive efforts. For example, they cannot refuse a request for legal assistance on the grounds of bank secrecy. Banks and another financial institutions must identify account holders, must pay special attention to unusual or suspicious transactions, and report any they suspect may stem from criminal activity. The convention also suggests a number of specific measures that banks might be required to undertake, such as requiring proof of incorporation or maintaining transaction records for at least five years[50].

For the United States, the new convention, as with other treaties, will be subject to the ratification process of the United States Senate. The nine previously adopted anti-terrorism conventions, all of which have entered into force, are: Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft (1970); Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (1971); Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons including Diplomatic Agents (1973); International Convention against the Taking of Hostages (1979);

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49 Ibid.

50 *Seven countries – Finland, France, Malta, the Netherlands, Sri Lanka, the United Kingdom, and the United States—signed the treaty on the first day. States that sign a treaty demonstrate their intention to ratify. The convention will be open for signature until December 31, 2001, and must receive 22 instruments of ratification in order to enter into force.*

Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (1980); Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation (1988); convention for Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, protocol for the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of the fixed platforms located on the continental Shelf (1988); and International Convention for the suppression of Terrorist Bombings(1997).

In addition, the General Assembly has adopted two non-binding declarations which uncategorically condemn terrorist acts: the Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism in 1994 and a supplement to the 1994, declaration in 1996. In another resolution adopted in December 1999 the General Assembly decided that the ad hoc committee on international terrorism should continue to work on a draft convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism and discuss whether the UN should convene a high-level international conference on terrorism.

US- India Counterterrorism Working Group

The United States and India agreed to establish a Joint Working Group on Counterterrorism. The agreement was announced following meetings between Deputy Secretary Strobe Talbot and Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh in London.[51] Ambassador Michael A. Sheehan, U.S. Coordinator for Counterterrorism, hosted the meeting at Department of State. The Indian delegation was headed by Joint Secretary Alok Prasad of the Ministry of External Affairs. Both delegations included an interagency group of counterterrorism and law enforcement officials.[52]

The two sides expressed concern at the growing menace of international terrorism, extremism, and drug trafficking. The two sides unequivocally condemned all acts, methods, and practice of terrorism as

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51 *The inaugural meeting of the U.S. – India Couterterrorism Working Group was held in Washington.*

52 United States Department of States "*Pattern of Global Terrorism 1999*".

criminal and unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious, or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.[53] The Indian government agreed to the U.S. offer of Antiterrorism Assistance programs, the specifics to be determined in future visits. The group also decided to convene a meeting of each side's legal experts in April to discuss the Indian-proposed U.N. Terrorism convention.[54] Inter-agency teams from the two countries to combat international terrorism. The two sides would share experience, exchange information, and coordinate approaches and action. Bot India and the United States have a shared interest in strengthening a regime to counter international terrorism. This working group is intended to enhance the effectiveness of efforts to counter international terrorism worldwide.

The question of international terrorism poses sever, questions relating to international peace and security, especially among the developing countries. While on one hand, they are being threatened with gradual but sustained efforts at destabilization, they are also subject to press on arms control ranging from nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction to sophisticated conventional weapons.[55] But, how do those who deal with the question of disarmament deal with covert supply of weapons ranging from a crude nuclear weapon or a chemical/biological weapon, to explosives as small as a letter bomb? While verifiable arms control negotiations are possible between governments, how does one deal with this question with armed gags of terrorists who have been supplied with sophisticated weapon and technology, like the stinger SAM, remotely controlled mines and long-range rockets. Moreover, their capacity to acquire through clandestine sources, and even to improvise, sophisticated weapons has been increasing at an alarming rate. This proliferation of weapons in the hands of these 'unauthorized' non-state and non-government actors is pointing an increasing threat not only to

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53 *The two sides agreed to intensify their joint cooperation to ensure that the perpetrators of the hijacking of Indian Airlines Flight 814 are brought to justice, as part of their joint efforts to combat international terrorism.*

54 Ibid.

55 Prof. K. R. Singh "*International Terrorism: An Instrument of State Policy*", Paper Presented in Seminar" on International Terrorism", 1995, JNU, New Delhi.

national security but also to international security and human rights. But no effective thought is being given to that subject. The only way that it can be brought under some control is by controlling the menace/phenomenon of international terrorism.[56]

Another phenomenon that needs to be analyzed is the linkage of terrorism with domestic and foreign policies of the concerned regime. "State-sponsored international terrorism is used almost instinctively as a tool of foreign policy by regimes which routinely use regimes of state terror to suppress dissent at home"[57]. According to Walter Laqueur, "State-sponsored terrorism is mainly the instrument of dictators with ambitions far in excess of their power base".[58] Some expert have sought to apply the "law of clam to state sponsored/supported/tolerated International terrorism by saying that law forbid states to permit their territory to be used as a base for armed bands of whatever nature to operate in the territory of another state.[59]

The most damaging thing that one witnesses now is the willingness not only of the international institutions but also of the governments and the public, especially in the south, to accept terrorism, especially international terrorism, as an accepted fact of life with which one should learn to coexist. In a way, we are being gradually immunized to it, and are treating it like road accidents, bank robberies or common murder and arson. Our newspapers and other media as well as political discussions at national and international level reflect that effect. Such a psychological surrender to terrorism is likely to lead ultimately to the very erosion of state authority, if not the concept of an organized states system. This phenomenon is very vividly manifest in states that have been subjected to this phenomenon for a long time viz., Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Lebanon etc. other states like Algeria, Somalia, Sudan, Tajikstan etc. are heading towards that.

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56 Ibid.

57 Willkinsion Paul, "*Fighting the Hydra, International Terrorism and the Rule of Law*"(ed.) Noil O. Sullivan, "*Terrorism Ideology and Revelation*", (Harvester Press Publishing group, Brighton, 1986), p. 209.

58 Laqueur Walter, "*Reflection on Terrorism*" Foreign Affairs, Fall 1986, p.95.

59 Richard B. Lillich and John Paxman, "*State Responsibility for Injuries to Aliens Occasioned by Terrorist Activities*". American University law Review 26 (1977) p.p. 217.313.

It is time this menace to organized state system, irrespective of its ideological overtones, is understood clearly so that adequate counter measures can be proposed unhesitatingly.

Chapter - III

AMERICAN BOMBING OF TERRORIST HIDE OUT IN AFGHANISTAN AND SUDAN

AMERICAN BOMBING OF TERRORIST HIDE OUT IN AFGHANISTAN AND SUDAN

Western societies enjoy **extraordinary** military and economic power today. But the "class of civilization" between the "west and the rest" predicted by Samual Huntington is unlikely to take place exclusively or even principally on the battlefield. Some potential adversaries, secretary of Defence William Cohen Warned in 1991 "*believe that there only way to fight America, given U.S. Military superiority, is to use WMD against. U.S troops or civilians. Violent Islamic extremist have already recognized that they cannot defeat US in a conventional war but that they can impose significant pain through acts of terrorism*"[1].

The behaviour of states can be grouped into three analytically distinct but related political "movements" the movements of community, order and cooperation. That states are involved with each other at these three levels arises from the nations of the international system and three seemingly intrinsic problems: identity, violence and interdependence.[2]

Terrorism posses an eminent threat to America's future. But the US can fight back only if it sets the right goals. U.S. Policy makers have laid down various guidelines for themselves.

The US Defense Secretary, Mr. William Cohen said "The US strikes against terrorist facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan should not be seen simply as response to August 7 (1998) bombing in Kenya and Tanzania but as the long term fundamental way in which the US intends to combat the forces of terror"[3]. Mr. Mahmood Saikal Afghanistan's Honorary consul to Australia said on August 23 (1988) "we believe the time has come that the CIA should sit down with the Inter-Service intelligence Directorate (ISI) of Pakistan and

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1 Samuel Huntinton, "*The Clash of Civilisations*"? Foreign Affairs, Summer 1993, 25, William S Cohen, "*In the Age of Terror, Weapons*" Washington Post, November, 26, 1997, p- 19.

2 Kanti Bajpayee "*India's Global Role for the 21st century: Politics of community order and cooperation*" (ed) Lalit Manshing, Dilip Lahiri, J.N. Dixit" *Indian Foreign Policy, Agenda for 21st century* (Konark Publishers India 1998), pp, 3-4.

3 Washington Post (August 24) 1988.

question the ISI for nurturing terrorism inside Afghanistan".[4] The US rational behind the missile attacks has opened a new dimension to look offer use of military forces against a sovereign nation state without any concern of world opinion". Mr. Rechard Norton Talor wrote "Nuclear strikes against terrorist groups armed with weapons of mass destruction are part of official US military doctrine. The British-America Security information Council (BASIC) an independent research group wrote" Neither the law of armed conflict nor any other customary or conventional international law prohibits the use of nuclear weapons in armed conflict".[5] The United States has taken a strong stand against terrorism. The US retaliated by missile strikes, the strikes violated the sovereignty concept as ensured in the UN Charter. "A former ISI Chief Gen. Hamid Gul claimed that such precision bombing could not be achieved if only cruise missiles were used. He asserted that "fighter aircraft firing precision guided munitions, and coordinated by sophisticated force multipliers like AWACA and J-STARS must have been used", this shows that USA as used highly sophisticated weapons to meet terrorism".[6]

US Policy and Practice

Since 1990, the United States has engaged its military forces in a number of conflicts, including the Gulf war, Bosnia, Somalia, North Korea, Rawanda, Haiti, Afghanistan and Sudan. They also included cases of interstate war (the Gulf and Bosnia), civil war (Part of Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda) Conflicts stemming from United Nations and International Atomic Energy (IAEA) pressure to allow inspections (North Korea), an intervention to change a regime (Haiti) and retaliatory action against terrorist attack in Afghanistan and Sudan.

"The end of cold war has affected American attitudes about the use of force. It was expected that United States as the only super power would be able to rise above its narrowly defined national interest taken from major establishment of a just equitable and democratic world order. Use of force by

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4 Newsweek 1998, August 15, according to DPA. Report.

5 Times Magazine, August 30.

6 Times of India 26 August 1998.

United States for the establishment of peace and order" in the world is willingness to maintain strategic superiority in most part of the world[7]. Howard J. Wiarda assumes "The United States is extremely vulnerable to terrorism. We have extremely porous borders; and because terrorism has occurred so rarely in United States, we largely take our safety for granted and, alone among the nations, have virtually no security at dams, power facilities, banks, public buildings, or other potential targets. Even many US military bases throughout the country and worldwide have dropped their security precautions and allow virtually unlimited access. The United State should certainly do more to combat potential terrorism. But some perspective is also necessary. Terrorism is a problem, a concern, at time bloody disaster. However absent the guiding hand of a superpower enemy like the Soviet Union, it is not a severe threat to our survival as a nation. "An individual terrorist or group can do dramatic, horrible damage but could not threaten the physical survival of the United States. It is for this reason that US should see terrorism as serious problem meriting a serious US foreign policy response, but it is not a potentially nation destroying threat comparable to the posed by the old USSR[8]".

Rare are the global sea changes that disrupt the fundamental pattern of world politics, such change took place between 1989 and 1991, in the aftermath of the cold war, new configuration of threats faced the United States. In some instances the threats had actually been around for some time, but now came more sharply into focus as the disappearance of the USSR allowed policy officers in Washington to turn their attention toward the rest of the world. Understanding the intentions of the Russian republic, which still possessed a massive arsenal of strategic weapons remained an ongoing concern of high priority. Additional perils immediate or potential, that required attention included the spread of weapons of mass destruction, a set of renegade states, among them Haiti, Iran, Iraq, North Korea; and now

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7 Howard. J. Wiarda "*U.S. Foreign and Strategic Policy in the Post-Cold war Era: A Geopolitical Perspective*" (ed.) Ranadall B. Ripley and James M. Lindsay, *U.S. Foreign Policy after Cold War*, p. 26.

8 Ibid.

necessary to include Afghanistan and Pakistan, flourishing drug traffickers; a spate of terrorist organizations, with the radical Islamic factions Hamas, Hezbolah high on the list; a proliferation of international criminal elements operating throughout the former Soviet Union and elsewhere; and erupting ethnic wars that threatened to engulf U.S.[9]

"While it may reasonably be argued that the concept of terrorism was losing its coherence even before the collapse of the communist system in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the end of the bipolar system, that existed between 1945 and 1989 represented a qualitative change in the nature of the international political system with important implications for the concept of terrorism. In retrospect it seems that the bipolar era wars a period of remarkable, stability particularly for the affluent liberal democracies of the West, through disorder increased in the latter, part of the era, with the weakening of the relative power was the rivalry between the systems two superpower, the United States and the Soviet Union. "The whole era now tends to be referred to as one of cold war, though this description in not entirely accurate, since relations between the two superpower fluctuated between period of antagonism and of detent.[10]

Terrorism and Covert Warfare

Wilkinson has argued that terrorism is "inherently international in character" and that is very hard to find a pure case of internal terrorism[11]. International terrorism carries the implication that the illegitimacy of the violence in question partly derives from its international character. Involving foreigners or the territory of another country in a battle for control of the state is generally seen as a violation of the normative limits on such a struggle for power. It is a corollary of another norms, that state should not involve

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9 Loch K. Johnson "*Strategic Intelligence and the end of the cold war*" (ed.), Ranadall B. Replay and James M. Lindsay "*US Foreign policy after cold war*" p. 133.

10 Ibid.

11 Wilkinson Paul, "*Traineds in International Terrorism and the American Response*", (ed.) Lowrence Frredman, Christopher Hill, Adom Roberts, R.J. Vincent, Paul willkinson and Philip Windsor, *Terrorism and International order*, (Rout ledge and kegan Paul, London 1986), pp. 49 - 39.

themselves in domestic affairs of other countries[12]. These norms place foreigners in the position of innocent bystanders, by the some token, making use of another states territory constitutes a violation of its neutrality. Of course, all this presupposes both that is possible to draw a reasonably clear distinction between the domestic affairs of the state and its role in the international system, which is a legitimate concern of other states, and that the norm of noninvolvement in the domestic affairs of other states, is sufficiently generally adhered to, that foreigners or foreign territory do not appear to constitute legitimate targets.[13]

Both these propositions have been strongly contested by groups that have justified attacking foreigners or extending their conflict with domestic counterpart to foreign sail. Indeed of one were to assume that terrorism embodied some form of ideology, then the contention the foreign interest constitute an illegitimate prop of local power structure might be taken to be one of it's key assumptions, however anti-imperialist groups which engage in political violence are for from being alone in their treatment of the distinction between the domestic and foreign affairs of the state as artificial, states, especially the most powerful states, have increasingly taken the view that they have a legitimate foreign policy interest in the outcome of domestic conflicts which justifies their intervention in such conflicts. Further, "the argument that the non-intervention norms should be overridden in case of gross violation of human rights has attracted increasing support.[14] At its most extensive, intervention takes the form of covert military action including the dispatch of troops to the territory in question. Below that level, intervention may take the form of covert action, involving forms of violence such as assassination and bombing that are very commonly labeled terrorism when carried out by sub-state group.[15]

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12 R.J Vincent, "*Non Intervention and International Order*", (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 1974), pp .123-124.

13 Adrian Guelke "*The Age of Terrorism and The International Political System*", pp. 144-145.

14 Rechard little "*Revising Intention: Summary of Recent Developments*" Review of International Studies, January 1987, pp. 46-60, and Stephen John Stedman, "*The New Interventionists: Foreign Affairs, America and the World*" 1992/93 pp. 1-16.

15 Adrian Guelke – "*The Age of Terrorism and the International Political system*". 1998, p.96.

The overlapping of the method of covert warfare and those of terrorism raises the question of whether a clear distinction can be drowning between them. If covert warfare is treated as a species of terrorism, then it becomes, much more difficult to claim that terrorism at an international level is a novel development since covert warfare has been a feature of international relations since time immemorial. At the beginning to the age of terrorism, two factors appeared to distinguish the new violence from covert warfare. Firstly, it was perpetrated by members of sub-state groups and not directly by the agents of any states, secondly while employing clandestine methods, the perpetrators were eager to secure publicity for their cause and even for their organization. By contrast, the covert warfare waged by state was rarely conducted with an eye for such notoriety.[16]

The involvement of sub-state groups in violence at an international level formed the man focus of analysis in the 1970's and encapsulated in the description" transnational terrorism". Transnational was used to describe activity that crossed the boundaries of states but which did not involve the state as an institution. Thus, a contrast was drawn between international relation and transnational relation's with the former confined to inter-state relations.[17]

US Action and World's Reaction

U.S. Bombing on Terrorist hides out of Afghanistan and Sudan have been seen as a new phenomenon in international arena. There is cognition about their legitimacy and implications. Yet this operation has not unprecidention. The US has taken unilateral punitive military action in foreign territories as retaliation or a pre-emptive measure. The legality of the American bombing to Afghanistan and Sudan may be questioned. The act circumvented the UN and violated international Law.[18]

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16 Ibid.

17 Debate between James N. Rosenoue "*International Studies in Transitional World*" and F.S. Northedge "*Transnationalism : The American Illusion*" Millennium String 1976, pp. 1-27.

18 The Hindu, august 28, 1998.

While it is tempting to examine these cruise missile strikes in terms of the morality and the disproportionate response directed at what are ostensibly soft targets. Like Sudan and Afghanistan or in terms of legality and the prevailing norms regarding the use of military force. The attacks were in retaliation for bombings at American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, allegedly carried out by Islamic militants under the command of Osama Bin Laden.[19]

The President of America Bill Clinton Oval office remark on antiterrorist attacks "The purpose of the military strikes against Sudan and Afghanistan was" to strike at the network of radical group affiliated with and funded by Osama Bin Laden.[20] But just as Sudan insisted that a factory hit by America was a Pharmaceutical plant, Islamic militant claimed that some of the buildings in the Afghan camps targeted by Tomahawks cruise missiles were centers of learning and prayer.

"Sudan recalled its diplomats from Washington and lodged a complaint with UN against what it called a "criminal act" by the US in attacking a pharmaceuticals plant on Sudanese soil. It banned American plains from Sudanese Airspace. The attacks on Khartoum particularly angered African and Arab public opinion. The argument is that Washington did not have concrete proof to justify the bombing of the pharmaceutical factory. The factory had been granted sanction by the United Nation to supply essential medicines to Iraq as a part of the oil-for food program of the United Nation.[21] Sudan invited UN and other international agencies to inspect the bombed factory. Sudan said that if they found any evidence that the factory had been manufacturing chemical weapons it would withdraw the protest it had lodged with the UN, Security Council. However, if the authorities do not find any evidence to support the US claim, the UN should condemn the US action.

"According to a US intelligence official, soil sample obtained clandestinely by US intelligence led the Clinton administration to conclude that

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19 News Week 2, November 1988.

20 *"Official Text"* USIS New Delhi, August 21, 1998.

21 The Pioneer, India 27 August 1998.

a Sudanese plant purported to be making medicine was actually developing a key ingredient in deadly VX nerve gas. That the Security Council did not seem particularly concerned about Sudan's grave charge against the US is bad enough. It decided to spurm Khartoum's request for a UN investigation of what remains of the pharmaceutical plant so as to establish whether chemical weapon precursors were really being manufactured there. The US representative's intervention in the security council "debate" had echoes of Orwellian doublespeak, "Putting together a technical team to confirm something that we already know, based on our information, does not seem to have any point to us".[22]

"Russia called the US action as "outrage".[23] The official Chinese press said the US action set a "bad precedent" that could jeopardize international collaboration in the cursed against terrorism,[24] but its foreign ministry spokesman gave a muted response, not quite clarifying whether it thought the US had acted in conformity with the UN charter and international law as required.

Japan refrained from blindly indorsing the US attacks. Britain supported the US missile strikes as did Germany and Israel. The Arab league, condemning the "Rambo-style" attacks, said the US action was a threat to the security and stability of west Asia. Pakistan, where security has been beefed up around the American embassy and its other establishments, said strikes were "a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of an Islamic country".[25] Pakistan was on the horns of a dellema. It says it was not consulted by the Americans, it also find it difficulty to explain how the US hit targets in Afghanistan without the knowledge of Pakistani air defense forces.[26] One of the missiles fired by US warship in the Arabian Sea lay unexploded in Pakistan's Southern province of Baluchistan, and Pakistan has protested to the United Nations over the invasion of its airspace.

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22 News Weak, London, 17 September 1998.
23 The Hindu, Madras 29 August 1998.
24 Indian Express, New Delhi, 24 August 1998.
25 Times of India, New Delhi, 23, August 1998.
26 Times of India, New Delhi, 26 August 1998.

The radical Palestinian group, Hamas, terming the attack on Sudan as that on "whole Arab and Islamic world", threatened to strike at the US and Israeli installations. Chechnya has called for air strikes against the US for its criminal act.

"India's reaction was extremely guarded; obviously because of a conscious decision to avoid complications that could affect the Jaswant Singh Tallbott talks. The first official reaction noted the unilateral character of the US action, but did not labour this point and avoided explicit disapproval: "We have seen the US statements that the strikes in Afghanistan and Sudan were directed against terrorist targets. We await the full facts about this unilateral action" this was all that was said about the central issue involved. The home ministry however, said the event of past "once again make it clear that what is required is not selective unilateral action but an effective informational cooperative effort to identity and act against those responsible for international terrorism whether individuals, terrorist groups or states".[27]

"In a more forthright condemnation the defence minister of India said no state should carry out such bombings against another one Mr. Fernandese" was of the opinion that strong nation should not impose themselves on other, and the rule of law should prevail and certain norms and standards had to be followed".[28] He noted that "While the USA had carried out attacks in retaliation to terrorist attacks on its citizens it had not said anything when Pakistan sponsored terrorism in Kashmir had killed many innocent people".[29] Those comments would amount the most forthright of "official" Indian observations on the US missile raids on Afghanistan and Sudan after the bombing of its embassies in East Africa.

The Prime Minister Mr. Bajpayee said, "Terrorism is a crime against humanity. The United Nation has taken a strong stand against this. In any case terrorism should be condemned. I believe that on this question double standards should not be followed. We too have been victims of terrorism;

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27 World Focus, November December 1999.

28 Times of India, New Delhi, 7 October 1998.

29 Times of India, New Delhi, 9 October 1998.

terrorism has to be rooted out. "Mr. Bajpaee disagreed, with a view the unilateral US action amounted to an act of state terrorism. I do not think this is state terrorism. I am not supporting America but we are for international initiative against terrorism", he added".[30]

Taliban Reaction

The Afghanistan problem is a creation of US cold war politics.[31] The founder of US policy in Afghanistan during the Carter and Reagan administration's (1977 onward) perhaps did not realize that in spawning Islamic militancy with the primary aim of defeating the soviet Union they were sowing the seeds of a phenomenon that was likely to acquire a life of its own, spread throughout Arab-Asian and African world and threaten US interests.

United Nation went ahead on November 14 1999 and stepped punitive sanction on Afghanistan demanding the arrest and turning over the suspected Islamic terrorist Osama Bin Laden for trial on charge of having plotted the 1998 bombing of US embassies in Africa. The US already has imposed its own sanctions against the Islamic Taliban, including freezing the assets of Afghanistan's national Ariana Airlines and banning US investment and trade with the area under Taliban control. The US federal Bureau of investigation Chief said Bin Laden also faced charges in New York flowing alleged attempts to procure chemical and biological agents for 'terrorist activity'.[32] He mentioned that Bin Laden had alleged connection with Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, an Islamic guerilla convicted of the 1993 US world Trade center bombing who was suspected of planning to blow up eleven US civilian airlines from his Manila base in 1994, such terrorist net work with their base in Afghanistan have put the security of many countries in the vicinity in jeopardy. In the post-Kargil operations, India was seriously concerned about the involvement of the Taliban and Osama Bin Laden in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir.[33] Russia has also witnessed the Chechnya trouble spilling over to the streets of

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30 Hindustan Times, New Delhi, 12 Julay 1999.

31 India Today, (India), July 1998, p. 39.

32 Helen Purkitt, "*Dealing with Terrorism: in Application of the world society Perspective*", p. 164.

33 P. B. Sinha, "*Islamic Fundamentalism and Terrorism in Algeria*", Strategic Analysis/June 1994.

Moscow. The ardent Islamic sympathizers of the Taliban have advocated the cause of Islamic militant like Osama bin Laden on the face of increasing Americans resolve to nab him. Afghanistan's ruling Islamic Taliban military recently warned the US to end "hostility" towards it or face neutral calamities such as earthquakes and storms.[34] The warning was in a massage by the Islamist militia's supreme leader, Mullah Mohammad Omar, issued from Taliban headquarters at the southern Afghan town of Kandhar. He addressed the American people urging them to pressurize their government to "Cease hostility" against the Taliban's Islamic Emirate. The Taliban Chief rejected a UN demand to hand over Saudi dissident Osama Bin Lade currently belived to be hiding in Afghanistan and instead proposed that a group of Islamic scholars advise them on a "solution".[35] "Osama issue is an Islamic issue and the only way to resolve it is through a unanimous decision by Ulema (Islamic theologians) of three Islamic countries, including Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia and another third Islamic country Pakistan. A spokesman for the office of Taliban supreme leader Mullah Mohummad, based Afghan Islamic press. He further said, "if the United Sates wants to impose sanctions upon us it must be known the god is on the side of the just and no one can challenge God". Wakil Ahmed Muttawakil, the new Talibanese Foreign minister is not hesitating to involve the 55-member organization of Islamic conference (OIC) in the Osama affairs by proclaiming the Taliban logic that "The Almighty is definitely on our side".[36]

Mullah Omar also offered to hold talk with "anybody to check terrorism. He said in another statement that Afghanistan had never been a refuge for terrorists. "Neither are we terrorists", the Afghan Islamic Press (AIP) quoted the statement saying, "it is for from justice that now-a-days in the world no distinction is being made between Mujahideen (Islamic holy Warriors) and terrorists".[37] Mullah Omar further said the whole world was happy when the Mujahideen from the rest of the world came to Afghanistan to fight so-called

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34 The Telegraph, (London), 18 March 1996.

35 Frederick Painton "*Stampede for the Exits*" Times 27 December 1995, p. 27.

36 Sreed and Kapil Kant, "*Politics of Islamic Terrorism in west and: Internal and External Pimengion*". Strategic Analysis June 1996.

37 Ibid.

Soviet Occupation in 1980's. Omar a close friend of Osama Bin Laden reportedly said later "he would rather see the distraction of the half of Afghanistan that survived the Soviet invasion than hand over a "fellow Muslim in need" to the west".[38]

The Taliban started its activities around Kandhar in 1994, It had some modest success as well even if Kabul was still a far away from them. But soon after word, Pakistan supported Taliban in Afghanistan once the group led by Golbuddin Hekmatyar slipped out of its control. By September 1996. Taliban forces seized Kabul and were seen to be in control of 80% of territory in Afghanistan, the success story of Taliban with its emphasis on Islam has had converts among the Pakistani youth. Many of them, Madrasa educated and brimming with a sense of medieval nostalgia are out to hoist the banner of Islam in the whole region spanning from Trans-Caucasian Chinese Xinjiang to South Asia. Russia as already officially asked Pakistan to stop cross border terrorism in Chechnya. Even China is very much worried about the involvement of Pakistani Jehad group in Xinjiang. And in India, a special aggressive version of Islamic terrorism is being promoted and patronized by Pakistan, intelligence to wreck the polity from within. The Indian home minister has already stated in Lok-Sabha that government is going to publish the white paper on the role of ISI in terrorist activities in India.

The United States missile strikes were not the first instance of its attacks on other sovereign states, previously President Ronald Reagan had ordered similar strikes against Libyan.[39] Cities of Tripoli and Benghazi following several incident of terrors violence. There were two such strike against Iraq in 1993.

Americans action once again highlighted the unilateral action. United State first realized that Osama Bin Laden was a threat offer 1993 world Trade Center bombing in 1993. Osama Bin Laden stands as the most notorious of the new generation he journeyed to Afghanistan soon after the 1979 Soviet

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38 Ibid.

39 *In 1986 Regan administration sent Navy bombers in to Labia. The idea was to punish Member Quadrate for backing and orchestrating the bombing of a disco in Berlin, Germany frequented by US solders stationed there.*

envision of that poor Muslim nation in central Asia joining activities who would later form the nucleus of militant Islam in such groups as Hamas, Egypt's group, Algeria Islamic salvation front, in Philippines.

The war against soviet occupation of Afghanistan was heavily tenanted by estimates $ 3 billion from America, the biggest covert operation since the Vietnam war. To American's it was fight against Soviet aggression. To pious Arab it was a sacred fight against an atheist ideology. Bin Laden[40] soon emerged as one of those wars greatest heroes. Throughout 1980's the United States and Bin Laden were on the same side against the now collapsed Soviet Union. Bin Laden made no secret that he saw secular powerful Washington as much of an infidel as Moscow. But his priority was Moscow, which invaded Afghanistan to prob up a communist government in December 1979.

Since 1996 Bin Laden has taken refuge in one of the most inaccessible regions in the world Southern Afghanistan. In a CNN interview Bin Laden said "The United State has committed acts that are extremely unjust hideous and criminal", by supporting Israel and imposing sanction on Iraq". But it is the presence of US troops in Saudi; Arabia the land of Mecca an Madina, "the holiest place of the Muslims" that most outrages Bin Laden, this he says in why he has declared a jihad on the United States.

Role of US in Development of Islamic Fundamentalism

It is significant that threat of what is called Islamic Terrorism has come into the reckoning of international community after the end of cold war and the disintegration of international socialist network. The role of United States in development of Islamic fundamentalist terrorist is not secret. It has been disclosed by an high ranking US official Yosset Bodansky. He was part of a bipartisan congressional team, Task force on Terrorism and Unconventional

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40 *At the age of 16 Bin Laden become involved with Islamic political groups in his native Saudi Arabia, it was the Soviet Unions invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 that radicalized him only day's after it begin, Bin Laden, flew to Afghanistan to help organize the first Islamic guerilla fighter's.*

warfare. He had the opportunity to see Afghanistan operational at close quarters from inside Pakistan. He told an Indian corespondent Indrani Banarjee that "*the very same Afghans trained by the Pakistanis during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan are being used in International terrorist operations*". On being questioned why the US government had connived at the operation he replied: *"By and large we went into Afghanistan because it had to be done there were strategic threats to vital American interest in the Parisian Gulf, Number Two; Ziaul Hoq, though for from being perfect, had very, very strong pro-west inclinations. He believed that the future of Pakistan, Islamic or otherwise, was with west, During the days of Mrs Indira Gandhi, India increasingly sank into being an active participant in the Soviet "grand Design" which was essentially anti West. Given all that Zea's policies including his nuclear policy, were seen to make perfect sense".*

"We found ourselves going with the ISI, accepting the ISI's responsibility in training and running the Mujahideen. As it was the ISI ran its own show and lied and cheated to us. However we were intimately involved with the situation and knew what was going on. But the powers that be decided that higher interests – that for us to get the Soviets out of Afghanistan and remove the threat to the USA then the abuse of American help, the ISI support of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and the diversion of a little bit of arms to Jammu and Kashmir. Especially in the early 1980's we could live with all this". He further pointed out how the US perception changed: "*Till the collapse of the communist regime of Najibullah in Afghanistan there were a lot of things we were willing to swallow and tolerate but then things started changing. Nuclear weapons instead of being seen as instrument for the last resort were transformed into hegemonic instruments for the Islamic bloc. The training system that the ISI had created for liberating Afghanistan and bleeding the Soviets, moved into involvement in Thailand, central Asia, not to speak of the Islamic terrorist systems which tried to blowup the world Trade center. It is no longer an issue that is okay. So we gave them a hundred rifles, they took five and gave it to some Sikha, Big deal. Now it is a question of regional instability, of global instability. It is a whole new ball game".*

Politico-ideological divide between the US led capitalist forces and the Soviet led communist forces created bipolarisation of the global polity. These political developments had profound impact on the polity of the developing countries in the East Europe and Central Asia. These countries were used by the US and the then Soviet Union to increase their respective area of influence. Both the super powers and there allies used violence and terror tactics in some form of other to achieve their respective foreign policies goals. During this period 1960's and 1970's there was alarming growth of terrorism. The super power rivalry coincided with the struggle for freedom movement in Afro-Asian countries. The movement for freedom in these countries received political and financial support from the Soviets, because the colonial powers. The Great Britain and France joined hand with US. As a matter of fact, involvement of the superpowers not merely delayed the process of freedom; it also created political mess in the international relations. While the Soviet Union endeavored to influence these countries toward the left, the US did the same to frustrate the Soviet design. The result was the beginning of cold war and global insecurity. There was no possibility of common agenda for global security between exploiters and the exploited and between those who want to freeze the international states qua in their own interest and those who disadvantaged by it[41].

The international politics was clearly deviled into two blocks and international security was at stake. A huge sum of money was spent on weapons of mass distraction and defense technology.

Clinton said the groups associated with Bin Ladin "comes from diverse places but share a hatred for democracy a fanatical glorification of violence, and a horrible distortion of their religion, to justify the murder of innocents. They have made the United States their adversary precisely because of what we stand for and what we stand against.

41 K. Subrahamanyam 1993.

"I wan the world to understand that our actions were not aimed against Islam, the faith of hundreds of millions of good, peace loving people all around the world including the United States.

I ordered our armed forces to strike at terrorist related facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan because of the eminent threat they presented to our nations security". "Our target was terror".

Clinton and his innermost circle had planned retaliatory airstrikes against Osama Bin laden in operation "infinite Reach". To keep it a secrete, the planning was done by a group of two officials so small that it code-named itself the small group – "SG" to those few in the know.

Defense Secretary William Cohen and Joint Chiefs of staff chairman Hugh Shelton briefed on the nature of the further attacked by US military forces in retaliation. Secretary Cohen said the attacks against these facilities "are a part of a continuing effort to defend US citizen and interests abroad against the very real threat posed by international terrorist". General Shelton described the facilities attacked in Afghanistan and Sudan are important part of terrorist network by exiled Saudi Millionaires Osama Bin Laden reputed to be the mastermi8ned of the African embassy bombing. Cohen mused that he was only person in his own office who news about the operation.

The President Clinton said the United Sates had "convincing information" that Bin Laden was behind the embassy bombing and many other atrocities. He said there was "compelling evidence" that the Ladin's terror network was planning further attacks on Americans. A day after bombardment the presidents national security advise Sandy Berger, reported ", moderate to heavy damage at each of the targets" and said he terror network's operation had been significantly impaired. But Bin laden managed to be elsewhere in Afghanistan when his training camp were hit, despite Clinton's Claim that "a gathering of Key terrorist leaders" was supposed to be taking place at one of the target sites.

Just before the cruise missile attacks, Bin Laden told a Pakistani journalist "he had nothing to do with US embassy bombing in Africa", His host

Mohammad Omar leader of Afghanistan's Taliban movement insisted Bin Laden had clean hand. "There is no comp of Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan." He said we have already closed his camps". He added: "We can never hand over Osama Bin Ladin to America". Sudanese President Omar Hassan al Bashir said "The US attacks was designed to overdose the Monica Lewinsky Scandal'. He called Clinton morally decrepit: Anti America demonstration in many Islamic countries echoed same "wag the Dog" theme, a Turkis newspaper Headlined its story "The Monica Missiles".

But US intelligence and its helpers in other countries had assembled an impressive dossier of evidence against bin Laden. A key piece come form Muhammad Sadiq Howaida, who was arrested by Pakistani officials on August 7 1998 the day of the embassy bombing, as he attempted to slip into Afghanistan, on a fake passport. The details of Howaida's confession to the Pakistanis were obtained by New week's Zahid Hussain. His Report: "I did it all for the cause of Islam", Hawaida said of the embassy bombings. His confessed to work for Bin Laden. "He is my leader, and I obey his order.[42]

The investigation of the bombings was moving for more rapidly than such things usually do. In a meeting of the "SG" (Small Group) on August 12 1998. Clinton had set a though standard of proof. He did not demand evidence that could be presented in a court of law: the need to protect sources and methods would almost certainly preclude anything like that. What Clinton said He needed, before he could authorize military action, was evidence that Berger and another members of the small group (including Cohen, a republican and Gen. Huge Shelton, the hard nosed chairman of the joint chief of staff) would regard as conclusion.

The pharmaceutical plant in Sudan known as EL Shifa, was a late addition to the US target list the factory's lawyer said it had no connection with Bin laden. And Sudanese official insisted the plant made innocent medicines for human and animals. But when US intelligence obtained sample of products made by EL Shifa , one of them turned out to be a "precursor to The VX nerve agent. It was barely a step away from VX itself. Said US official.

42 News Week, October 1998.

Another sources identified the substance as an ethyl-methyl phosphorus compound unique to. "There is no way in hell you'd ever use that in pharmaceutical manufacturing", senior US official also asserted that Bin Laden has been taking about using Chemical weapon against US targets.

India's Union home Minister L.K. Adwani's strong criticism of the United States for its cross-border terrorism that the US has one standard for itself and another for others. Mr. Thomes Pickering's[43] statement that while his country could strike at terrorists anywhere, India better desists from hot pursuit of those from Pakistan. The reason cited that it could lead to war implies that hot pursuit could be justified in the absence of such a consequence.

[43] Under Secretary of state (US) for Politics Affairs.

Chapter IV

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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The growth of religious terrorism and its emergence in recent years as a driving force behind the increasing lethality of international terrorism shatters some of basic assumption about terrorist and the violence they commit. It also raises serious question about the continued relevance of much of the conventional wisdom on terrorism, particularly as it pertain to potential future terrorist use of WMD[1].

South Asia

The primary terrorist threat to United States emanate from two regions South Asia and the Middle East, now terrorism directed against the United States continued to shift from the Middle East to South Asia, supported by state sponsors. In South Asia major threat comes from Afghanistan[2]. The Taliban continued to provide safehaven for international terrorists, particularly Osama Bin Laden and his network (who directly threaten the US), in the portions of Afghanistan they control. Despite the serious and ongoing dialogue between the Taliban and the United States, Taliban leadership has refused to comply with a unanimously adopted United Nation Security Council (UNSC) resolution demanding that they turn Bin Laden over to a country where he can be brought to justice[3].

Pakistan government has supported groups that engaged in violence in Kashmir and its has provided indirect support for terrorists in Afghanistan. The United States made repeated requests to Islamabad to end support for elements harboring and training terrorists in Afghanistan and urged the

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1 Hoffman Bruce "*Inside Terrorism*" (Colombia University Press New York 1999), p. 204-205.

2 Dikshit Prasant "*Proliferation of small arms and Minor Weapons*" Strategic Analysis. Vol. xxii, pp. 187-204.

3 United States Department of States, "*Pattern of Global Terrorism: 1999*", Asia Overview.

Government of Pakistan to close certain Pakistani religious schools that serve as conduits for terrorism[4].

Islamist extremists from around the world – including North America; Europe; Africa; the Middle East; and Central, South, and Southeast Asia – continued to use Afghanistan as a training ground and bas of operations for their world wide terrorist activities. The Taliban, which controlled most Afghan territory, permitted the operation of training and indoctrination facilities for non-Afghan and provided logistic support to members of various terrorist organizations and mujahidin, including those waging jihad in Chechnya, Lebanon, Kosovo, Kashmir, and elsewhere[5]. For a proper appreciation of transborder Islamic militancy and terrorism that factor need to the noted that Islamic military a large number of Muslim indulged in act of militancy and terrorism[6].

The Taliban continued to host Osama Bin Laden – indicted in November 1998 for the bombings of two US Embassies in East Africa – despite US and US sanctions, a unanimously adopted UN Security Council resolution, and other international pressure to deliver him to stand trial in the United States or a third country. The United States repeatedly made clear to the Taliban that they will be held responsible for any terrorist acts undertaken by Bin Laden while he is in their territory. Jordanian authorities arrested members of a cell linked to Bin Laden's al-Qaida organization – some of whom had undergone explosives and weapons training in Afghanistan – who were planning terrorist operations against western tourists visiting holly sites in Jordan over the millennium holiday[7].

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4 *Credible reports also continued to indicate official Pakistani support for Kashmiri militant groups, such as the Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM), that engaged in terrorism.*

5 *Since the withdrawal of Soviet forces Afghanistan in 1989. South Asia has become awash with arms, many of which have found their way to militant organizations operating in India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.*

6 For a conceptual framework of transborder terrorism see Gerd Langguth, "*Origin and aims of terrorism in Europe*". Aussen Politik vol. 37 February 1986.

7 Ibid.

The Taliban permitted hijacked Indian Airlines flight IC 814 to land at Qandahar airport after refusing it permission to land the previous day. The hijacking ended on 31 December when the Government released from prison three individuals linked to Kashmiri militant groups in return for the release of the passengers aboard the aircraft. The hijackers, who had murdered one of the Indian passengers during the course of the incident, were allowed to go free[8].

Security problems persisted in India in 1999 from ongoing insurgencies in Kashmir and the northeast. Kashmiri militant groups continued to attack Indian Government; military and civilian targets in India-held Kashmir and elsewhere in the country[9]. The Indian Government took a number of steps against terrorism at home and abroad. In August the Indian cabinet ratified the international convention for the suppression of terrorist bombings. New Delhi also introduced a convention on the suppression of terrorism of the UN General Assembly meeting. Indian law enforcement authorities continued to cooperate with US officials to ascertain the fate of four Western hostages – including one US citizen – Kidnapped in 1995 in Indian Kashmir, although the hostages whereabouts remained unknown. New Delhi announced in November 1999 the establishment of a US – India Counterterrorism Working Group, which aimed to enhance efforts to counter international terrorism worldwide[10].

Pakistan is one of only three countries that maintains formal diplomatic relations with – and one of several that supported – Afghanistan's Taliban, which permitted many known terrorists to reside and operate in its territory.

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8 *The Taliban stated that the hijackers, who reportedly are Kashmiri militants, would leave Afghanistan even if they were unable to obtain political asylum from another country. Their whereabouts remained unknown at yearend.*

9 (Times of India, 30 November 1999) *The militants probably bombed a passenger train traveling from Kashmir to New Delhi on 12 November, killing 13 persons and woulnding 50. Militant groups operating in Kashmir also mounted a grenade attack against a wedding in Srinagar, Kashmir's summer capital, which wounded at least 20 wedding participants.*

10 New Week, 2 December 1999.

The United States repeatedly has asked Islamabad to end support to elements that conduct terrorist training in Afghanistan, to interdict travel of militants to and from camps in Afghanistan, to prevent militant groups from acquiring weapons, and to block financial and logistic support to camps in Afghanistan. In addition, the United States has urged Islamabad to close certain madarsa, or "religious" schools, that actually serve as conduits for terrorism[11].

Kashmiri extremist groups continued to operate in Pakistan, raising funds and recruiting new cadre. The groups were responsible for numerous terrorist attacks in 1999 against civilian targets in India-held Kashmir and elsewhere in India. Pakistani officials from both Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government and, after his removal by the military, General Pervez Musharraf's regime publicly stated that Pakistan provide diplomatic, political, and moral support for "freedom fighters" in Kashmir – including the terrorist group Harakat ul-Mujahidin – but denied providing the militants training or materiel[12].

On 12 November 1999, shortly after the United Nations authorized sanctions against the Taliban, but before the sanctions were implemented, unidentified terrorists launched a coordinated rocket attack against the US Embassy, the American center, and possibly UN offices in Islamabad. Sectarian and political violence remained a problem in Pakistan as Sunni and Shiya extremists conducted attacks again each other, primarily in Punjab Province, and as rival wings of an ethnic party feuded in Karachi[13]. Pakistan experiences a particularly strong wave of such attacks across the country in

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11 (India Today, 15 to 21 January 2000.) *Credible reports continue to indicate official Pakistani support for Kshmiri militant groups that engage in terrorism, such as the Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM). The hijackers of the Air India flight reportedly belong to one of these militant groups. One of the HUM leaders, Maulana Massod Azhar, was freed from an Indian prison in exchange for the hostages on the aircraft in the Air India hijacking in December and has since returned to Pakistan*

12 United States Department of States, "*Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1999*".

13 Mutahir Ahmad, "*Prospects of Islamic fundamentalism in Post Cold War period*". Pakistan Horizon, vol. 48 (2) April 1995.

August and September 1999. Domestic violence dropped significantly after the military coup on 12 October.

In the wake of US diplomatic intervention to end the Kargil conflict that broke out in April between Pakistan and India, several Pakistani and Kashmiri extremist groups stridently denounced US interference and activities. Jamiat-e-Ulema Islami leaders, for example, related to US diplomacy in the region by harshly and publicly berating US efforts to bring wanted terrorist Osama Bin Laden, who is based in Afghanistan, to justice for his role in the 1998 US Embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. The imposition of US sanctions on 14 November against Afghanistan's Taliban for its continued support for Bin Laden drew a similar response[14].

The separatist group Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), which the United States has designated a Foreign Terrorist Organization, maintained a high level of violence in 1999, conducting numerous attacks on government, police, civilian, and military targets. President Chandrika Kumaratunga narrowly escaped an LTTE assassination attempt in December. The group's suicide bombers assassinated moderate Tamil politician Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam in July and Killed 34 bystanders at election rallies in December. LTTE gunmen murdered a Tamil Member of Parliament from Jaffina representing the Eelam People's Democratic Party and the leader of a Tamil military unit supporting the Sri Lankan Army[15].

Over the year, LTTE attacks against police officers killed 50 and wounded 77. Bombings of buses, train and bus terminals in March, April, and September killed four persons and injured more than 80, and Sri Lankan authorities attributed several bombings of telecommunications and power facilities to the LTTE in July an LTTE suicide diver bombed a civilian passenger ferry while it was in Trincomalee port, and the group's Sea Tigers naval wing attacked a Chinese vessel that had come too close to the Sri Lankan Coastline. The LTTE allegedly massacred more than 50 civilians in

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14 Outlook (India) 10 July 1999 .

15 International Herald Tribune 1998 *"A Tamil Tiger Primer on International Arms Bazaar"*, 10 March.

September, apparently retaliating against a Sri Lankan Air Force bombing that killed 21 Tamil civilians. The LTTE is suspected in the shooting death in Jaffna of a regional military commander for the pro-government People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) and may be responsible for bombings at a PLOTE office and a camp in Vvuniya that killed three and injured seven.

LTTE activity against the Sri Lankan Government centered on the continuing war in the north. The Sri Lankan military's offensive to open and secure a ground supply route through LTTE-held territory suffered a major defeat when the LTTE fought a series of intense battle in early November and regained control of nearly all land the government had captured in the past two years. The battles resulted in thousand of casualties on both sides.

There were no confirmed cases of LTTE or other terrorist group targeting US citizens or businesses in Sri Lanka in 1999. Nonetheless, the Sri Lanakn Government was quick to cooperate with US requests to enhance security for US personnel and facilities and cooperated fully with US officials investigating possible violations of US law by international terrorist organizations[16].

The scorecard for terrorism in East Asian nations in 1999 was mixed, with some countries enjoying significant improvements and others suffering an upswing of attacks. The most positive development occurred in Cambodia, where the Khmer Rouge's one-deadly threat all but ended with the group's dissolution as a viable terrorist organization. Political disagreements frequently were the inspiration for terrorist acts in East Asia. In Indonesia the overwhelming East Timor vote in favor of independence provoked violent reprisals by militias on that island as well as in Jakarta. In addition, a US-owned oil company's facilities were targeted in Aceh, Sumatra. The Khmer Rouge (KR) insurgency ended in 1999 following a series of defections,

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16 *Battlefield requirements forced Sri Lankan security forces to cancel their participation in a senior crisis management seminar under the Department of State's Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program in 1999.*

military defeats, and the capture of group leader Ta Mok in March. The KR did not conduct international terrorism in 1999, and the US Government removed it from the list of designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations[17].

Indonesian nationalists, mostly in Jakarta, responded to the referendum and the subsequent deployment of the International Force for East Timor with protests and low-level violence against perceived interference in their country's internal affairs. In late September the Australian Embassy in Jakarta was the target almost daily demonstrations that included petrol bombs and stone throwing. Gunmen fired shots at the Australian Embassy on three separate occasions in apparent anger over Canberra's role in the international peacekeeping mission. In addition, unidentified assailants threw Molotov cocktails at the Australian International School in Jakarta in 4 October, but no injuries resulted. As of 25 October, pursuant to a UN Security Council resolution, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor assumed all legislative and executive authority in East Timor and responsibility for the administration of justice[18].

AMU Shinrikyo, the Japanese cult that conducted the sarin attack on the Tokoyo subway system in March 1995, continued efforts to rebuild itself in 1999. The group's recruitment, training, fundraising – especially as computer business that generated more than $ 50 million—and property acquisition, however, provoked numerous police raids and an extensive public backlash that included pretests and citizen-led efforts to monitor and barricade Aum facilities[19].

The Communist Party of the Philippines New People's Army (CPP/NPA) broke off peace talks with the Philippine Government in June after

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17 *Former KR members, however, still posed an isolated threat in remote areas of the country. Suspected ex-KR soldiers, for example, attacked a hill tribe in northeastern Combodia in July in an apparent criminal incident.*

18 United States Department of States, "*Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1999*".

19 Nicholas D. Kristof, "*Japanese Cult Planned US Attacks*", International Herald Tribune (Paris), 24 March 1997: Robert Whymant "*Cult Planned Gas Raids on America*", The Times (London) 29 March 1997.

the ratification of the U.S. Philippine Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA), which provides a legal framework for joint military training exercises between Philippine and US armed forces. The CPP/NPA continued to oppose U.S. military presence in he country and claimed that the VFA violates the nation's sovereignty. Communist insurgents did not target U.S. interests during the year, but a Communist member told the press in May that guerrillas would target U.S troops taking part in the joint exercises[20].

Islamist extremists also remained active in the southern Philippines, engaging in sporadic lashes with Philippine Armed Forces and conducting low-level attacks and abductions against civilian targets. The groups did not attack US interests in 1999, however. The Abu Sayaf Group (ASG) – redesigned in 1999 as a Foreign Terrorist Organization – in June abducted two Belgians and held them captive for five days before releasing them unharmed without ransom. The ASG still was working to fill a before releasing them unharmed without ransom. The ASG still was working to fill a leadership void resulting from the death of Abubakar Jalani, who was killed in a clash with the Philippine Army on 18 December 1998.

The Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), the largest Philippine Islamist separatist group, marked the opening of peace talks on 25 October 1999. Nonetheless, both sides continued to engage in low-level clashes[21].

State Sponsored Terrorism

The designation of state sponsors of terrorism by the United States and the imposition of sanctions is a mechanism for isolating nations that use terrorism as a means of political expression. US policy is intended to compel

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20 *Press reporting in September alleged CPP/NPA plans to target US Embassy personnel at an unspecified time.*

21 *MILF chief Hashim Salamat told the press in February that the group had receive from Osama Bin Laden funds that it used to build mosques, health centers, and schools in depressed Muslim communities.*

state sponsor to renounce the use of terrorism, end support to terrorists, and bring terrorists to justice for past crimes.

The United States is committed to holding terrorists and those who harbor them accountable for past attacks, regardless of when the acts occurred. The United States will not simply expunge a terrorist's record because time has passed. The states that choose to harbor terrorists are similar to accomplices who provide shelter for criminals – and the United States will hold them accountable for their "guests"' actions[22].

Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, North Korea, Cuba, and Sudan remain the seven governments that the US Secretary of States has designated as state sponsors of international terrorism. Iran continued to support numerous terrorist groups – including the Lebanese Hizbollah, HAMAS, and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) – in their efforts to undermine the Middle East peace process through terrorism. Although there were signs of political change in Iran in 1999, the actions of certain state sponsor of terrorism. Iraq continued to provide safehaven and support to a variety of Palestinian rejectionist groups, as well as bases, weapons, and protection to the Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK), an Iranian terrorist group that opposes the current Iranian regime. Syria continued to provide safehaven and support to several terrorist groups, some of which oppose the Middle East peace process. Libya had yet to fully comply with the requirements of the relevant UN Security Council resolutions related to the trial of those accused of downing Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. North Korea harbored several hijackers of a Japanese Arilines flight to North Korea in the 1970s and maintained links to Osama Bin Laden and his network. Cuba continued providing safehaven to several terrorists and US fugitives and maintained ties to other state sponsors and Latin American insurgents. Finally, Sudan continued to serve as a

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22 US official says : *International terrorists should know before they contemplate a crime that they cannot hunker down afterward in a safehaven and be absolved of their crimes. The United States is committed firmly to removing countries from the state sponsor list once they have taken necessary steps to end their link to terrorism. In fact, the Department of State is engaged in ongoing discussions with state sponsors interested in being removed from the list.*

meeting place, safeshaven, and training hub for members of Bin Laden's al-Qaida, Lebanese Hizbollah, al-ihad, al-Gama'at, PIJ, HAMAS, and the Abu Nidal organization (ANO).

State sponsorship has decreased over the past several decades. As it becomes increasingly important for all countries to adopt a "zero tolerance" for terrorist activity within their borders. Terrorists will seek safehaven in those areas where they are able to avoid the rule of law and to travel, prepare, raise funds, and operate. In 1999 the United States actively researched and gathered intelligence on others states that will be considered for designation as state sponsors. If the United States deems a country to "repeatedly provide support for acts of international terrorism', it is required by law to add that nation to the list.

In 1999 the United States increasingly was concerned about reports of Pakistani support for terrorist groups and elements active in Kashmir, as well as Pakistani relations with the Taliban, which continued to harbor terrorists such as Osama Bin Laden. In the Middle East, the United States was concerned that a variety of terrorist groups operated and trained inside Lebanon with relative impunity. Lebanon also was unresponsive to U.S. requests to bring to justice terrorists who attacked U.S. citizens and property in Lebanon in previous years.

Cuba continued provides safehaven to several terrorists and U.S. fugitives in 1999. A number of Basque ETA terrorists who gained sanctuary in Cuba some years ago continued to live on the island, as did several U.S. terrorist fugitives.

The actions of certain state institutions in support of terrorist groups made Iran the most active state sponsor of terrorism. A variety of public reports indicate Iran's security forces conducted several bombings against Iranian dissident's abroad. Iranian agents, for example, were blamed for a truck bombing in early October of a Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK) terrorist base near Basrah, Iraq, the killed several MEK members and non-MEK individuals. Tehran still provided safehaven to elements of Turkey's separatist PKK that

conducted numerous terrorist attacks in Turkey and against Turkish targets in Europe. One of the PKK's most senior at-large leaders, Osman Ocalan, brother of imprisoned PKK leader Adbullah Ocalan, resided at least part-time in Iran. Iran also provided support to terrorist groups in North Africa and South and Central Asia, including financial assistance and training.

Iraq's use of chemical weapons against its own citizens in the late 1980s demonstrated its willingness to commit acts of terrorism employing WMD... Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz has denied that Iraq intended t use these weapons in terror attacks against the US "*we are not in the business of terrorism*"[23]. Iraq continued to plan and sponsor international terrorism in 1999. Although Baghdad focused primarily on the anti regime opposition both at home and abroad, it continued to provide safehaven and support to various terrorist groups. Despite having been defeated in the Gulf War and being monitored by UNSCOM. Iraq remains capable of supplying terrorists with WMD[24].

In April 1999, Libya took an important step by surrendering for trail the two Libyans accused of bombing Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988. The move responded directly to the US-UK initiative; concerted efforts by the Saudi, Egyptian, and South African Governments; and the active engagement of the UN Security Council and the UN Secretary General. At yearend, however, Libya still had not complied with the remaining UN Security Council requirements: payment of appropriate compensation; acceptance of responsibility for the actions of its officials; renunciation of, and an end to, support for terrorism; and cooperation with the prosecution and trial. Libyan leader Qadhafi repeatedly stated publicly during the year that his government had adopted an antiterrorism stance, but it remained unclear whether his claims of distancing Libya from its terrorist past signified a true change in policy[25].

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23 Aziz quoted in Nelan "*America the Vulnerable Time*" November 24, 1997.

24 Jessica Stern "*The Ultimate Terrorist*" (Harvard University Press London, 1999), p. 127.

25 United State Department of States, "*Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1999*".

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (D.P.R.K.) continued to provide safehaven to the Japanese Communist league-Red Army Faction members who participated in the hijacking of a Japanese Airlines flight to North Korea in 1970. P'yongyang allowed members of the Japanese Diet to visit some of the hijackers during the year. In 1999 the D.P.R.K. also attempted to kidnap in Thailand a North Korean diplomat who had defected the day before. The attempt led the North Korean Embassy to hold the former diplomat's son hostage for two weeks. Some evidence also suggests the D.P.R.K. in 1999 may have sold weapons directly or indirectly to terrorist groups.

Sudan also continued to assist several Islamist and non-Islamist rebel groups based in East Africa. Nonetheless, Sudan's relations with its neighbors appeared to improve in 1999. Ethiopia renewed previously terminated air links, while Eritrea considered reestablishing diplomatic ties. Moreover, in early December, Sudan signed a peace accord with Uganda under which both nations agreed to halt all support for any rebel groups operating on each other's soil.

Syria continued to provide safehavena and support to several terrorist groups, some of which maintained training camps or other facilities on Syrian territory. Ahmad Jibril's Popular Front Liberation of Palestinian-General Command (PFLP-GC) and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), for example, were headquartered in Damascus[26].

Europe's Experience of Terrorism in 1999

Europe experienced fewer terrorist incidents and casualties in 1999 than in the previous year. Strong police and intelligence efforts-particularly in France, Belgium, Germany, Turkey, and Spain-reduced the threat from Armed Islamic Group (GIA), Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP-C),

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26 *In addition, Syria granted a wide variety of terrorist groups-including HAMAS, the PFLP-GC, and the PIJ-basing privileges or refuge in areas of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley under Syrian control. Damascus generally upheld its agreement with Ankara not to support the Kurdish PKK, however.*

Kurdistan Workers' Party Nonetheless, some European governments avoided their treaty obligations by neglecting to bring PKK terrorist leader Abdullah Ocalan to justice during his three-mongh stay in Italy[27].

In the United Kingdom, the Good Friday accords effectively prolonged the de facto peace while the various parties continued to seek a resolution though negotiations. The Irish Republican Army's refusal to seek a resolution through negotiations. The Irish Republican Army's refusal to abandon its caches of arms remained the principal stumbling block. Some breakway terrorist factions-both Loyalist and Republican-attempt to undermine the process through low-level bombings and other terrorist activity[28].

Turkey moved aggressively against the deadly DHKP-C, which attempted a rocket attack in June against the US Consulate General in Istanbul. Following Abdullah decrease possibly reflected a second-tier leadership decision to heed Ocalan's request to refrain from conducting terrorist activity.

Despite Albania's counter terrorist efforts and commitment to fight terrorism, a lack of resources, prosperous borders, and high crime rates continued to provide an environment conducive to terrorist activity. After senior US officials canceled a visit to Albania in June because of terrorist threats, Albanian authorities arrested and expelled two Syrians and an Iraqi suspected of terrorist activities. The men had been arrested in February and charged with falsifying official documents but were released after serving a prison sentence.

A claim made in the name of the GIA in July threatened to create a "blood bath" in Belgium "within 20 days" if Belgian authorities did not release

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27 *Greece's performance against terrorists of all stripes continued to be feeble, and senior government officials gave Ocalan sanctuary and in Italy, where a group claiming to be the Red Brigades took reponsibility for the assassination of Italian labor leader massimo D'Antono in May 1999.*

28 United States Department of States "*Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1999*" Europe Overview

imprisoned group members. Brussels took the threat seriously but showed resolve in not meeting any of GIA's demands, and no terrorist acts followed the missed deadline. In addition, a Belgian court in October convicted Farid Melouk-a French citizen of Algerian origin previously convicted in absentia by a French court as an accessory in the Paris metro bombings in 1995-for attempted murder, criminal association, sedition, and forgery and sentenced him to imprisonment for nine years. In the same month, Belgium convicted second GIA members, Ibrahim Azaouaj, for criminal association and sentenced him to two years in prison.

France continued its aggressive efforts to detain and prosecute persons suspected of supporting Algerian terrorists or terrorist networks in France. Paris requested the extradition of several suspected Algerian terrorists from the United Kingdom, but the requests remained outstanding at yearend. In addition, the French government's nationwide "Vigi-Pirate" plan-launched in 1998 to prevent a repeat of the Pris metro attacks by Algerian terrorists – remained in effect[29].

On the judicial front, a special court in Paris in March tried and convicted in absentia six Libyan terrorists for their involvement in the bombing in 1989 of UTA flight 772 over Niger and sentenced them to life imprisonment. The court assessed Libya 211 million French francs to compensate the victims' families. By midyear, Libya had transferred the payment to the French Government. France filed lookout notices for the six convicted terrorists with INTERPOL[30].

German officials saw no signs of renewed leftwing terrorism in 1999. The Red Army Faction (RAF) officially disbanded in March 1998, and

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29 *Under the plan, military personnel reinforced police security in Paris and other major cities, particularly at strategic sites such as metro and train stations and during holiday periods. Vigi-Pirate also increased border controls and expanded identity checks countrywide.*

30 *A French court also allowed an investigating magistrate to file a civil suit on behalf of the victims' families against Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi for his alleged complicity in the UTA affair.*

authorities uncovered no renewed RAF activity. Several former RAF members still were wanted by German authorities, who assessed that the terrorists were willing to use violence to avoid capture. In mid-September, Austrian police in Vienna killed suspected German RAF terrorist Host Ludwing-Mayer and arrested his accomplice Andrea Klump. Klump was extradited to Germany for membership in the outlawed RAF, possible complicity in an attack on the Deutsche Bank chairman, and involvement in an attack against a NATO installation in Spain in 1988.

Officials have no evidence of organized, politically motivated right wing terrorist activity in Germany, but rightwing "skinheads" continued to attack foreigners in 1999. The government stepped up efforts to combat xenophobic violence, including trying some skinheads at the federal level and initiating a program called the "German Forum to Prevent Criminality" to deal with the social causes of violence. Some German states also set up antiterrorist police units that successfully reduced attacks by skinheads[31].

Greece remained one of the weakest links in Europe's efforts against terrorism. Greece led Europe in the number of anti-US terrorist attacks in 1999n and ranked second worldwide only to Colombia. Greek terrorists committed 20 acts of violence against US Government and private interests in Greece and dramatically increased their attacks against Greek and third-country targets. The absence of strong public government leadership and initiatives to improve police capabilities and morale contributed to the lack of breakthroughs against terrorists[32].

In attempting to help PKK terrorist leader Abdullah Ocalan find safehaven, senior government officials facilitated Ocalan's transit through Greece and provided temporary refuge in the Greek Ambassador's residence in Nairobi. The Foreign Minister, the Minister of Public Order, the Minister of

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31 United States Department of States "*Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1999*" Europe Overview.

32 *Popular opinion makers generally downplayed terrorism as a threat to public order, even as terrorists continued to act with virtual impunity.*

Interior, and the intelligence Turkey, the Greek Government extended political asylum to two of Ocalan's associates. In March the terrorist group Revolutionary Organization 17 November issued a communiqué blaming the Greek Government Organization 17 November issued a communiqué blaming the Greek Government, among others, for Ocalan's arrest and challenging the US Government to apprehend them.

NATO action against Serbia precipitated several months of violent anti-US and anti-NATO actions in Greece. From March to May, Western interests suffered some 40 attacks. In early April a woman attempting to firebomb the US Consulate in Thessaloniki was caught by an alert Consulate guard, but Greek authorities released the woman after a few days' detention with a nominal fine. The incident was the only arrest by Greek authorities for a terrorist act committed in 1999. Later in the month, Greek police defused a bomb outside the Fulbright Foundation in Thessaloniki. On 27 April a bomb exploded at the Intercontinental Hotel in Athens, killing one Greek responsibility. Numerous bomb and other threats against the US Embassy, consulate, and the American Community School proved to be hoaxes[33].

The Italian Government dealt ineptly in the matter of PKK terrorist leader Ocalan, who arrived in Rome in November 1998 and requested political asylum. Italian authorities detained him on an international arrest warrant Germany had issued but declined a Turkish extradition request because Italy's Constitution prohibits extradition to countries that permit capital punishment. The Italian Government sought unsuccessfully to find a European trial venue while declining to invoke the 1977 European counter terrorist convention to prosecute Ocalan in Italy. Unable to find a third country willing to take the PKK leader, to government simply told Ocalan he no longer was welcome in Italy.

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33 *In response to these incidents, the US Government issued a public announcement in April advising US citizens and travelers of the security conditions in Greece.*

The NATO bombing campaign against Serbia produced leftwing anger and some anti-US violence. The leftist Anti-imperialist Territorial Nuclei, which formed in 1995 and was believed to be allied with former Red Brigades members, held several anti-NATO, anti-US demonstrations. Militant leftists conducted some low-level violence against US interests, such as vandalizing the US airbase at Aviano, and issued public threats to US businesses located in Italy.

The Spanish Government energetically combated the ETA even as it sought a dialogue with the terrorist group. Spanish law enforcement officials, working closely with co9unterparts in France and other countries where ETA fugitives reside, arrested several of the group's most experienced leaders and cadre and shut down one of its last known commando cells. Spanish and French security forces also confiscated large amo9unts of explosives, weapons, logistics, and targeting information. Moreover, in late October, French authorities arrested terrorist Belen Gonzalez-Penalva, believed to be involved in the car-bomb attack in 1985 against Spanish security officials that also killed a US citizen. Madrid's request for extradition of accused ETA terrorist Ramon Aldasoro from the United States was delayed by court appeals in 1998. Aldasoro finally was extradited to Spain in late December 1999[34].

Switzerland also was caught in the Kurdish backlash in the aftermath of Ocalan's apprehension in Kenya on 16 February. That day about 70 Kurds stormed the Greek consulate in Zurich, taking hostage a policeman and the building's owner. The same day, 30 to 100 Kurds occupied the Greek Embassy in Bern while another 200 protesters gathered outside. The occupiers carried canisters of gasoline and threatened to immolate themselves but did not follow through. Both incidents ended peacefully.

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[34] *Spain's other domestic terrorist group, the First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Group (GRAPO), remained largely inactive in 1999, mounting only a few symbolic attacks against property. The last major case involving GRAPO, the kidnapping of a Zaragoza businessman in July 1995, remained unsolved.*

Turkish authorities struck a significant blow against Kurdistan workers' Party (PKK) terrorism n mid-February when PKK chairman Abdullah Ocalan was apprehended after he left his safehaven in the Greek Ambassador's residence in Nairobi, Kenya. The Turkish State Security Court tried Ocalan in Turkey in late June and sentenced him to death for treason, a decision the Supreme Court of Appeals upheld in a ruling issued on 25 November. The government took no further action on the sentence in 1999, although Turkish law requires that all death sentences be ratified by Parliament and endorsed by the President[35].

The United Kingdom continued its aggressive efforts against domestic and international terrorism in 1999. In December the Blair Government introduced new national antiterrorist legislation meant to replace laws that had been developed to combat terrorism in Northern Ireland. The bill, which is expected to become law by midsummer 2000, would extend most provisions of earlier laws to all forms of international and domestic terrorism. The police would have authority to arrest, detain, confiscate evidence, and seize cash suspected of being used to fund terrorist activities and designated terrorist organizations. The legislation includes provisions for proscribing membership in terrorist groups. The United Kingdom continued its close cooperation with the United States to bring terrorists to justice. In 1999 the British Government detained numerous individuals suspected of conducting ant-U.S. violence and whom the United States sought to extradite[36].

Washington's ties to London and Dublin played a key role in facilitating historic political developments in the Northern Ireland peace process that

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35 *Ocalan's lawyers requested the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) review the case. The ECHR asked Turkey to delay a decision on whether Ocalan should be executed until the Court completed its review.*

36 *The United Kingdom was holding three of the 15 individuals indicted in the Soughern District of New York on charges connected with the bombings in 1998 of the U.S. Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.*

resulted in a significant decline in terrorist activity. Following a year of intense negotiations and a review of the entire peace process by former US Senator George Mitchell, Britain devolved power to Ulster, and Ireland gave up its constitutional claim to Northern Ireland; the Catholic and Protestant parties agreed to govern Ulster together in a joint Executive, which held its inaugural meeting on 13 December. Much of the contention between the parties was, and remains, about how to address the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement, including the issue of decommissioning paramilitary weapons. Republican and Loyalist paramilitary splinter groups, including the Continuity IRA, the Real IRA, the Red Hand Defenders, and the Orange Volunteers, continued terrorist activities during the year. These included punishment attacks on civilians as well as actions against police, military, and security personnel[37].

Terrorists Action in Middle Eastern

The end of first Arab-Israeli war in 1949 introduced two new factors into Middle Eastern politics the Jewsih State of Israel and the Palestinian refugees exiled from it. The internationalization of terrorism that occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s was not solely a product of Palestinian influence and success. The PLO as a terrorist movement is arguably unique in history[38]. PLO today, as the ruling party in the Palestinian National Authority one of the West Bank and Gaza, deals with the inefficiency and corruption faced by governments the world over. Middle Eastern terrorist groups and their state sponsors continued to plan, train for, and carry out acts of terrorism in 1999 at a level comparable to that of the previous year. Casualties remained relatively low, partly as result of counter terrorist measures by various governments improved international cooperation, and the absence of major incidents that

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37 *Among the most heinous attacks was the car-bombing murder on 15 March of Rosemary Nelson, a prominent lawyer and human rights campaigner. Although it is widely assumed that hardline loyalist paramilitaries were responsible, no charges were filed in the case. The British government said that a scaling back or normalization of the security presence in Northern Ireland will be linked to a reduction of the security threat there.*

38 Hoffman Bruce "*Inside Terrorism*" (Columbia University Press New York. 1998), p 84.

might have caused high numbers of facilities. Nonetheless, certain terrorist groups remained active and continued to try to mount lethal attack. These included Osaman Bin Laden's multinational al-Qaida organization as well as The Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS) and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), both of which receive support from Iran[39].

In Egypt, for the first time, there were no terrorism-related deaths, due in large measure to successful counterterrorist efforts by the Egyptian Government and a cease-fire declared by the Gama'at al-Islamiyya, Egypt's largest terrorist group. Egyptian authorities released more than 2,000 Gama'at prisoners during the year but continued to arrest and convict other active Gama'at terrorists as well as Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ) members[40]. The Algerian Government also made progress in combating domestic terrorism during the year, undertaking aggressive counterinsurgency operations against the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), weakening the GIA's campaign of indiscriminate violence against civilians[41].

Palestinians and Israeli Arabs opposed to the peace process mounted small-scale terrorist attacks in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza, injuring a small number of civilians[42]. Several failed bombing attempts were traced to HAMAS and the PIJ. Both Israel and the Palestinian Authority (PA) scored successes in their efforts to disrupt these groups' operations; Israeli officials publicly credited the PA with preventing a bombing in Tel Aviv in March1999.

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39 United States Department of States "*Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1999*" Middle East Overview.

40 *The EIJ continued to threaten Egyptian and U.S. interests despite the eruption of internal schisms that wracked the group during the year.*

41 *The pace of killings slowed, but suspected GIA militants still carried out massacres, the worst of which left 27 dead in a village in Bechar in August. The Islamic Salvation Army maintained its cease-fire throughout the year.*

42 Cubert Harold. "*The Militant Palestinian Organisation and the Arab Israeli Peace Process: Terrorism and Political violence*", 1992, p. 38.

Jordanian authorities in December arrested a group of terrorists associated with Osama Bin Laden's al-Qaida organization reportedly planning to attack US and Israeli targets in connection with millennium events. Jordan also closed the Amman offices of the HAMAS political bureau in August, arrested a number of HAMAS activists, and expelled several group leaders.

Overall security conditions in Lebanon continued to improve in 1999, despite several local terrorist incidents that included the assassination of four judges in Sidon in June. The lack of effective government control in parts of Beirut, the Bekaa Valley, and southern Lebanon enabled numerous terrorist groups to operate with impunity, as they had in previous years. Hizbullah, HAMAS, the PIJ, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PELP-GC), and other Palestinian groups used camps in Lebanon for training and operational planning. Hizbollah continued to fire rockets from southern Lebanon at civilian centers in Israel. The Lebanese Government remained unresponsive to AU.S. Requests for cooperation in bringing to justice terrorists responsible for attacks on US citizens in the 1980s Proliferation and threat of terrorism using weapon of mass distraction are intimately linked. Iraq, North Korea, Syria, Iraq and Libya all listed by US department of states as sponsor of terrorism is also suspect of pursing WMD[43].

Iran, Syria, and Iraq all persisted in their direct or indirect state sponsorship of terrorism. In most cases, the support included providing assistance, training, or safehaven to terrorist groups opposed to the Middle East peace process. In some cases, particularly Iran, it also included targeting regime dissidents and opponents for assassination or harassment. Libyan support for terrorism has declined significantly in recent years, but Libya continued to have residual contacts and relationships with terrorist organizations[44].

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43 Jessica Stern *"The Ultimate Terrorist"* (Harvard University Press London,1999) p-110.

44 United States Department of States *"Pattern of Global Terrorism, 1999"*.

Terrorism in Latin America

Although much of Latin American continued to be free from terrorist attacks, Colombia, Peru, and the triborder region experienced terrorist activity. In Colombia, insurgent and paramilitary terrorist groups continued to pose a significant threat to the country's national security and to the security of innocent civilians caught up in the conflict. Despite the beginnings of a slow and sometimes unsure peace process, Colombia's two largest guerrilla groups, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN), failed to moderation their terrorist attacks. The ELN carried out several high-profile kidnappings, including the hijacking in April of an aircraft carrying 46 persons and the kidnapping in May of a church congregation that resulted in 160 hostages. The FARC increased its attacks on Colombian security officials and attempted to use kidnapped soldiers and police officers as bargaining chips in negotiations. The FARC also kidnapped and killed three US non-governmental organization workers in March and outraged international public opinion by refusing to turn over the perpetrators to the proper judicial authorities. The FARC continued refusing to account for the three New Tribes Missionaries it kidnapped in 1993[45].

US concern grew over the involvement of the FARC, the ELN, and paramilitary groups in protecting narcotics trafficking. Estimates of the profits to terrorist groups from their involvement in narcotics ranged into the hundreds of millions of dollars. During 1999 the Colombian Army trained, equipped, and fielded its first counternarcotic battalion, designed to support national police efforts to break terrorist links to narcotics production.

In a development in the investigation of the bombing in 1992 of the Israeli Embassy, the Supreme Court of Argentina released in May a report identifying the cause as a car bomb and issued an international arrest warrant for Hizabollh terrorist leader Imad Mughniyah[46].

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45 United States Department of States *"Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1999"* Latin America Overview.

46 *Argentine authorities similarly brought charges against all suspects being held in connection with the bombing of the Argentine-Israeli Community Center (AMIA) in 1994.*

Peru's determination to combat terrorism diminished the capabilities of both the Sendero Luminoso (SL) and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA). Peruvian authorities arrested and prosecuted several of the few remaining active SL members in 1999, including Principal Regional committee leader Oscar Alberto Ramirez Durand. Nonetheless, the SL continued to attack government targets in the Peruvian countryside. A particularly deadly skirmish occurred in November, leaving five soldiers and six guerrilla fighters' dead. The MRTA has not conducted a major terrorist operation since the end of the hostage crisis at the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima in April 1997[47].

North American Overview of Terrorism

International terrorist attacks in North America are relatively rare. In 1999 the United States and Canada cooperated in investigating a noteworthy incident involving the smuggling of explosives from Canada into Washington State[48]. In mid-December1999, U.S. authorities arrested Ahmed Ressam, an Algerian national, as he entered the United States from Canada at Port Angeles, Washington, the vehicle he was driving was carrying explosives and detonating devices. The Government of Canada cooperated closely in the follow-up investigation into Ressam's activities and associates in Canada. Some Algerians arrested in connection with this case apparently are "Afghan alumni", who trained with the Mujahidin in Afghanistan and are linked to Osama Bin Laden[49].

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47 *Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay consolidated efforts to stem the illicit activities of individuals lined to Islamist terrorist groups in the triborder region and cooperated in promoting regional counterterrorist efforts. Argentina led efforts to create the Inter-American Committee on Counterterrorism within the Organization of American States (OAS).*

48 United States Department of States "*Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1999*" North America Overview.

49 *Canada has a longstanding cooperative relationship with the United States on counterterrorist matters, and the two countries meet regularly in discuss ways to enhance this cooperation and improve border security.*

A major Central Asian regional crisis erupted in Kyrgyzstan when members of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) twice crossed the border from Tajikistan and took hostages. Among the several dozen hostages taken in the second incident were four Japanese geologists, who eventually were released after several nations intervened; ransom was rumored to have been paid[50].

The Russian Military is in crisis. Living conditions are abysmal, food and housing are in short supply and wages are often delayed[51]. Russian cities, including Moscow, were subjected to several bomb attacks, which killed and injured hundreds of persons. Police accused the attackers of belonging to Chechen and Digestion insurgent groups with ties to Osama Bin Laden and foreign mujahidin but presented no evidence linking Chechen separatists to the bombings. The attacks prompted Russia to send Neighboring Caucasus states within the Russian Federation as well as surrounding countries feared Russia's military campaign in Chechnya would increase radicalization of Islamic internal populations and encourage violence and the spread of instability throughout the region. The Russian campaign into Chechnya also raised fears in Azerbasijan and Georgia, as well as Russia, that the Chechen insurgents increasingly would use those countries for financial and logistic support. Uzbekistan experienced several major attacks by IMU insurgents seeking to overthrow the government. In February five coordinated car bombs exploded, killing 16 persons, in what the government labeled an attempt on the President's life[52].

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50 United States Department of States "*Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1999*" Eurasia Overview.

51 Penny Morvant, "*Army Housing Shortage continues*" OMRI Daily digest 2, April 30 1996.

52 *In September the IMU declared a jihad against the Uzbekistani Government. In November the IMU was blamed for a violent encounter outside the capital city of Tashkent that killed 10 Uzbekistani Government officials and 15 insurgents.*

Terrorist Activities in Africa

Africa in 1999 witnessed no massive terrorist attack as devastating as the bombings one year earlier of the US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, although evidence continued to emerge of terrorist activity and networks-both indigenous and foreign-on the continent. Terrorist organizations such as al-Qaida, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Gama'at al-Islamiya, and Hizballah posed a threat to US targets and interests throughout Africa and elsewhere. In the region's most deadly attack, Rwandan Hutu rebels murdered two US citizens and a number of tourists in March[53].

A Persistent Phenomenon

In the post cold war world the only remaining super power the US does not hesitate to use coercive diplomacy to achieve its national goal[54]. As a policy, the US is against all type of terrorism but it has not hesitated in using it as a convenient tool of coercive diplomacy by turning a blind eye to its Clint states sponsoring and supporting terrorism in other countries. In this context international terrorism become a convenient substitute for conventional war. The US has followed a selective approach in taking action against terrorism and even condemning it if the terrorist state happens to be its friend.

The present trend of expanding international terrorism is helped by the increased availability of the latest technology to terrorist groups. The modern communication system and means of quick transportation help these groups to commit crimes and get away. The 1980 statistics suggest that much of international terrorism was directed towards the developed states or western democracies. However lately the trends have changed. Third world countries are now facing grim challenges from sponsored (international) terrorism. During the 1980s India and Sri Lanka faced high levels of terrorist violence in the wake of separatist movements. The terrorism in India and Sri Lanka aims to weaken the central authorities by creating insecure environment and

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53 United States Department of States "*Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1999*" Africa Overview.

54 Maj. Gen. Afsir Karim "*International Terrorism: The Indian Response*" India foreign policy: Agenda for 21century. (ed.) Lalit, Mansingh, Delip Laheri and J.N. Dixit, (Konark Publication, India , 1998), p 288.

ideological rifts. In the south Asian context Pakistan has assumed the role of sponsoring terrorism in various forms, the main target being India with a view to upset the regional power balances and weaken India's pre-eminent position. India's policies have therefore been mainly centered against this kind of sponsored terrorism. In the global context the reactions to this situation in south Asia are mixed and not many nations believe that Pakistan can pose a major terrorist threat to India. The latest report of the US state Department "Patterns of Global Terrorism 1999" establishes that Pakistan is backing terrorist groups in Kashmir. According to this report credible reports continue to indicate official support for militant groups fighting in Kashmir. However continued sponsorship of terror may draw Pakistan in an unending conflict affecting its own stability as recent acts of terrorism in Sindh and Punjab suggest. Terrorism can also serve a pretext for a war. The bombing of two Embassies in East Africa and retaliatory action is an exemple of how terrorism can for a government into military intervention. Thus sponsored terrorism can only lead to intensification of regional conflicts in South Asia and the international community must act in concert to curb the menace before it is too late.

This is often justified on the grounds that UN charter protects the right of a state to self defense[55]. It is also undoubtedly a fact that preventing death and destruction is far more desirable than any number of strikes and "lessons learnt" after a strike. Preemption does not always mean air strikes. In fact many a quiet success story is built around rendering potential terrorist strikes ineffective. The crucial input in this is actionable intelligence and early warning. The latter especially requires close and constant study and surveillance of terrorist groupings and their patrons.

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55 Tara Kartha "*Countering Transnational Terrorism*" Strategic Analysis Vol.XXIII, No. 11 February, 2000. p1842

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

Military Strike by the US against terrorist related facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan conceals more them what it reviles, if this brings into sharp focus how organise terrorism and extremism have become a serious threat to the stability of a large number of states, the American armed intervention is a portent of certain omnious trend in the international politics. Israel was the first country to come up with concept of counter-terrorism. Its experience had shown that it is difficult to politically satisfy any terrorist group. This stands true even today *when* Israel tries to talk peace with PLO. It is indeed questionable that while Israel and American action against terrorists have been highly and widely acclaimed by the West. But India's woes against act of terrorism on its territory and people have been largely ignored. Despite enough documentary evidence proving Pakistan's active involvement (direct) in abetting terrorism in Kashmir and other part of country, the West still want to ignore the ground reality in South Asia.

US Unilateral decision

The United States have contributed to terrorist violence by training and financing the Mujahedeen in Afghanistan's war with the Soviet Union in the 1980's, leaving "thousands of highly trained Islamic militants who dispersed, (taking) with them an ideology of violence and revolution". One expert on Islamic extremism warns that "the mercenary group of terrorism", under the effluence of religious Zealots in Iraq, Algeria. Levya, Sudan and Iran, are " becoming more fanatical. The Mulahas are convinced they are suffering from a situation for which they are not responsible. All the failures they made avoiding enlightenment.

The united states has unilaterally taken the decision to use its military against the terrorists groups. This underlines the fact that United states has one again taken upon itself the role of an international "policeman" and in this sense relegated the United Nations to a secondary position. This indeed is a very dangerous trend and its seen in the context of the fact that even in the

post could war period. It has been promoting and supporting the extremist groups in various parts of the world.

Union Home Minister L.K.. Adwani 's strong criticism of the United States for it's double standards on cross border terrorism is understandable. That the US has one standard for itself and another for others is clear from the statement by Mr. Thomos Pickering that while his country could strike at terrorists anywhere.. India better desist from "Hot Pursuit" of those from Pakistan. The reason sited that it could lead to war, implied that Hot pursuit could be justified in the absence of such consequence. This in turn suggest that in the eyes of the present US administration, what matter is not whether one is doing the right things but whether one can get away with it such an approach hardly matches the high moral tone of some of its pronouncements.

While the US is entitled to its own notion of right and wrong it can not expect the world to automatically indorse its unilateral action which violate international law and national sovereignty. This applies particularly to its missile attacks on terrorist bases in Afghanistan and Sudan. The post attack spate of criticisms of terrorism by its leaders not with standing, one increasingly feel that it is not against the criminal phenomenon perse. It is against terrorism which is aimed at itself. US source have taken pains to point out that their government is only against one individual, Osama Bin Laden for sponsoring terrorist activities against the US such talks reflect either laughable naivete or something much more than what meets the eye. Surely, Osama Bin Laden could not have maintained his bases or carried on terrorist activities world wide without the support of Pakistan and the Taliban then why is no action being contemplated against Pakistan especially when its known that Islamic fundamentalist terrorists trained in its territory have been active globally? Since the US has been along with Pakistan, a progenitor of the Taliban, one also wonders whether it wants to keep the terrorists army intact for future to serve it strategic ends in Afghanistan and central Asia.

Whatever the US calculations, it does not help India which has been a victim of Pakistan sponsored trans-border terrorism for nearly 20 years. Nor does it help a large number of countries of Asia, Europe and Africa especially

Algeria and Egypt, which have been victim of Islamic fundamentalist terrorists. Given the global tentacles of the latter, a cooperative international venture is collecting intelligence and cooperative is needed to cope with it, since the US is clearly not interested in anything of the short, India should seize the present occasion to try and bring this about. As a first step, the matter should be taken up at the forth coming non aligned summit and before other regional organization which care interest of south Asia. The incident poses a disturbing question: What guarantee is there that strikes of the kind witnessed will be aimed at terrorist alone and not at countries which have angered the US for other reason? The world needs to be reassured.

The international scope of terrorist activity emphasized the interdependence of modern states and need for cooperation if the terrorist threat to diplomats and diplomatic facilities was to be countered effectively. As John Murphy has Stated "The proper strategy and tactics for government to employ in response to Kidnapping and other attacks on diplomats are key elements in any policy designed to enhance diplomatic protection".

Deterrence

The traditional response to threat involving risks and uncertainty is to persuade the adversary not to attack by maintaining a convincing deterrent. But such a strategy require information about the advisory's motivations and capabilities. In the case of terrorist, information is sparse. The adversaries are secretive. There motivations are changeable and their capacities unknown. The consequences of their possible action range from minor annoyance to society altering catastrophe. It is hard to deter a group that is seeking to bring on terror. State sponsors in contrast may bee possible to deter. Deterrence is vital, since terrorist states and state sponsored terrorist are more likely than other to proficient technologically, and therefore to be capable of killing large number of people. State sponsors will be most dangerous if they believe that they can comouflage their involvement, that they have nothing left to lose, or that their adversaries lack the will to retaliate harshly.

Deterrence require understanding of the adversary's preference including what leader of the group or country values most. Thus deterrence requires reliable intelligence. And the existence of such intelligence should be advertised. It is important to convince state sponsors that if they support WMD terrorism their involvement will be discovered and they will be punished.

A government's deterrent posture must be carefully crafted. On the one hand it makes sense for governments to signal their intention to respond to state sponsored terrorist acts with massive retaliation that may even include the use of nuclear weapons. On the other hand threatening to retaliate with nuclear weapons for acts of chemical warfare or chemical terrorism would not be proportional and might undermine efforts toward nuclear non proliferation. An appropriate response is to threaten massive retaliation without providing details about the weapons likely to the employed. And threats of retaliation should not be limited to terrorism that crosses national borders: the world cannot effort to ignore terrorist acts like Iraq's chemical attacks against it own civilian. It is important to insure that state sponsors of terrorism never the made to feel they have nothing left to lose. as much as possible they must be brought into international community.

What should be done

The key to a successful anti-terrorism strategy lies in the creation of conditions in which the cost of waging such violent movements is made to high and the possibility of terrorists achieving their goal too remote. The will of the extremist groups to continue terrorist activity has to be systematically stopped. The strategy should aim at exhausting their supporters physically as well as mentally. The strategy will have to include both Physical and psychological measures to near the terrorists down in their resolve to continue violence.

The international community, has to cooperate in sharing timely intelligence about the movements and plan of terrorist groups, stopping their fund rising efforts, laundering of funds and taking action against professional mercenary groups which are increasingly selling expertise, arms and

explosives to various terrorist groups. An embargo on the supply of arms and explosives con not be effective without close cooperation among the countries manufacturing and selling them and the countries buying them for sale to these arms syndicates. One side effect of economic liberalization has been that international wheeler-dealers have easier access to India and to all those countries which were previously following a regimented economy.

The courses and roots of International Terrorism are not easy to trace. Most intellectual exercise have failed to clearly discern why international terrorism is growing at on alarming rate. Analysts generally considers politico-economic factors and ideological rifts responsible for a majority of terrors acts in the international arena. This seems an over simplification. "Terrorism shows a wide geographical spread and the motives and causes may range from a bid to retain or change balance of power in a region to petty local cause. Deviant groups wanting to draw attention to their perçeived notion can create terror in specified areas. Acts of terrorism against diplomatic facilities or hijacking of aircraft of certain nations may be acts of protests or a bid to punish an ally of the targeted nation. Most targets in the US fall in this category.

It is an unfortunate fact that state sponsored "proxy" war continues to be seen as a viable alternative, Africa Continues to see this phenomenon, while all actors in Bosnia at one time or another were sustained by the assistance of neighboring states. Until this covert acceptance of covert war and sponsored terrorism is eliminated there can never be any clear controls on the diffusion of weapons. The reality that one state proxy war may feed another's criminal enterprise has yet to be fully appreciated.

Many countries will continue to exercise the option of using terrorism as an effective tool for pursuing their national objectives. India will have to develop a comprehensive long term anti terrorism strategy to neutralize the serious threat posed by it to its national security, which simultaneously deals with both the internal and external dimensions of the threat. It would be short sighted to ignore it by pursuing a passive policy whose only objective is to wear down the terrorists. Foreign sponsored terrorism cannot make much

headway, if the internal situation in the country does not favor it. A successful policy will concentrate more on tackling the internal problems. But that does not means that the country should completely rule out the options of 'hot pursuit" of the terrorist in the border region or of escalating the low intensity conflicts into a conventional war. These are however not easy options and con not be exercised lightly without cool calculation of the costs involved.

The fundamental problem with the current U.S. policy on terrorism is not so much what is being done as what is not being done. Specifically the various steps that have been taken in response to terrorism in recent years. Such as strengthening of physical security at airports, embassies, and nuclear power plants and the establishment of special counter terrorism offices in a number of government departments have been valuable contributions to the struggle against terrorism. However despite the value of antiterrorist measures that the U.S. government has already taken, US counter terrorist policy is incomplete in fundamental sense.

At least three measure are needed prevent and deter terrorism: an international legal initiative outlawing the development, of possession of weapons of mass distraction, a national Information Assurance institute, and a stronger support for strategic risk analysis. As the targets of terrorism improve their ability to prevent or manage terrorist attacks with rescue terms, technology and bi-or multilateral agreements, terrorists will adopt and find new vulnerable areas to attack. Most prominent on the list of prospective agents are nuclear facilities, electric power plant, Oil transport facilities, water supplies, biological and chemical weapons laboratories and communications networks, for all the exotic and high technology weapons and targets available. To terrorists, however they have little reason to abandon the simple and readily available tools now at their disposal. Targets remain abundant and vulnerable and the media continue to provide publicity when terrorist seeks it. Terrorism promises to remain a difficult and persistent feature of international violence with no remedies or fail-sate defenses yet on the horizon.

All of this suggests a disgusting trajectory for the future, not least in terms of the ultimate "Armageddon" scenario of a major act of mass

destruction terrorism, it is certainly unfortunate that just as the international system is approaching the beginning of the new millenium and all the apocalyptic connotation this implies, terrorism has come of age as a threat which while somewhat vague about its long term aims is utterly ruthless in its short term intentions.

The US government continues its commitment to use all tools necessary including international diplomacy, law enforcement intelligence collection and sharing, and military force to counter current terrorist threats to hold terrorists accountable for past actions. Terrorists seek refuse in "Swamps" where government control is weak or government are sympathetic. US seek to drain these swamps. Through international and domestic legislation and strengthened law enforcement the United States seeks to limit the room in which terrorist safehavens, dry up their sources of revenue, breakup, their cells disrupt their movement and criminalize their behaviour.

Terrorism seeks to disrupt the smooth functioning of democratic societies by demonstrating that government are not in a position to provide basic security measures. Terrorism is one of the major challenge of modern time. International Terrorism is the state-sponsored or supported use of violence through non-state entities or actors by they individuals, groups or organizations, in the furtherance of their narrow state interests vis-a vis the adversary state.

U N Role for Prevention of Terrorism

A government should take various steps to insure the safety of is people and property within it's Jurisdiction, what can be done

Why have the multilateral efforts made by the United Nations and other regional organizations been so week and ineffective? Why is International law not put to work to counter terrorism. The reason for the ineffectual responses offered by the international community to terrorism's challenger are many and complex. Major reasons are as following:

The United Nations has chosen to adopt a political approach to aggression and terrorism. The league of Nation's failure convinced many that a legal approach to these problems would not work, legal system required shared values, and those do not exist in sufficient measure at today's United National to support legal remedies to terrorism. The members of the United Nations have shown repeatedly that they value their independence and sovereignty more then security from terrorism, The prerogative to grant asylum, for example is some time states refuse to give up despite the need to extradite and prosecute terrorists.

The United Nation has other built in-barriers to universal organizational cooperation on terrorism. Ideological differences lead different states to consider different actions as terrorists. Also the interdependence between some states insights them from facing a strong position on terrorism. States that import large amount of Middle East petroleum, for example fear they cannot afford to comment on Palestinian terrorism. The most effective response to terrorism comes from the targets those who have the most to lose. Targets such as airlines, diplomat and business have taken the quickest and to take most effective action to prevent further attacks. The action has been technical not political which may account for its speed. This reflects, perhaps, the opinion of the international community that it is not a target, perse of terrorism.

Peace Making Process

While every passing generation new forms of terrorism are being thrown up. To meet the challenges a more positive attitude toward peace making proces should be developed so that people at large can be protected from terrorism. Technological development specially in the detection of explosives access control surveillance and in intelligence should be relied upon as a means for preventing the terrorist from abusing people civil liberties and at extreme cases taking their lives as well. The world cannot hope to do away with its armed forces because there will always be men with unwarranted ambitions to grab territory or resources. As such present day armed forces should be particularly designed to adopt to a peace keeping role

or peacemaking role. The latter involves more casualties wherever possible every country should make its forces available for its neighbors on a regional basis because it would gain the most by preventing the conflict from taking a dangerous turn. But in cases where solution on a regional basis in not possible it becomes the duty of the U N to contain such conflicts and provide humanitarian aid. This call for a unity of the permanent members of the UN security council as was the case during the gulf crisis of 1990. In case of terrorism in any part of the globe these countries should pull their full weight together and provide armed forces. Mass casualties can be prevented if government make adequate contributions to fund the UN peacekeeping forces. Peacekeeping is an activity which has come to stay as such countries must be induced to submit themselves to high subscriptions with a substantial reserve so that the UN can always play an active and positive role in times of crisis. Growing number of terrorist violence has over the years engaged the attention of the entire global community.

The US has taken a lead to promote international efforts to taken with their menace. Nation around the world has been taking serious stapes to protect diplomats and embassies . This has lessened the incidences of embassies seizers. Similarly since 1910 the world has been seriously considering to promote air safely measure when a convention relating to the regulation of Aerial Navigation had taken place. But the most formidable obstacle hindering the prosecution of hijackers thereby putting at stake the international attempts to soil illegal aircraft seizure attempts is the asylum phenomenon. As the term political offence remain unctarified nations always find justification for granting asylum to political refugees or political groups. Giving shelter to the fugitives under the guise of political crimes poses a serious threat of international aviation because unlawful aircraft seizures invalids many serious crimes.

The United Nation has not been doing enough because countries like those of Arab, Africa, and Latin American ones openly sponsored and supported terrorism, infact they regard terrorism as a legitimate weapon to promote their political goals. The legal process should also be strengthened

for exercising strict control on the possession and movement's of explosives, armies and ammunition. Civilized nations should arrive at an agreement to tagg all explosive with a color code system which would detect their source and enable their progress to the recorded laws which not only help to track the criminal suspects and supporters but also detect houses which provide detention for questioning should also be initiate to curb terrorism. The extent of duration of detention for questioning should be made relaxale in case a attempt is made by the terrorist to cercument the existing procedure and increase the degree of crime. significantly enough all law which seek to combat terrorism should also cover the lawyers as that they are not in position to abuse their rights and disrupt legal proceedings thereby supporting terrorist acts.

One of the biggest sponsors of terrorism and criminal violence in the world is the profit insuring from narcotize its consumption should not only be tacled but the laundering of many from all these sources should also be tackled. To make this possible banks should be legally obliged and willing to make customer's accounts available of the police and Judiciary so that illegal money can be easily detected and seized. Governments particularly in western countries should pass legislation to prevent their banks from undertakings transactions with foreign banks which do not have proper records. prevention of terrorism also required improved technological research in some urgent area like detection of explosives, developing anti impersonation system and equipment's in aid of infilligence.

International Initiatives

Nevertheless the terrorist groups are always on the look out of possessing all kinds of weapons and explosives. But what is creating a dangerous situation is the fact that with the inter of criminals in the spheres of terrorism, the very nature of terrorism has changed from a politically motivated one to a criminally motivated terrorism. What is also important to note is that it is only a small number of people who resort to terrorist techniques to force a democratic government to accept their veins. Descents should always be encouraged if it is constructive in nature but no matter how severe it may be

prove to be it can never justify killing bombing or wounding. Crime arrogantly deprives a civil society of its liberty. Over the ages and throughout history every civilized majority has accepted a rule of law which places restriction on the freedom to assault or harm others. Every society irrespective of its political inclinations disserved the right to protection from terrorism. Every democratic government should uphold the rule of law and strike a proper balance between the presentation of the civil liberty of the public inclusively of the minorities and the essential measures required to protect the lives of the people from terrorists attacks. Under to circumstances the claim of a militant minority to kidnap and kill should override the ultimate right of a majority to live in peace and injoy all civil liberties. Prevention of terrorism ultimately depends on the nature of government policy and on the efficiency of its law in forcing agencies which are required to operate in non political contexts.

Countries of the world should join hands to make United Nation an economically viable one so that it can play positive role in terms of crisis. Besides this leading nations of the world particularly the US should make effective laws and regulations to check the menace of terrorism. The legal process should strengthened at the global level and control resources should be implemented stringently. Notwithstanding these considerations one can concur with Walter Laqueure that if an actual emergency arose and if a choice had to be made between state survival and foregoing citizens "civil laborites and fundamental freedom, there is no doubt what a responsible government would do.

In the final analysis, it must be accepted that while firm policies and comprehensive security measures may help deter terrorists there can never be complete protection from an imaginative and determined attack. This is particularly the case if the terrorist are prepared to martyr themselves in the attempt or are supported by the host state. as Brain Jenkins explained to the long commission in December 1983, terrorist operation is very hard to predict. Also, there is a ineascable asymmetry between the two sides as he put it, "Terrorist can attack anything, anywhere, anytime, Government cannot protect ever thing everywhere all the time".

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