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INTERNAL, REGIONAL AND GLOBAL TERRORISM IN PERSPECTIVE:
A STUDY TO ERADICATE THOSE IN LIGHT OF PROPHET'S (SM)
TEACHINGS OF PEACE INITIATIVE

A thesis submitted to the University of Dhaka to fulfill the requirement for the
degree of

Master of Philosophy
of
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By

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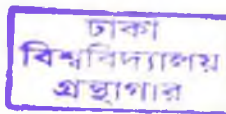
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গ্রন্থাগার



CERTIFICATE

It is certified that the thesis "Internal, Regional and Global Terrorism in Perspective: A Study to Eradicate those in Light of Prophet's (SM) Teachings of Peace Initiative", has been written by A K M Maksudul Haque, Registration No:328/2003-04, Student of M Phil in the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies of the University of Dhaka. This is an original work of him, which has not been published earlier nor given to any other place for publication.

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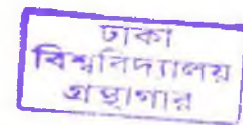
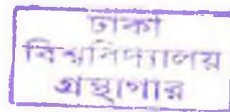


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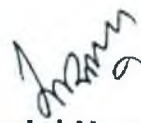


PREFACE

The heinous 9/11 has led the world towards a historical turmoil. Apparently, it caused the initiation of Samuel Huntington's famous theory the "Clash of civilization". Because, the Bush Administration instantly blamed Osama Bin Laden (OBL) for the heinous attacks on the twin tower and Pentagon, though he did never produce any substantial evidence in favor of his accusation. Eventually, the religion Islam and its followers the Muslims have been made responsible for the terror perpetrations. But, OBL indeed neither the spokesman of Islam nor the leader of Muslim Ummah. Even though, the Americans' attitude, diplomacy, strategy, politics and military activities brought the two civilizations of different culture and religion face to face. The Muslims across the world started becoming the victims of the terrorism of revenge. The ongoing persecution, brutalities and atrocities of Israelis over Palestine and Lebanon got further impetus. Two weak-most Muslims states were invaded by the only superpower of the world combining with other Western big powers in the name of eradicating terrorism. All those counter measures have only caused to spread terrorism around the world.

Instead of finding out the root causes, the world leaders are trying to suppress the terrorism by force of military pride. This wrong way of dealing with the issue is only fueling into the causes. On the other hand, the religion of peace, Islam and its key tool to contain terrorism 'Jihad' have been misinterpreted and misunderstood and also misused pathetically. Where as, Islam does not force anyone to accept its belief. More over, Killing of innocents, committing suicide, carrying out atrocities all are strictly prohibited in Islam. How then, the Muslims are blamed as terrorists? A small section of people does not represent the Muslim Ummah. OBL in no way is the role model of Islam or Jihad. Only the Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (SM) is the role model of the entire universe till the 'Kiamat' i.e the date of the destruction of the universe. He (SM) himself never perpetrated, or ordered, or supported any type of terrorism. Rather, he

(SM) eradicated terrorism from the den of terrorists, the Arabian Peninsula through a peaceful way. Indeed, the root cause of terrorism is injustice. The committing of unjust at individual, social, communal, state and international level invites terrorists to perpetrate as the weapon of weaker side. Here comes the role of the Messenger (SM) of Allah to eliminate terrorism. The Prophet (SM) himself is not present in the world now. But, his (SM) teachings, his (SM) way of combating terrorism, his (SM) received heavenly manual the holy Quran are all available in this world. We should exercise those lessons to eradicate terrorism from the earth. This research work tries strike the conscious of the modern world leaders and thinkers about the only left with measure to combat terrorism. To guide the security analysts a host of verses are referred from the holy Quran. A good number of Haditch or Prophet's (SM) sayings and activities and teachings are also presented in this regard. Following those teachings and measures would obviously help the today's world to get rid of heinous terrorism.



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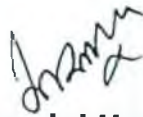
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It is not possible to acknowledge each and everyone's support and contribution by name as the list would be quite long. Indeed, support, cooperation and inspiration are highly needed in each step of a research work. Therefore, I am grateful to all of them who rendered their kind help during the process of my research. However, if I name someone with profound gratitude and respect, she was my guardian like supervisor, Dr. Dil Rowshan Zinnat Ara Nazneen the ex-Chairman of the department of "Peace and Conflict" of the University of Dhaka. She guided me althrough step by step with affection and keen supervision. Many a time, I have disturbed her for even silly queries, in which she rendered her visionary directions instead of being felt disturbed. Her encouragement and strict supervision have made me ever grateful to herself. Professor Dalim Chandra Barman is another great teacher of the Department of 'Peace and Conflict', to whom I express my heartfelt gratitude for imparting necessary lessons to me during the research work. Not mentioning his name in the paragraph of acknowledgement would be an ungrateful act on my part towards him.

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I can not be an ungrateful husband by not mentioning my wife's contributions here. Because, her whole-hearted cooperation and constant

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The world is passing through a critical juncture of history. Ongoing economic recession has caused to freeze the global progress and development on the one hand; the terrorism on the other hand, has engulfed the entire world and terrified the whole mankind. Indeed, the economic recession might have been emanated from the global terrorism, which is incurring huge expenditure everyday in the form of damage and destruction as well as the cost of Global war on terror. Eventually, a large number of forces are engaged in combating terrorism that needs food, logistics and armaments of huge cost. The terrorists also need to have a great amount to financial support to perpetrate their heinous activities. Besides, the regular destructions of man and material are posing an unbearable load on world economy.

The number one concern for the modern world is how to contain and eradicate this terrorism. The global population is seeking the exit route from this menace of terrorism, which has engulfed the modern world. USA, the only super power of the world as well as the other Western powers have engaged themselves to eradicate terrorism by military force, which is only flaring up the atrocities across the globe. In addition, their indiscriminate killings and destructions in the name of war on terror are also turning to the acts of terrorism.

However, the root cause of terrorism is unjust acts in all their forms. Starting from domestic up to regional and global terrorism are the total outcomes of injustice and misjudgment. Therefore, justice could be the only weapon to combat terrorism. Justice has to be established between man, between and amongst the states and between the civilizations to get rid of terrorism.

'Jihad', on the other hand, is being used as a key tool to perpetrate terrorism, which is a highly misinterpreted and misunderstood word in the modern world. Many groups and communities are using 'Jihad' as the trump card for conducting their secession movement, liberation war, resistance war and even for narrow personal as well as communal issues. The wrong headed jihadists are even killing innocent civilians in the name of jihad, which is strictly prohibited in Islam.

In fact, 'Jihad' has been ordained in the holly Quran to eradicate terrorism. The Messenger (SM) of Allah came to this world to combat terrorism and bring peace and prosperity. He conducted jihad for about twenty-three years. He (SM) has shown the world, how to carry out jihad through a peaceful process of love, affection and humble way. He (SM) also had to face number of battles, but of course, followed strict ethics, code of conduct and rules of engagement. He (SM) never resorted to any unjust method. He (SM) finally, could bring peace in an woven-like piece of land of the world to set up a role model for the entire universe. Therefore, the Prophet's (SM) way of conducting jihad, his (SM) teachings and exercises could be the only manifestations of eradicating terrorism from this world. It is to note that all other ways and means to eradicate terrorism have already been exhausted by now. Rather, those methods have only spread terrorism across the world, instead of getting rid of this menace. Therefore, the teachings and lessons of Quran and Sunnah are enumerated in the later part of this thesis, which could be followed to combat terrorism as last resort.

ABBREVIATIONS

AS	Alahi wa Salam
BSF	Border Security Force
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
CCOMPSA	Coordination Committee of Maoists Parties and Organizations of South Asia
CPI	Communist Party of India
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IDF	Israeli Defence Forces
ISI	Inter Services Intelligence
JKLF	Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front
KSA	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam
LIC	Low Intensity Conflict
MQM	Muhajir and Qoumi Movement
MCC	Maoist Communist Centre
NEI	North Eastern India
PCJSS	Parbatya Chattagram Jano Sanghoti Somity
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PWG	People's War Group
RAF	Red Army Faction
Retd	Retired

SM	Sallallahu alihe wa Sallam (Peace be upon him)
SB	Shanti Bahini
US	United States
USA	United States of America
UPDF	United Peoples Democratic Front
OBL	Osama bin Laden

CHAPTER 1 – PROPOSITION OF THE STUDY

Introduction.

1.2 Aim and Objectives of the Study.

1.2.1 Aim.

1.2.2 Objectives.

1.2.3 Study Area.

1.2.4 Scope of the Study.

1.3 Limitations of the Study.

1.4 Research Methodology.

1.4.1 Methods of Data Collection.

a. Content Analysis.

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a. Chapter 1.

b. Chapter 2.

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h. Chapter 8.

1.6 Hypothesis of the Study.

**INTERNAL, REGIONAL AND GLOBAL TERRORISM IN PERSPECTIVE:
A STUDY TO ERADICATE THOSE IN LIGHT OF PROPHET'S (SM)
TEACHINGS OF PEACE INITIATIVE**

CHAPTER 1 – PROPOSITION OF THE STUDY

1.1 **Introduction.** The world is running through a deep crisis emanated by economic recession, socio-cultural clashes, ethno-religious conflicts and political crises. The gravest running crisis, which has brought the earth to the verge of a total destruction, is terrorism. Almost all the continents are severely battered by terrorism. Terrorism is being perpetrated at domestic, regional and global levels. The domestic and regional levels of terror acts had been the parts of socio-cultural life of a nation state and region. However, the modern style of global terrorism has taken the shape of intercontinental dimension. Now the terrors are capable of formulating a fine tuned plan and train their operators to commit perpetration in a third country located thousands of miles away. They also are able to recruit the right operatives from a third country or from across the world. The impacts of terror attacks have become disastrous of great magnitude in terms of lethality. The real time media coverage makes that perpetration more panicky. The modern technology also rendered the terrors more speed, more skill and accuracy. The modern world's top most concern now a days is, whether the terrorists are going to achieve the nuclear capability; which would cause the earth to run towards a total destruction.

To save our world from this potential total destruction, the terrorists must be disarmed first. But, it is not just the cake walk to make the terrors unarmed. Because, the military means or the terror means to defuse terrorism only cause to flare up the acts of perpetration. Indeed, it is always not the terrorists, who are responsible for terrorism. Many a times, they are forced to adopt terror

means to press home their rights or to take revenge or defend themselves. Terrorism actually had started in the earth through a personal level rivalry between two sons-Habil and Kabil-of the first man of the human civilization, Hazrat Adam (AS) over a dispute of personal interest. Thereafter, terror acts continue through the ages amongst the ethnic, communal, tribal and racial rivals. The state terrorism over the subjects to enjoy and consolidate power by the ruling classes became a common phenomenon in the world. The next is the process of imperialism as well as regional hegemony, which caused the interstate conflicts. Consequently, the world has been experienced with two world wars. The era of cold war had also been experienced with perpetrations of indiscriminate acts of terrorism in different dimensions. The proxy war, low intensity conflicts (LIC), guerrilla warfare, insurgencies were the manifestations of terrorism during the cold war period. Finally, the new face of terrorism has been emerged in the modern unipolar world. Actually, the perpetration of 9/11 has brought in the modern dimension of terrorism. It has led the world towards the clash between civilizations. Still it is evidentially undisclosed that who were the perpetrators of 9/11 and what their purpose was? But, it could successfully bring two civilization- Western and Islamic civilization- face to face. The Westerners blamed the Islamic Jihadists or terrorists, albeit they do not have any substantial proof or evidence in their favor. In retaliation, they blindly invaded two Muslim states; Afghanistan and Iraq, after launching fierce attacks on civilian as well as military targets indiscriminately. These have flared up the modern terrorism across the world. The already ongoing conflicts in the Middle East between Israel and Palestine have also been fueled to its burning fire.

The Westerners' military means to contain this global terrorism has been failed completely in its purpose. Rather, it is causing to spill over of terrorism across the world. Their strategy and tactics to eradicate terrorism in may cases are crossing the limits of human rights, which are also considered to be the acts

of terrorism. Their self-contradictory policies, partisan stands and unjust principles are indeed causing and spreading terrorism around the globe.

The present war-torn global village justifies that all types of policies and steps have failed to eradicate terrorism. Therefore, the question comes in, whether the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (SM) of Islam is required to eradicate terrorism. Probably this is the only medicine left out to apply for bringing peace in the world. Fourteen hundred years ago, the Prophet Muhammad (SM) came in amongst the darkest place and nation of the world along with the holy Quran as the Messenger of Allah. He (SM) led the Islamic movement and Jihad for about twenty-three years and established complete peace in the most barbarian society where father used to kill his daughter and whose profession was robbery, atrocities and terrorism. The great Prophet (SM) is no more with us, but his (SM) teachings, the Quran and Sunnah are still well available with us in their exact forms. If the world could follow those teachings meticulously, there would have been eradicated all types of terrorism in all its forms from terror-torn universe.

1.2 **Aim and Objectives of the Study.**

1.2.1 **Aim.** The aim of the study is to discuss terrorism of various forms, its root causes and find out the Islamic teachings to eradicate terrorism.

1.2.2 **Objectives.** The objectives of the study are as following:

- a. To understand terrorism.
- b. To discuss about various forms of terrorism.
- c. To find out the root causes of terrorism.

d. To clear misunderstandings about 'Jihad'.

e. To discuss the Prophet's (SM) teachings to eradicate domestic, regional and global terrorism.

1.2.3 Study Area. To carry out the research work primarily the definitional part has been studied. Thereafter various types of terrorism are discussed before searching the root causes. Finally, the method followed by the Prophet (SM) of Islam to establish peace and stability in the world has been studied to extract the lessons.

1.2.4 Scope of the Study. The study encompasses a limited area of terrorism. Initially, a short history of terrorism is discussed. While defining terrorism the dilemma involved in it has also been highlighted. After describing the types of terrorism, domestic or internal, regional and global form of terrorism were discussed. What types of terror acts are being perpetrated at domestic, regional, global levels were also highlighted sequentially. Thereafter, an analysis is conducted to find out the root causes of all forms and types of terrorism. It is also felt that 'Jihad' an Islamic ritual has been widely misinterpreted and misunderstood event. Therefore, a substantial elaboration has been drawn about Jihad and also how the Prophet (SM) himself conducted Jihad to eradicate terrorism and bring peace, stability and prosperity in the world. Enough of references have been cited from the holy Quran and Sunnah to take lessons for eradicating terrorism from the modern world.

1.3 Limitations of the Study. The research work has been carried out through analyzing the printed materials. Various books, journals and articles of different periodicals and dailies were studied. Various lectures, comments of experts were also taken into cognizance from electronic medias. But no interview

is taken from any expert or scholar. On the other hand, the study was confined to the definition, types and forms, root causes and the teachings of Quran and Sunnah only. Other details like on going terrorism across the world, the terrorist groups, this tactics, lethality and impacts, role of media etc were not discussed, albeit those had been kept in the preview throughout.

1.4 Research Methodology.

1.4.1 Methods of Data Collection. While conducting the research, necessary data were collected from primary and secondary sources. Content analysis, observation and informal interview techniques were used to collect required data. An extensive observation had been carried out through electronic and printed medias across the world over the terrorism prone areas. Related books, journals, newspaper, latest columns and articles and websites were studied intensively. Informal interviews and opinions were also taken from a host of cross section peoples of different walks of life. The secondary sources being used to collect data are various documents, speeches and lectures, statements and comments. However, the research has been accomplished using the following methodologies:

- a. **Content Analysis.** The contents of various books, precise, journals, daily as well as weekly news papers, periodicals and other documents concerning the subject were analyzed.
- b. **Interview.** Only the informal interviews were taken to get opinions and comments.
- c. **Researchers Observation.** A deep observation was carried out over the ongoing acts of terrorism across the world.

1.4.2 **Primary, Secondary Sources of Data and processing, Analyzing of Data.** Information and data collected from primary and secondary sources were verified, counter checked, analyzed and thereafter processed to write the thesis. The interpretations are totally based on available primary and secondary sources.

1.4.3 **Field Works.** Field works were carried out to have discussions with various kinds of people in order to get their opinions.

1.5 **Chapterization.** The Chapterization has been carried out by having in preview the gradual development of the research leading to the examining of hypothesis. The chapters are as under:

- a. **Chapter 1.** In chapter one, study area, scope of the study, limitation of the study and details of research methodology have been narrated
- b. **Chapter 2.** In this chapter an attempt is made to give a clear understanding of terrorism, Its definition, controversial opinions of the scholars, history in brief, types, tactics of various terrorist groups are highlighted.
- c. **Chapter 3.** Here, various types of internal or domestic terrorism is discussed in detail.
- d. **Chapter 4.** The pattern, tactics, methods of regional terrorism is being focused in chapter 4.
- e. **Chapter 5.** In this chapter, the various aspects of global terrorism have been discussed deliberately.

- f. **Chapter 6.** An effort has been made here, to find out root causes of terrorism of all dimensions.

- g. **Chapter 7.** Here, the Prophet's (sm) Islamic movement is enumerated as the role model of 'Jihad' for the Muslim world. This would clear all types of misinterpretations as well as misunderstanding about the Islamic ritual 'Jihad'.

- h. **Chapter 8.** Finally in chapter eight, the teachings of Quran and Sunnah have been listed down to eradicate terrorism from the earth. The Messenger (sm) of Allah came with all those teachings to bring peace and prosperity in the world about fourteen hundred years ago as the universal means to eradicate terrorism and atrocity.

1.6 Hypothesis of the Study. Our modern civilization is at the verge of destruction by the perpetration of terrorism. The terrorism is also gaining strength with the advancement of technology. They are only left with achieving the nuclear armaments at the moment. If they happen to be in possession of nuclear weapons, then the world may run towards the disastrous end. This is the main concern of the world leader now a days. On the other hand, all kinds of measures and steps have already been exhausted to contain terrorism, while those measures rather have spread terrorism across the world and gave it the global shape. Therefore, the research work tried to examine the following:

- a. Are the military measures being undertaken to eradicate terrorism enough?

- b. What could be the root causes of terrorism?

- c. What are the alternative measures could be taken to combat terrorism?
- d. Is Jihad an actual act of terrorism or being misused by the perpetrators?
- e. Are the teachings of the Prophet (sm) capable of eradicating terrorism from the world?

CHAPTER 2 – AN INSIGHT INTO TERRORISM

- 2.1 Introduction.
 - 2.2 Definition of Terrorism
 - 2.2.1 Dilemma in Defining Terrorism.
 - 2.2.2 Authority to Define Terrorism.
 - 2.2.3 Diversity of Perceptions about Terrorism.
 - 2.3 A Brief History of Terrorism.
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 - 2.3.2 Terrorism Through Revolution.
 - 2.3.3 Terrorism Through Political Rivalry.
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 - 2.3.6 Terrorism in the Global Village.
 - 2.3.7 A Chronological History of Terrorism.
- Ancient and medieval roots

Modern Events and Groups

The Gunpowder Plot and the Sons of Liberty

The Reign of Terror (September 5, 1793 – July 28, 1794)

19th century Events and Groups

John Brown (1800 - 1859)

Ku Klux Klan (KKK)

Irish Republican Brotherhood

Narodnaya Vola

Armenian Revolutionary Federation (1890-1897)

Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (1893 to 1903)

20th century events and groups

Early 20th Century Events and Groups

Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand June 28 of 1914

The Easter Rising and the Irish Republican Army

Irgun (1931 to 1948)

Lehi (1940 to 1948)

Muslim Brotherhood

Alleged state terror in 1930s Germany and Soviet Union

World War II Events and Groups

Terror bombing

Mid 20th Century Events and Groups

Front de Liberation National (1954 to 1962)

Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (1955 to 1959)

Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (1959 to the present)

Palestine Liberation Organization and factions (1959 to the present)

Front de Liberation du Quebec (From 1963 to 1971)

Colombian and Peruvian Paramilitary Groups and 'Narcoterrorism'

Provisional IRA (1969 to 2005)

The Jewish Defense League (1969 to the present)

People's Mujahedin of Iran (PMOI)

Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (1974 to the present)

Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (1975 to 1986)

Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (1978 to the present)

Red Army Faction (1968 to 1998)

Weathermen (1969 to 1977)

Italian Red Brigade (1970 to 1989)

Japanese Red Army (1971 to 2001)

Tamil Tigers (From 1976 to 2009)

Umkhonto we Sizwe (From 1961 to 1990)

Contemporary Era events and Groups

Late 20th Century Events and Groups

The Contras

Hezbollah

Egyptian Islamic Jihad

Hamas

Al-Qaeda

Lockerbie bombing

Aum Shinrikyo (Between 1990 and 1995)

Lashkar-e-Taiba

Cave of the Patriarchs Massacre

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- 2.4.2.1 State Sponsored Terrorism.
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- 2.4.3.1 Geo-Strategic Terrorism.
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- 2.4.3.4 International Terrorism.

2.5 Tactics of Terrorism.

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- 2.6.2 LTTE.
- 2.6.3 ETA.
- 2.6.4 IRA.



CHAPTER 2 – AN INSIGHT INTO TERRORISM

2.1 Introduction. Before going into the details of the study of eradicating terrorism, it is obvious to understand terrorism in its reality and true perspective. The modern brand of terrorism is causing blood bath to many innocents everyday, but the modern world still could not reach to a consensus for defining terrorism. The scholars are in great dilemma and contradict each other while defining it. Indeed, there is no a competent authority available to identify the terrorists and distinguish heroes from them. The experts are also highly disunited about distinction of the perpetrators of terrorism. But the history of terrorism has set its natural pattern to identify terrorists from the freedom fighters. However, as we go in to details of it, we will be able to understand terrorism, its types, followed tactics and the root causes. We shall also learn about the terrorist groups as well as that states that carry out terrorism in today's world.

2.2 Definition of Terrorism

2.2.1 Dilemma in Defining Terrorism. As we enter into the complicacies of various types of definition of terrorism, let us see what the plain meaning is. The Oxford English Dictionary defines it as:

"Terrorism: A system of terror. 1. Government by intimidation as directed and carried out by the party in power in France during the revolution of 1789-94; the system of "terror". 2. gen. A policy intended to strike with terror those against whom it is adopted; the employment of methods of intimidation; the fact of terrorizing or condition of being terrorized.¹

Indeed, the term "terrorism", is the derivative from the Latin word "terror" means the state of intense fear and submission to it. Every cautions man knows in practices, what terrorism means. But, difficulties

arise when attempts are made to give a precise definition to it. Perhaps, one of the most difficult parts of today's security perspective is defining terrorism or specifying what constitute terrorism. Because, world community still could not reach to a consensus about its meaning and a common definition. The difficulties were emanated from the dictums like "today's terrorist is tomorrow's freedom fighter", "terrorism to some is heroism to others," "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" etc. These connotations show the difficulties that scholars encounter to their efforts in formulating a global definition of terrorism for the sake of research. Therefore, it is said that terrorism is a phenomenon easier to describe than to define. However, between 1936 to 1986 at least, 115 definitions have been given by the thinkers. More recently, Poland (1988) identified the most popular definitions as follows(parentheses indicate original source cited by Poland):²

1. An organized pattern to violent behavior designed to influence government policy or intimidate the population for the purpose of influencing government policy (Lodge, 1981).
2. Terror: violence committed by groups in order to intimidate a population or government into granting their demands (Webster, 1983).
3. Terror is symbolic action designed to influence political behavior by extranormal means entailing the use or threat of violence (Thornton, 1964).
4. Terrorism may be defined as violent, criminal behavior designed

primarily to generate fear in the community, or a substantial segment of it, for political purpose (National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice standards and goals, 1976).

5. Terrorism is culturally unacceptable use of threat of violence directed toward symbolic targets to influence political behavior either directly through fear, intimidation, or coercion, or indirectly by affecting attitudes, emotions, or opinions (U.S Air Force Special Operations School, 1985).

6. Terrorism is non-government public violence or its threat performed by an individual or small group and aimed at achieving social or political goals that may be sub-national, national, or international (Krieger,1977).

7. Terrorism is the use of force, violence, or threats of violence to attain political goals through fear, intimidation, or coercion (Friedlander, 1981).

8. In general the word terrorism is used to define almost all illegal acts of violence committed for political purposes by clandestine groups (Sobel, 1975).

An Indian writer K.B. Raina has defined terrorism as, "Terrorism is the method of theory behind the method whereby an organization, group or party works to achieve its desired aims through systematic use of violence.³ Bangladeshi Military analyst Brig Gen Shakhawat Hossain argues, "In general, terrorism is an act of violence directed mainly against unarmed civilians or government personnel, and civilian or public property, to create a fear psychosis, with the objective of attaining the

group's political objectives.⁴ The U.S Department of Defence on the other hand, defines terrorism as, "the unlawful use of force or violence against individuals or property to coerce or intimidate government or societies, often to achieve political religious or ideological objectives"⁵. The Terrorism Act 2001 of Britain defines terrorism as,⁶ "Terrorism means the use or threat, for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause, of action which:

- a. involves serious violence against any person or property
- b. endangers the life of any person.
- c. creates a serious risk to the health or safety of public or a section of the public.
- d. is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously disrupt an electronic system.

In the Holy Quran, The term "Fitnah" and "Fasad" have been used to deliver ordinance against terrorism. Fitnah means the causes which disrupt and destabilize the normal human life and Fasad stands for the events which cause disruption of human belief, culture, religion etc.

The web site http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/history_of_terrorism tries to explain terrorism as, "There is no consensus definition of terrorism. Proposed language and enacted but non-universal definitions have included the following:"⁷

- League of Nations convention language (1937): "All criminal acts directed against a State and intended or calculated to

create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public."

- A proposed academic consensus definition (1988): "Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby - in contrast to assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators."
- United States (1989): premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents.
- A definition proposed by Alex P. Schmid to the United Nations Crime Branch (1992): Act of Terrorism = Peacetime Equivalent of War Crime.
- European Union (2002): ". . . given their nature or context, [acts which] may seriously damage a country or an international organisation where committed with the aim of seriously intimidating a population."

- India (2003): Referencing Schmid's proposed definition, the Supreme Court of India described terrorist acts as the "peacetime equivalents of war crimes."

2.2.2 Authority to Define Terrorism. So far we have discussed the theoretical definitions delivered by the researchers or scholars. Now, we shall study about the authority that identify the acts of terrorism or the perpetrators of terrorism. The researchers are not sure indeed, whether perpetrators are terrorists or freedom fighters in any given situation. But, the authority concern invariably become sanguine about the identified terrorists or liberators. In reality; the present world order, prevailing geo-strategic situation, and socio-economic and political conditions of affected localities determine the definition of terrorism. Regardless the specific approach in which experts define terrorism, it has been experienced that terrorism is used as the tag of defamation. At the same time, the tag is also removed to favour some terrorist groups. It actually depends on who acts and who defines. Herman argues, "power is an essential characteristic in the definitional process of terrorism."⁸ Therefore, those who command power over others, enjoy the authority to identify an act as perpetration of terrorism, if that behavior went against their interests. It suggests that a powerful state has the scope to fix any behavior-humanitarian or brutal- as a terrorist act regardless the location or relevance of that state in the present world order. Thus in 1985, President Regan labeled North Korea, Libya, Iran, Cuba, and Nicaragua as terrorist states. Omitted in that list were RSA, Israel and Guatemala.⁹ But the then Soviet Union has also labeled Israel and South Africa as terrorist states, which short listed contras of Cuba, China and Iran as non-terrorist states. It was clear in the then world order arrangement that U.S.A had the upper hand in determining what constitutes terrorism. Therefore, its

promulgated definition, over U.S.S.R's one was widely accepted. Sometimes, the government of a country embarks on terrorism to eliminate the opposition parties. The opposition outfits on the other hand, perpetrate atrocities to take revenge on the government as the tactics of weaker. Here, the government enjoys the upper hand in labeling the opposition parties as terrorists. President Ahidjo of Cameroon in 1970s and 80s carried out systematic cleansing of opposition leaders and members to maintain his power and one party system. His government imprisoned, executed or murdered the members of politically opponent party in the name of patriotism and for the unity of the nation. Meanwhile, they also stigmatized the opposition party as the terrorists, who murdered the government officials and innocent citizens to achieve their selfish political interests and power. Thus, the labeling or defining terrorism is based upon the interests of those who are making the definition. Indeed, the core nations retain the authority and power to call someone terrorist, while the peripheral nations are always the victims of being defined as terrorists. Because, the core nations' interests come first in the world scenario. Even they are ready to legitimize the policy of imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism. In the face of core nations economic interests the legitimate rights of the peripheral peoples become secondary. Thus, in the modern world order perspective what is good for a core nation is also to be good for the peripheral country. This is, in fact the secret of the authority of defining terrorism or terming terrorist to some.

2.2.3 Diversity of Perceptions about Terrorism. The scholars, thinkers, politicians and strategists, security analysts had perceived the concept of terrorism in many ways. They conceived the ideas from the world experiences about terrorism. Their diversified perceptions sometimes also encouraged the perpetrators to conduct the heinous acts.

However, the prophets time to time came with the agenda of eradicating terrorism from the earth. The perceived various concepts about terrorism have been laid out through the following paragraphs:

a. Fanon insisted on the adoption of violence/terrorism because in his view the colonial system is fundamentally a function of violence... Since the colonizer already uses violence, it is essential in Fanon's view that the colonized resort to their own violence that of "an armed and open struggle"... He insisted that the armed struggle was a very important one, which must be used because violence was unavoidable. In Fanon's view, liberation can only be achieved by force. It can be posited that Fanon was purely an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist. Fanon also hated capitalism in all forms, both that of colonizer and equally that of the local follower. But, however he sees the world, Fanon's theory cannot be dismissed as a theoretical account of the development of terrorism.¹⁰

b. Seto has Three positions as moral referents (about terrorism) – consequential, deontological and 'Virtue ethics'. The consequential position is that a terrorism act is morally right if the consequences and considered desirable. Thus a seemingly immoral act, such as killing an innocent child, may be moral indeed it may be morally required - if the net effect is held to be good, for example, if the child's death would permit it the saving of thousands of other lives. 'Freedom fighters' in the forefront of a liberation campaign have probably been viewed in that light by some observers. The means employed by violence to achieve worthwhile ends were considered, in retrospect, legitimate. In contrast, the deontological position has terrorist acts as morally

right or wrong in themselves, regardless of consequences. It must be wrong to kill or maim an innocent child no matter how many other lives we might thereby save. Seto's 'Virtue ethics' switches from act to actor where the terrorist should never be the kind of person who would kill an innocent child for whatever reason... These positions beg a host of questions among those who scrutinize the foreign policies of states and who may be incensed about the bombing of Baghdad or the zealous strikes against Palestinians by the Israeli Defence Force.¹¹

c. Mary E. Clark and John Burton point out that terrorism will grow into a full-fledged full-time profession for unemployed and frustrated people in future for it apparently involves glamour and power and wealth. They argued, At first the West saw terrorism as one more Soviet Strategy for creating global tension. But is global illness that needs attention. Spokesmen for the major powers decry terrorists as 'international outlaws' or 'crazy extremists' that it has become clear...that it is global illness that needs attention. Spokesmen for the major powers decry terrorists as 'international outlaws' or 'crazy extremists', that is...political deviance, whether domestic or international, is nearly always a manifestation of the frustration of truly legitimate human needs. Terrorism is one such form of deviance.¹²

d. Karl Marx said in his *Das Capital*, "And to put an end to his capitalist system violence could be used not by individuals but by a social organization and only when the social conditions were favorable. Lenin believed to that a new order could be created only by smashing to atoms the old machinery of the state. A communist he insisted must be prepared to make every sacrifices and, if

necessary, even resort to all sorts of stratagems and schemes, employ illegitimate methods. Sorel thought in his "Reflections of Violence" that it was an illusion to hope for the disappearance of violence from social and political life. He looked upon violence as a protector of society. As for Stalin his purges go to prove that communists use violence not only in making a revolution but for maintaining the communist state created by the revolution.¹³

e. Terrorism, is not a malady in itself. Rather, it is a symptom to the manifold and multifarious dimension of devoted politics and ineffective state, it is not a "Law and order" problem and cannot be dealt as such. It is not the 'terror' of the gun only which sustains terrorism. It is also sustained by the fact of its linkage with a 'cause' , a struggle'. 'movement'. Terrorism comes to surface at a much later stage, when the 'struggle' to which it get attached has passed through various other stages. The pertinent act is that terrorism neither creates a movement nor precedes it. It is for this reason that it is important to relate the problem of terrorism to its roots and its basic context.¹⁴

f. Violence is virtue when it is applied in the right direction for real basic issues in order to protect the public interest. When violence is used for personal gain by individuals then it behaves as evil... There is another reason for him (man) to be violent which T.H. Huxley interpret Charles Darwin's concept of natural selection justify the value of survival by means of violence, for life was viewed as continuous free fight. This can see in modern behavior because it is extra ordinary popular. This is in the light of the animal origin. Biblically, man is single human being made in the image of God and is unique. Therefore, violence can never be justified... Jesus Christ

never sanctioned violent actions of his disciples even when they were defending their master in the garden of Gethsemane where Jesus told them to put up the sword. But man continue to be violent both individually or as a nation and depicts those mark in daily crimes, civil wars, religious and tribal communal conflicts. Two great world wars have shaken the confidence.¹⁵

g. Violence breeds violence and when violence shouts, reason becomes deaf and dumb. That is why we find millions of "freedom fighters" and "terrorists" in different Parts of world. They belong to different nationalities and ethnic groups, different religious and different ideologies. Despite all these differences, they have at least... in common: disagreement with the establishment, dissatisfaction with the available conflict resolution mechanisms, the use of commonly unacceptable means to achieve certain ends which they consider legitimate, and a certain type of motivation, ideology or indoctrination.¹⁶

h. Many old Testament commandments prohibit doing harm to others, killing, ruling without justice, or behaving unfairly. You shall not murder, You shall not commit adultery. You shall not steal. You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor. You shall not covet your neighbor's house...¹⁷

j. The Prophet (SM) of Islam said in his speech at the farewell Pilgrimage:

"O people ! Listen to what I say. I do not know whether I will ever meet at this place once again after this current

year. It is unlawful for you to shed the blood of one another or take (unlawfully) the fortunes of one another. They are as unlawful, (Haram) as shedding blood on such a day as today and in such a month as this Haram month and in such a sanctified city as this sacred city (i.e. Makkah and the surrounding areas)".¹⁸

K. It is revealed in holy Quran (Al Maydah) 5: 32:

"Because of that, We ordained for the children of Israel That if any one killed person not in retaliation of murder, or (and) to spread mischief in the land – it would be as if he killed all mankind, and if any one saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of all mankind. And indeed, there came to them Our Messengers with clear proofs, evidences, and signs, even then after that many of them continued to exceed the limits (e.g. by doing oppression unjustly and exceeding beyond the limits set by Allah by committing the major sins) in the land."¹⁹

2.3 A Brief History of Terrorism.

2.3.1 Early Days. Mankind had started dwelling in the earth, during the days of Hazrat Adam(AS); his son Kabil perpetrated the first act of terrorism by assassinating the own brother Habil. After Adam (AS), numerous Prophets (AS) including the greatest Prophot Hazrat Muhammad (SM) of Islam. Maximum of them (AS) were persecuted by terrorists of their (AS) times. Notably, Hazrat Ibrahim (AS) was afflicted by

the then king Namrud. Hazrat Musa (AS) was terrorized along with his community by Pharaoh. Hazrat Issa (AS) was tortured by the terrorists. Finally, the great Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (SM) and his followers had been tyrannized for long thirteen years in the city Mecca by the pagan leaders. During 14-37 AD, Roman emperors Tiberius and Caligula tried to discourage their opposition through banishment, expropriation of properties and execution. On the other hand, the Zealots of a Jews sect "Sicarii" demonstrated nationalistic and religious fervor in the Holy Land provinces of Roman Empire. They used to kill the Roman soldiers and officials and torch the houses of fellow Jews, seemed to be heretics or collaborators. In the medieval age, Hassan Ibn-al-Sabah led an outfit "society of Assassins and carried out campaign of terror as a most effective political weapon throughout the Muslim world. They roamed in small groups across the Middle East to hunt the Christian infidels and murder Sunni Muslims contradicted their brand of beliefs. The thugs. A cult of fanatics, spread terror across central and northern India for about 1200 years until the British empire controlled them in mid-1800s. David J. Whittaker said, "Their Cause, if one can describe it so, was partly religious and partly banditry. Their specialty was sacrificial strangulation to placate the bloodthirsty Hindu goddess Kali." ²⁰ Sometimes disguised as market traders, the thugs seem to have selected many thousands of victims indiscriminately.

2.3.2 Terrorism through Revolution. During the French Revolution (1793-94), the "reign of Terror" was instituted by Robespierre. He along with his twenty-two accomplices ruled the country of 27 million people the tool of terror. They employed guillotine to get rid of the opponents who all might deny it its hard-won, newly found power. Robespierre calculated that a man frightened about being named, arrested and summarily disposed of would come to heel easily. He believed that terror, an

instrument of governance would confer virtue, justice and a sense of order upon the people, promoting and defending the Right against Wrong. The modern examples of such kind of regime of terror are Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, the Stalinist soviet Union, Pol Pot's khmer Rouge, Saddam Hussain's Iraq and Pinochet's Chile. One hundred years later, the terrorism being perpetrated in Tsarist Russia had been converse to that of Robes Pierre. A group of determined Russians, Chiefly students and intellectuals taken up terrorism against tsarist autocracy and corruption. They launched a well-planned campaign against the imperial power to free the Russians from Tsarist yoke. They resorted to the pistol and bomb and many innocent citizens became casualties. In 1881 the Tsar Alexander II was murdered and the Government embark on cracking down the protestors and stop the movement till the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. In America, after the civil war (1861-65), the defiant southern terrorist group "Ku Klux Klan" intimidated the supporters of Reconstruction.

2.3.3 Terrorism Through Political Rivalry. The Ottoman and Habsburg Empires were threatened by the nationalist agitators in Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey. But these movements were condemned as the acts of anarchists, radicals and socialists with foreign links of London, Paris and Berlin. This conflicting Political scenario yielded violence both by the governments and demonstrators during early years of 20th century. Thus, the assassination of Archduke in Sarajevo led the allied and central powers towards the First World War in 1914. In 1920s and 1930s, terrorism took a new turn. The hopes and aspirations of the conclusion of First World War had turned sour. There was huge dissatisfaction and turmoil through out the Europe. The power-seeking cliques were ruthlessly out for political change. To enforce law and order, the hit squads were on the streets of Germany, Italy, Japan, Poland, Romania,

Greece and Hungary. In the 1930s, terrorism developed dramatically and as a major scale as an instrument of state power. The fascism of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco prospered and their terror use was the justifiable equipment of he-who-must-be-obeyed. In 1937, the Nazis reigned terror over Spain, while Mussolini over Ethiopia. Hitler marched terror in to Austria in 1938 and across Czechoslovak frontier in 1938 and again in 1939. The Second World War from 1939 to 1945 bred total terror. Terrorism then engulfed the peoples of Europe and Asia. There was indiscriminate bombing and fire-storming of enemy air forces, which culminated by the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

2.3.4 Terrorism and Liberation Movement. After the Second World War was over in 1945, terrorism took a new shape as the struggle began for liberation from the imperial rule of Britain, France, the Netherlands and Portugal, in Africa and Asia. London, Paris, the Hague and Lisbon branded the freedom fighters as terrorists breaking the colonial rule of law. They spared no effort to protect the colonial outposts from the terrorist attacks. The liberators also started using the terrorist methods to press home their aspirations. Eventually, the freedom fighters succeeded in many countries and secured the long awaited independence. In 1971, a systematic military crack down on unarmed innocent citizens of the then East Pakistan was conducted to terrorize and curb their movement for establishing the political and economic rights. This heinous act of terrorism perpetrated by the Pakistan Army led the whole Bangladeshi nation towards the war of liberation, which was concluded with the emergence of a new Independent state of Bangladesh in South Asia.

2.3.5 Terrorism and cessation Movement. The demise of cold War had resurfaced the upsurge of political violence across the globe. Ethno-nationalist and separatist groups had emerged in all parts of Africa, in

Indonesia, Cyprus and then in the Balkans and among the new republics of Russia's eastern fringe. The separatists adopted the violent tactics in Northern Ireland, in Kashmir, Sri-Lanka and Philippines. The respective governments also started crashing those in retaliation. An intense act of atrocities had engulfed the innocent citizens of Israel, Portugal, Russia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Nicaragua, San Salvador due to terrorism and counter-terrorism perpetrated by the separatists and concern governments respectively. These acts of terrorists as well as the counter measures undertaken by affected states have given the modern shape of terrorism; and lethality of perpetration have gone beyond imagination. Now, suicidal explosions kill hundreds of innocent civilians, indiscriminate aerial bombings and missile attacks take the toll of the lives, hundred times more than before, which orchestrates the modern face of terrorism.

2.3.6 Terrorism in the Global Village. Technological advancement and development in IT sector have brought the world together in a single village. The terrorists are in possession of highly lethal modern weapon to perpetrate their terror acts. Therefore, the process of globalization ensures that an attack at one state causes reaction at another state like the symptom of sympathetic detonations. The word "Terrorism" has got new dimension after the carnage of 9/11 in 2001. The symbol of pride of USA, the twin tower was destroyed by the aeroplane strikes killing almost 30000 innocent citizens. The whole world was vibrated with the heinous perpetration. In retaliation, Bush Administration attacked Afghanistan and then Iraq with total potentials of world's most sophisticated as well as lethal weapons. Hundreds of thousands of unarmed civilians are being killed everyday indiscriminately by the on going "war on terror". Israel on the other hand, launching air attacks on Lebanon and Palestine to punish the terrorists and killing hundreds of thousands of innocent peoples including women, children, unarmed civilians and even patients at

hospitals. At the same time suicidal attacks and bombings have become a regular phenomenon across the Earth. Attacks in Indonesia, Somali, Algeria, Nigeria, Turkey, London, Spain, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh and India took away huge tolls on innocent human lives. Thus, the modern terrorism has engulfed the entire world. Nobody today in the world is secured in any part of the globe.

2.3.7 A Chronological History of Terrorism. The historical happenings and events of terrorism took place through the ages have been laid down in the subsequent paragraphs.

Ancient and medieval roots

Scholars opine that the roots of terrorism date back to the the first century and the Sicarii Zealots, to the eleventh century and the Al-Hashshashin, to the 19th century and Narodnaya Volya, or to other eras. The historical terror events are unfolded one by one sequentially as under:

In the 1st century, the Jewish Zealots used "propaganda of the deed" by publicly murdering Jews who collaborated with Roman regime. They were a primarily political group which rebelled against Roman rulers in the Iudaea Province. Judas of Galilee led a small, more extreme group of Zealots to found an offshoot which would later be known as the Sicarii, meaning "dagger men". Their efforts were mainly directed not against the Romans, but against Jewish "collaborators" such as priests of the temple, Sadducees, Herodians, and other wealthy elites who were benefited from working with the Romans. According to Josephus, the Sicarii used to hide short daggers under their cloaks, mingle with crowds at

large festivals, murder their victims, and then disappear into the crowd during the ensuing panic. Their most successful assassination was of the high priest Jonathan.



Artistic rendering of Hassan-i Sabbah

In the 11th century the Hashshashin (a.k.a. the Assassins) appeared, as an offshoot of the Ismā'īlī sect of Shiites, which was led by Hassan-i Sabbah and opposed to Fatimid rule. The Hashshashin militia seized Alamut and other fortress strongholds across Persia in the late eleventh century. They did not have a strong enough army to challenge their enemies directly. Therefore, they assassinated city governors and military commanders to create alliances with more militarily powerful neighbors (like; they killed Janah al-Dawla, ruler of Homs, to please Ridwan of Aleppo, and assassinated Mawdud, Seljuk emir of Mosul, as a favor to the regent of Damascus). They also carried out assassinations as retribution. The assassination of military and political leaders that the Al-Hashshashin were specialized in differs from "propaganda of the deed." Because, killing a political leader does not intimidate somebody's political enemy or inspire revolt but instead directly enforces political changes.

Modern Events and Groups

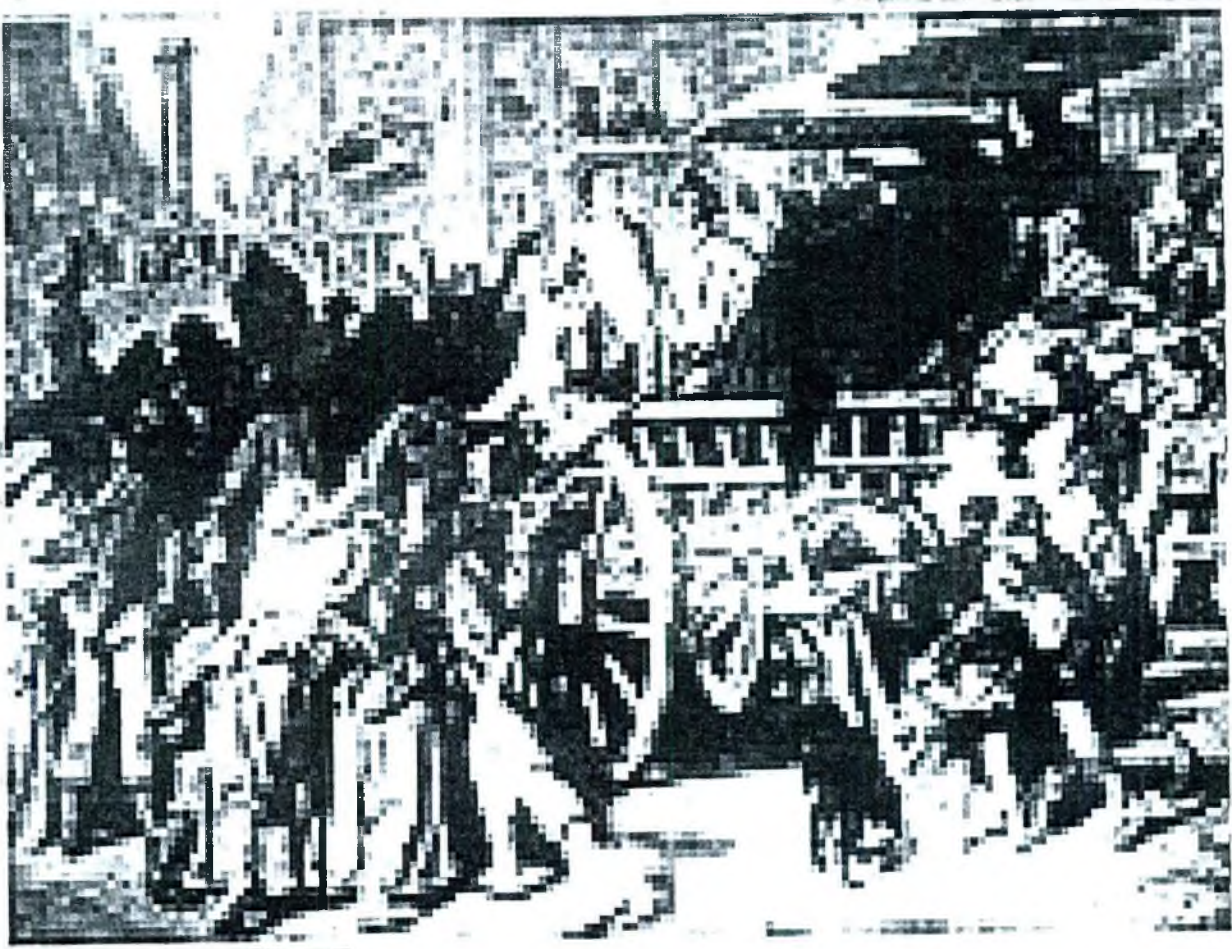
The Gunpowder Plot and the Sons of Liberty

On the 5th November of 1605, a gang of conspirators led by Guy Fawkes attempted to destroy the English Parliament on the State Opening, by detonating a huge amount of gunpowder planted beneath the building. The group tried to organize a coup by killing King James I and the members of both houses of Parliament. The conspirators planned to make one of the king's children a puppet crown with the aim of restoring the Catholic faith to England. The plot was betrayed and thwarted. The violent attempted coup is known as the Gunpowder Plot and is commemorated at Britain in every 5th November with fireworks displays and large bonfires. While there is no consensus regarding

whether it was a terrorist group, the "Sons of Liberty" were a group of American colonists which opposed the "Stamp Act" and later the British rule. They launched several attacks on British property and persons, most significant of which was the "Boston Tea Party." The group was a secret organization of "American patriots", which had emerged before the American Revolution. The Patriots committed attacks on the apparatus and symbols of British authority and power, such as the property of the gentry, customs officers, East India Company tea, and, as the war approached, vocal supporters of the Crown.

The Reign of Terror (September 5, 1793 – July 28, 1794)

The Reign of Terror or simply the Terror (in French: la Terreur) lasted for a period of eleven months during the "French Revolution" when the ruling Jacobins employed the tactics of violence by means of mass executions by guillotine, in order to intimidate the regime's enemies and compel them to be obedient to the state. Approximately 40,000 citizens were killed through their state terrorism and violence. The Jacobins sometimes termed themselves as "terrorists," and the word originated there from. Some modern scholars still do not agree to consider the Reign of Terror a form of terrorism, in part because it was carried out by the French state itself.



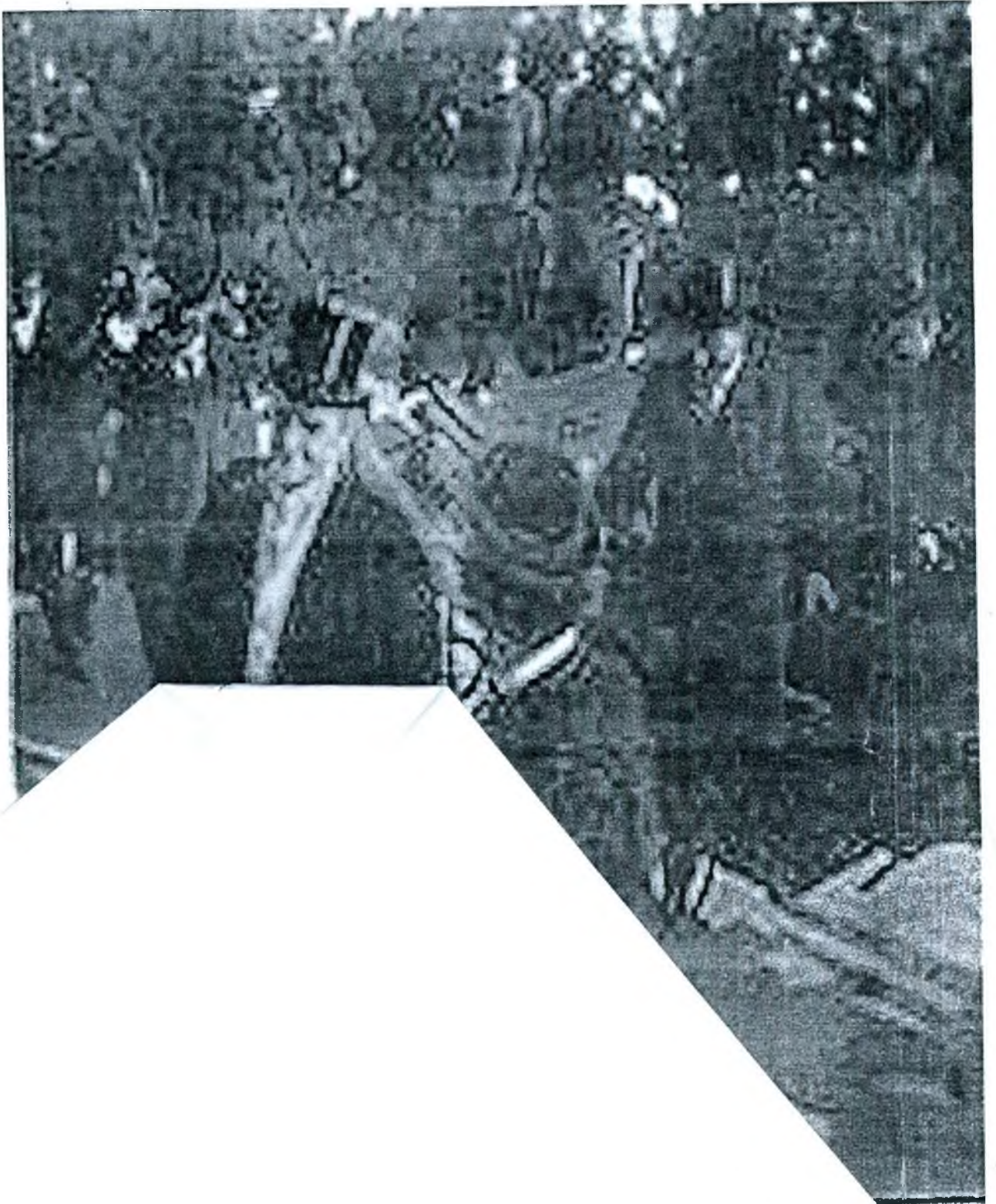
"Enemies of the people" headed for the guillotine during the Reign of Terror.

19th century Events and Groups

Before the mid-19th century, terrorism had been associated with the Reign of Terror in France. During the 19th century, a new meaning had come up and terrorism came to be associated with non-governmental groups. "Anarchists" were the most significant group to be associated with terrorism during the period of 19th century, with the emergence of militancy within "nationalist" groups, developing through the century. The indiscriminate attacks of various anarchist groups led to the assassination of Russian Tsars and US Presidents but could make little real political impact. In mid-19th century Russia, the intelligentsia grew impatient with the slow progress of Tsarist reforms and the anarchists like Mikhail Bakunin maintained that reform was impossible without destruction. With the development of sufficiently powerful, stable, and affordable explosives, the gap was narrowed down between the firepower of the state and the means available to dissidents. Dynamite, in particular, allured the American and French anarchists, and became central to their strategic conception. Encouraged by Bakunin and others, Narodnaya Volya was founded in 1878, and used dynamite-packed bombs for killing state officials in an effort to incite state retribution and mobilize the citizens against the government.

John Brown (1800 - 1859)

John Brown was an abolitionist who was in favour of armed opposition to slavery. He perpetrated several attacks between 1856 and 1859, and was involved in the illegal smuggling of slaves. His most infamous attack was in 1859 on the armory at Harpers Ferry. Local forces soon recaptured the fort and Brown. He then was tried and executed for treason. His death made him a martyr to the abolitionist cause, one of the



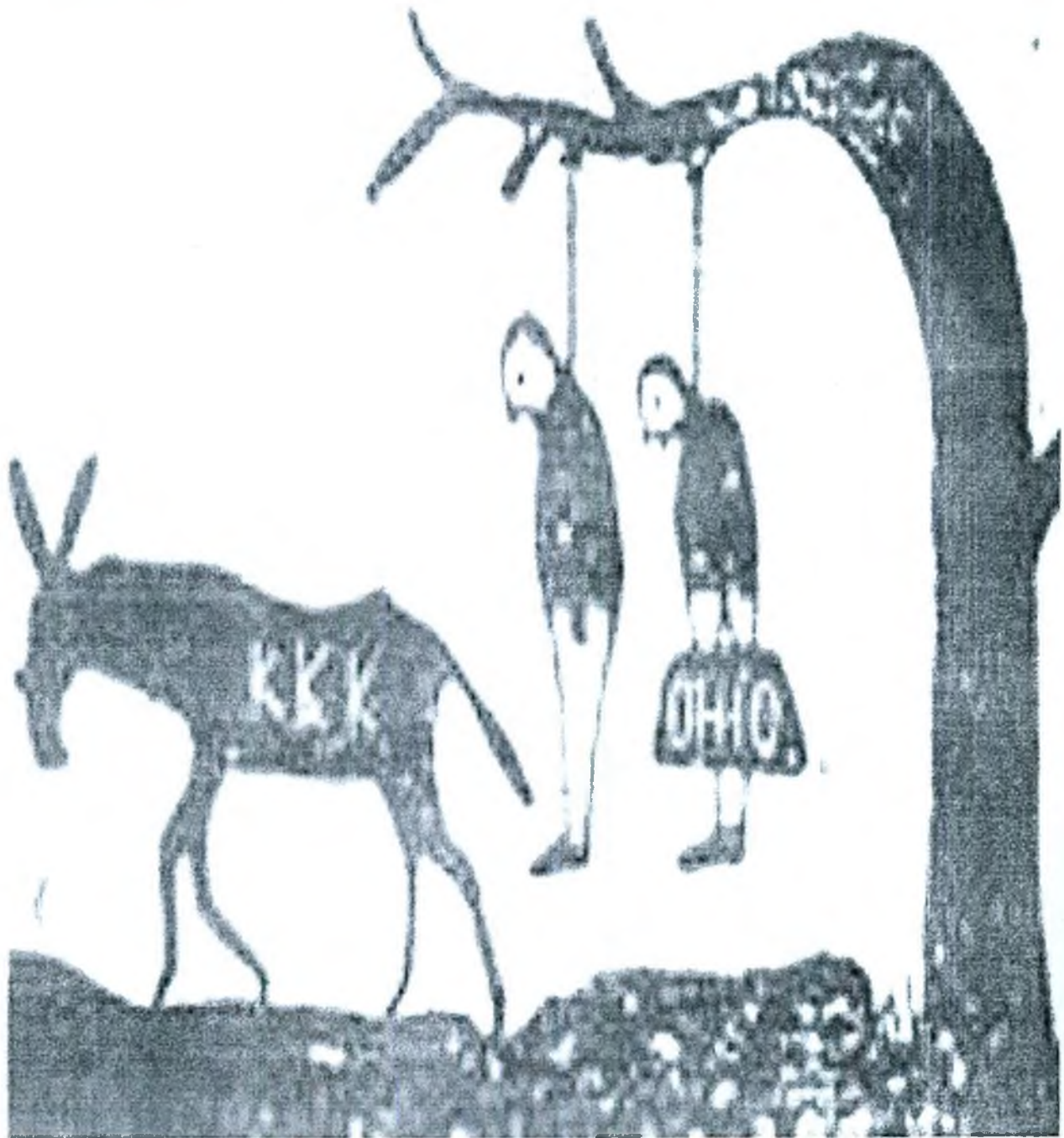


McKinley shortly before his assassination

origins of the American Civil War It also made Brown a hero to the Union forces that fought in it.

Ku Klux Klan (KKK)

The original Ku Klux Klan was created, after the end of the American Civil War on December 24 1865, by six literate, middle-class Confederate veterans from Pulaski, Tennessee. Albeit they boasted that the Klan was a nationwide organization of 550,000 men and that he could muster 40,000 Klansmen within five days' notice, as a secret or "invisible" group. It had no membership rosters, no chapters, and no local officers. It was difficult for observers to verify its actual membership. It had created panic by the dramatic nature of its masked forays and because of its many murders. The Klan has suggested what is generally perceived as white supremacy, anti-Semitism, racism, anti-Catholicism, homophobia, and nativism. The group has often committed violence and acts of intimidation, such as cross burning to oppress African Americans and other groups. At one time the KKK had the control over the governments of Tennessee, Indiana, Oklahoma, and Oregon, in addition to some of the Southern U.S. legislatures.



A cartoon threatening that the KKK will lynch carpetbaggers, in the *Independent Monitor*, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1868

Irish Republican Brotherhood

The Irish Republican Brotherhood, a revolutionary Irish nationalist group, carried out attacks in England in 1867. Writer Richard English has referred to such attacks as the first action of "republican terrorism," which would become a recurrent feature of British and Irish history. The group is considered to be the precursor to the Irish Republican Army.

Narodnaya Vola

From 1878 to 1883, Narodnaya Volya (known as People's Will in English) was a revolutionary anarchist gang founded in Russia in 1878. Encouraged by Sergei Nechayev and by the Italian revolutionary Carlo Pisacane (author of the "propaganda of the deed" theory), the group assassinated prominent political leaders with shootings and bombings to spark a popular overthrow of Russia's Tsarist regime. Narodnaya was the first anarchist group to make wide scale use of dynamite in its bombings. On March 13, 1881, the group had assassinated Russia's Tsar Alexander II. But, the assassination of the Tsar could not spark the expected revolution and the ensuing crackdown by Russian authorities brought the group to an end. Narodnaya Volya developed some ideas which became the hallmark of subsequent violence by small non-state groups in many countries: they used to believe in targeted killing of the 'leaders of oppression' and they were convinced that the developing technologies of the age - symbolized by bombs and bullets – would enable them to strike directly and discriminately.



Ignacy Hryniewiecki

Armenian Revolutionary Federation (1890-1897)

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Known as the Federation) was a nationalist revolutionary movement founded in Tiflis (Russian Transcaucasia) in 1890. It was founded by Christopher Mikaelian, and many of its members were the part of the Narodnaya Volya or the Hunchakian Revolutionary Party. The group used to publish newsletters, smuggle arms, and hijack buildings because it sought—like the Hunchacks—to bring about the European intervention that could force the Ottoman Empire to surrender to the control of the Armenian territories. A 17-year old group member Babken Suni led twenty-six Dashnaks in capturing the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Constantinople on August 24, 1896. They demanded that an Armenian state to be created, while threatened to blow the bank up. But the ensuing crackdown by the Ottoman government destroyed the group.

Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (1893 to 1903)

The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) was a nationalist revolutionary movement founded in 1893 in the Ottoman-controlled Macedonian territories. It was founded by Hristo Tatarchev, inspired by Narodnaya Volya. The group sought to coerce the Ottoman government to create a Macedonian nation. To do this, the IMRO assassinated prominent political leaders (as Narodnaya Volya had) and tried to provoke uprisings (just like the Hunchakian Revolutionary Party). On 20th July, 1903, the group incited the Ilinden uprising in the Ottoman villayet of Monastir. As part of the uprising, the IMRO declared the town's independence and demanded the freedom of Macedonia to the European Powers. Their demands were ignored and about 27,000 rebels in the town were massacred by Turkish troops, after two months. The party was then split into two factions: one in favor of uniting the future nation of

Macedonia to Bulgaria and one against it. By 1912, the pro-Bulgaria faction was effectively turned into a tool of the Bulgarian government.

20th century events and groups

Being inspired by the Irish Republican Army's campaign against the British in the 1910s, the Zionist groups Hagannah, Irgun and Lehi fought the British throughout the 1930s in the then mandate of Palestine, aiming at creating an independent Israeli state. Following the IRA and the Zionist groups, Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood also perpetrated bombings and assassinations in an attempt to free its country from British control.

Early 20th Century Events and Groups

Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand June 28 of 1914

Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife, Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg, were shot and killed on 28th June, 1914 in Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by Gavrilo Princip, one of a group of six assassins. The assassination had produced widespread shock throughout Europe. The Austro-Hungarian Empire presented to Serbia a list of demands historically known as the July Ultimatum. The demands were aimed to end the funding and operation of organizations which allegedly provided support for the assassination. They also demanded that Serbia to suppress "propaganda" against Austria-Hungary in Serbia, even by private persons. Some claimed that the ultimatum was planned to create a casus belli to enable Austria-Hungary to invade Serbia. After receiving a telegram of support from Russia, Serbia mobilized its army and replied that it would agree to accept some of the demands but that it would reject the rest. Austria-Hungary had rejected Serbia's conditional acceptance of the demands and broke

off diplomatic relations. Austria-Hungary then declared war and this set into motion a series of events which led to World War I.

The Easter Rising and the Irish Republican Army

The members of the Irish Volunteers, led by Patrick Pearse joined the smaller Irish Citizen Army of James Connolly to seize the Dublin General Post Office and several other buildings on April 24, 1916, and proclaim an Irish Republic independent of Britain. The action, which later emerged as the Easter Rising or Easter Rebellion, had failed militarily, but succeeded for physical force Irish republicanism, after the British government had executed the leaders of the uprising by firing squad, thereby making them into celebrated Irish heroes. Thereafter, from 1916 to 1923, the Irish youths joined the forces with the Irish Citizen Army to form the beginnings of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Michael Collins helped found the IRA in Dublin shortly after the Easter Rising. They launched coordinated attacks on more than 300 police stations in a single day, as part of their campaign to establish an independent Irish state. On November 21, 1920, the IRA carried out an attack termed as Bloody Sunday, on broad day light and killed a dozen of police officers and simultaneously burnt down the Liverpool docks and warehouses. After two



Michael Collins, IRA leader

years of street fighting between the IRA, the Royal Irish Constabulary, the Black and Tans and the British Auxiliaries, London accepted the 1921 Anglo-Irish treaty that gave Dublin authority over an independent Irish nation which encompassed 26 of the island's 32 counties. Collins and the IRA's tactics were an encouragement to other groups, such as those in Israel. The IRA also was an inspiration to the British who emulated and improved upon the IRA's tactics during the Second World War.

Irgun (1931 to 1948)

Irgun was a clandestine militant Zionist group. They splintered off from Hagannah in 1931 and operated in the then Palestine until 1948. The party was founded by Avraham Tehomi (Irgun leader: 1931 to 1937), who was inspired by Ze'ev Jabotinsky and his theory that only Jewish armed force would ensure the establishment of an independent Jewish state. The group was non-socialist, more aggressive and alternative to Hagannah. It had aimed to reduce the threat of Arab attacks on Jewish settlements by launching retaliatory attacks. These tactics, including bombing a crowded Arab market, were some of the first examples of terror attacks against civilians. The Irgun also planned to bring to an end to the British mandatory rule by assassinating police and capturing British government buildings and arms. Like the Hagannah, the Irgun also sabotaged British railways in Palestine, in addition to smuggling Jews into Palestine. This occurred mainly from 1945 to 1947. Their objective was to force the British to relax policies of restricting Jewish immigration and, ultimately, to force them to withdraw, creating an opportunity to establish a Jewish



The King David Hotel after the bombing

state in Palestine as quickly as possible. Their most infamous attack was the 1946 bombing of the King David Hotel, the British Military headquarters in Jerusalem. Ninety-one people were killed including both soldiers as well as civilians. After the creation of Israel two years later, Menachem Begin (Irgun leader: 1943-1948) transformed the group into the political party Herut and later became part of Likud Party.

Lehi (1940 to 1948)

Lehi (Lohameni Herut Yisrael, "Freedom Fighters for Israel," Stern Gang) was a revisionist Zionist group. They were splintered off from the Irgun in 1940. When the Irgun made a treaty with the British in 1940, Abraham Stern led disaffected Irgun members to break off and form Lehi. Like People's Will, Lehi employed the tactics of assassination of prominent political figures. On November 6, 1944, they assassinated Lord Moyne, the British Minister of State for the Middle East.

The assassination had sparked a massive stir amongst the Hagannah, Irgun, and Lehi, with Hagannah sympathizing with the British and a massive man-hunt was launched against the other two splinter groups. After the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948, Lehi was formally dissolved and its members were integrated into the newly formed Israeli Defense Forces. Yitzhak Shamir and his underground fighters had greatly admired the Irish Republicans and sought to emulate their anti-British struggle.

Muslim Brotherhood

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in 1928 as a nationalist group in British-controlled Egypt. Its leader, Hassan al-Banna formed the group as both a social-welfare organization and a political-activist

movement. In the late 1940s the Muslim Brotherhood began to attack on British soldiers and police stations, and started assassinating the prominent political leaders. In 1948, they allegedly had assassinated the Egyptian Prime Minister Nuqrashi. Egyptian Regime's British-friendly government was overthrown in the military coup of 1952, but shortly thereafter, the Muslim Brotherhood had to go underground in the face of a massive crackdown. In the contemporary era, the Muslim Brotherhood is still active in Egypt.

Alleged state terror in 1930s Germany and Soviet Union

During the 1930s the world saw the rise of the totalitarian regimes in Soviet Union and Germany of Stalin and Hitler, when both both of them adopted the tactics of terror on an enormous scale. But, unlike some of the Jacobins who ruled France during its Reign of Terror, the regimes never used the words 'terror' or 'terrorist' to the police and NKVD (in Communist Soviet Union) and Gestapo (in Nazi Germany) agents who enacted state repression, but only to those who opposed the two dictatorships. Historian R. J. Overy writes that what is now defined as ruthless state terror was viewed by Hitler and Stalin as state protection against the enemies of the people. To effectively establish and reinforce the obedience to regime and national ideology, both regimes employed surveillance, imprisonment (often in Soviet gulags or German labor or concentration camps), torture, and executions against enemies of the state who had been real and imagined.

World War II Events and Groups

The vast array of guerilla, partisan, and resistance movements that were organised and supplied by the Allies during the Second World War, used tactics that, according to historian M.R.D. Foot, could be considered

terrorist in nature. The British Special Operations Executive (SOE) successfully carried out operations in every theatre of the war, providing a "very considerable" contribution to the allied victory. On the eve of the D-Day, it organised with the French resistance the complete destruction of the rail and communication infrastructure of western France reportedly the largest coordinated attack of its kind in the history of terrorism. The SOE was inspired by the IRA; Colin Gubbins, a key leader of the SOE, had put to use the lessons he learnt first hand in Ireland, first to establish a resistance army in waiting, and then at the SOE.

Terror bombing

Some scholars define the deliberate bombardment on the noncombatant civilians indiscriminately is a form of state terror. During the military conflicts leading up to Second World War and the war itself, terror bombing on enemy civilian populations to break opponent's morale was first put into action. Beginning early 1930s and with greatest intensity between 1938 and 1943, the Japanese used incendiary bombs against Chinese cities such as Shanghai, Wuhan and Chonging. Lord Cranborne, the British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, commented on a 1937 bombing that the military objective, where it existed, seemed to take a completely second place. The main object seemed to be to inspire terror by the indiscriminate slaughter of civilians. In Europe in April 26, 1937, the bombardment of Guernica carried out by Nazi Germany's Luftwaffe, caused widespread destruction and civilian deaths in the Basque town. According to the BBC, the aim of General Francisco Franco, commander of the nationalist forces during the Spanish Civil War, was "to terrorize the people in the Basque region. . ." In May 1940, during the Second World War itself, the Luftwaffe bombed Rotterdam in order to force Dutch capitulation and the threat to bomb Utrecht in the same fashion forced

Netherlands' surrender. In a bombing campaign against Britain called "the Blitz" (September 1940 to May 1941), Germany carried out intensive bombardment over British cities like London and war industry centers such as Coventry. Britain, in response, adopted a bombing policy against German cities euphemistically called area bombardment whose goal was in part to 'de-house' and demoralize the German civilian population. The Dresden bombing (February 13-15, 1945) was an example of area bombardment that massacred the city and caused the toll between 25,000 and 40,000 lives. At the later part of the war, in its air attacks on Japan, U.S. forces used a mix of incendiaries and high explosives to burn large sections of Japanese cities to the ground. A military aide to General Douglas MacArthur termed an incendiary attack on Tokyo "one of the most ruthless and barbaric killings of non-combatants in all history."



Casualties of a mass panic during a Japanese air raid in Chongqing

Mid 20th Century Events and Groups

After the completion of World War II, there was an emergence of nationalist and anti-colonial campaigns, and the European empires collapsed. Many of the resistance groups of the Second World War became the nationalist groups. The Viet Minh, which had earlier fought against the Japanese, now fought against the returning French (and later the Americans), and elements of the Malayan resistance turned on their former British allies and fought against them during the Malayan Emergency. In the 1950s, for instance, the National Liberation Front (FLN) in French-controlled Algeria, the EOKA in British-controlled Cyprus, and the ETA in Spain waged guerilla and open war against what they considered occupying forces. In the 1960s, encouraged by Mao's Chinese revolution of 1949 and Castro's Cuban revolution of 1959, national independence movements in formerly colonized countries often fused nationalist and socialist impulses in the 1960s. This was the case with Spain's ETA, the Front de Liberation du Quebec, and the Palestine Liberation Organization. In Japan, Europe, and the U.S., leftist student groups like the Japanese Red Army, the German Red Army Faction, the Italian Red Brigade, and the American Weather Underground sympathized with the Third World and sought to flare up the anti-capitalist revolutions with bombings and assassinations. Nationalist groups such as the Provisional IRA and the Tamil tigers also began operations during this decade.



Aftermath of the 1964 Brinks Hotel bombing

Front de Liberation National (1954 to 1962)

The Front de Liberation National (FLN) was a nationalist group founded in French-controlled Algeria in 1954. The group was actually a large scale resistance movement against French occupation, and terrorism was only one tactic of its operations. The FLN leaders were inspired by the Indochinese rebels who forced the French troops to withdraw from their country, started out with support from Egyptian President Nasser. The FLN was one of the first ideological groups which used compliance terror on a grand scale. The FLN would establish control over a village of Algerian and coerce the peasants of that village to execute the loyalists amongst them. On the night of October 31, 1954 the FLN attacked French military installations and the homes of Algerian loyalists when it set off a coordinated wave of seventy bombings and shootings known as the Toussaint attacks. Through the tactics of coercive violence, the FLN secured significant support for a 1955 uprising against loyalists in Philipville. This uprising—and the heavy-handed response of the French government—convinced many Algerian citizens to support the FLN and the independence movement. The FLN eventually achieved Algerian independence from France in 1962, and transformed itself into Algeria's ruling party.

Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (1955 to 1959)

Greek National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston, or EOKA) was a nationalist group established in British-controlled Cyprus in 1955. Its founder, George Grivas, was receiving secret support by the Greek government. The group planned the expulsion of British troops from the island, and sought self-determination, as well as union with Greece. To enforce these objectives, EOKA carried out a four year spree of IRA style shootings of British soldiers and police.

EOKA also perpetrated attacks like that of Hagannah on civilians. In December 1958, a cease-fire was declared and by 1960, Cyprus achieved independence from the United Kingdom. But, the settlement explicitly denied the possibility of a union between Cyprus and Greece.

Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (1959 to the present)

The Euskadi Ta Askatasuna [or ETA (Basque for 'Basque Homeland and Freedom')] is an armed Basque nationalist separatist organization. It was established in 1959 in response to General Francisco Franco's suppression of the Basque language and culture. ETA was evolved from an advocate of traditional cultural ways into an armed revolutionary Marxist group demanding Basque independence. Many of the ETA's victims are the government officials. The group's first known target was a police chief who was killed in 1968. In 1973, ETA operatives killed Franco's successor, Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, by planting an underground bomb beneath his habitual parking spot outside a Madrid church. In 1995, an ETA car bomb almost killed Jose Maria Aznar, the then leader of the conservative Popular Party, who later became the Spain's prime minister. In the same year, investigators foiled a plot to assassinate King Juan Carlos. Very recently, in March 2008, ETA assassinated a former city councilman in northern Spain two days before an election. In 2003, the Spanish Supreme Court banned the Batasuna political party, the political arm of ETA, which caused the successive efforts by Spanish governments to negotiate with ETA to have been failed.

Palestine Liberation Organization and factions (1959 to the present)

Fatah was organized as a Palestinian nationalist group in 1959. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded as an umbrella

organization for secular Palestinian nationalist groups in 1964, which began militant operations in 1965. The PLO's membership is made up of separate and possibly conflicting paramilitary and political factions, the largest of which are Fatah, PFLP, and DFLP. Factions of the PLO have suggested or carried out terror tactics. Fatah leader and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat publicly renounced terrorism in December 1988 on behalf of the PLO, though Israel used to claim that she had substantial proof that Arafat continued to sponsor terrorism until his death in 2004.

Abu Iyad founded the Fatah splinter group Black September in 1970. The group is widely known for seizing eleven Israeli athletes as hostages at the September 1972 Summer Olympics in Munich. All the Israeli athletes including five Black September operatives later were killed during a gun battle with the West German police, in what was later known as the Munich massacre. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) was organized in 1967 under the leadership of George Habash. On September 6, 1970, the group hijacked three international passenger planes, ensured force landing two of them in Jordan and blew up the third one. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command (PFLP-GC) was founded in 1968, presently led by Abu Nidal al-Ashqar. The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) was founded in 1969. The PFLP, DFLP, and PFLP-GC lost their influence and resources with the emergence of Hamas in the 1990s.



Plaque in front of the Israeli athletes' quarters commemorating the victims of the Munich assacre

Front de Liberation du Quebec (From 1963 to 1971)

The Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) was a Marxist nationalist group that founded to create an independent, socialist Québec. Georges Schoeters founded the group in 1963, who had been inspired by Che Guevara and the FLN. The FLQ sought the overthrow of the Quebec government, the independence of Quebec from Canada, and the establishment of a French-Canadian workers society. It perpetrated bombings, kidnappings, and assassinations against politicians, soldiers, and civilians. On October 5, 1970, the FLQ had kidnapped James Richard Cross, the British Trade Commissioner. On October 10, in the same year, group members kidnapped the Minister of Labor and Vice-Premier of Québec, Pierre Laporte, and killed him a week later. These events have contributed to the loss of support for violent means to attain Québec independence, and increased support for the political party, the Parti Québécois, which took power in 1976.

Colombian and Peruvian Paramilitary Groups and 'Narcoterrorism'

Several paramilitary groups were formed in Colombia in the 1960s and afterwards. In 1983, President Fernando Belaúnde Terry of Peru defined the armed attacks on his nation's anti-narcotics police as "narcoterrorism," i.e., which now commonly refers to "violence waged by drug producers to extract political concessions from the government." Pablo Escobar's merceless violence in his dealings with the Colombian and Peruvian governments has been one of the best known and best documented examples of narcoterrorism. Paramilitary groups associated with narcoterrorism include the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN), the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), and the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC). While the ELN and FARC were

originally leftist revolutionary groups and the AUC was originally a right-wing paramilitary. All of them have perpetrated numerous attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure. The U.S. and some European governments consider them to be the terrorist organizations.

Provisional IRA (1969 to 2005)

The Provisional Irish Republican Army is an Irish nationalist movement founded in December 1969 when several militants including Seán Mac Stíofáin broke off from the Official IRA and formed a new organization. Led by Mac Stíofáin in the early 1970s and by a group around Gerry Adams since the late 1970s, the Provisional IRA strove to create an all-island Irish state. Between 1969 and 1997, during a period known as the Troubles, they perpetrated an armed campaign, including bombings, gun attacks, assassinations and even a mortar attack on 10 Downing Street. On July 21, 1972, in an attack significant as Bloody Friday, the group set off twenty-two bombs, which killed nine and injured 130. On July 28, 2005, the Provisional IRA Army Council declared an end to its armed struggle. The IRA is believed to have been a major exporter of arms to and provided military training to the groups like the FARC in Colombia and the PLO. In the case of the latter there has been a long held solidarity movement, which is evident by the many murals around Belfast.

The Jewish Defense League (1969 to the present)

The Jewish Defense League (JDL) was founded in 1969 by Rabbi Meir Kahane in New York City, with its declared purpose the protection of Jews from harassment and antisemitism. Federal Bureau of Investigation statistics says that, from 1980 to 1985, 15 attacks the FBI classified as acts of terrorism which were attempted in the U.S. by members of the

JDL. The National Consortium for the Study of Terror and Responses to Terrorism states that, during the JDL's first two decades of activity, it had been an "active terrorist organization." Kahane later organized the far-right Israeli political party Kach, which was barred from elections in Israel owing to racism. The group's present-day website condemns all forms of terrorism.

People's Mujahedin of Iran (PMOI)

The PMOI or Mujahedin-e Khalq is a socialist Islamic group which actively resisted the theocratic rule of Iran since the revolution. The group was established to oppose the capitalism and what they perceived as western exploitation of Iran under the Shah. The group is suspected of having the members of about 10,000 to 30,000. They renounced violence in 2001, but remain a proscribed terror organization in Iran and the USA. The European however, has removed the group from its terror list. The PMOI has been accused of supporting other groups such as the Jundallah.

Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (1974 to the present)

The Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN, means "Armed Forces of National Liberation") was a nationalist group founded in Puerto Rico in 1974. Over the next decade, the group employed bombings and targeted killings of civilians and police in an effort to create an independent Puerto Rico. On April 3, 1975, FALN claimed the responsibility for four nearly simultaneous bombings in New York City, by leaving their Communique No. 4 for the Associated Press at a phone booth. The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) classifies the FALN as a terrorist organization.

Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (1975 to 1986)

The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) was founded in 1975 at Beirut during the Lebanese Civil War by Hagop Tarakchian and Hagop Hagopian with the help of sympathetic Palestinians. At that time, Turkey was in political turmoil, and Hagopian believed that the time was right to avenge the Armenians who died during the Armenian Genocide and to force the Turkish government to cede to them the territory of Wilsonian Armenia for the purpose of unification with the existing Armenian SSR. In its most infamous Esenboga airport attack, on 7 August 1982, two ASALA rebels opened fire on civilians in a waiting room at the Esenboga International Airport in Ankara. Total nine people died and 82 were injured. By 1986, the ASALA had virtually freezed all types of attacks.

Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (1978 to the present)

The Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (Kurdistan Workers Party) was a nationalist movement founded in Turkey by Abdullah Ocalan in 1978. Ocalan was motivated by the Maoist theory of people's war. Like Mao, Ocalan had a little book outlining his views, and like the FLN he advocated the use of compliance terror. The group is trying to create an independent Kurdish state that consists of parts of south-eastern Turkey, north-eastern Iraq, north-eastern Syria and north-western Iran. Since 1984, the PKK transformed itself into a paramilitary force and launched conventional attacks as well as bombings against Turkish governmental installations. In 1999, Turkish authorities captured Ocalan, tried and sentenced him to life imprisonment. The PKK has thereafter, gone through a series of name changes.

Red Army Faction (1968 to 1998)

The Red Army Faction was a New Leftist group established by Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof in West Germany in 1968. Encouraged by Che Guevara, Maoist socialism, and the Vietcong; the group tried to raise awareness of the Vietnamese and Palestinian independence movements through kidnappings, taking embassies hostage, bank robberies, assassinations, bombings, and attacks on US air bases. The group is widely known for the "German Autumn".

The buildup of events to German Autumn began on April 7, when the RAF shot Federal Prosecutor Siegfried Buback. This was followed on July 30, they shot Jurgen Ponto, then head of the Dresdner Bank in a failed kidnapping attempt. On September 5, they kidnapped Hanns Martin Schleyer (one of the most powerful industrialists in West Germany) and executed him four weeks later, on October 19. The hijacking of Lufthansa aeroplane "Landshut" by the PFLP is also consider to be part of the German Autumn.



Red Army Faction Founders

Weathermen (1969 to 1977)

The American Weather Underground (the Weathermen) was an extremist faction of the leftist Students for a Democratic Society organization. In 1969, the Students for a Democratic Society organization collapsed and had been taken over by the Weathermen group. The Weathermen leaders, motivated by the Maoist revolution, the Black Panthers, and the 1968 student revolts in France, decided to raise awareness of its revolutionary anti-capitalist and anti-Vietnam War platform. It did this by destroying symbols of government power in Hunchakian style. On October 7, 1969, the group brought out an anti-war demonstration in downtown Chicago and blew up a statue dedicated to the police officers who died in the 1886 Haymarket Riot. Over the next five years, the Weathermen had detonated bombs on corporate offices, police stations, and DC government sites such as the Pentagon. But after the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, most of the groups were disbanded.

Italian Red Brigade (1970 to 1989)

The Italian Red Brigade was a New Leftist group organized by Renato Curcio in 1970. With PLO support, the group planned to create a revolutionary state and to separate Italy from the Western Alliance. On 16 March 1978, the Brigade kidnapped former Premier Aldo Moro and murdered him, after 56 days. The murder of Moro had sparked an all-out crack down against the Brigade by Italian law enforcement and security forces. The murder of a popular political leader also drew hatred from Italian left-wing radicals and even from the imprisoned ex-leaders of the Brigade. The Brigade lost the much needed social support. The public opinion turned strongly against it. In 1984, the ailing Brigade had split into two groups: the majority faction of the Communist Combatant Party (Red Brigades-CCP) and the minority of the Union of Combatant Communists

(Red Brigades-UCC). The members of these groups committed a handful of assassinations, before almost all of them were arrested in 1989.

Japanese Red Army (1971 to 2001)

The Japanese Red Army was a New Leftist group. It was established by Fusako Shigenobu in Japan in 1971. With support from the PFLP, the group murdered, hijacked a commercial Japanese aircraft, and sabotaged a Shell oil refinery in Singapore to overthrow the Japanese government and start a world revolution. On May 30, 1972, Kōzō Okamoto and other group members launched attack on Israel's Lod Airport in Tel Aviv by a machine gun and grenade and killed 26 people while 80 others were injured. Two of the three attackers then had killed themselves with grenades.

Tamil Tigers (From 1976 to 2009)

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, (also called "LTTE" or Tamil Tigers) is a militant Tamil nationalist political and paramilitary terrorist group based in northern Sri Lanka. Since its inception in 1976, LTTE has actively waged a secessionist resistance campaign that sought to create an independent Tamil state in the northern and eastern regions of Sri Lanka. This struggle has been evolved into the Sri Lankan Civil War, one of the longest-running armed conflicts in Asia. Since its formation, the LTTE had been led by its founder, Velupillai Prabhakaran. The group had perpetrated a number of bombings, including a car bomb attack carried out on April 21, 1987 at a bus terminal in Colombo which killed about 110 people. In 2009, the Sri Lankan army launched a major offensive against the guerrilla wing of LTTE and annihilated, in which most of the leadership of the group were killed.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (From 1961 to 1990)

In South Africa, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was the military wing of the African National Congress. It was to opposed to the racist apartheid policies of the South African government. MK launched its first guerrilla attack against government installations on 16 December 1961 and was subsequently classified as a terrorist group by the South African government and was made outlawed. It resorted to the guerrilla campaign and perpetrated many bombings. Nelson Mandela was the first leader of MK and he was tried and imprisoned for his involvement in such activities. With the end of apartheid in South Africa, the 'Umkhonto we Sizwe' was inducted in the South African armed forces.

Contemporary Era events and Groups

In the contemporary world, the Ku Klux Klan, the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Jewish Defense League, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional, and the Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan still active in the modern days. Other groups are also being emerged and conducting their operations.

Late 20th Century Events and Groups

In the 1990s, acts of violence were perpetrated by Aum Shinrikyo and the bombing of Oklahoma City's Murrah Federal Building was committed allegedly by Christian extremists. Nationalist groups also carried out attacks, most significantly the Chechnyan separatists and the Tamil Tigers.

The Contras

The Contras were a counter-revolutionary militia force formed in 1979 in order to oppose Nicaragua's Sandinista government. The Catholic Institute for International Relations asserted the following about contra operating procedures in 1987: "The record of the contras in the field . . . is one of consistent and bloody abuse of human rights, of murder, torture, mutilation, rape, arson, destruction and kidnapping." Americas Watch - subsequently folded into Human Rights Watch - accused the Contras of victimising the health care clinics and assassinating the health care workers as well; kidnapping and torturing civilians; executing the citizens, including children, who were captured in combat; raping women; indiscriminately attacking the nonmilitary targets; seizing civilian property; and burning their houses in captured towns.

Hezbollah

Hezbollah ("Party of God") is an Islamist revolutionary movement founded in Lebanon shortly after that country's civil war in 1982. Inspired by the Iranian revolution, the group had determined to carry out an Islamic revolution in Lebanon, to enforce a total destruction of the State of Israel, and ensure the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. Under the charismatic leader Sheikh Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah since 1992, the group had carried out kidnappings and suicide bombings against the Israeli armed forces.

Egyptian Islamic Jihad

Since 1980, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad (Al-Gamaa Al-Islamiyya) is a militant Egyptian Islamic movement sought to the overthrow the Egyptian government and the establishment of an Islamic state of their brand in its

place. It is led by Omar Abdel-Rahman, who is accused of his alleged involvement with the World Trade Center 1993 bombings. The group began as an umbrella organization for militant student groups and was formed after the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood renounced violence in the 1970s. In 1981, the group assassinated the then Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. On November 17, 1997, they had launched an attack on tourists at the Temple of Hatshepsut (Deir el-Bahri) in Luxor, in which a band of six men dressed in police uniforms machine-gunned 58 Japanese and European vacationers and four Egyptians, which is known as the Luxor massacre.

Hamas

Hamas (meaning "Islamic Resistance Movement") is an Islamic Palestinian group formed in 1987 by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi and Mohammad Taha of the Palestinian wing of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood at the beginning of First Intifada, an uprising against Israeli rule in the Palestinian Territories. Between February and April 1988, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin raised a several million dollars fund from the Gulf States, which withdrew their funding from Fatah following its official support of Saddam Hussein during the first Gulf War. Since 1993, Hamas had perpetrated numerous suicide bombings against Israel and, on March 27, 2002, it bombed the Netanya hotel, killing 30 and wounding 140. Hamas ceased the launching of suicide attacks in 2005 and renounced them in April, 2006. It has also been responsible for Israel-targeted rocket attacks, IED attacks, and shootings, but it reduced most of those operations in 2005 and 2006. Since June 2007, Hamas has governed the Gaza portion of the Palestinian Territories.

Al-Qaeda

Al-Qaeda (meaning "The Base") is an international Sunni Islamist extremist movement founded by Osama bin Laden in 1988 determined to end foreign influence in Muslim countries and to create a new Islamic caliphate. On October 12, 2000, Al-Qaeda carried out the suicide bombing on the U.S. Navy destroyer USS Cole while it was harbored in the Yemeni port of Aden and killed seventeen U.S. sailors. On September 11, 2001, nineteen men affiliated with al-Qaeda hijacked four commercial passenger jet airliners and crashed two of them into the World Trade Center in New York City and one into the Pentagon. As a result of the attacks, both of the World Trade Center's Twin Towers had completely collapsed. Including the hijackers, nearly 3,000 people died during the attacks.

Lockerbie bombing

On December 21, 1988 the Pan Am Flight 103 [Pan American World Airways (Pan Am) third daily scheduled transatlantic flight from London's Heathrow International Airport to New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport] was destroyed mid flight over the Scottish town of Lockerbie. The bombing was widely regarded as an assault on a symbol of the pride of United States. On January 31, 2001, Libyan Abdel Basset Ali al-Megrahi was convicted by a panel of three Scottish judges of bombing the flight and was sentenced to 27 years imprisonment for the attack. In 2002 Libya bowed down and offered financial compensation to the families in exchange for lifting of UN and U.S. sanctions. In 2007 al-Megrahi was granted leave to appeal against his conviction, and in August 2009 was released on compassionate grounds by the Scottish Executive due to his terminal cancer.



Nose section of Clipper Maid of the Seas

Aum Shinrikyo (Between 1990 and 1995)

Aum Shinrikyo, presently known as Aleph, was a Japanese religious group formed by Shoko Asahara. Aum Shinrikyo started as a yogic meditation group in 1984, but later transformed into a very different organization. In 1990, Asahara and 24 other members stood for the General Elections for the House of Representatives under the banner of Shinri-tō (Supreme Truth Party) but, none of them were voted in. Thereafter, the group started to militarize. Between 1990 and 1995, they launched several unsuccessful violent attacks using the methods of biological warfare, using botulin toxin and anthrax spores. On June 28, 1994, Aum Shinrikyo members released sarin gas from several sites in the Kaichi Heights neighborhood of Matsumoto, Japan, killing eight and injuring 200 which is known as the Matsumoto incident in the Kaichi Heights neighborhood. Seven months later, on March 20, 1995, Aum Shinrikyo members released sarin gas in a coordinated attack on five trains in the Tokyo subway system, killing 12 commuters and damaging the health of about 5000 others. The heinous attack is widely known as the subway sarin incident. In May 1995, after the arrest of Asahara and other senior leaders the group's membership rapidly decreased.

Lashkar-e-Taiba

Founded in 1991, Lashkar-e-Taiba (Army of the Righteous) is a militant organization currently based near Lahore, Pakistan. Lashkar-e-Taiba members have allegedly launched major attacks against India and its objective is to introduce an Islamic state in South Asia and to "liberate" Muslims residing in Indian administered Kashmir.

Cave of the Patriarchs Massacre

In 1994, Baruch Goldstein (December 9, 1956 – February 25, 1994), an American-born Israeli physician, carried out the 1994 Cave of the Patriarchs massacre in the city of Hebron, where he shot and killed between 30 and 54 Muslim worshippers inside the Ibrahimi Mosque (within the Cave of the Patriarchs), and wounded another 125 to 150 victims. Goldstein was lynched and killed in the mosque. Goldstein was a supporter of Kach, an Israeli political party founded by Rabbi Meir Kahane that was in favour of the expulsion of Arabs from Israel and the Palestinian Territories. In the aftermath of the Goldstein attack and Kach statements praising it, Kach was made outlawed in Israel. Presently, Kach and a faction, Kahane Chai, are regarded as the terrorist organisations by Israel, Canada, the European Union, and the United States.

Chechnyan separatists

Beginning in 1994 Chechnyan separatists carried out several attacks from the 1994 until 2006 led by Shamil Basayev. In the Budyonnovsk hospital hostage crisis, Basayev-led liberationists took over 1,000 citizens hostage in a hospital in the southern Russian city of Budyonnovsk. When Russian special forces carried out the operation to free the hostages, 105 civilians and 25 Russian troops were killed. In the 2002 Moscow theater hostage crisis, 50 Chechnyan operatives took 850 hostages in a Moscow theater, demanding the withdrawal of Russian forces from Chechnya and a ceasefire to the Second Chechen War. On September 1, 2004, 32 Chechnyan rebels took 1,300 children and adults hostage at Beslan's School Number One, which is known as the Beslan school hostage crisis. When Russian authorities did not agree with the rebels' demands that Russian forces' withdraw from Chechnya, 20 of the adult male hostages were shot. After two days of stalled negotiations,

Russian special forces had broke into the building while approximately 300 hostages were killed, along with 19 Russian servicemen and all except one of the rebels. Shamil Basayev has allegedly participated in the attack. Like Basayev's hospital and theater hijackings, the attack at the Beslan school was propaganda of the deed.

Oklahoma City bombing

The April 19, 1995, Oklahoma City bombing was one of the violent attacks against the U.S. government, and a terror act according to the prosecutor at the murder trial of the alleged perpetrator. The Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, a U.S. government office complex in downtown Oklahoma City, Oklahoma was bombed, killing 168 peoples and leaving over 800 injured. Timothy McVeigh, who was convicted and executed for his role in the bombing, seemed motivated primarily by revenge, stating, "What the U.S. government did at Waco and Ruby Ridge was dirty. And I gave dirty back to them at Oklahoma City,"

21st century events and groups

Major events after the September 11, 2001 Attacks were the Moscow Theatre Siege, the 2003 Istanbul bombings, the Madrid train bombings, the Beslan school hostage crisis, the 2005 London bombings, the October 2005 New Delhi bombings, and the 2008 Mumbai Hotel Siege which vibrated the global peace and stability. Subsequently, the war on terror has engulfed the entire world with the continuous US and NATO onslaughts of Iraq, Afghanistan as well as Pakistan.

September 11 attacks

In 2001, the September 11 attacks, nineteen operatives of al-Qaeda hijacked four commercial passenger jet airliners and crashed two of them into the World Trade Center, the pride of America and one into the Pentagon. As a result of the attacks, both of the World Trade Center's Twin Towers completely burnt into ashes. The hijackers, along with about 3,000 people were killed during the attacks, and the attacks led drastic changes in United States foreign as well as domestic policy and security protocol. They also placed national security at the forefront of American political dialogue. The War on Terror is the ongoing US military response to the attack, which is at the moment the focus of American security and foreign poliies.



September 11, 2001 - The North and South towers of the World Trade Center burn.

Jundallah

Founded in 2003, the Jundallah is a Sunni insurgent group from the Baloch region of Iran which had committed numerous attacks within the country, describing that they are fighting for the rights of the Sunni minority of Iran. The group rarely uses suicide bombing, rather, they are using the tactics similar to groups like the IRA, for example the 2007 Zahedan bombings. In 2005, the group had a failed attempt of assassinating Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, which caused the death of at least one of his bodyguards. Iran alleged that the group is merely a front for or supported by a range of nations, particularly the USA, UK, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. Jundallah has received aid from the Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization, and is allegedly accused of involvement in Narco-trafficking.²¹

Table of non-state groups accused of terrorism²²

NAME	LOCATION	FOUNDED	CEASED ATTACKS	FOUNDER	SUBSEQUENT LEADERS	TACTICS	FAMOUS ATTACK
<u>Hashshashin</u>	<u>Persia</u>	1090	1256	<u>Hassan-i Sabbah</u>		assassinations	
<u>Narodnaya Volva</u>	<u>Russian Empire</u>	1878	1883			bombings, assassinations	Assassinated <u>Tsar Alexar</u> 1881
<u>Hunchakian Revolutionary Party</u>	<u>Ottoman Empire</u>	1887	1896	<u>Avetis Nazarbekian</u>			Destroyed Ottoman coat 1890
<u>Armenian Revolutionary Federation</u>	<u>Ottoman Empire</u>	1890	1897	Christopher Mikaelian			Held hostages at Ottoman 1896
<u>internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization</u>	<u>Ottoman Empire</u>	1893	1903	<u>Hristo Tatarchev</u>			Led <u>Ilinden-Preobrazhenie L</u>
<u>Irish Republican Army</u>	<u>Ireland</u>	1916	1923		<u>Michael Collins</u>		<u>Bloody Sunday, 1920</u>

<u>Irgun</u>	<u>Palestine</u>	1931	1948	<u>Avraham Tehomi</u>	<u>Menachem Begin</u>	bombings	<u>King David Hotel bombing</u> , 1
<u>Lehi</u>	<u>Palestine</u>	1940	1948	<u>Abraham Stern</u>	<u>Yitzhak Shamir</u>	assassinations	<u>Lord Moyne assassination</u> , 1
<u>Muslim Brotherhood</u>	<u>Egypt</u>	1928		<u>Hassan al-Banna</u>		assassinations	Assassinated former PM <u>Mal Fahmi al-Nuqrashi</u> , 1948
<u>Front de Liberation National</u>	<u>Algeria</u>	1954	1962				<u>Toussaint Rouge attacks</u> , 19
<u>EOKA</u>	<u>Cyprus</u>	1955	1959	<u>George Grivas</u>			
<u>ETA</u>	<u>Spain</u>	1959				bombings, assassinations	Assassinated "President" <u>Bla</u> 1978
<u>Fatah</u>	<u>Palestine</u>	1959		<u>Yasser Arafat</u>			<u>Munich Olympics massacre</u> ,
<u>PLO</u>	<u>Palestine</u>	1964			<u>Yasser Arafat</u>		
<u>PFLP</u>	<u>Palestine</u>	1967					<u>Black September skyjacking</u>
<u>PFLP-GC</u>	<u>Palestine</u>	1968					<u>Hangglider shooting</u> , 1970
<u>DFLP</u>	<u>Palestine</u>	1969					<u>Avivim school bus massacre</u>
<u>Front de Liberation du Quebec</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	1963	1971	<u>Georges Schoeters</u>		bombings, kidnappings, assassinations	<u>October Crisis kidnappings</u> ,
<u>Provisional IRA</u>	<u>Ireland</u>	1969	2005	<u>Seán Mac Stiofáin</u>	<u>Gerry Adams</u>	bombings, assassinations	<u>Bloody Friday bombings</u> , 1!
<u>FALN</u>	<u>Puerto Rico</u>	1974				bombings	Four NYC bombs, 1975
<u>ASALA</u>	<u>Turkey</u>	1975	1986	<u>Hagon Tarakchian</u>			Attack on Ankara airport, 1
<u>PKK</u>	<u>Turkey</u>	1978		<u>Abdullah Ocalan</u>			Assassinated former Prime Minister <u>Nihat Erim</u> ,
<u>Red Army Faction</u>	<u>Germany</u>	1968	1998	<u>Andreas Baader</u> and <u>Ulrike Meinhof</u>			<u>German Autumn</u> killings, 1
<u>Weathermen</u>	<u>U.S.A.</u>	1969	1977				<u>Chicago police statue bombing</u> , 1969
<u>Italian Red Brigade</u>	<u>Italy</u>	1970	1989	<u>Renato Curcio</u>			Assassinated former Prime Minister <u>Aldo Moro</u>
<u>Japanese Red Army</u>	<u>Japan</u>	1971	2001	<u>Fusako Shigenobu</u>			<u>Lod Airport Massacre</u> , 197
<u>Tamil Tigers</u>	<u>Sri Lanka</u>	1976					<u>Columbus bus terminal bombing</u> , 1987
<u>Hezbollah</u>	<u>Lebanon</u>	1982			<u>Hassan Nasrallah</u>		
<u>Egyptian Islamic Jihad</u>	<u>Egypt</u>	1980			<u>Omar Abdel-Rahman</u>		<u>Luxor massacre</u> , 1997
<u>Hamas</u>	<u>Gaza</u>	1987		<u>Sheikh Ahmed</u>			

<u>Al-Qaeda</u>	<u>Saudi Arabia</u>	1988		<u>Yassin</u> <u>Osama bin Laden</u>	<u>9/11 attacks, 2001</u>
<u>East Turkestan Liberation Organization</u>	<u>China</u>	1990			
<u>Aum Shinrikyo</u>	<u>Japan</u>	1990	1995	<u>Shoko Asahara</u>	<u>Sarin gas attack on the</u> <u>Mumbai train bombings,</u> <u>2006 and 2008 Mumbai</u>
<u>Lashkar-e-Taiba</u>	<u>Pakistan</u>	1991			<u>Beslan school hostage cr</u> <u>2004</u>
<u>Chechnyan Separatists</u>	<u>Russia</u>	1994		<u>Shamil Basayev</u>	
<u>Jundallah</u>	<u>Iran</u>	2003		<u>Abdolmalek Rigi</u>	<u>Zahedan bombings, 200</u>

2.4 Types of Terrorism. Types and forms of terrorism are again another aspect, where the scholars differ with one another like the definitional discourse. The experts have categorized terrorism in many forms, which tend to overlap each other. Because, the basis of their categorization has been various indeed. Geographical areas, capability of the perpetrators, their interests, ideologies etc are the main factors to identify various forms of terrorism. In this study the geographical location of the perpetration has been taken as the basis of categorizing the terrorism. Various forms are enumerated in the following paragraphs. Geographically, terrorism has three main forms like Internal or Domestic, Regional and Global terrorism.

2.4.1 Domestic Terrorism. Domestic terrorism is basically the internal terrorism of a country. The terrorists in this case perpetrate their acts within own localities, Mahallas, Villages, towns, cities etc. Largest scale of terror act here is committed across the country; but, not beyond the border. This domestic type of terrorism is perpetrated in various forms as following:

2.4.1.1 **Political Terrorism.** Political terrorism takes place through the rivalries of inter-political and intra-political parties. Intolerant and impatient opponent political parties or factions of one political party lock themselves in quarreling with each other. They also resort to militant conflict and atrocities. Political situations in the third world countries are the best examples of political terrorism including Bangladesh.

2.4.1.2 **Ideological Terrorism.** Terrorism is also takes place basing on ideology. The left wing terrorists were out to destroy capitalism and replace it with communist or socialist regime. South western region of Bangladesh is prone to ideological terrorism by various left wing pasties like Jana Juddha, Sarba Hara party, Biplobi communist party etc. Maoists of Nepal and India are also the example of Ideological terrorism.

2.4.1.3 **Religious Terrorism.** Inter-religious and intra-religious conflicts emanate religious terrorism. Intolerance as well as clandestine instigation planned by vested quarter with political motive, generate this type of terrorism. A society or country encompasses various religious beliefs, or different sects of one religious belief is very much prone to religious terrorism. Hindu-Muslim riots, Hindu –Christian riots and Shia-Sunni riots in Pakistan and Iraq are the burning examples.

2.4.1.4 **Fanatic Terrorism.** Fanatic terrorism is the outcome of religious extremism. Albeit no religion supports terrorism, some zealots perpetrate terrorism in the name of religion. Crashing the Babri Mosque in India, Killing of children and women by Israeli

soldiers in Palestine and killing innocent citizens by JMB in Bangladesh are the historic examples of Fanatic terrorism.

2.4.1.5 State Terrorism. State terrorism in domestic dimension is the means to punish, control and fixing the opposition political parties or other elements opine different than the government. It can be expressed as a 'reign of terror'. Here, the rulers of the states use terror under the cover of law and order on a massive scale. "Stalin's purges of 1935-39, Hitler's persecution of the Jews, Paul Pot's murderous 'Utopia' in Cambodia, Ethiopia's "Villagification" programme and China's Cultural Revolution which resulted in large number of mass murders by governments against their own unarmed populations. Tiannmn Square incident resulting in the killing of peacefully demonstrating students by the force of the state in 1989 in china is a recent example of state terror.²³

2.4.1.6 Revolutionary Terrorism. The revolutionary terrorism aims at the total change in the socio-political and cultural structure of the state. It can also be a strategy of the revolutionarists to fight against the corrupt government or to establish a new socio-economic and political order in the country. The Marxist-Leninist groups used to adopt terror as a basic tactic for succeeding the revolution. The Japanese Red Army Faction (RAF), the Naxalites and People's War Group (PWG) are the examples revolutionary terrorist groups.

2.4.1.7 Liberationist Terrorism. This is indeed, the national liberation movement. It aims at liberation from the colonial rule or ending any foreign rule in the motherland. Starting from the "Sipahi

biplob”, there had been many types of movements emerged and adopted militant measures against the British Government in India. The ongoing movements of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Fattah, and Hamas in the Middle East are the best examples of liberationist terrorism. The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) of India is another example in the region.

2.4.1.8 Criminal Terrorism. The social crises or acts of violence being perpetrated by individuals or groups are called the criminal terrorism. Rapes, robberies, murders, kidnappings, extortions are committed by any individual or by a group of people in almost all the countries of the world.

2.4.2 Regional Terrorism. The act of terrorism which affects a particular region is termed as regional terrorism. In this form of terrorism a single group with a similar or sympathetic concept remains active in a region encompassing the neighboring countries. The regional terrorism is also perpetrated through various forms.

2.4.2.1 State Sponsored Terrorism. The state sponsored terrorism is defined, as “the use by foreign governments of terrorist surrogates as an inexpensive and potential, risk-free means of anonymously attacking enemies and to avoid retaliation”.²⁴ In this form of terrorism, a state secures her vested interest by sponsoring the acts of terrorism in the territory of other states to destabilize that country. Following the Machiavellian tradition of the doctrine of the ‘reason of the state’; the states use and sponsor terrorism as a tool of domestic as well as foreign policy.²⁵ The US help to contras in Nicaragua; India’s alleged help to LTTE in Sri-Lanka and

Pakistan's to the JKLF of Kashmir etc are the examples of state-sponsored terrorism in the regional perspective.

2.4.2.2 Ideological Terrorism. When a group of terrorists enforces terrorism in an area encompassing more than one neighboring states to spread its brand of ideology is called regional ideological terrorism. In the Maoist Assessment Paper year 2006, the Institute for Conflict Management states, "Maoist ideology constitutes the gravest danger to democratic governance in geographically the widest area threatened by insurgent and terrorist violence in South Asia".²⁶ The Naxalites are also perpetrating terrorism in West Bengal of India and South-Western region of Bangladesh since 1967.

2.4.2.3 Regional State Terrorism. When a state directly or openly organizes perpetration of terrorism in a second country of the region is called regional state terrorism. To keep maintain the regional hegemony, political domination, and an own brand of national security interest, this form of terrorism is unleashed. The Israeli acts of terrorism over Palestine or Lebanon and regular killing of Bangladeshi citizens at border areas by BSF are the burning examples of regional state terrorism.

2.4.2.4 Islamic Terrorism. Using or exploiting Islam, the religion of peace, to perpetrate terrorism in a region is the regional Islamic terrorism. Islam is an intensely used religion as an effective tool for terrorism. These terrorists are killing the innocent human being by suicidal bomb explosion everyday in Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Pakistan and elsewhere in the region. These culprits are real Islamic terrorists who abuse Islam only vested for

interests.

2.4.2.5 Insurgency Terrorism. Secessionist or separatist movement emanates insurgency problem in a country. For political or security reasons, insurgents are harbored by another regional state which generate the insurgency terrorism in the region. The clandestine support to LTTE by Indians, Pakistani aid to Kashmiri JKLF and Indian Secret Harboring of Shanti Bahinis of Chittagong Hilltracts in Bangladesh are the instances of insurgency terrorism.

2.4.3 Global Terrorism. The process of globalization has also made the perpetration of terrorism easier, more interconnected and more lethal. Technological advancement, emergence of Information Superhighway and unipolarity of the world order have transformed the earth in to a small village. A terrorist attack in one country causes bleeding in another state. The terrorists have modernized their methods, tactics and technique, magnitude of lethality, distance and time and space. Very easily they are able to plan by sitting in one country to attack on a second state's interest in a third country. This is called the globalization of terrorism. Various forms of global terrorism has been enumerated in the following Paragraphs:

2.4.3.1 Geo-Strategic Terrorism. Geo-Strategic Terrorism also could be termed as super power terrorism. The geo-strategic interests of the superpower are at the top of the agenda in today's world. Therefore, a false cocked up allegation allowed the unipolar world's superpower to attack Iraq and caused killings of hundreds of thousands of innocent unarmed Iraqis including woman and children. The ongoing Geo-strategic terrorism is also causing destructions of hundreds of thousands of innocent lives in

Afghanistan, where the world's most powerful state attacked the weakest state just to apprehend one single terrorist Osama bin-Laden. Surprisingly, in this geo-strategic process of terrorism worlds other powerful states; mostly western have participated in the systematic cleansings to punish either the Saddam remnants or the Taliban terrorists.

2.4.3.2 Intercontinental Terrorism. The modern terrorists are well capable of perpetration atrocities even beyond the continental boundaries. Sitting in own location they plan to attack in a third country, targeting the interests and citizens of a second state. This could be termed as intercontinental terrorism. Bomb explosions in Nairobi and Dar-as-Salam, aiming at the US Targets, allegedly was detonated by OBL in 1996. The Clinton Administration retaliated by launching missiles at a pharmaceutical industry in Sudan and at the Laden's den in Afghanistan. All those attacks and counter attacks took the tolls on innocent citizens only. Beside the open attacks on unarmed civilians in the target countries, secret killings are also in the agenda of the Americans. The Pulitzer award winner Washington based Journalist revealed that Dick Cheney used to run an Executive Assassination Ring, Which killed Pakistani leader Benzir Bhutto. He claimed that Cheney's death squad also assassinated Rafique Hariri and the Lebanon's Army Chief."²⁷

2.4.3.3 Non-State Terrorism. Today the terrorists have grown so powerful that impact and lethality of their perpetration has crossed the record of the world's history of terrorism. A terrorist or group of terrorists is now able to hit a target thousands of miles away inside the target country. The attack in World Trade Centre in 1993 and the heinous attacks on Twin-Tower at New York City of

America in 2001 have proved the abilities of terrorists without a state. This is indeed, called the non-state terrorism.

2.4.3.4 International Terrorism. "International terrorism in its most obvious manifestation is a terrorist attack carried out across international frontiers or against a foreign target in the terrorists state of origin.²⁸ In international form of terrorism, a state remains involved in the perpetration unofficially. The Terrorist state directly, but in clandestine way helps a terrorist, group of terrorists or another terrorist state to carry out terror acts in the target country or countries. The then Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 and carried out systematic killing and destructions for long ten years. The American also perpetrated same types of heinous terrorism in Vietnam. Those all were the instances of International terrorism.

2.5 Tactics of Terrorism. The theoretical Gurus of terrorist tactics were the andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinh of Germany, Abraham Guillin, Che Guevara of Latin America, Fidel Castro of Cuba and Frantz Fanon of France. They had been active in 1960s, albeit their influence is still regulating the terrorism of modern world. Baader and Meinh incorporated indiscriminate violence in their theory while fighting against the repression forces in Germany. Their notion was the use of violence at all costs for the freedom. Abraham Guillin, a veteran of the Spanish civil War fought Franco's dictatorship in Spain, which made him a persuasive tactician. His doctrine made a significant contribution to guerrilla ideals 20 years after the Second World War. Guillen's manual for the guerrilla has also influenced che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Nelson Mandela, Colonel Quaddafi, and the top echelons of Hizbullah and the IRA. He assumed that group violence would lead to harsh repression, destroying the liberal façade of government and recruiting popular support. Guevara, in his book "Guerrilla Warfare" (1969) built

a theory of armed struggle which he termed "foquismo" central to his was the mystique of the heroic guerrilla, a quasi-romantic figure sure to appeal to young Latin Americans ready to risk their lives to follow a new creed. There were three cardinal principles in that creed are:²⁹

1. There is no point in waiting for conditions to be right, or for participants to be ready, the revolution is now.
2. Prompt action brings immediate success. With popular backing revolution is assured.
3. Foquistas (guerrillas) are the touch stone of revolution, the initiators, and architects of progress.

Guevara's maxims were followed by the freedom fighters in Latin and Central America, and by the anti-colonial fighters in Africa and south-east Asia. The African National congress in South Africa was also substantially influenced by Guevara. Frantz Fanon's theory was followed by the liberation leaders waging wars against imperial rule in Europe and Africa. Fanon thought that the process of breaking free from colonial rules would be hard and rough and bloody. He also recommended for covert, unorganized resistance to oppression flaring into overt, organized warfare. Finally Fanon's maxim of terror methods to the liberationist arsenal influenced the tactics and the methods of sabotage, shooting, arson and murder followed in Cyprus, Dutch Indonesia, and Central America and in Northern Ireland. However, the methods terrorists commonly employ are as under:³⁰

Arson; bombs in vehicles; remote control explosions; 'Molotov cocktails'; biological and chemical materials disseminated offensively; grenades; gun attacks (hand and automatic); mortar attacks; attacks with rocket

launchers; knife attacks; machete attacks; hijacking of vehicles and aircrafts; hostage taking; kidnapping torture; sabotage attacks on building, public facilities and transport; assassination (of individuals and groups); letter bombs; stoning; vandalism leading to serious injury or death.

2.6 Terrorist Groups of the Modern World. It is indeed, a very difficult task to keep an accountability of the terrorist organizations active across the globe. Today, we get a total figure of terrorist groups, tomorrow one new outfit would claim the responsibility of an act of atrocity in any part of the world. Today' small group may flare up tomorrow through a disastrous perpetration of terrorism in a world's most secured locality. However, at the moment more than hundred terrorist outfits are active across the world in about seventy countries. We shall try to know about few most infamous terrorist outfits of the modern world.

2.6.1 Al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda was founded by Osama bin Laden, a Saudi civil engineer and Millionaire in 1981 with the help of CIA and ISI to combat Russian invasion in Afghanistan. After the Russian defeat in Afghanistan and collapse of USSR and communism, USA abandoned Laden at his own. Thereafter, Laden opposed the presence of US troops in KSA, after the Gulf war was over. Thus the honeymoon between Laden and USA turned into the bitter conflict. Bin Laden Started the second phase of the Jihad of his own brand in Afghanistan in 1996, when the Taliban Regime took over the power. It had caused huge damage to the geo-strategic interests of USA and Laden was branded as the world's number one Terrorist. Finally, Bush Administration held Laden responsible for the Twin Tower attack on 9/11, 2001, which Laden had refused. However, huge media propaganda and Americans' intense diplomatic efforts persuaded the world community to believe in the Al-Qaeda's

responsibility in the attack, although they failed to produce any substantial evidence.

2.6.2 LTTE. Velupillai Prabhakaran a Marxist oriented leader became nationalistic and uncompromising leader of Srilankan Tamils, and founded a Tamil militant group in 1972 to establish a separate Tamil homeland. In 1976, he recruited Tamil volunteers for his striking force and named that force Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam. LTTE started its conventional operations in 1983 by ambushing an army petrol and killed 13 Sri-Lankan soldiers in Jffna. The most organized, dedicate and committed terrorist group waged a war for about three decades with the Sri-Lankan Army. They had their Naval and Air Wing. It had perpetrated hundreds of suicide bombings to kill thousands of innocent civilians including former Sri-Lankan President Ranasighe Premadasa is 1993, and former Indian Prime Minister Raziv Gandhi in 1991. LTTE's suicide squad 'Black Pnather' had women section named 'Freedom birds', which used to simulate pregnancy while carrying high explosive charges under bulging skirts. The LTTE also used speedboats and frogmen in harbors, and the latest missiles and mortars against Sri-Lankan Army. There had been about one hundred thousand people killed including both and Tamils Sinhalese before they were defeated in May 16, 2009 after the death of their iconic leader Prabhakaran.

2.6.3 ETA. ETA is an acronym for Euzkadi ta Askatasuma (Basque Homeland and Freedom). The Basque student's sown the seed of Basque homeland movement 1970s from Spain by revealing their five point demands. But the Spanish Government's retaliatory response frustrated the ETA liberators, who started attacking the police stations, Army barracks, Banks and shopping malls indiscriminately. They wrecked the big city streets in various parts of Spain with car bombs, assassinated

prominent political and Industrial leaders; they robbed banks, carried out extortion across the Spain. Though there had been ceasefire in 1999, 2000 and 2001, about 500 assassinations and more than 60 kidnappings took place by the terrors of ETA. There were also hundreds of Spanish and Basque innocent civilians killed or injured due to their atrocities. About 100 ETA operatives were killed and 20,000 of them were jailed in Spain or France.

2.6.4 **IRA.** The Irish Republican Army has a history of about 100 years of confrontation. It was formed in 1919 as a commando unit and started sporadic small-bomb explosion in England. The British in the South and Unionist Protestants in the north being continuously harassed by the IRA operatives. The IRA was declared outlawed in 1931 and 1935. In 1960s, the Catholic rioters of IRA confronted 20,000 British army, and 8,000 armed Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), where petrol bombs, victimization, arson, vigilante, punishment squads had been used to perpetrate violence. The violence continued through 1970s when the direct rule was imposed on Ireland. IRA launched large-scale bombings in Ulster and England in 1980s. The first ceasefire was enacted in 1994. But by then 3,500 civilians have been killed, 300,000 injured and properties of millions of pounds were damaged. The RUC suffered the casualties of 300 officers killed, and 9,000 wounded. Finally, a peace accord came into being in 1998 with Good Friday agreement, to ensure the rights of all sides through shared Assembly partnership, ongoing day-to-day communal liaison, a Bill of Rights, and prisoner release.

CHAPTER 3 – INTERNAL TERRORISM

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Ideological Terrorism was the Genesis of Terrorism in Bangladesh.

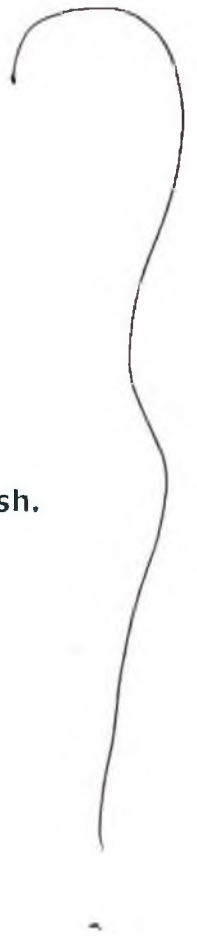
3.3 Political Terrorism.

3.4 Fanatical Terrorism.

3.5 Ethnic Terrorist.

3.6 Criminal Terrorism.

3.7 Terrorism that Posing Threats to the Security of Bangladesh.



CHAPTER 3 – INTERNAL TERRORISM

3.1 Introduction. Internal terrorism is basically the domestic form of terrorism. Therefore, here, we would discuss the various ongoing pattern of terrorism in Bangladesh. After the independence from the tyrannical administration of infamous Pakistani Government through a bloody war in 1971, our process of progress had been held back many a times by various types of imposed terrorism in different times. Killing, looting, vandalizing, kidnapping, hijacking, hostage taking, assassinating, robbing, threatening, toll collecting, extortion, road blocking, hartal (strike enforcing), fatwa sermon, group attacking etc were the main hurdles to the process of development of a huge potential state of Bangladesh. Indeed, all kinds of terrorism in domestic form is being perpetrated in this country. Time and again, the democratic progression and motion of moving forward had lost the paces by political, ideological, criminal and fanatical terrorism in Bangladesh.

3.2 Ideological Terrorism was the Genesis of Terrorism in Bangladesh. Ideological terrorism took heavy toll in Bangladesh – especially in North-Western and South-Western part - since the independence. Indeed, the Ideological terrorism in Bangladesh is just the extension of communist movement that started in Naxalbaria in 1967 within the proximity of the then East Pakistan's western border. In the name of communist revolution they conducted, organized killings, extortion, anarchism, gang rape, vandalism, kidnapping, threatening, assassination etc, across South-Western and North-Western districts of Bangladesh. Even they burnt human being alive into ashes inside the flame of brick-fields. Thousands of citizens have been killed and maimed by their heinous acts of terrorism including inter or intra-party clashes. The most active of such terrorist groups are Sharbahara party, Jana Juddhaw, New Revolutionary Communist of Bangladesh, Sramajibi Andolon, Maoist Communist Party of East Bengal, and Purba Bangla Communist Party. Though, these parties were

outlawed by the Bangladesh Government, they are still operating underground in the rural areas of South-Western and North-Western areas of the country. Killing of the famous political leader kazi Aref was perpetrated by these terrorists.

3.3 Political Terrorism. In the view of many, political terrorism started for a short period immediately after December 16, 1971. However, these were few isolated events in which some politicians believed to be part of the anti-Bangladesh forces or known collaborators were killed".³¹ Since then, the terrorist activities in the name of politics continued through the decades. It caused killing of students in the Mohsin Hall of Dhaka University in 70, in the Agricultural University of Mymensingh in 80. Thereafter, thousands of students were made victims of terrorism in schools, colleges, universities and other educational institutions through inter as well as intra-party feuds, emanated from student politics. Thereby, a culture of political terrorism is being practiced in Bangladesh which encompasses domination, showdown, tender terrorism, muscle demonstration, vote rigging, extortion, attacking the rally of other political parties, vandalism, looting, killing, assassination etc. However, the country had experienced the worst forms of political terrorism perpetrated in 1975 and 1981 in which two presidents of Bangladesh including four leading political figures were assassinated. The militant political culture has paved the way of political terrorism in Bangladesh since 1980s. In order to establish a democratic Government, the then political parties had to resort to the process of Gherao (cordoning), enforcing Hartal (strike), cessation of road, rail and river route communications, blocking or cutting of roads, uprooting rail slippers, burning public and private transports, unclothing commuters etc. Bomb attack on an election campaign rally in Dhaka University in 19981, deliberate attack on an investiture rally in Rajshahi University in 1982 and killing of an innocent doctor near TSC in Dhaka University in 1990 are the manifestations of heinous political terrorism in Bangladesh. The most recent terror was perpetrated in broad day light in 28 October 2006 in Paltan maidan, where the whole world has seen the

face of barbarism of political terrorism. Also one of the most heinous terrorist acts we saw in 21 August 2004, when the lethal attack was launched by grenades lobbing on a vast rally in Dhaka leaving about 20 innocent citizens including political leader killed and hundreds injured.

3.4 Fanatical Terrorism. The history of fanatical terrorism in Bangladesh is not too far. It just had started to occur since 1999. Initially, this type of terror group used to carry out their heinous perpetration clandestinely till 17 August 2005, when they successfully exploded near simultaneous bombs in 63 out of 65 districts of Bangladesh and delivered leaflets to pronounce their coming call. Thereafter, this terrorist group, Jamaatul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) launched attacks on the lawyers and members of security personnel by suicide bombers. Their suicide bombers attacked in the courts of Jhalkathi, Gazipur and Chittagong and killed number of judges, advocates, police personnel and innocent citizens who were present there to get justice. Shaikh Abdur Rahman founded JMB in 1998 with 17/18 Madrashah students to enforce the Shariah Law of Islam; which was totally of his own brand. Later, he was joined by Siddiqui Islam Bangla vai, a cruel terrorist of North Bengal, who had emerged as the anti-outlawed terrorist groups of that area. But, they were successfully contained by the elite force Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), who finally were executed by the Government in 2007. Their remnants still are trying to organize sporadically across the country, albeit being chased by RAB continuously. The pioneer fanatic terrorist group in Bangladesh is the Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islam (HUJI) of Mufti Hannan. Allegedly an Afghan veteran, Mufti Hannan has taken maximum toll on innocent cultural and political personalities across the country. He started his heinous acts of terror in Jessore by indigenous bomb attacks on Uddichi's cultural function in March 1999. He then planted huge bombs in Kotalipara helipad to kill the then Prime Minister of Bangladesh. Thereafter, bomb blasts in Ahmedia Shrine at Khulna; on communist Party's rally at Paltan Maidan; on the Pohela Baishekh (Bangali New year day) gathering at Ramna Batamul; on Awami League Meetings at

Narayanganj took heavy toll on human lives, which allegedly were perpetrated by Huji. They also conducted simultaneous bomb explosion in all four movie houses of Mymensingh town in December 2002, just after the Eid day. The bomb attack on British high commissioner in Bangladesh at the shrine of Hazrat Shahjalal in Sylhet and grenade attacks on Awami League rally in Dhaka in 2004 were also considered to be the acts of Mufti Hannan and his terrorist group Huji. The ex-Finance Minister Shah AMS Kibria was the tragic victim of Huji's terrorist in the name of Islam.

3.5 Ethnic Terrorist. Bangladesh is bleeding since 1970s due to ethnic terrorism in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). To enforce a full autonomy over the CHT - although the hardcore group of insurgents or terrorists dreamt for an independent state – the tribal peoples formed the PCJSS (Parbattaya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samiti) included mainly the Chakmas although there are many other tribesmen living in. However, The PCJSS launched its armed wing SB (Shanti Bahini) and committed atrocities in CHT areas for about two decades. They unleashed anarchism in the hilly areas, perpetrated extortion, rape, kidnap, looting, robbing, threatening, torturing and killing the non-tribesmen etc. They also killed hundreds of security men by laying ambush or conducting raid on the routine security patrols along the far flung areas of deep forests. However, a peace accord was signed between the Bangladesh Government and the PCJSS in December 1997. But the anti-accord groups came into being and formed UPDF (United People's Democratic Front). This UPDF is frequently engaging the PCJSS in armed clashes in a bid to expand their control over the CHT areas.

3.6 Criminal Terrorism. In other words the criminal terrorism is called the conventional terrorism. As AMM Shawkat Ali argues, "Bangladesh has long lived with conventional crimes such as dacoity, robbery, murder, extortion, rape etc".³² Indeed, criminal terrorism is the most common form of terrorism being perpetrated in Bangladesh. The activities of miscreants generally cause the

overall deterioration in the law and order situation. They resort to atrocities to the general citizens to have unlawful possession over their wealth and property. The 'mastans' (ring leaders of miscreants) issue threat, perpetrate physical torture, force the innocent and weak peoples to compel them for surrendering to their ill terms and conditions. Major General (Retd) Aminul Karim argues, "Severe unemployment problem, influx of illegal weapon, a kind of patronage from some political parties as also the reported inadequate, ineffective and corrupt role of some members of the law enforcing agencies are responsible for the rise in "mastanism" in the country. Common people of Bangladesh become captives to these miscreants. Political confrontation also gives rise to terrorist activities."³³ The hijacking, abduction for ransom, acid throwing to the women and children, grabbing of land, encroaching river, khal and other khas water bodies, grabbing of weak peoples' land and house etc, have become a routine type of terror activities in Bangladesh. Thousands of peoples have been killed or maimed by becoming the victims of criminal terrorism.

3.7 Terrorism that Posing Threats to the Security of Bangladesh.

Though there are various types of terrorism causing a huge toll in terms of life and material, but the political terrorism is the most-dangerous and catastrophic for Bangladesh. The ideological terrorism is at the declining trend now a days, being substantially controlled by the law enforcing agencies. Internal feuds and constant chasing by security agencies have reduced their activities to a tolerant level. Fanatical terrorism on the other hand, is under tight controlled by RAB. They are on chase across the country and frequently being apprehended by RAB. Though, the remnants of JMB are trying to organize themselves after the execution of their six top leaders, the proactive operations of RAB continuously jeopardizing their each and every venture around the country. The ethnic terrorism has been much reduced and under strong control of the security forces through the peaceaccord signed in 1997. On the other hand, the criminal terrorism is nearly a routine matter in all the countries of the world, albeit the

intensity and gravity necessitates much more reduction in Bangladesh. Indeed, the real threat being posed to the security of Bangladesh by the political terrorism. All the hopes, dreams, potentials and possibilities of the nation have been washed away by the menace of political terrorism. The whole nation was united and fought the Pakistani occupant forces and their local collaborators in a bloody war in 1971 and secured the Liberation. But we failed measurably to follow through the achieved triumph and take the country forward towards the dreams of the noble martyr freedom fighters of the nation, for which they committed supreme sacrifice. The political edge divided the nation and emanated the politics of conflicts. A unique nation of the world having one language, strong geographic integrity, profound ethno-religious harmony and other available huge national potentials could not bring expected progress and development due to confrontational political culture only. The political clashes cause killing of innocent citizens in the broad day light, burning of public and private transport including the on board passengers for whose welfare they do politics, destruction and burning in to ashes the government as well as private properties for which safeguard they are in politics, damaging of national economy by enforcing repeated strikes. Impatience, intolerance, mutual mistrust and distrust, mutual dishonor of others' opinions and views drive the national political parties towards the political terrorism. The consequence is quite obvious that still we are in the category of least developed or underdeveloped country, our people are still fighting with hunger, national political as well as economic structure remains very weak. Therefore, it is apparent that the major threat to our security is the political terrorism; where as the other forms of terrorism is well under control or existing in a very slim intensity.

CHAPTER 4 – REGIONAL TERRORISM

- 4.1 Introduction.**
- 4.2 Ideological Terrorism.**
 - 4.2.1 India.**
 - 4.2.2 Nepal**
- 4.3 State Sponsored Terrorism.**
- 4.4 Insurgency Terrorism.**
- 4.5 Religious Terrorism.**

CHAPTER 4 – REGIONAL TERRORISM

4.1 **Introduction.** The entire South Asian region is bleeding since the partition of sub-continent in 1947, caused by terrorism. The history of use of terror as the effective weapon by the separatist elements in Indian Sub-continent is quite long. The regional countries are suffering from terrorism stemmed either from within or imposed by neighboring or other foreign countries. The big giant India's foreign policy and her mutual relationship with another regional power Pakistan are mainly emanating the terrorist's perpetration in the region. The modern terrorism expert Sanjay Hazarika articulates, "In a great arc moving across the Hindukush, the Pir Pungal of Jammu and Kashmir and the Himalayas from Afghanistan through Nepal to the Patkai range on the Indo-Myanmar border, and in small but violent pockets in Sri Lanka and its spillover in to India's Tamil Nadu State, powerfully armed movements are vigorous and active, seeking a diverse range of goals."³⁴ The Bangladeshi terrorism specialist Major General (Retd) A. T. M. Amin writes, "In India, there exist ethnic, sub-national, religious, communal and leftist ideological pressures on the state, while in Sri Lanka the tensions between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils is the root cause. Nepal has suffered decades of violence from Maoist insurgency that professed strong republican sentiments and sought the abolition of the monarchy."³⁵

4.2 **Ideological Terrorism.** The Maoism and the Naxalites are posing the most dangerous threat to the democratic governments in geographically the widest area in South Asian region. There are many terrorist groups active in the region. Most influential groups are the People's War Group (PWG) and the communist Party (Red Flag), which have the transnational agenda. It is to note that the Maoist groups have established Maoist Communist Center in Bihar, India (MCC) in order to have better coordination amongst them and to increase the volume of area, influence, activities and effectiveness. In July 2001, about ten

left-lenient extremist terrorist groups have formed a regional forum (Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organization of South Asia) encompassing Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Sri Lanka to advance the communist movement across the region. The Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organization of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) includes; Nepal's PWG, India's MCC, Purba Banglar Communist Party of Bangladesh, Communist Party of Ceylon of Sri Lanka and other Communist Parties of India. However, the ideological terrorism has caused heavy toll mainly in India, Nepal and Bangladesh.

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4.2.1 India. The Maoist threat appears to have overtaken all other insurgencies in the country from the point of geographical spread. At least 165 districts in 14 states, out of total of 602 districts in the country, were affected by various levels of Maoist mobilization and violence by the end of year 2005.³⁶ They have intensified their atrocities across the country. The Indian security and law enforcing agencies are their prime targets. On 12 June, 2009 11 police members have been killed by the Maoist attacks in 'Jharkhand' State.³⁷ Surprisingly they are planting mines along with the small arms against the cops. They have inducted female members also in the terrorist groups. The most active amongst them is the "Communist Party of India Maobadi". More than three thousand (3185) citizens have been killed by them since 2005 across India.³⁸ The Indian Government considers the Maoists and Naxalites to be the most dangerous threat to the internal security of the country. At the moment, 76 districts of 9 States are under Maoist influence.³⁹ The magnitude of the situation could be felt, while we read the Weekly Holiday, which described, "Facing a red danger from the armed communist groups, popularly known as Maoists, the Indian government last week banned the Communist Party of India (CPI-Maoists) which was formed by the unification of several leftwing outfits in 2004. The Central Home Ministry on 22 June banned the CPI (Maoist) under the

Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, calling it a terrorist organization in an immediate response to the Maoist declaring Lalgarh as their liberated zone. India's Maoists say they are fighting for the rights of neglected tribal people and landless farmers, and are now active in more than half of the country's 29 states - particularly in the east, the poorest part of India. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has described Maoists as the biggest internal security threat since independence, and this year more than 300 people, mostly police, have been killed. More than 6,000 people have died during the rebels' 20-year fight. Declaring formal ban on the rebels, India's Home Ministry said the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh should be prepared for "demonstrative acts of violence" against police, troops and "economic infrastructure."

Opposing Centre's decision to put the Maoists on the list of outlawed groups, CPM general secretary Prakash Karat said the ban would serve little purpose, and that the extremists should be combated politically and administratively. However, West Bengal's CPM chief minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee said that he would consider Centre's suggestion to ban the Maoists. West Bengal police last week remanded Gour Chakrabarty, a leading Maoist "spokesman" in custody as he defended Maoist actions in the Lalgarh area of West Bengal. On a Tuesday evening talk show on a Bengali TV channel, Chakrabarty said the Maoists were the only revolutionary group in India "capable of achieving radical social change". He said the Indian federal government was a "stooge of US imperialism" and the Communist government in Bengal "not very different". West Bengal police also charged three top Bengali artists - filmmaker Aparna Sen, theatre personalities Saonli Mitra and Kaushik Sen - with violating the Indian Penal Code by visiting the Lalgarh region of West Bengal state, where Maoist rebels are fighting paramilitary troops. A delegation of Kolkata-based intellectuals, including Aparna Sen, Kaushik

Sen and Saonli Mitra and poet Joy Goswami, visited the enclave of Lalgarh on Sunday "to gauge the situation there" and offered to mediate between the Maoists and the state government. On the ground, police fight Maoist insurgents with outdated weapons and are often outnumbered by rebels, who are skilled in jungle warfare and are well-equipped with rocket launchers, automatic rifles and explosives. The Maoists started their armed struggle in West Bengal's Naxalbari town in the late 1967, and have expanded their support among villagers. The rebels, estimated to have 22,000 fighters, operate in large parts of the eastern, central and southern countryside, are now spreading to cities and bigger towns. The Maoists, who control large parts of the impoverished east, last week enforced a two-day strike to protest against police "atrocities" in the Lalgarh area of West Bengal - where troops are battling to eject well-armed rebel fighters. The rebels said the strike they declared was in response to the "war" on people in Lalgarh, West Bengal, where security forces launched an offensive in recent days. Lalgarh had been under the virtual control of the rebels since November. But police and paramilitary troops have been attempting to consolidate their grip on the jungle enclave over which they re-established control over the weekend. After reclaiming the Lalgarh block headquarters, security forces have started combing the surrounding villages to flush out Maoists from the troubled zone in West Midnapore district. Monday's strike began a day after 11 police officers died in a rebel attack in Chhattisgarh state and two days after 16 policemen were killed in landmine blasts triggered by the Maoists in the same state. Train services were suspended in Maoist strongholds of West Bengal while Jharkhand, Bihar and Chhattisgarh reported sporadic violence during the strike. Defying the official ban, Maoists launched a daylight attack and raided the

court and collectorate of Lakhisarai district on Tuesday afternoon. They killed at least one police home guard and freed Mihir Besra, a key Maoist leader. They also snatched two rifles and a carbine from the police. The Maoists actions, however, worried the country's third-largest steel producer, JSW Steel, which is setting up a \$7-billion, 10-million tone steel plant near Lalgarh. "On top of the economic woes, you have the problem of Maoists now. It is very jittery," Biswadip Gupta, chief executive officer of the company's West Bengal operations, told Reuters on Tuesday. In mineral-rich Orissa state, bauxite production at state-run National Aluminum Co Ltd (NALCO) has fallen by 20 percent since an April attack by Maoists in one of their mines. The company has now reduced the storage of explosives at its mines, fearing attacks from the rebels. A strike by Maoists in east and central India, against police action in Lalgarh, has hit supplies of iron ore and coal. "Exports have also been hit and if supplies get cut off in this manner, at least three steel plants in the region will be greatly affected soon," according to Soumitra Majumdar, spokesman for the South Eastern Railways. Rebels sided with the violently protesting farmers, which forced the scrapping of a Tata Motors' Nano car plant and a \$3 billion chemicals hub complex in West Bengal. "Existing industry may survive, but new money will not come in very easily and investors will be very scared unless the state does something quickly to control the Maoists," Ajai Sahni of the Institute of Conflict Management, a New Delhi-based think-tank, told the Reuters.⁴⁰

4.2.2 Nepal The another hallmark of Ideological terrorism in the region is Maoist movement in Nepal. They apparently succeeded after about ten years of brutal movement, at cost of heavy toll of about 13000 lives of Nepali innocent civilians, member of armed forces and Maoist

guerrillas. The Civil War was waged between the Nepali Government Forces and Maoist Rebels. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) resorted to arms rebellion on 13 February 1996 with the aim of establishing the "People's Republic of Nepal", which continued up to 2006. Besides taking heavy toll of huge human lives, the Civil War had caused the internal displacement of about 150,000 people of Nepal. Though the atrocity was brought to an end by the enactment of a peace Agreement between the Maoist and Nepali Government on 21 November 2006, the possibility of peace in the Himalayan kingdom is very slim due to the political crises emanated from the revolution. On the other hand, the Maoists in the region would be boosted with zealotry enthusiasm by the revolutionary success in Nepal. Its far-reaching impacts have been surfaced in India mostly and in Bangladesh to some extent.

4.3 State Sponsored Terrorism. The South Asian Region is highly affected by the State Sponsored Terrorism. The blame and counter-blame of the regional states for sponsoring terrorism to each other is a very common phenomenon in the region. The small states point their finger to the bigger state, while the bigger state also directly accuses the weak neighbor for harboring the terrorists. Whatever the case may be, the hard reality orchestrated that the perpetration of terrorism is taking huge toll of human lives in the region every day. The just finished Civil War in Sri Lanka, atrocities in Kashmir, Shia-Sunni clash and Muhajir-Qaumi Movement (MQM) in Pakistan and on going terrorism in Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh are the legacies of such type of terrorist episode in South Asian counties. Thus, the region has become an area of mutual mistrust, a safe heaven for terrorists and an area of insecurity and anarchy. Brigadier General Sakhawat, in this connection argued, "Over the years politics of Bangladesh has largely been influenced by India factor even the physical security perception of Bangladesh remains to be Indo-centric. This was undoubtedly demonstrated during and after the April 2001 border clash. The relation between

two took a nosedive during Zia's regime and Indian support to the 25-year-long insurgency that cropped up in CHT in demand of autonomy by myopic minority inhabited in 1/10th area of the country. Though a peace accord was signed between the last regime and the tribal insurgents yet the situation in CHT far less than normal. The CHT issue still remains potent threat to the internal stability to the country.⁴¹ In the same book, Brigadier General Sakhwat highlighted the Sri Lankan LTTE menace. As he states, "Among other countries of SA, Sri Lanka has been the most unfortunate one. Around 1960s Sri Lanka, then Ceylon, was regarded the most prosperous country in the region. Country was counted to be an idealistic model of peace both at regional and international arena. The situation changed by 1985 when Tamil minority in Sri Lanka decided to take up arms to press home the demand of "Elam" or homeland. Clandestinely supported by then ruling party of India and Tamils living in abroad, today LTTE (Liberation Tiger of Tamil Elam) is the most fearsome insurgent groups in the world. The tenacity of these insurgents was demonstrated recently with the destruction of numbers of Air Force fighters and passenger carrier in Colombo's main airport".⁴² India on the other hand blames Pakistan for sponsoring terrorism inside India. The Indian writer Kulwant Kaur says, "It is unfortunate characteristic of international relations that terrorists do manage to find one power or another which is willing to help their movement. The dissatisfied and alienated elements in Punjab and Kashmir found Pakistan ready to give them every possible assistance. Since Pakistan have some serious ideological differences and major border conflicts including the issue of Kashmir with India, it is bent upon particularly after the emergence of Bangladesh not only to disturb and destabilize but to disintegrate India at all costs. Since the 1970s, Islamabad had been training Sikh and other Indian separatist movements as part of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's strategy of 'forward strategic depth'.⁴³ Bangladesh is also blamed by her giant neighbor for harboring the Indian separatists, though not she is not capable of doing so owing to her multifarious domestic problems. Brigadier General Sakhawat says, "Many prominent Indian 'think tank' supported by the

government, continuously chastises government of Bangladesh for fomenting unrest in these districts with the help of illegal Bangladeshi Muslim settlers in collusion with Pakistan's ISI with an ultimate aim of annexing or establishing separate Muslim state in the strategically important real estate... Bangladesh is not a power of any measure that it can support such luxurious mischief against a neighbor as giant as India is.⁴⁴ On the other hand, the ongoing state sponsored terrorism is being perpetrated by Indian Border Security Forces (BSF) regularly along the Indo-Bangladesh border on the innocent citizens of Bangladesh.

4.4 Insurgency Terrorism. The terrorists based on insurgencies have dangerously affected the South Asian region. Sri Lanka has been torn down by the LTTE insurgents for last two decades. The Government could defeat the LTTE's apparently in May 2009. But, by then about 100,000 lives were taken by the acts of terrorism and another hundreds of thousands were displaced, tortured and maimed. The SBs in CHT of Bangladesh have killed thousands of armed and unarmed citizens till treaty was signed in December 1997. In the subcontinent, India is the most sufferer country from insurgency terrorism. Almost all the states of North-Eastern India (NEI) are besieged with separatist elements. There are about 130 large and small terrorist groups are operating and challenging the presence of hundreds of thousands of security forces guarding the integrity of India. Amongst the seven sister states Assam has 27, Tripura 29, Manipur has 37 and Meghalaya has 4 active insurgent groups perpetrating terrorism across the NEI. National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) is the oldest insurgency group in independent India, which started in 1947 just after the independence. This insurgency is considered to be the mother of all insurgency in India's seven sister states at NEI. After Sino-Indian war in 1962, the Naga rebellion got new impetus. The Mizos also revolted and took up arms against the Indian Government. However, the Mizos continued their insurgency till 1986 and settled for separate statehood within union in 1987. The most active insurgency groups are all Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF) and National

Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT). In Assam United Liberation Front of Asom(ULFA) and Bodo national Democratic Front (BNDF) are the most active insurgent groups causing concern for the Indian Government. The Kashmir insurgencies have started in 1989 which is the nucleus of the Indo-Pak tension emanating security threats in whole region as the belligerents possess nuclear weapons. The main militant groups active in Kashmir are All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC), Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Hizbul Mujahidean, Lashkare-E-Taiba, Jaish-E-Mohammad etc.

4.5 Religious Terrorism. The religious terrorism is continuously threatening the internal security of India. Sometimes, it causes embarrassment to the Indian peoples as well as the government. Being the biggest secular democracy in the world, existence of multi-religio-cultural communities renders religious violence across the country. In addition to the regular intra and inter religion violence, there occurs occasional riots of huge scales. Sikh-Hindu riot in 1984 was one of most disastrous religious violence in the sub-continent. The Sikh leader Bhindranwale declared to establish Sikhism-based theocratic state of Khalistan in Punjab. A reign of terror was unleashed in Punjab by the militants who killed any one opposed Bhindranwale irrespective of religion. They occupied Golden Temple complex in Amritsar from where they started organizing terror attacks. Indian Army launched the operation "Blue Star" in June 1984 to free the Golden Temple. The Sikh religious leader Bhindranwale was killed. The independent historians say, "700 military personnel and 5000 Sikhs were killed in the operation".⁴⁵ In 31 October 1984, the Hindu-Sikh riots were sparked with the assassination of Indira Gandhi by her two Sikh bodyguards across India. For the next four days about 3100 Sikhs were murdered in retaliatory attacks.⁴⁶ Hindu-Muslim riots are another great challenge for the Indian Government since its inception as an Independent state in 1947. The emergence of the Vishya Hindu Parishad, "Bajrang Dal" has shed more tension in the prevailing strain relation between the two communities. Babri Mosque riots, Mumbai bombing, Godhra

Train burning and 2002 Gujarat violence are the recent orchestrations of Hindu-Muslim riots. On 6 December 1992, the dispute over the Babri Mosque reached to the pick and the Hindu Nationalists demolished the Mosque through a huge demonstration of 1,50,000 strong rally. The Hindu-Muslim riot then broke out causing the death of more than 2000 people.⁴⁷ This riot caused 200,000 peoples' dislocation. It is believed that the retaliatory attack launched by Dawood Ibrahim in Bombay as the aftermath of Babri Mosque demolition on March 12, 1993. A series of thirteen bomb explosions in Mumbai resulted 250 civilians killed and 700 injured. On 27 February 2002, an accidental fire in a coach of Godhra train caused the death of 58 Hindu Pilgrims. But it had flared up the Hindu-Muslim riots in Gujarat took a toll of about 2000 people mostly Muslims. The violence has displaced about tens of thousands of people. The Jihadists in Kashmir notified the Hindus to leave Kashmir within 24 hours or remained prepared to die and conducted the street show down with Ak-47s. It caused about 300,000 pundits to migrate outside Kashmir. Between September 1989 to 1990 approximately 300 pundits were killed in Kashmir.⁴⁸ The recent incident of raping two Muslim girls and killing those by the security forces' members in Kashmir also the orchestration of regular religious terrorism being perpetrated in Kashmir. The anti-Christian Violence is also a matter of great concern in India. There are reports that anti-Christian terrorism has been intensified in the recent days. Regular such violence is causing the murders of innocent lives, destruction of Christian schools, colleges, houses and Churches across India.

CHAPTER 5- GLOBALIZATION OF TERRORISM

- 5.1 Introduction.**
- 5.2 Genesis of Global Terrorism.**
- 5.3 Globalization of Terrorism.**
- 5.4 Global Terrorism in Middle Eastern Perspective.**
- 5.5 Libyan Terrorism.**
- 5.6 Global Jihad of Al Qaeda.**
- 5.7 Global War on Terror.**

CHAPTER 5- GLOBALIZATION OF TERRORISM

5.1 **Introduction.** With the process of globalization, the principle feature and nature of terrorism have been changed drastically. The terrorists' motivation, purpose, tactics, methods, selection of targets, lethality of perpetration, capability to reach the target and weapons of attack have gone far modernized, sophisticated and globalized. The terrorist groups' motivation in 1970s was primarily political. Their targets had been key political figures and industrial leaders, which reflected the Marxist orientation. Their tactics and methods of perpetration were hostage-taking, hijacking, using explosives, small arms, ransom and blackmail. During 1980s, the motivation of terrorist groups was primarily liberation and secession. Their targets had been aircrafts, industry, judicial systems and national leaders. The tactics they had adopted were semtex, truck bombs and chemical weapons. The terrorist groups that set up during 1990s primarily exploited the religious sentiment, albeit their aim and method was completely geo-political. However, mass casualty and indiscriminate killings of innocent unarmed civilians was the main feature of terrorism in this period. They secured high technological sophistication, utilized modern system of information superhighway to maintain the chain of command as well as complex financial and logistic net works. Indeed, till to date they are characterized by experts as being fluid, transient, multinational and religious ideological. Rex A. Hudson argues, "Increasingly, terrorist groups are recruiting members with expertise in fields such as communications, computer programming, engineering, finance, and the sciences. Ramzi Yousef graduated from Britain's Swansea University with a degree in Engineering. Aum Shinrikyo's Shoko Asahara recruited a scientific team with all the expertise needed to develop WMD. Osama bin Laden also recruited highly skilled professionals in the fields of engineering, medicine, chemistry, physics, computer programming, communications, and so forth. Where as the skills of the elite terrorist commandos of the 1960s were often limited to what they learned in training camps, the terrorists of the 1990s

who have carried out major operations included biologists, chemists, computer specialists, engineering and physicists.”⁴⁹

5.2 Genesis of Global Terrorism. The genesis of global terrorism could be traced back to the 1870s, when Bakuninist Anarchist was active in Europe. The Japanese United Red Army with its professed aim of “world revolution” was another hallmark of globalization of terrorism. Since the Second World War, there have been more than 200 significant international outbreaks of violence; more than 90 percent of those conflicts were caused by the covert or indirect foreign intervention. Sharda Jain writes, “Many scholars have blamed communist countries, particularly former U.S.S.R., for their involvement in most of terrorist operations and guerrilla movements anywhere in the world, including non-communist operations and movements, for, according to them, communist parties and governments always stand ready to exploit disorder in Europe, Middle East, Latin America and elsewhere. But there is no dearth of research studies exposing Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other secret agencies playing the same game as KGB. Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman’s study is an anti-thesis of ‘the soviet connection’ thesis which reveals U.S. involvement in many Latin American and Asian countries in providing equipment, training and other tacit support to these countries. The American policy of funding and arming the Nicaraguan contra as closely matches the tactics of state sponsored terrorism. “When, on 12 November, 1981, the Secretary of State Alexander Haig was asked by members of congressional committee on Foreign Affairs if he would give an assurance that the US would not become involved in attempts to over throw or destabilize the Nicaraguan government, he replied; “No, I would not give you such an assurance. This example of state sponsored terrorism can be explained further by quoting the Majority Leader of House of Representatives, James wright, who said in July 1983, “Those whom we have recruited, trained, financed, equipped and sent into that country, state unequivocally that their purpose is to over through the government of that country. For us to say that it

is otherwise really is to evade the fact, because what we have done, quite frankly, has been to finance an invasion from outside of a sovereign country.”⁵⁰

5.3 Globalization of Terrorism. Perpetration of terrorism began at individual level over the dispute of personal or private interests. Gradually it had been spread in the society, villages, towns, cities a finally across a country during the ancient days. In the modern days, the terrorism has engulfed the entire world. It has emerged as a menace in modern world. Today, the world is simply a small international community. What affects a society directly or indirectly influences the another society. In the field of business, military, education, economy, communication and information the entire earth has been transformed into one global village. This process of globalization connotes the use of violence by a dissident group or nation to avenge against the actions of a powerful state in another country allied to that state to achieve a stated mission. It is like Iraq’s use of scud missiles against Israel during the Gulf War, Albeit Israel was not at war with Iraq. Therefore, Iraq’s launching of scud at Israel, the ally of America had proved that the world is vilagized or globalized due to the availability of technological weapons. The near-simultaneous attacks on U.S. embassies at Kenya and Tanzania orchestrated the impact of global terrorism. There, the terrorists were angry with the Americans but the maximum victims were the Africans without any connection neither with terrorist not with Americans. In retaliation, the U.S. Tomahawk cruise missile destroyed Sudanese pharmaceutical factory which used to produce 50 percent of the Sudanese medicine. Though “a highly classified Pentagon review concludes that the decision to bomb was based on bad intelligence”,⁵¹ the sufferers were the workers of the factory and innocent patients of Sudan, who did not know anything about the embassy bombings.

5.4 Global Terrorism in Middle Eastern Perspective. Indeed, the chronological geo-political development in the Middle-East is the point of initiation of today's global terrorism. Though the creation of Israel in 1948 flared up the process of Arab-Israel terrorism, the Jewish terrorism unleashed in July 1, 1924 with the assassination of the Dutch Jewish novelist, poet, lawyer and legal scholar Jacob Israel de Haan. An irregular militia force, the Haganah, the precursor of modern Israeli defence Forces killed De Haan as he wanted a peaceful negotiated settlement with the Arabs for the recognition of a Jewish state and the establishment of an official Palestinian state in Jordan within a federation. Later the militant group Haganah shaded another terrorist group "Irgun" in 1931, and "Irgun" also further splintered off to form "Lehi" or "Stern Gang" in 1940. Thereafter, these three terrorist gangs, as noted by Scott Bidstrup, "operated with little restraint, targeting Arab civilians, often setting up snipers to shoot at innocent Arab civilians waiting at bus stops, shopping in the other public places. The deaths of innocent Palestinian Arabs began to mount."⁵² The Irgun perpetrated about sixty terror attacks and killed 250 Palestinian Arabs during the Arab Revolt from 1936 to 1939. Irgun also carried out hundreds of attacks on British installations and posts to expel the British government from Palestine. They intensified their heinous acts of terror extensively and caused huge toll over the British cops and innocent Palestinian Arab civilians during 1944 to 1948. Those perpetrations include: the assassination of Lord Moyne in November 6, 1944 by stern Gang; the bombing of the king David Hotel by Irgun in July 2, 1946 to kill 91 personnel including 41 Arabs; the bombing of the British Embassy in Rome by the Irgun on October 31, 1946; the bombing of the central police station in Haifa of Palestine by stern Gang which killed four and injured 140 on January 12, 1947; blowing up of the Sarona police barracks in Tel Aviv on April 1947 by Stern Gang and killed five cops; Murdering of two British Sergeants by Irgun in July 25, 1947; bombing of New Seray Building in Jaffa by Stern Gang to kill 26 Palestinians and injured hundreds of them including children on January 4, 1948; Planting of mines on Cairo-Haifa rail track by Stern Gang which killed 28

soldiers, wounded 35 on February 21, 1948 and also killed 40 civilians and injured 60 on March 1, 1948; massacre of 260 Arab civilians by Irgun and Stern Gang during April 9-11, 1948 causing the flight of 750,000 Palestinians from their homes. Finally, Israel was born as an independent sovereign nation in 1948, while the Palestinians were deprived of their territorial rights. Thus a nation state had been emerged through terrorism and atrocities which generated terrorism across the globe. Loosing the homelands and fore fathers' properties the Palestinian revolted and the adopted the Jewish tactics of terrorism which they followed since 1924 to 1948. The usual repercussion across the Arab world caused many neighboring Arab states to show sympathy towards Palestinians. It had caused three Arab-Israel war in which USA directly supported Israel. Meanwhile, Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed to combat the Jewish occupation in Palestine, where PLO adopted the weaker's tactics of terrorism. Israel also retaliated with terror of high magnitude in the name of counter-terrorism tactics. IDF resorted to indiscriminate aerial bombing, launching guided and precision missiles to kill innocent Palestinian civilians, woman and children. It instigated the Palestinians to adopt the tactics of suicidal attacks, launching rockets and attacking Israeli interests outside Palestine like the Munich Olympic killings in Germany. Thus, the entire Middle-East become an active area of terror and the terrorism was taking the shape of borderless operation. However, there was a temporary lull after the peace agreement between PLO and Israel in late 1980s. Meanwhile, a new militant group the Hamas emerged in 1987 to liberate Palestine from Israeli occupation. Thereafter, terrorism and counter-terrorism continued till to date inflicting huge human casualties and damaging the infrastructure and mass properties. The systematic massacre of innocent civilians including women and children conducted by Israeli Armed Forces in Palestine attracted the global attention less the American administration. During 1980s, another militant group came into being named Hizbullah in Lebanon to protest the US and Israeli policy in Lebanon. They also locked themselves in terror and counter terror activities with IDF. To eliminate

this Hizbullah IDF carried out indiscriminate aerial bombing and launched missiles in Lebanon cities and villages for forty days in 2006. The resultant massacre brought only a huge disaster in Lebanon.

5.5 Libyan Terrorism. Another landmark in the arena of Global terrorism is the case of Libyan terror activities. The Revolutionary Command Council of Libyan government under the leadership of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi had adopted radical ideology and an aggressive foreign policy. They started spreading terrorism as far as Europe and America besides the Middle East during early 1980s. Gaddafi has emerged as a sworn enemy of the US, her allies and Zionism. He organized a mercenary force called 'Islamic Legion' and set up guerrilla training camps in Libya to support the IRA. The USA had also adopted a terrorist tactics to counter the Libyan terrorism by missile attack on Gaddafi's residence in 1986.

5.6 Global Jihad of Al Qaeda. Basically, Al Qaeda is the legacy of American secret operations of CIA and Inter services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan in Afghanistan to defeat Soviet occupation since 1979 through 1989. To combat Soviet invasion in Afghanistan CIA organized the Afghan Warlords with the direct help of ISI and financial supports from Saudi Arabia. They jointly recruited jihadists from Muslim countries across the world, trained and equipped them for the resistance war against Soviet Forces. In this connection a Saudi professor Abdullah Azzam, the believer of establishing shariah law globally had founded 'Makhtabah-Al-khidmat' to recruit volunteers and raise funds for the Afghan resistance war all over the world. His disciple Osama Bin Laden (OBL) joined Makhtab-Al-Khidmat in 1980 and very soon became a key personality in the organization. This role provided OBL with the opportunities to establish a global network of contacts with radical Islamic groups and spread his zealotry ideas of global jihad. On the other hand, the Egyptian radical Islamic group, Al-Jihad's leader Ayman Zawahir also came to Afghanistan in 1980 to participate in

the Afghan jihad and contacted OBL. Primarily, OBL and Azzam founded Al Qaeda in 1989 in Afghanistan to keep "alive the Jihadist spirit among Muslims in General, and Arabs in particular, by opening bases for their Jihad along with maintaining contact lines with them," after the Afghan war against the Soviet ended. It initially sought to raise money, facilitate travel for jihad, provide training and offer logistics.⁵³ But the assassination of Azzam in 1989, OBL took over and Zawahiri became the deputy leader of Al Qaeda. Thereafter, OBL decided to carry out jihad across the Muslim world to overthrow corrupt Muslim regimes and relieving the oppressed Muslim brethren. He blamed USA for backing Israel, for causing starvation of the people of Iraq through sanctions and demanded withdrawal of American troops from the holy soil of Arabian Peninsula. "On August 23, 1996, in the mountains of the Hindu Kush, Osama Bin Laden signed and published a declaration of jihad entitled: Message of Osama Bin Laden to his Muslim brothers around the world and especially in the Arabian Peninsula, declaration of holy war against the Americans occupying the land of the two holy mosques; expulsion of the heretics from mosques; expulsion of the heretics from the Arabian Peninsula... The declaration of jihad contains statements declaring that efforts should be united to kill Americans and to encourage others to join the jihad against the American enemy."⁵⁴ In February 1998, Bin Laden and a group of leading fellow extremists declared that it is the duty of all Muslims to kill Americans, including civilians and their allies, whenever, the opportunity arises.⁵⁵ Six months later, on the morning of August 7, 1998, the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed and killed 224 people including 12 Americans. Instantly the blame went on Al Qaeda though they did not shoulder the responsibility. In this connection OBL stated, "I gave no orders (for the attacks in East Africa), but I am very happy about what happened to the Americans there... If the Americans kill little children in Palestine and innocents in Iraq, and if the majority of Americans support that perverted president, that means that the American people are at war with us and that we have the right to take them as targets... The doctors of the faith have issued a

fatwa against any American who pays taxes to his government. He has become our target because he is providing assistance to the American war machine against the Muslim nation."⁵⁶ In retaliation, U.S cruise missile destroyed a Sudanese Pharmaceutical factory and a hilly camp in Afghanistan considering the OBL's suspected den. But the attacks not only missed the target, it also instigated Taliban regime to cement her ties with Al Qaeda, while they had still some differences. OBL then permanently established his headquarters in Afghanistan. Finally, the heinous attacks on Twin Tower and Pentagon on 9/11, 2001, killed 3000 people in New York. Naturally, the Al Qaeda and its mentor OBL was made responsible for the notorious terrorist attacks, though OBL refused the responsibility.

5.7 Global War on Terror. The heinous attacks on Twin Tower in New York on 11 September 2001 had caused the war on terror across the earth. The war initiated by U.S in retaliation to the Twin Tower attacks engulfed the entire global village. The U.S diplomatic efforts convinced the Western world to believe that Al Qaeda led by OBL was solely responsible for the catastrophic attacks, though she failed to produce substantial proof or evidence. Thereafter, U.S unilaterally attacked Afghanistan to punish the Taliban regime for harboring OBL and his Al Qaeda network on 7 October 2001. The world's only super-power's all out attack had enforced the fall of the then world's weakest regime of Afghanistan within less than two months of time. OBL, the king pin had disappeared simultaneously for ever, though the U.S Administration still did not declare his death. Hamid Karzai, a man of American choice has been installed as the president of Afghanistan, while war on terror in Afghanistan was kept on to flush out the Al Qaeda friendly Talibans off Afghanistan. They carried out indiscriminate aerial bombing, strafing, launched missiles, precision bombs, rockets, and cluster bombs in civilian as well as military and hilly areas on the suspected targets of their own choice. Thousands of American and NATO soldiers poured in Afghanistan and launched offensives on Taliban militants and on

unarmed suspected Taliban. They conducted searches in every possible Taliban hideouts and houses in villages and townships to apprehend the potential Taliban suspects. Thus, hundreds of thousands of Afghans have been killed, maimed and wounded. Another several millions were displaced. The war on terror is being continued in Afghanistan for about eight years without any substantial achievement on the side of Americans. Rather, it is getting more and more global shape very rapidly. The nuclear powered state Pakistan has been made involved in waging the war against terrorism. The U.S drone attacks on the Pakistani tribal areas near Afghan borders to suspected Taliban and their sympathizers stimulated Posthun war lords to fight back the Americans and Pakistani Forces. Meanwhile, the Taliban are spilled over in the areas and posing potential threats to be armed with nuclear weapons in Pakistan. On the other hand, the indiscriminate killings of unarmed civilians, women and children in Afghanistan and Pakistan by U.S drone attacks is shaping the popular support against the U.S war on terror around the Muslim world. The Pakistan's war on terror led her to wage a long drawn war against her own citizens. It would cause the emergence of a weak Pakistan, meaning an imbalance power equation in the subcontinent. An imbalance state in the region may inspire China to be involved in the regional events where a super power conflict would be initiated. Simultaneously, the ongoing repression and persecution on the Taliban and other Muslim communities would cause substantial repercussion across the Muslim world and led the world towards a protracted war on terror. The U.S.A and Western powers are also waging the war on global terrorism together in Iraq, basing on false allegations. The Bush Administration alleged that Iraq possessed the weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD). They also blamed Saddam to had collaboration with OBL in 9/11 attacks, where three thousand Americans were killed. Therefore, Anglo-American Forces invaded Iraq in March 2003. The Saddam regime had collapsed within a month and Iraq was occupied. President Bush declared the victory in Iraq in April 2003, but till to date the Iraqis are combating their insurgency operations. The occupation forces' soldiers are becoming the targets

of Iraqis' attacks regularly. The Joint forces allegedly established there a reign of terror. Their perpetrations of terrorism in Iraq are some of the worst war crimes like raping, killing and burning of civilian targets, and also let alone shooting cold-bloodedly at any one. Besides, prisoner persecution in number of concentration camps or jails across Iraq is a well-known event to the world. About fifty thousand apprehended youths are subject to such kind of terrorism in Iraq. The Abu Gharib jail incident is the case in point. Besides, non-judicial killing of Iraqi and Afghan suspected terrorists, torture cells in Guantanamo Bay and Bagram jail are the orchestrations of U.S state terrorism in global perspective. To wage the global war on terror in Iraq since 2003, about one million Iraqis and 4,634 American and other Western troops have been killed.⁵⁷ Therefore, Professor Noam Chomsky accused U.S.A of global terrorism. He argues, "Washington in the center of global state terrorism and has been for years."⁵⁸ Habib Siddiqui tries to draw a pen picture of U.S manifestation of global terrorism in the weekly Holiday of 13th June, 2008. He argues, "The specific allegations of state terrorism against America include dropping of atom bombs in Japan (1945), arming anti-castro groups in Cuba (1959 to present), aiding the contras in Nicaragua (1979-900; toppling the popular nationalist government of Musaddeq in Iran (1953) and controlling the state apparatus through shah's notorious Savak for the next quarter of a century, and covert attempts through terrorist organizations like the MEK and Jundullah to topple the Islamic regime since 1979; overthrow of the Guzman government in Guatemala in 1954 and controlling state apparatus for the next four decades; overthrow of the Allende government in Chile in 1973, and aiding the repressive Pinochet government until 1990; aiding the repressive government in El Salvador (1980-1992) that killed 75,000 people; assassination campaign in 1985 against Shaykh Hossein Fadlallah of Lebanon, which killed, instead, 81 civilians. It is also known that American aided groups like the Iraqi National Accord of Dr. Iyad Alawi (between 1992 and 1995) for bombing and sabotage campaigns against Saddam Hussein's government in Iraq and the Iraqi National Congress of Dr. Ahmed Cahaba to

topple the regime. Add to this list, America's current activities against the leftist government in Venezuela and Guatemala."⁵⁹ John Pilger writes, " More terrorists are given training and sanctuary in the United States than anywhere on the earth."⁶⁰ Arno Mayer, Emeritus Professor of History at Princeton University labeled U.S.A as the chief and pioneer state terror. He states, 'since' 1947 America has been the chief and pioneering perpetrator of "Preemptive" state terror, exclusively in the Third World and therefore widely dissembled. Besides the unexceptional subversion and overthrow of governments in competition with the Soviet Union during the Cold War, Washington has resorted to political assassinations, surrogate death squads and unseemly freedom fighters (e.g. Bin Laden). It masterminded the killing of Lumumba and Allende; and it unsuccessfully tried to put to death Castro, Khadafi, Saddam Hussein (and Bin Laden?). These "rouge" actions worsened local political and economic conditions and were of a piece with equally unscrupulous blockades, embargoes, military interventions, punitive air (missiles) strikes and kidnappings, always in the name of democracy, liberty and justice. To be sure, for some of these actions America secured the sanctions of the United Nations and the collaboration of NATO allies. At the same time, however, Washington refused to pay its dues to the United Nations, defied the nascent international Criminal Court and condoned Israel's violation of international agreements and UN resolutions as well as its practice of preemptive state terror."⁶¹

CHAPTER 6 – SEARCHING THE ROOTS OF TERRORISM

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CHAPTER 6 – SEARCHING THE ROOTS OF TERRORISM

6.1 **Introduction.** Combating terrorism without understanding its underlying causes is just like hitting around the bush. If the sources of motivation for the terrorists were not addressed, all kinds of efforts to eliminate terrorism would fail to bring any positive result. Terrorists indeed, are generally driven to perpetrate acts of terrorism by variety of motives- rationale or irrational- in which extreme forms of violence are utilized to express and redress specific grievances and demands. Root causes are the factors and circumstances underlying insurgencies that radicalize and drive terrorists, whether they are consciously or unconsciously aware of these root causes into carrying out their violent actions.⁶² Root causes consist of multiple combinations of factors and circumstances, ranging from general to specific, global, regional, or local, governmental regime, societal or individual levels, structural or psychological, dynamic or static, facilitating or triggering or other possible variations, some of which may be more important and fundamental than others.⁶³ Therefore, to combat terrorism it is essential to research and systematically map the spectrum of root causes underlying a rebellion's origins, grievances and demands. Such mapping of root causes may product the knowledge and insight which could be utilized as tools and instruments to formulate appropriate responses that would be most effective in terminating a terrorist insurgency; may be through peacefully, militarily, by law enforcement, or through a combination of those measures. In reality the elementary causes which yield terrorism is almost same in every level namely, domestic, regional and global arena, though there are variations pervasive in scale, magnitude, lethality and volume. Probably the practice of "injustice" is the key to any kind of terrorism. All other factors or causes for the perpetration of terrorism are attributed to the central reason "injustice". Primarily, transgression of the perimeter of the just line motivates an individual or group or community to adopt a terror means for realizing justice. Thereafter, the other root causes are surfaced as substantial preconditions or circumstances to encourage the

terrorists to carry out their perpetrations. The potential preconditions are as follows:

6.1.1 Weakness in democratic process and lack of rule of law shed many forms of domestic terrorism. The terrorist groups or individual finds their easy space in such kind of states. Political violence and anarchism cause to unleash governmental coercion and systematic persecution on the citizens indiscriminately.

6.1.2 Weak states are unable to exercise the territorial control and maintain a monopoly of violence. Therefore, the terrorist organizations may exploit that weakness to establish safe heavens, training facilities and bases for launching terrorist operations.

6.1.3 Ideological extremism – religious or secular- may also cause the acts of terrorism. Ideology is being exploited or abused to achieve political or personal goals through violence and atrocities.

6.1.4 Power of Dominance is another cause of terrorism. An overwhelming local or international power enforces its terms on the weak opposition through physical strength directly or indirectly. The weaker opposition then finds no other alternative and resort to means of terrorism or insurgency for defending his cause.

6.1.5 Corruption causes terrorism at every level. A corrupt government breeds terrorism in the society through disbursement of huge black money. The black money brings unauthorized small arms, explosives and drugs which are used by domestic, regional and international terrors.

6.1.6 Foreign interference often generates terrorism in a second or third country. Such kind of circumstance arises when an external support is rendered to an illegitimate government for serving the political and economic interests of the related foreign sponsor. This is always viewed as the foreign domination through the puppet regimes of a country.

6.1.7 Repression is one of the most common reasons of terrorism in the domestic as well as international arena. At the domestic level the incumbent government carries out organized repression on the opposition bloc which also resorts to terrorist tactics in retaliation. Social repression by local leaders or Mastans (the local musclemen) may also give rise to terrorism. Repression enforced by colonial powers had brought liberation movements or insurgencies in many countries that waged wars through terrorist tactics.

6.1.8 Religious or ethnic discrimination could be one of the root causes of domestic, regional and global form of terrorism. When minorities or communities of one particular religion or ethnic origin are repressed, tortured, and deprived of their rights to equal social as well as economic opportunities, then they resort to violent resistance or retaliation in the form of terrorism.

6.1.9 The Social injustice is the prime motivating factor behind all types of terrorism. Cumulative social injustice leads an individual, a group, or a community towards the violent revolt through atrocity or terrorism, even at transnational horizon.

6.1.10 Emergence of a Charismatic leader sometimes plays a key role in arising a reign of terror around him, even at global perspective. This leader effectively transforms widespread grievances and frustrations into a

political agenda for violent struggle. A terrorist group then is forged keeping him at the nucleus and carry out insurgency or terrorist operations.

6.1.11 Triggering events are the direct precipitators of terrorist acts. Such a trigger can be an outrageous act committed by the enemy, lost wars, massacres, contested elections, police brutality, or other proactive events that call for revenge or action. Even peace talks may trigger terrorist action by spoilers on both sides.⁶⁴

6.2 There are also difference of opinions amongst the scholars about the causes of terrorism. Indeed the causes vary according to time, space, situation, location, environment, socio-economical and politico-religious condition. Some of those causes are spelt out site as under:

The Causes of Terrorism Change with Political Winds

The causes of terrorism are seemed to be almost impossible for anyone to define. Because, the terrorists in different periods spell out different explanations. The scholars' ideas change over time too, as new trends in academic thinking take hold. Many writers begin statements about "the causes of terrorism" as if terrorism were a scientific phenomenon whose characteristics are fixed for all time, like the 'causes' of a disease, or the 'causes' of rock formations. Terrorism is not a natural phenomenon though. It is the name given by people about other people's actions in the social world. Both the terrorists and terrorism's explainers are influenced by dominant trends in political as well as scholarly thought. Terrorists—people who threaten or use violence against civilians with the hope of changing the status quo—perceive the status quo in ways that accord with the era they live in. People who explain terrorism are also

influenced by prominent trends in their professions. These trends change over period of time.

Socialism as a Cause (1920s - 1930s)

In the early 20th century, terrorists have justified their act of violence in the name of anarchism, socialism and communism. Socialism was becoming a dominant way for many people to explain the political and economic injustice they saw developing in capitalist societies, and for defining a solution. Millions of people have expressed their commitment to a socialist future without violence, but a small number of people in the world thought violence was needed.

Nationalism as a Cause (1950s - 1980s)

From 1950s to 1980s, the terrorist violence tended to have a nationalist component. Terrorist violence in these years reflected the post-World War II trend, in which previously suppressed nations perpetrated violence against the states that had not given them a voice in the political process. Algerian terrorism against French rule; Basque violence against the Spanish regime; Kurdish actions against Turkey; the Black Panthers and Puerto Rican militants in the United States all had sought a version of independence from oppressive rule. Scholars in this period began seeking to understand terrorism in psychological terms. They wanted to find out what motivated individual terrorists. This is related to the rise of psychology and psychiatry in other related realms, such as criminal justice.

Religious Justifications as a Cause (1980s – Today)

In the 1980s and 1990s, terrorism began to surface in the repertoire of right-wing, neo-Nazi or neo-fascist, racist groups. Like the terrorists that preceded them, these violent groups reflected the extreme edge of a broader and not-necessarily violent backlash against developments during the civil rights era. White, Western European or American men, in particular, grew fearful of a world beginning to grant recognition, political rights, economic franchise and freedom of movement (in the form of immigration) to ethnic minorities and women, who might seem to be taking their jobs and position. In Europe and the United States, as well as elsewhere, the 1980s represented a time when the welfare state had been expanded in the United States and Europe; the agitation of the civil rights movement had produced results, and globalization, in the form of multi-national corporations, had gotten underway, producing economic dislocation amongst many who depended on manufacturing for a living. Timothy McVeigh's bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building, the most lethal terrorist attack in the U.S. until the 9/11 attacks, exemplified this trend.

In the Middle East, a similar swing toward conservatism was taking hold in the 1980s and 1990s, although it had a different face than it did in Western democracies. The secular, socialist framework that had been dominant the world over—from Cuba to Chicago to Cairo—faded after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and the death in 1970 of Egyptian president Gamal Abd Al Nasser. The failure in the 1967 war was a big blow—it disillusioned Arabs about the entire era of Arab socialism.

Economic dislocations because of the Gulf War in the 1990s caused many Palestinian, Egyptian and other men working in the Persian Gulf to

lose their jobs. When they returned back home, they found women had assumed their roles in households and jobs. Religious conservatism, including the idea that women should be modest and not work outside the house, took hold in this atmosphere. In this way, both West and East have seen a rise in fundamentalism in the 1990s. Terrorism scholars started to notice this rise in religious language and sensibility in terrorism as well. The Japanese Aum Shinrikyo, Islamic Jihad in Egypt, and groups such as the Army of God in the United States started to use religion to justify their brand of violence. Religion is thus the primary way that terrorism is explained today.

Future: Environment as a Cause

New types of terrorism and new explanations are underway, however. Special interest terrorism is used today to describe people and groups who commit violence on behalf of a very specific cause. These are often environmental in nature. Some predict the rise of 'green' terrorism in Europe--violent sabotage on behalf of environmental policy. Animal rights activists have also revealed a fringe violent edge. Just as in earlier eras, these forms of violence mimic the dominant concerns of our time across the political spectrum.

There Are Two Causes of Terrorism

Some security analysts opine that all terrorist acts are motivated mainly by two things:

- a. **Social and political injustice:** People choose terrorism when they are trying to right what they perceive to be a social or political or historical wrong—when they have been stripped of their land or rights, or denied these.

- b. **The belief that violence or its threat will be effective, and usher in change:** The belief that violent means justify the ends. Many terrorists in history said sincerely that they chose violence after long deliberation, because they felt they had no choice.

This explanation of the causes of terrorism may be difficult to swallow. It sounds too simple, or too theoretical. However, if we look at any group that is widely understood as a terrorist group, we shall find these two elements are basic to their story.

- a. Zionists who bombed British targets in 1930s mandate Palestine felt they must do so to create a Jewish state.
- b. The IRA bombed English targets in the 1980s because they felt that their land was colonized by British imperialists.
- c. In the 1960s and 1970s, the PFLP felt that armed attacks on Israelis were a justifiable response to the usurpation of their land.
- d. OBL declaration of attack on American interests across the world in the 1990s stemmed from his belief that U.S. troops stationed in Saudi Arabia represented an abomination to the kind of Islamic state he believed should exist in the Arabian peninsula.
- e. Uighur Separatists in China today feel that Chinese Government's religious repression (the Uighur Chinese are Muslims) justifies their militant tactics.
- f. In some cases, people resort to terrorist tactics based on a cause whose righteousness they believe in to the exclusion of nearly all else. Abortion clinic bombers in the 1990s and groups

such as the Animal Liberation Front believe zealously in their causes.

People who choose terrorist tactics are also persuaded that violence, or the threat of violence, is effective. There is some question about who actually 'chooses' terrorism, and it may be unfair to think of young recruits, such as some suicide bombers today, who are seduced by cult-like methods of indoctrination as completely culpable for their choices. In fact, the question, "what causes terrorism?" is not quite the right question to be asking. Because, the presence of one factor provokes terrorism in the same way that we can not be said with scientific certainty like certain toxins cause diseases. Then what are the conditions in which terrorism is most likely to take place? Sometimes these conditions have to do with the ones who become terrorists (they are described as having certain psychological traits, like 'narcissistic rage') and some conditions have to do with the circumstances they live in (a poor society; a formerly colonized society, for example).

Albeit many people today believe that that religious fanaticism "causes" terrorism, it is not true. It might be a fact that religious fanaticism creates conditions that are favorable for terrorism. But it is known that religious zealotry does not 'cause' terrorism because there are many religious fanatics who do not perpetrate terrorism or any form of violence. So there must also be other conditions that in combination inspire some people to see terrorism as an effective way of creating change in their world.

There are two reasons why asking, "What conditions create a favorable climate for terrorism?" is better than asking about the causes of terrorism. The first is; it is easy to remember that there are always at

least several conditions. Terrorism is a complex phenomenon; it is a specific kind of political violence committed by people who do not have legitimate army at their disposal. A second reason is that thinking in terms of 'conditions' helps remember that people have a choice about whether to use violence.

There is nothing inside any person nor in their circumstances that sends them—like a monopoly piece headed directly to "Go"—directly to the means of terrorism. Instead, there are certain conditions, some of which make violence against civilians seem reasonable, or even a necessary option. Despite this, and some of the deeply unforgivable circumstances that foster terrorism, people always have the free will to seek an alternative course of action.

Now a days, there is a widely asked question, Is Suicidal Terrorism Religiously Motivated? The credible researchers agree that "religion" neither causes nor explains suicide terrorism. There are several reasons for this. First, not all suicide terrorists are religious. In fact, the secular Sri Lankan Tamil Tigers (LTTE) have committed more suicide attacks since the 1980s than any other religious group. Secondly, when we look closely on the context in which suicide attacks take place, there are always particular grievances or perceived grievances come into play that also explain the decision to use the tactic. For example, Hamas, an Islamist Palestinian group, has a clearly Islamic identity. But their goal, which is to establish an Islamist state in the West Bank and Gaza, cannot be divorced from the political conflict between Israel and Palestine from which it springs. Thirdly, when thinking about the possible relationship of religion to suicide terrorism, one should distinct between the group and individual suicide bombers. As Robert Pape, who has comprehensively studied

patterns in suicide terrorism, points out, individual attackers may be motivated by religion, but groups have strategic military goals.

In other words, religious rhetoric may help persuade the suicidal attackers that their cause is either necessary or noble, and that glorifies or renames suicide as martyrdom, but it does not explain why suicide attackers choose that particular tactic.

In October, 2005, Dr. Pape was interviewed at a roundtable discussion sponsored by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life about his research conclusions on whether Islamic extremism motivates terrorism. Pape discussed his findings with his interviewer. The conventional wisdom is that suicidal terrorism is motivated by religious fanaticism - religious hatred combined with the hope of a martyr's paradise in the life hereafter. Pape argues that the conventional wisdom is mostly wrong. He says that suicide terrorism is not mainly the product of Islamic fundamentalism or any other evil ideology independent of circumstance. He indeed has studied 462 suicide terrorists; over half of them are secular in ideology. The world leader in suicide terrorism is the LTTE of Sri Lanka – they are basically a Marxist group, a secular group, a Hindu group. The history displays that Tamil Tigers have committed more suicidal attacks than Hamas or Islamic Jihad. Instead, what more than 95 percent of all suicide terrorist attacks since 1980 have in common is not religious, but for a specific secular goal i.e. to compel modern democracies to withdraw military forces from the territory the terrorists view as their homeland. In Lebanon, Chechnya, Kashmir, Sri Lanka, and in the West Bank, every suicide terrorist campaign since 1980 has had as its main objective to compel the democratic state to withdraw combat forces from territory that the terrorists prize.

Whether the poverty causes terrorism or not, that may also be a question in point. Many scholars think that economic causes are substantial to spread terrorism, which always may not be true in reality.

It seems almost intuitive to explain terrorism—especially suicide bombing—in terms of poverty and lack of education. Who, but someone desperate, without more fruitful opportunities before them, would so willingly relinquish his own life, which is the most precious to himself? This claim can frequently be heard by policy makers or others seeking to influence over international aid and development policy in a way that will also positively affect counterterrorism efforts. Russell Ackoff emeritus professor at the Wharton School of Business, put forth this view at a conference designed to promote private business' role in combating terrorism. He says that the basic problem that spurs terrorism is misdistribution of wealth within the U.S. and around the world. "Awareness of this inequality is widespread because of communications," [Ackoff has] noted. "We don't understand how to close the gap, and the IMF and the World Bank often make matters worse."

Gary Becker, a professor at the University of Chicago Business School, has also argued that there is a connection between wealth and terrorism, based on the observation that "nations or regions that are experiencing rapid growth appear to have lower incidences of terrorism." Becker posits that political activism, including violent activity, is less appealing to individuals when their economic opportunities expand. So, even if it were the case that poverty does not directly cause terrorism, it could still be true that economic growth reduces terrorism. Both of these possibilities suggest that counterterrorism policy, and international aid and development policies, should be forged together and should complement each other.

Although study is still limited, the evidence that there is no simple and direct line from poverty to terrorism is persuasive. Analyses of terror activities in the last two decades consistently reveal that terrorists who support and commit terrorist acts are more highly educated and have higher incomes than others in their society. Harvard public policy professor Alberto Abadie concluded poor countries do not experience more terrorism than wealthy countries, after he had studied wealth, political liberty and other dynamics in relation to terrorism. He also concluded that political liberty is a better indicator than poverty of terrorist activity. Similarly, Alan Krueger and Jitka Maleckova describe that a careful review of the evidence provides little reason for optimism that a reduction in poverty or an escalation in educational status would, by themselves, meaningfully reduce international terrorism.

Krueger and Maleckova draw their conclusions from a variety of sources. Their examination of a December 2001 Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PCPSR), public opinion poll revealed little economic or educational class difference among Palestinians who support for armed activity against Israeli targets, and those who do not. Krueger and Mileckova also speculate on evidence provided by Nasra Hassan about would-be Palestinian suicide bombers between 1996 and 1999. Hassan, now the Director of the United Nations Information Service in Vienna, has written about the fact that there are many more volunteers for "martyrdom operations" carried out by the Palestinian group Hamas than there are planned operations: "Many were middle class and, unless they were fugitives, held paying jobs . . . Two were the sons of millionaires." Krueger and Mileckova suggest that higher levels of education may improve a candidate's chance of being selected to carry out work as a "human bomb," since he is likely to be able to articulate his commitment

more effectively than someone with less education, acting from desperation.

6.3 Searching the Roots of Global Terrorism

6.3.1 Introduction. To search the root causes of global terrorism we may go through the comments of a renowned security analyst of Middle East Abdullah Yousef Sahar Mohammad. He argues, "Many works within this camp have related the causes of terrorism to both international and internal politics. Fikri Abdulmahdi (1992) suggest, that the major factors behind terrorism are the conflict between the West and East during the cold war era, the Israeli occupation of Arab lands, savage Middle Eastern security intelligence forces, and the policing methods of dictatorial regimes in the Middle East. Yaseen Al Saleh (2003) also sees these as major factors. According to Al Saleh, the dearth of democracy in Arab states in combination with the collaboration between the US government and many regimes in the Middle East prevent certain opposition groups from expressing themselves. In effect, they have no say, political or otherwise, in the running of their countries. As a result, they turn to suicide attacks as a weapon of last resort, and religion for divine validation. Thus, terrorism has become a heroic means of influence for some of the banned political opposition groups. The inequality, oppression and injustice perpetrated in this region are also diagnosed as major causative factors resulting in the resort to terrorism (Alkara 1993)".⁶⁵

6.3.2 Extremism. Extremism is one of the main motivating factors for perpetration of terrorism. Secular or religious extremism both may contribute to terrorism. Abdullah Yousef opines, "Economic conditions, a political vacuum, a high rate of illiteracy, the collapse of the family system, and religious fanaticism are all related to the phenomenon of

extremism: the vehicle of terrorists on the road to their destiny."⁶⁶ This extremism had bred innumerable types of religious, ideological, nationalist, communal and ethnic terrorist groups throughout the ages. The Hindu Thugees, Muslim Assassins, Jewish Zealot Sicccari, American klu klux klun, Palestinian Black September, IRA, LTTE, Al-Qaeda etc are the some of the examples of extremist terrorist groups. However, it is apparent that the breeding ground of modern global extremist terrorism is the Middle Eastern crises. Genesis of this is the Israeli settlement in Palestine, where the Israelis are highly charged by the religious zealotry. It is learnt, in a letter to the Israeli Defence Minister, Shaul Mofz, published on September 7, 2004, a group of 14 prominent Rabbis said killing enemy civilians is "normal" during time of war, and that the Israeli occupation army should never hesitate to kill non-Jewish civilians in order to save Jewish lives. The Rabbis quoted a Talmudic edict, from the ancient "sage", Rabbi Akiva, as stating: "Our lives come first." Another Rabbi Yaacov Perrin had permitted wanton massacre of Palestinians by saying, "One million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail."⁶⁷ On the other hand, "in February 1998, Bin Laden and a group of leading fellow extremists declared that it is the duty of all Muslims to kill Americans, including civilians and their allies, whenever the opportunity arises."⁶⁸

6.3.3 The Clash of Civilization. It is apparent that "clash of civilization" has been erupted in the world, after the massacre of 9/11 in New York, though many scholars do not believe in Shamael Huntington's theory of "clash of civilization". Indeed, the Twin Tower attack was conceived as the strike on the American as well as Western civilization. It was considered as the so called Islamic terrorists' attack on the global freedom and democracy. The Bush Administration identified the Al Qaeda of OBL as the perpetrator of 9/11, without any substantial evidence and declared the "Crusade" against the so called Islamic terrorism. Thereafter,

fierce attack in Afghanistan, invasion in Iraq, Israeli invasion in Palestine, Israel-Hezbollah war in Lebanon, U.S-Iran tension over nuclear issues and finally exporting the war on terror in the land of Pakistan; all those are the apparent manifestation of the clash of civilization theory. The war on terror has been spread across the earth from Rabat to Jakarta. Not only are the Islamic extremists, the civilized Muslims getting involved in this war on terror day by day. Somalia, Algeria, Nigeria, Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Thailand, Indonesia, China, Philippines everywhere the Muslims are entangled in conflicts; either being persecuted or perpetrating acts of terrorism in the name of jihad, though the Jihadists' missions varies from securing separate land to enforce revenge. Eventually, the U.S.A or the Western powers remain involved in those conflicts either directly or indirectly. So long China had been soft, sympathizer or supporting the various Muslim countries for various geo-strategic compulsions. Very recently, the incident of Wighor riot indicates a clandestine venture of inciting the Chinese civilization against the Islamic world. On the other hand, Russian had already accepted a humiliating defeat in Afghanistan by the Mullahs. Again, they are fighting the Chechen rebels for a decade. Thus, the concept of clash of Civilization is causing the spread of global terrorism around the world.

6.3.4 Geo-Strategic Hegemony and Economic Reason. The sudden flare up of modern global war has got its roots in the ongoing Iraq and Afghan wars. In the framework of global war on terror the U.S.A and her Western Allies crumbled the Taliban regime for allegedly harboring OBL and enforced a prolong war on them. Thereafter, they invaded Iraq accusing her for possessing WMD and secret linkage with Al Qaeda. Both the wars failed to yield any positive result for the global welfare, but successfully could drive the affected Muslim citizens towards the hardliner retaliation through the tactics of weaker side. As Barrister Harun Ur Rashid

opines that Iraq's war had exacerbated the determination of Islamic militants to violence... War is fuel for terrorism, not a deterrent.⁶⁹ He draws the Iraq invasion's motive as "Many Arab political scientists say that the real goal of U.S invasion was to destroy Iraq, a large Arab country, that was seen as an obstacle to Israel's plans for hegemony in the region. Other considerations, such as the Iraqi oil which is often mentioned as the real reason for the invasion were actually secondary. Furthermore, the "neocons" in the Bush administration wanted to transform Iraq into an ally of Israel and a base for attacking or seeking a regime change in other Muslim states, such as Syria and Iran, Israel then could consolidate its hegemony in the Middle East and force its Arab adversaries to accept its dictated terms for a peace in the region. The destruction of Hamas in Palestine and Hezbollah in Lebanon was also a part of this scheme.⁷⁰ James Cogan says, "The Iraq war was, and continues to be, an imperialist war waged by the American ruling elite for control of oil and geo-strategic advantage... Millions of people around the world understood in 2003 that the claims of the Bush administration and its international allies about Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and links to terrorism were threadbare lies promulgated to justify the plunder of the country's oil wealth."⁷¹ He also argues, "The war was driven by the decline of U.S global power and growing class tensions within the United States itself. The American capitalist elite believed that military domination in the Persian Gulf would give them access to lucrative resources, as well as a powerful lever against their main European and Asian rivals, who depend upon the region for critical supplies of energy. The militarist agitation surrounding the war was used to smother public disquiet and divert discontent away from the economic inequality that wracks American Society."⁷² Larry Goldstein of the U.S based Energy Policy Research Foundation told the New York Times: "Asking why oil companies are interested in Iraq is like asking why robbers rob banks because that's where the money is."⁷³ It is

to note that Iraq's total oil reserves are estimated to be at least 115 billion barrels. Its reserves of natural gas are at least 3.36 billion cubic meters.⁷⁴ .The ongoing protracted war in Afghanistan is also a breeding ground for global terrorism, which has been enforced by the USA and her Western allies with definite purposes. The ex chief of Inter services Intelligence, Pakistan, Lt Gen Hamid Gul Argues the U.S motive of Afghan campaign as, "Firstly, U.S wants to open a transit to have access to the oil fields of central Asia. This is the interest of corporate America. The Taliban have been the main obstacle to this venture of America. UNOCAL wants to keep the Chinese away from this area. Besides, U.S wants to render Israel with a comprehensive security blanket. US also wants to encompass the South Asia in the security blanket of Israel. Secondly, U.S ousted the Taliban regime as they had enacted the Shariah law in the country. Because, prevalence of Shariah Law in any territory is a challenge to the present world order, which is unique in socio-economic perspective of the world and intolerable to the Western powers. Thirdly, to bring the Pakistani nuclear weapons under their control. Though it was a secret subject earlier, presently it has become apparent as the issue is being discussed openly."⁷⁵

6.3.5 Evolution of Islamic Movement. The genesis of modern Islamic movement could be traced back to the foundation of "Islamic Brotherhood' in Egypt by Hasan-al-Banna back in 1928. Over the decades, this movement shaded many other organizations across the Muslim world. Since then, the Islamic movement was intercepted and blended with various new concepts of different Islamic leaders and thinkers before it got derailed by OBL in the recent years, when it has taken the shape of global terrorism. The hallmark of modern Islamic movement Sayed Kutub joined the Islamic Brotherhood in 1945. Thereafter, they organized a mass movement against the British imperialist to liberate Egypt. Being

apprehensive by seeing their growing popularity, the then tyrannical government of Egypt started conspiracy in collaboration with British Empire against this Islamic movement. At this back drop, Hasan-al-Bannah was assassinated in 1949. Sayed Kutub then led the movement ahead. He was also victimized by the Egyptian government and executed in 1966 subsequently. But by then his Islamic movement secured huge popularity in Egypt and the Muslim around the world were inspired to generate Islamic movement in the subcontinent, South-East-Asia, Middle East and Africa. Qutub accused the rulers of Muslim countries of having abandoned true Islam, who should be removed from power by the pious ones. But he was executed before he could orchestrate the process of establishing an Islamic State or regime. Then some of his followers, led by Abdal Salam Faraj (Faraj 1986), advocated the violent overthrow of the impious Muslim rulers. The other followers, led by Shukri Mustafa, advocated a denunciation of society as infidel (al Takfir) and withdrawal from it like Hijra (migration). Meanwhile, the Arab defeat to Israelis in 1967 destroyed the Nasser's dream of pan-Arab nationalism and brought the 'Islamic Alternative' forward, as manifested by Islamic Brotherhood, in Egypt, and King Faisal in Saudi Arabia. After the incineration of the Dome of the Rock, the Muslim's third holiest Mosque in Jerusalem in 1969, Islam as a political force became more appalling to the Muslim Ummah. Since the mid-1970s, the Islamic parties had gained more political alternative for the frustrated majority in the prevailing defective politico-economic environment. Thus, the growing popularity of the Islamic groups posed real challenges to the governments of maximum Middle-Eastern countries and clashes erupted between the two sides. Therefore, violence and terrorism had arisen in the name of Islam. The Islamic movements then could convince the Muslim world that the main reason of Muslim's defeat to Israelis was: "We Muslims have abandoned the path of the true Islam." The Islamic groups have been boosted up and secured dynamism and

more credibility, after the defeat of Soviet Red Army by Afghan Mujahids and Israeli Defence Forces by Hizbullah in South Lebanon. The successful Islamic revolution in Iran on the other hand, had inspired the Islamic groups to be more ambitious around the world.

6.3.6 Roots of Al Qaeda and OBL. The Afghan invasion of Soviet Russia in 1979 had sown the seed of Al Qaeda, and this was CIA which fostered and nurtured OBL to turn into the global terrorist. CIA indeed, recruited the fiery clerics like Palestinian Abdullah Azzam and Egyptian 'blind Shaikh Dr. Omar Abdur Rahman and also Saudi Millionaire OBL to enlist Muslim youths from across the world and organize them to wage the war against the non-believer Soviet Empire. A huge number of Muslim youths from all continents responded to the call of jihad, which became a favorite buzz-word to the Western patron of Afghan war. CIA trained these zealots, provided them arms, ammunition and explosives to lunched them to fight the America's jihad against the un-Godly Soviets. After the Soviet defeat, the U.S.A and its allies lost interest in Afghanistan and left the war ravaged country to the ethnic warlords, only to lead the country towards a civil war. OBL then came forward to help rebuild the war torn Afghanistan. By then the foreign Mujahids returned their own countries. Except those who could not go back, mostly because of prior conflicts with home government, stayed back and form the nucleus of Al Qaeda under the leadership of OBL. But, they had to migrate to Sudan being expelled by Pakistan for allegedly harboring terrorism. During exile in Sudan, the Al Qaeda operatives concluded through an intense discussion that U.S is the main obstacle to transform a core Arab state into an Islamic one. So, they decided to fight the far enemy (U.S and Jews) first. Meanwhile, Sudanese also expelled them being forced by external power. Therefore, in summer 1996, OBL returned to Afghanistan and declared war against U.S. In February 1998, OBL extended his "Jihad against Jews and Crusaders" to

include civilians outside the Middle East, ruling that "to kill the Americans and their allies civilian and military is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it."⁷⁶

6.3.7 U.S Taliban Conflict. Taliban are the byproduct of Westerner's 'Holy Jihad' against Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan. Americans' interest in Afghanistan was diminished with the Soviet withdrawal through a humiliating defeat to the CIA's Jihadists. The Americans quitted from Afghanistan without help rebuilding the decade's war ravaged country, which created a vacuum and led the religious leaders, war lords and tribal chiefs to a fierce civil war. At this backdrop Taliban a newly emerged group came forward to salvage the country from the disastrous anarchism. This Taliban were born in the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, where the Jamiat-E-Ulema Islam (JUI) used to run hundreds of religious school mainly in Pashun areas of Pakistan. A small group of Taliban led by Mullah Mohammad Omar achieved reputations for guarding the local merchants and enforcing social justice by punishing the local perpetrators of crimes in bordering Pashtun areas of Pakistan. They then moved to Qandahar and speedily captured the city, the heart of Pashtun area of Afghanistan. Securing the quick popular support for its faith, honesty and religious sincerity they imposed order and discipline, and disarmed the warlords. Consequently, they were welcomed in the localities after localities by the common mass. Thus, within a year they were emerged as a 25,000 strong army just from a 30-men group in the spring of 1994. By September 1996, the Taliban captured Kabul and started ruling about 90% of the Afghanistan with Shariah Law of their self-styled brand. Meanwhile, they received necessary financial and military supports from Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, who also rendered their recognitions. The U.S.A on the other hand, reacted very cautiously. They considered it to be favorable for the construction of oil pipelines from

Central Asia across Afghanistan by a U.S oil company, UNOCAL. Moreover, Taliban's pro-Saudi and anti-Iranian policy also had been soothing the U.S policy. On the other hand, it was apparent that Taliban sought only the "purification of Afghanistan" and did not plan to export their brand beyond their boundary. They had little care about global Jihad, instead were serious about the stability in Afghanistan. However, the regional and global Jihadists were allowed to have their safe heavens by the Taliban regime like Al Qaeda, Uzbek Islamists, Kashmiri jihadists, Pakistani Sunnis and Chechen fighters. Therefore, U.S.A warned Taliban Administration for harboring Al Qaeda and OBL. Moreover, U.S aspiration of oil pipelines through Afghanistan became blurred and the simultaneous embassy attacks in Tanzania and Kenya took place. It annoyed the U.S Administration who was preparing to punish the Taliban regime. Finally, the Twin Tower attacks on 9/11 brought the opportunity to attack Afghanistan. President Bush blamed OBL for the attack and pressurized the Taliban regime to hand over him to the America. The Taliban leaders asked for proof of OBL connection to the attack. But the Americans refused to provide any evidence, rather they launched an all-out war against Afghanistan and cause the fall of Taliban regime within a month. Taliban then switched over to the guerrilla warfare and adopted the tactics of terrorism against the USA, her allies and loyalists local government.

CHAPTER 7- PROPHET'S (SM) ISLAMIC MOVEMENT: A ROLE MODEL TO ERADICATE TERRORISM

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CHAPTER 7- PROPHET'S (SM) ISLAMIC MOVEMENT: A ROLE MODEL TO ERADICATE TERRORISM

7.1 **Introduction.** The great Prophet (SM) of Islam was sent in a place in 570s AD where terrorism was the culture and profession of citizens. He (SM) came with the mission of purifying people as well as the social fabrics. Thus, he (SM) established peace and prosperity in the society by eliminating terrorism and demonstrated a role model of establishing peace in the world. It is said in the holly Quran:

“Those who follow the Messenger, the unlettered Prophet, whom they find mentioned in their own (scriptures), in the Towrat and Bible; for he commands them what is just and forbids them what is evil; he allows as lawful what is good (and pure) and prohibits them from what is bad (and impure); he releases them from their heavy burdens and from yokes that are upon them. So it is those who believe in him, honor him, help him and follow the light which is sent down with him,- it is they who will prosper.”(Al Quran 7 (Araf): 157).

After having received the divine inspiration (Nabuat: Prophet Hood) the Prophet (SM) began his movement, the preaching mission of Islam in the city of Makkah. The local leaders did not accept his call as they were apprehensive of loosing the leadership as well as free style way of living the evil life. Rather, they started opposing the new religion through persecuting the Prophet (SM) and his new followers. The Prophet (SM) contained the enforced terrorism by a peaceful means of love and patience. But finally, he (SM) had to migrate to Madinah (Hijrah) with the warm hospitality of the indigenous Madinite's tribe Aws and Khajraj. In Madinah the Prophet (SM) established a welfare state of Islam comprising Muslims, Jews, idolaters and other tribes in Madinah. But the Makkan nonbelievers invested their all-out efforts to destroy the Muslims and their newly established state. They enforced many major battles on the Muslims. However,

the Prophet (SM) defended them through a superb generalship and statesmanship. He (SM) orchestrated a brilliant skill in conflict resolution and tackling the Arabian terrorism. Finally, the victory was achieved and Islam had been established in the world as the religion of peace, which came in to eliminate terrorism from the world. Therefore, the Prophet of Islam Hazrat Muhammad (SM) is the only role model for establishing Islam and bringing peace in the Earth. The Quran ordained:

“You have indeed in the Messenger of God a beautiful pattern (example) of conduct” (Al Quran 33 (Ahzab): 21).

This is how, the followed strategy, tactics and technique of Hazrat Muhammad (SM) is the only alternative in the modern world to abolish terrorism and bring peace and prosperity. Because, till to date there is no success story in the history other than Prophet’s (SM) success in combating terrorism. The great Philosopher George Bernard Shaw argued, “I believe that if a man like Muhammad were to assume the dictatorship of modern world, he would succeed in solving its problem in a way that would bring it the much-needed peace and happiness.”⁷⁷

7.2 Muhammad’s (SM) Initiatives of Conflict Resolution.

7.2.1 Introduction. Indeed, the Prophet (SM) of Islam was sent down as the symbol of global peace in the Earth. The holy Quran declares:

“We send you (Prophet) Mohammad not, but as a Mercy for the whole of Universe” (Al Quran-21 (Anbiya): 107).

Even, before being blessed with the Prophet-hood, he started taking initiative for conflict resolution in the conflict-torn society of Mecca. Thereafter, throughout his carrier for about 23 years, the Prophet (SM) had striven to eradicate terrorism and enshrine peace and prosperity in the world. He (SM) organized the young volunteers of Mecca under an

NGO, "Hilful Fuzul" to combat terrorism in the city. He (SM) also successfully disarmed the tribal belligerents and resolved the potential fierce clash over the dispute of "Black stone" (Hazre Aswat) relocation in Kabah. After migration (Hizrah) to Madinah, the Prophet (SM) brought all the rival tribes and communities in one platform of peace and coexistence. He (SM) also successfully brought the Bedouins of in and around the Madinah into a disciplined culture and enforced peace on them. Finally, he (SM) secured the bloodless victory over the Quraish of Makkah and forced them to abandon the culture of terrorism. Therefore, the Prophet (SM) as well as the president of Madinah took the appropriate steps to secure peaceful diplomatic relations with the countries around Saudi Arabia.

7.2.2 Forming a peace-broker NGO Hilful Fuzul. The social condition of the then Arabia as well as of other countries like Roman and Persian empire was at the lowest ebb of moral and ethical degradation. That was the era of dark in the history of mankind, known as "Iyam-e- Jahelia" to the civilized society. The terrorism had engulfed the then entire world. Reign of terror was the only means of survival in the society, where perpetration of terrorism was the matter of bravery and pride. Meanwhile, an all out war –Harbul Fujjar – erupted across Arabia with the dispute over a competition of gambling and horse riding race. The five year long war took a huge toll on human lives and material. The young man Muhammad was highly grieved and moved with this irrelevant war. He (SM) gathered the selected youths and forged a peace building organization Hilful Fujul to make peace in Arabia. The first ever peace-broker group of the world took oath as following:

- a. We shall try heart and soul to eliminate anarchism and terrorism in the country.
- b. We shall provide protection to the poor and helpless people.

- c. We shall provide security to the visitors and foreigners.
- d. We shall stand beside the oppressed.
- e. We shall not harbor any terrorist or oppressor.

Many tribes had participated in the oath and signed the covenant, which successfully ended the on-going protracted war.

7.2.3 Conflict Resolution at Kabah. Before five years of his commissioning as Prophet, the Kabah was needed to be renovated. Various tribes distributed the construction works amongst themselves and started rebuilding the Kabah. The tribal chiefs conducted their parts of construction in good harmony till the time came to put the sacred Black Stone in its proper place. The strife broke out amongst the tribes, and continued for about five days, each was contesting for the honor of placing the stone in its original position. All the chiefs made their tribes armed with lethal arsenal and a great bloodshed were imminent. At this backdrop, the thirty-five year old young man Muhammad came forward to resolve the fierce clash amongst the stub-born contesting tribes. He spread a mantle on the ground and placed the stone in its center. He then called the representatives of all the aspiring clans to lift the stone all together. When it reached near the proper place, Muhammad had laid it in the proper position with his own hands, which was accepted by all concern unconditionally. Thus, a very tense situation had been eased up and a grave danger could be averted by the wisdom of Prophet (SM).

7.2.4 Peace Initiative at Madinah. After hijrah (Migration) in Madinah, the Prophet (SM) found that Madinite society was divided into pieces of various tribes, clans and different religious communities. There had been fierce rivalries prevailing with each other amongst them. He (SM) realized that socio-political situation in Madinah was very critical.

Disputes, mistrusts, jealousy, intolerance, ethnicity and communality may any time trigger the inter-tribal clash in and around Madinah. He (SM) quickly appreciated the magnitude of the situation and started working to bring unity and peace in Madinah. The Prophet (SM) then called all the community leaders and formulated a peace accord namely "Madinah Sanad", the first ever written constitution in the history of political science. The salient of the treaty was as follows:

- a. Jews, Idolaters, Christian and Muslims of Madinah will form a single and unique community, where all the parties would enjoy the equal rights.
- b. Hazrat Muhammad (SM) would be the chief of the republic as well as the chief justice of the state.
- c. There would be secularism; means all the groups will enjoy complete religious freedom. All individual can practice the self religion without any resistance. No one is authorized to interfere in others' religion.
- d. The city of Madinah is considered as a holy city. Bloodshed, killing, rape and all kind of terrorism is forbidden here.
- e. The signatory parties would maintain the sanctity of the city and defend Madinah united together incase of a foreign aggression.
- f. No community will conspire with foreign enemy against the national interest of Madinah.

- g. No one will forge friendship treaty with the Quraish nor will help them against the Madinites.
- h. An individual offence would be treated as personal offence. No signatory community to be blamed for that.
- j. Any sheltered individual will be treated as own man until he perpetrates any treacherous or sabotage act.
- k. Weak and helpless people will be rendered with all out support.
- l. Offenders will be taken into justice and punishment. No one would assist him; even he is a close relation.
- m. The signatory parties will not commit sabotage or treacherous activities amongst themselves.
- n. The signatory communities will refer any conflicting issue to the Prophet (SM) for justice; who (SM) would deliver the judgment according to the ordinance of God.

With this first ever constitution of the world, the Prophet (SM) had established an Islamic welfare state in Madinah. He (SM) successfully united all the inter-rival tribes and community, flashed away the terror acts and brought peace and stability in Madinah.

7.2.5 Peace Building with Enemy at Makkah. After six years of migration, the Prophet (SM) started traveling towards Makkah along with

fifteen hundred Muslims to perform Umrah (lesser pilgrimage). The Quraishites, on the other hand decided to resist the Prophet's (SM) mission at all costs. The Muslims reached at the plain of al-Hudaibiyah near Makkah and pitched their tents. The Prophet (SM) then informed the Quraish leaders through both sides' envoy that the purpose of their journey was only to perform Umrah not to fight or any other design. On the other hand, the Quraishites remained stubborn to resist the Muslim. Finally, to avoid bloodshed, the Prophet (SM) agreed to conclude a treaty of reconciliation and peace with the Quraishites. The clauses are as follows:

- a. The Muslims shall return this time and come back next year, but they shall not stay in Makkah for more than three days.
- b. They shall not come back armed but can bring with them swords only sheathed in scabbards and these shall be kept in bags.
- c. War activities shall be suspended for ten years, during which both parties will live in full security and neither will raise sword against the other.

In the agreement the Quraishite leaders object the words: Bismillah ir-Rahman ir-Raheem, I, e., "In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful" and Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah. For the sake of potential peace and stability the Prophet (SM) had compromised and deleted those words. The treaty apparently was humiliating for the Muslims. But, the Prophet (SM) accepted it for the greater interest of Islam as peace was his only mission.

7.3 The Prophetic (SM) Way of Establishing Islam in the World.

7.3.1 The Prophet's (SM) Islamic revolution is the most successful as well as unique in the history of world religions, ideologies and theories. To succeed, he (SM) had to strive for long twenty three years. He did not adopt any unfair means to secure an overnight success. Even there is not a single evidence of perpetration of terror act. Rather, he was persecuted severely along with his family and followers. There is no instance of persecution of such magnitude to a Prophet or revolutionist leader in the history of revolution. He (SM) was tortured psychologically and physically. His companions were brutally executed. An economic sanction was imposed on his (SM) clan for long three years. Even he (SM) was stoned to bleed for inviting the people to the fold of Islam. However, finally, the Quraishites plotted to execute the Prophet (SM). Then the Messenger of Allah migrated to Madinah being ordered by the Almighty Allah and set up a small Islamic state with the help of Madinites. There also the Qurashites made all out efforts to destroy the Muslims and their state. They imposed a long drawn war against Madinah including three major pitched battles. Despite the all out resistance put up by Quraishites, the Prophet (SM) advanced with his (SM) movement with the steady pace through infinite patience and tolerance. Finally, he (SM) recaptured Makkah by a silent offensive when the Makkans were caught by surprise. In the bloodless attack, the Makkans surrendered to him. The messenger of Allah entered the Kabah with his big triumph forces and forgave the Quraishites' enmity, all misdeeds and terrorist activities, which they had been perpetrating for last twenty years.

7.3.2 Preaching of Islam in a Hostile Society.

7.3.2.1 Preaching Through Persecution. The literal meaning of Islam is the establishment of oneness in God and abolishing the

polytheism. Indeed polytheism or idolatries were the religion of Quraishites, who were the custodian of kabah and holding the Arabian leadership in terms of culture, religion, economy and politics. Therefore, visualizing the repercussion, the Prophet (SM) adopted a technique of calling unto Islam individually in clandestine form so that the Makkans are not enraged. After three years of such kind of relentless call, a small group of people came forward and accepted Islam. Then the Messenger (SM) opened up and started inviting the people to the fold of Islam in broad day light. The Makkan leaders reacted violently and started putting resistance to the spread of new religion. The Prophet (SM) and new Muslims were being abused, reproached and humiliated across the city indiscriminately by the Quraishites. Despite all those psychological torture, the Prophet's (SM) movement was flourishing further. The Quraishites then resorted to physical assault to the new Muslims even to the Messenger (SM) himself. Even some of the new Muslims were tortured to death. One Muslim woman was bayoneted to death brutally. The atrocities and terrorism towards the Muslims became an instrument of games and sports to the Makkan leaders. Muslims were force to lie on burning coal with a big rock on the chest to prevent from escaping. Some were wrapped in the raw skins of slaughtered camels and thrown away, others were put in armors and cast on burning sand in the scorching sun of Arabia. Some of them were fastened in the feet with rope and dragged in the streets of Makkah. But the Prophet (SM) and new Muslims did not retaliate. They only kept on marching forward steadily with infinite patience and tolerance. But the persecution was also increasing day by day. At this backdrop, sixteen Muslims- twelve man and four women -migrated to Ethiopia and sought asylum to evade the fierce torture of Quraishites.

7.3.2.2 The socio-economic Embargo. Despite all types of resistance and persecution, the Prophet (SM) was carrying out his preaching activities with perseverance, determination and courage. The Makkan leaders then formed a confederation and promulgated a resolution to enforce a Socio-economic sanction against the Muhammad's clans Bani Hashim and Bani Al-Muttalib. They were confined within a narrow pass (shi'b of Abu Talib) for a period of three years. They were denied of any business dealings, social relations, visits and even verbal contacts. In this siege, the supply of food was almost stopped. They suffered unspeakable miseries in that embargo. They had to eat leaves of trees and skins of animals. Cries of babies and children due to hunger used to be echoed clearly. Sometimes, meager quantities of food were smuggled in by some compassionate Makkans only. Despite, all those harder odds, Muhammad (SM) continued his preaching of new religion Islam.

7.3.2.3 Persecution at Taif. At one point of time the Messenger of Allah realized that field of Makkah was saturated. There is no other man possibly would accept Islam. Then he (SM) planned to spread his invitation beyond the city of Makkah. Accordingly, the Prophet (SM) went Taif, about 60 kilometers from Makkah. He (SM) called on the leaders of Taif and invited them to accept the new religion Islam. Surprisingly, the atmosphere of Taif was terribly hostile. He (SM) stayed there for ten days and delivered his message to several people, one after another, but in vain. The Taifian leaders not only denied the invitation, they also incited the terrorists and young people and children to drive him (SM) out of Taif. The mob then pelted him (SM) with stones and chased out of the city. When the Prophet (SM) took refuge in an orchard, he was severely wounded and bleeding. Meanwhile, the

Angles of mountain descended and asked his (SM) permission to bring the two flanking mountains of Makkah and Taif together and sandwich the city along with the citizens. The Messenger of Allah refused and replied the Angles that sometime their offspring might accept Islam and worship Allah with no associate.

7.3.3 Migration to Madinah. About thirteen years had passed in Makkah. The Prophet (SM) was continuing with his Islamic movement with great perseverance. The Quraishites also was trying all out to resist the escalation of this new religion. Their adopted means of persecution and tactics of terrorism reached to the peak of its kind. Having failed to refrain Muhammad (SM) from preaching his religion, they finally decided to kill the Prophet (SM) and bury the new faith once for all. By then, the fertility of Makkah for Islam had reached to the point of saturation. Apparently, there was no hope of getting any more new Muslims. All available potential individuals had already accepted Islam. None of the rests was ready receive the invitation of Islam. Meanwhile, the Madinites had completed their ground preparation for a potential Islamic revolution under the leadership of the Messenger (SM) of Allah. The conflicting Madinites tribes Aws and Khajraj were tired of inter tribe clashes. More over, overwhelmed by settler Jews' politico-economic pressure, they were in quest of peace in Madinah. They had prior knowledge about the Prophet (SM) which they learnt from those Madinites' Jews. Therefore, whenever they came to know the emergence of new Prophet (sm) in Makkah, they quickly verified the event and invited him (SM) to the land of Madinah. Both the Aws and Khajraj tribes got united and yielded a huge popular support to submit Madinah under the rule of Islam with Prophet's (SM) leadership. Thus, the background of the success of Islamic revolution was apparent in Madinah. On the other hand, the Quraishites planned a secret plot to kill the Prophet (SM). By then many Makkan

Muslims completed migration to Madinah as the advance party. At this juncture, the Messenger of Allah received the final order from the Allah and left Makkah on 13 September 622 A. D for Madinah.

7.3.4 The Protracted War Imposed on the Messenger (SM) of Allah.

7.3.4.1 Introduction. This was indeed a matter of great concern for the Quraishite as the Prophet (SM) could manage to leave Makkah unharmed. They became terribly worried for a potential Islamic explosion across Arabia from Madinah. They perceived rightly that the freedom of activities of Islamic movement from Madinah would engulf the whole of Arabia including Makkah, which would cause their total defeat. Therefore, they had set their heart on destroying the Prophet's (SM) mission from wherever it may be carried on. Thus, a state of belligerency had been erupted between Makkah and Madinah ever since the Prophet (SM) along with his companions had migrated to Madinah. They delivered a letter to Madinites by threatening as, "either they should turn the Prophet (SM) out of their land or else be ready to face the armies of Makkans who would destroy them and molest their womenfolk."⁷⁸ They also kept on conducting mischievous and terrorist activities on the outskirts and around Madinah. This warlike situation kept continuing for long ten years till the conquest of Makkah by the Muslims. Meanwhile, they imposed three set pitch battles on the Muslims all of which were fought in Madinah as they invaded to demolish Madinah and Muslims once for all.

7.3.4.2 The Battle of Badr. The battle of Badr was the first set pitch battle enforced on the Muslims by the Quraishites after

the migration. The background concludes that the Muslims had to fight this battle for defending themselves. The Prophet (SM) was carrying his preaching activities in and around Madinah peacefully, though the Quraishites had been disturbing continuously through treacherous and terrorist measures. Simultaneously, Prophet (SM) used to remain alert to evade any surprise attack by keeping his patrol parties out, round the clock. During such movement a commercial caravan loaded with huge amount of goods was returning from Syria to Makkah following the only high way running beside Madinah. The caravan leader, Abu Sufian, the archrival of Islamic movement got highly alerted sensing the movement of Muslim patrol party. He at once, dispatched informer to Makkah and sought military support to rescue the precious caravan from Muslim hand. It is to note that profits of this commercial caravan was decided to equip the Quraishites army for attacking Madinah. However, the Quraishites seized the opportunely of getting a concrete cause to attack Madinah. Quickly they launched a brigade size force spearheaded by squadron of cavalry towards Madinah. Gathering the intelligence report Prophet (SM) organized a three hundred strong army and took up defence in the plain of Badr at the outskirts of Madinah. Finally, the Quraishites had been severely battered and incurred a humiliating defeat with huge casualties, including seventy became prisoners to the Muslim army. Total seventy of them were killed. The Prophet (SM) arranged their burial respectfully. No dead body was mutilated or dishonored. More seventy of them became prisoners. The prisoners were distributed amongst the Muslim soldiers as their guests to keep those in captivity. The custodian Muslims used to feed their captives being remained starved themselves. They were also provided with necessary clothing respectfully. Sohail Bin Amr an excellent orator

was amongst the prisoners who used deliver razor-sharp speech to incite people against the Prophet (SM) and Islam in Makkah. On receiving the suggestion of uprooting his front teeth from the Muslim leaders, the Prophet (SM) replied, "If I mutilate any limb of a man, then Allah would punish me by mutilating my same part off the body being the Prophet."⁷⁹ Thereafter, most of the prisoners were set free in exchange of ransom as per the individual's financial capability. Some of the literate captives were tasked to educate ten children each as ransom. The rest were set free on condition of abandoning hostility against Islamic movement as they did not have the capability to pay ransom at all.

7.3.4.3 The Battle of Uhud. The battle of Uhud had been the second major attempt by the Quraish to finish off Islam and the Muslims. The Makkans were hell-bent to avenge the humiliating defeat at Badr, reinstate the lost prestige and achieve their avowed objective –finishing off the Prophet (SM) his followers and his mission. Indeed, they initiated preparations for the next encounter immediately on reaching Makkah from the battle-field of Badr. The whole proceeds of the trade caravan from Syria (which was the cause of the battle of Badr) was appropriated for the preparations of war and further contributions were appealed for to which the response was generous and enthusiastic.⁸⁰ Thus, they formed an army of 3,000, armed to the teeth with abundant logistic support and started advancing towards Madinah. The Prophet (SM) received the real time intelligence about the Quraish army's movement. He (SM) set with his lieutenants and decided to defend the Quraish army at the valley of Uhud about five kilometers away from Madinah. The Muslim army of 1000 strong marched out for Uhud, but Abdullah bin Ubai; the Hypocrites leader deserted the

Prophet (SM) along with his three hundred followers on the way to Uhud. It caused a huge shock on the morale of Muslim Army. However, the Prophet (SM) motivated and took the rest seven hundred to the battle-field. The Muslims fought a fierce battle in Uhud. The outcome of the battle was neither victory nor defeat. But, they suffered a heavy casualty due to tactical mistakes of a tunnel security guard contingent. Total 70 Muslim soldiers got martyred and the Messenger of Allah himself (SM) was wounded in the battle. In this battle the Quraish army surprisingly had left the battle field, before annihilating the Muslims, despite having had the golden opportunity for unknown reason.

7.3.4.4 The Battle of Khandak. After the no defeat or no win result as well as immensely incurred casualties in the battle of Uhud, the Jews of Madinah had been inspired greatly. The Quraishites on the other hand, were deeply shocked with remorse as they did not annihilate the Muslims having had the golden opportunities. Therefore, they had been in a state of heart burning for not taking full revenge of Badr humiliation. Meanwhile, the Jews around Madinah considered the exhausted Muslims to be diminishing. Being bound by a treaty to accept Prophet (SM) at the Chief of Madinah and to act as allies to Muslims, they started harboring hostile designs against Muslims in league with the Hypocrites. The Jews of Bani Al-Nadir tribe unleashed hostile acts and even conspired to assassinate the Prophet (SM). The Muslims then evicted Bani-Nadir from Madinah to punish them. Therefore, they started a new stage of conspiracy and prepared themselves to deal a deadly blow against the Muslims, but were too cowardly to maneuver directly against them, so they laid a dreadful plan in order to achieve their objectives.⁸¹ Twenty Chiefs of the Jews with

some celebrities of Bani Nadir went to Makkah to negotiate an unholy alliance with Quraish.⁸² The same delegation toured various parts of Arabia to many tribes and managed to forge a joint forces of ten thousand strong army against the Muslims. The ever biggest force started advancing towards Madinah under the leadership of Abu Sufyan. The Prophet (SM) received the timely intelligence. He (SM) set with his strategists to work out the defence plan. Finally, they planned to take up defence from within Madinah by constructing a unique obstacle of trench around the open portion of Madinah. The joint forces reached Madinah and were caught by surprise seeing the great obstacle to launch the attack. They laid a siege around Madinah. The Prophet (SM) took up defence only with three thousand soldiers. The long siege continued for about a month. Finally, the Prophets (SM) intelligence operators successfully made strife amongst the tribes of joint forces. Simultaneously, a severe sand storm with rain and cold wave battered the joint forces and caused them to withdraw over the night.

7.3.4.5 The Conquest of Makkah. After the failed siege of Khandak, the Quraishite leaders hand sunk in great frustration. This was the time, when the Prophet (SM) drew his attention to punish the tribes that treacherously conspired with joint forces during the siege being signatory partner of the peace accord with the Muslims. He (SM) also started taking steps to overwhelm the hostile tribes in and around Madinah and control the terrorist Bedouin groups of the desert of Madinah. Thus the hostile environment around Madinah was transforming into a favorable condition for the Muslims. The Prophet (SM) then planned to perform Umarah (lesser pilgrimage), after ordered by Allah. He (SM) reached near Makkah along with

fifteen hundred Muslims at the plane of Hudaibiyah near Makkah. But, they had to fall back to Madinah without performing Umrah as vehemently resisted by the Quraishites. Before falling back, the Prophet (SM) signed a treaty with the Makkans. Though the treaty was apparently humiliating for the Muslims, but the visionary leader the Messenger of Allah successfully laid the foundation of total victory through this treaty. The ten year long treaty rendered a favorable environment to the Muslims to run with their Islamic movement as the Makkans were treaty-bound to remain silent. He (SM) quickly neutralized the hostile elements around Madinah. Thereafter, He (SM) gave attention to preach his mission around and beyond Madinah ceaselessly. The selected envoys rushed outside Madinah with the message of Islam. Thus, the Islamic movement transformed into a new phase and a huge response was pouring in from across Arabia. The triumph situation was emerging for the Islamic revolution. The only obstacle was the Quraishites as they had been holding the prestigious post of the custodian of Kabah; which was the symbol of religious authority. Kabah was the center of Islam since the time of Hazrat Adam (AS), who was the first man as well as the Prophet (AS) of the universe as per the Islamic belief. Therefore, the Prophet Muhammad (SM) found that the proper time and space have arrived to recapture Kabah from the grip of the polytheists. Meanwhile, the Makkans transgressed the treaty which prompted the Prophet (SM) to deliver ultimatum to the Makkans to either repent or declare the abrogation of the treaty. The Quraishites declared abrogation of treaty as they found the treaty totally went in favor of the Muslims for the last two years. The Prophet (SM) seized the opportunity and decided to conquer the Kabah through a bloodless campaign. Accordingly, he (SM) created a shield of information black-out around his forces of

ten thousand strong and advanced towards Makkah. He (SM) completely succeeded in reaching the outskirts of Makkah with his big army ever seen by the Arabians very stealthily. The Makkans were seized with great surprise. The Makkan commander in chief Abu Sufyan was terrified and surrendered to the Prophet (SM). The Prophet (SM) honored him and to avoid shedding a single drop of blood he (SM) declared any one who took refuge in the house of Abu Sufyan would be saved. He (SM) also declared their safety that would remain confined to their houses and also who would enter the Sacred Mosque of Kabah. Abu Sufyan then declared the Makkans to avoid hostilities and seek safety in his house. The Prophet (SM) ordered his soldiers to enter Makkah with modesty and humility being gratified to Allah for the achieved victory. But one of the excited contingent commanders emotionally called out: this day is the day of revenge and retribution; this day blood could be shed within the precincts of the Kabah. Learning this Prophet (SM) instantly sacked him and appointed the qualified son of the latter. He (SM) then made the counter declaration: this is the day of the glory of Kabah whose sanctity is to be honored; this is the day of goodness, forgiveness and mercy. He (SM) entered Makkah with his big army with reciting the verses of Quran, "indeed you have been bestowed with a manifest victory, an unquestionable triumph. First he(SM) entered Kabah took the key and sanctified Kabah by withdrawing the idols and murals of ancient Prophets (AS). Thereafter, he (SM) handed over the key to its Quraishite custodian back. At this point, the Prophet (SM) delivered the celebrated address for the Makkans:⁸³

"There is no god but Allah Alone. He has no associates. He made good His Promise that He held to His Slave and helped

him and defeated all the Confederates along. Bear in mind that every claim of privilege, whether of blood, or property, is under my heel, except that of the custody of Al-Kabah and supplying of water to the pilgrims...”

“O people of Quraish! Surely Allah has abolished from you all pride of the Pre-Islamic era and all conceit in your ancestry, (because) all men are descended from Adam, and Adam was made of clay.”

He (SM) then recited to them the verse:

“O Mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may recognize and identify each other. Verily, the most honorable of you in Allah’s reckoning is the one who is the most righteous and God-fearing among you. Certainly Allah is full of all knowledge and knows best all things (AL Quran 49:13).”

The Prophet (SM) then recited the verse from the holy Quran, “There is no reproach for you today, go you free without let or hindrance, (Al Qumran 12:42).” Finally, he(SM) handed over the administration of Makkah to a Makkan citizen and retreated from Makkah with all of his soldiers towards Madinah within a few days. The Makkans on the other hand, were profoundly moved by the generosity and nobility orchestrated by the great Prophet (SM). They came forward, submitted themselves to the Messenger (SM) of Allah in groups or individually and accepted the faith of Islam, which they tried to eliminate by struggling for last eighteen years.

In fact, the peace mission of the prophet (SM) had been discovered to them through the conquest of Makkah finally. They were kept totally in dark about the real spirit of Islam through the planned propaganda and misinterpretation enforced by the Quraishite leaders as they were quite apprehensive about losing the leadership status they had been enjoying so long. Thus, Islam was established in this Earth without forcing a single individual towards its Faith.

7.3.5 War in Islamic Perspective.

7.3.5.1 Rules of Engagement. Moreover, Islam has laid out a specific set of rules of engagement while going for a authorized war. The conduct in the battlefield with the enemy would be highly professional one whereas behavior with the prisoners to be most humanitarian. On the other hand, indiscriminate killing and damaging assets and properties are made unauthorized in Islam. An Islamic scholar Allah Bukhsh k. Brohi described the Islamic Rules of Engagement as follows:⁸⁴

“Since the motto of a believer is “La Ikraha Fiddin”, war is not the way to secure conversions to Islam. This purpose has specially been directed to be achieved by means of extending “Dawa”, and using valid arguments and presenting the case in beautiful ways to those who do not believe.

The law of war and peace in Islam is as old as the Quran itself. Indeed, the term used by Muslim Jurists for international law is *Sayyar* which is a plural of *Seerat* shows that it is the conduct of

the state in relation to another state which is what international law regulates. In Islamic international law this conduct is, strictly speaking, regulated between Muslims and non-Muslims, there being, viewed from Islamic perspective, no other nations. The modern international law although it was very vitally influenced by Islam traverses a different ground altogether. It is a law which regulates conducts of various nations interest of the basis of sovereign equality of all nations. In Islam, of course, no nation is sovereign since God alone is the only sovereign in Whom all authority vests.

Before I conclude this brief survey of the special features and characteristics of the law of Islam touching and concerning the problems of war and peace I would like to refer to a recent article entitled "Conduct of Hostilities and the Protection of the Victims of Armed Conflicts in Islam" by Marcel A. Boisard. The writer, is the Co-Director of Diplomacy Training Program, in Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva. He has enumerated in a summary form the basic features reflected in legal rules of lofty humanitarian qualities as follow:

1. "armed hostilities oppose systems, not people, who therefore are to be spared insofar as military necessities strict to sensu permit;
2. strictly forbidden are excesses of any kind: inflicting cruel and useless suffering upon the enemy, using treacherous means and weapons of mass and indiscriminate destruction;

3. The illegality of those reprisals which could constitute a violation of basic humanitarian principles;
4. the distinction between combatants and noncombatants, respect for those who are no longer engaged in battle--the dead, the wounded, the prisoners--and neutralization of medical personnel and supplies;
5. affirmation of individual responsibility--the basic axiom of Muslim law in general--implying the non-permissibility of collective punishment and the taking of hostages;
6. decent treatment of prisoners; guarantees that their lives will be spared and that they will be released as soon as possible;
7. collaboration with the enemy on all humanitarian projects;
8. finally, it can be noted at this stage that the above mentioned rules are binding in the case of "internal" conflicts as well. Rebels automatically enjoy a de jure recognition and are not held responsible for deaths and destruction caused by their acts of war."

7.3.5.2 Ethics of War. There is nothing called holy war in Islam. In Islam war is just or unjust. The cause must be a just one in Islam. A war can not be allowed with a wrong cause. Again the war must be for the cause of Allah, through the way of Allah following

the role model of the Messenger (SM) of Allah. The Prophet (SM) has orchestrated a set of ethics very clearly to wage a war while conducting the Jihad. Brigadier S. K. Malik tried to analyze the ethics of Prophet's (SM) war as, "The Quranic philosophy of war is, for the better part, a philosophy of checks and restraints on the use of 'force' in inter-state relations. The very Quranic command that directed the Muslims to go to war with the pagans also bade them not to exceed limits. "Fight in the cause of Allah, those who fight you," it said, "but do not transgress limits; for Allah loveth not transgressors"[Al Quran 2(Baqarh):190]. Divine controls on war were imposed at all stages of the revelation of the Quranic Message. For the first twelve years, the Muslims were called upon to put up with the atrocities, the Qoraish perpetrated on them but hold back their hands from fighting. With the issuance of the divine command for fighting, were also specified the causes for which war could be entered upon. The Holy Quran also spelt out a clear and unmistakable object of war. The underlying theme behind the Quranic causes and object of war was the preservation and promotion of peace and justice. In the initial stages of the attainment of this object, liberal concessions were made to the enemy to terminate war and create conditions of peace. Against all the prevalent norms and practices, no one was allowed to take any life except for reasons of justice and law; those who did not obey this command were made accountable and punished. Finally, the doors of compassion, forgiveness and mercy were always kept open to those who offered genuine repentance.

According to an age-old tradition, fighting in Arabia was prohibited during the three sacred months of Zilqad, Zil Hajj and Muharram, and the Holy Quran issued directions for the observance

of this custom." The prohibited month for the prohibited month," the Book said, "and so far all things prohibited. –there is the Law of Equality. If then anyone transgresses the prohibition know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves"[Al Quran 2(Baqarah):194]. The Book likewise commanded the Muslims to respect the Arab custom of observing truce at the Sacred Mosque, on a reciprocal basis. 'But fight them not at the Sacred Mosque, unless they (first) fight you there,'[Al Quran 2(Baqarah):191] was the Quranic injunction in the matter. On both these issues, the Muslims, no doubt, permitted to follow the law of Equality and Reciprocity, were nevertheless counseled to show restraint. The Quranic injunction that 'Allah is with those who restraint themselves' speaks of the importance attached to tolerance and forbearance.

Not content with these restrictions alone, the Book imposed a total ban on the inhuman methods of warfare practiced in Arabia and elsewhere, prior to Islam. Based on the instructions issued on the subject by the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and by the Early Caliphs, the Muslim jurists have conducted several studies to identify the acts forbidden to the Muslim armies during the fighting. According to Dr. Hamid Ullah, all cruel and torturous ways of killing the enemy are prohibited. The killing of women, minors, servants and slaves, who might accompany their masters in war but do not take part in the actual fighting, is also not allowed. The Muslim armies must also spare the blind, the monks, the hermits, the old, the physically deformed and the insane or the mentally deficient. Forbidden also is the decapitation of the prisoners of war; the mutilation of men and beasts; treachery and perfidy; devastation and destruction of harvests; excesses and wickedness; and

adultery and fornication with captive women. The killing of enemy hostages, and resorting to massacre to vanquish an enemy is prohibited. The killing of parents except in absolute self-defence; and the killing of those peasants, traders, merchants, contractors and the like who do not take part in actual fighting is also not allowed.

A clear and definite divine directive was issued about the prisoners of war. "Therefore, when ye meet the Unbelievers (in fight)," ruled the Book, "smite at their necks; at length, when ye have thoroughly subdued them, bind a bond firmly (on them): thereafter (is the time for) either generosity or ransom"[Al Quran (Mohammad):4]. According to this directive, the Muslims were told that, firstly, their primary consideration in war was to subdue the enemy, and not to take prisoners. Secondly, prisoners could be taken only after the enemy had been thoroughly subdued. Thirdly, once taken they must be treated humanely; the choice being only between generosity and ransom. In the battle of Hunain, the Muslims had captured a large number of prisoners. All of them were repatriated on payment of ransom. The ransom for some of them, who were too poor to pay it, was paid personally by the Prophet (peace be upon him).

Revealed as early as the seventh century AD, the Quranic checks and controls on war reinforce its claim that war has but a limited and restricted purpose to perform in its overall policy and strategy. They also ensure that once unleashed, the military instrument does not become uncontrollable. No other philosophy can match the Quranic instructions about the humanitarian problem involved in war. They stand guard on the Ideology against the

irresponsible and malicious criticism levelled against it by its critics. The general pardon proclaimed by the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) on his triumphal entry back to Mecca as the unquestioned religious and temporal ruler of Arabia is a shining example of the characteristic Quranic restraint in matters pertaining to war. Viewed against the atrocities and bloodshed caused by the world's great conquerors, with which the pages of human history are still reeking, the Quranic concept of war is supreme both, in its humanitarian and moral contents.

A common charge levelled by the critics against Islam, is that it has spread through the sword; a charge which most of its supporters vehemently refute. The truth is that the checks and controls imposed by the Holy Quran on the use of force have no parallel. In practice, there were but few isolated instances where the Muslims transgressed these limits but the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) disapproved of them. It must, however, be understood that the exercise of restraint in war is essentially a two-sided affair. It cannot happen that one side goes on exercising restraint while the other keeps on committing excesses, in such a situation, a time comes when the very injunction of preserving and promoting peace and justice demands the use of limited force. It would be sinful to withhold the use of force under those circumstances. Islam permits the use of the 'sword' for such a purpose. Rather than be apologetic about it, a Muslim should be proud of the fact that, when used, his sword is meant to subdue the forces of tyranny and repression, and to bring peace and justice to mankind. And, it is withheld the very moment these conditions are obtained.

What has been the attitude of other societies and civilizations towards this problem? Dating back to pre-Christian era, the recorded military history gives us adequate information about the attitudes of other nations and communities towards the humanitarian problems involved in war. During this period, wars have been fought among tribes, nations and countries. In these wars, the victors have often treated the vanquished as part of the spoils of war. As late as the middle age, no moral code or ethics of war existed for dealing with the captives and the wounded. In Europe, this problem drew a serious thought only in the eighteenth century, after the Napoleons war initially, some nations adopted isolated humanitarian practices but these measures were later legalized through customs and treaties between the period 1815-1914.

The modern ethics of war are embodied in the Geneva Convention. First convened in 1864, through the efforts of Jean Henry Dunant, a Swiss citizen from Geneva, the Geneva Convention enjoys wide international acceptance today. The three basic principles of the Convention are humanity, solidarity and universality. It provides for the rights of the sick, the wounded, the unarmed civilians and other humanitarian issues including the prisoners of war. Despite the Geneva Convention, however, nothing could prevent the Germans from launching a chemical attack against the Allies in the battle of Ypres in the First World War. In the closing years of the Second World War, the Allies subjected Germany to incessant aerial bombing, killing millions of innocent children and women and destroying non-military targets. The nuclear attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki broke all the previous records of inhuman and merciless human massacre. More recently,

India retained the Pakistani prisoners of war in her captivity for nearly three years.

In Islam, a war is fought for the cause of Allah. A Muslim's cause of war is just, noble, righteous and humanitarian. A victory in Islam is a victory for the cause of Islam. So noble and humanitarian a cause cannot be allowed to be attained through inhuman and undignified ways. Humanitarianism thus lies at the very heart of the Islamic approach to war.¹⁸⁵

7.3.5.3 Strategy of War. The holy Quran has specifically displayed its Strategy of War. In that Strategy the heart and soul of human being has been given priority over the physical strength. Instead of killing, damage and destruction the strategy of peaceful and bloodless method of motivation was set up by the prophet (SM) to wage Jihad. Brigadier S. K. Malik described the Islamic Strategy of War as, " Let us now make an attempt to study the Quranic concept of strategy. The first step to this study is to understand the difference between total strategy, that is, Jihad, and military strategy. The term, Jihad, so often confused with military strategy, is, in fact. the near-equivalent of total of grand strategy or policy-in-execution. Jihad entails the comprehensive direction and application of 'power' while military strategy deals only with the preparation for and application of 'force'. Jihad is continuous and never-ending struggle waged on all fronts including political, economic, social, psychological, domestic, moral and spiritual to attain the object of policy. It aims at attaining the overall mission assigned to the Islamic State, and military strategy in one of the means available to it to do so. It is waged at

individual as well as collective level; and at internal as well as external front.

Waged in its true spirit, and with the multiple means available to it, the Islamic concept of total strategy has the capacity to produce direct results. Alternatively, however, it creates conditions conducive to the military strategy to attain its object speedily and economically. Military strategy thus draws heavily on the total strategy (Jihad) for its successful application. Any weakness or strength in the formulation, direction or application of the total strategy would affect military strategy in the like manner. In the absence of Jihad, the preparation for and application of 'force' to its best advantage would be a matter of exception, not rule. Conversely, optimum preparation and application of the military instrument forms an integral part of Jihad.

What then is the Quranic concept of military strategy? Instructions pertaining to the divine theory on military strategy are found in the revelations pertaining to the battles of Badr, Ohad, Khandaq, Tabuk and Hodaibiyya. Recalling the situation at Badr, the Holy Quran reminded the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him), "Remember, ye implored the assistance of your Lord and He answered you, 'I will assist you with a thousand of angels, ranks'. Allah made it but a message of hope, and an assurance to your hearts: (in any case) there is no help except from Allah, Exalted in Power, Wise [Al Quran(Anfal):9-10]." The Book went further to add, "Remember, He covered you with a sort of drowsiness to give you calm as from Himself,...to strengthen your hearts, and to plant your feet firmly therewith [Al Quran(Anfal):11]."

About Ohad, the Book recalled, "Remember, thou said to the Faithful: Is it not enough for you that Allah should help you with three thousand angels (specially) sent down? 'Yea,'—if ye remain firm, and act aright, even if the enemy should rush here on you in hot haste, your Lord would help you with five thousand angels making a terrific onslaught. Allah made it but a message of hope for you; and an assurance to your hearts: (in any case) there is no help except from Allah, the Exalted, the Wise[Al Quran(Al imran):124-126]." In this battle, a time also came when the Muslims faced a military set-back: At that time, the Almighty Lord, in the words of the Holy Quran, gave them 'one distress after another by way of requital to teach you not to grieve for (the booty) that had escaped you and for (the ill) that had befallen you[Al Quran(Al imran):153].' "After (the excitement) of the distress," the Book recalls, "He sent down calm on a band of you overcome with slumber, while another band was stirred to anxiety by their own feelings, moved by wrong suspicions of Allah—suspicions due to Ignorance[Al Quran(Al imran):154]."

Again in the battle of Hunain, the Muslims were initially defeated and faced a situation nearly to Ohad, although they recovered soon and won a great victory in the end. Talking of that occasion, the Holy Quran says, "Assuredly, Allah did help you in many battle-fields and on the Day of Hunain: behold, Your great numbers elated you, but they availed you naught: the land, for all that it is wide, did constrain you, and ye turned back retreat. But Allah did pour His calm on the Apostle and on the Believers and sent down forces which ye saw not: He punished the Unbelievers: thus doth He reward those without Faith[Al Quran(Tauba):25-26]." Referring to the situation at Hodaibiyya, the Book tells us, "It is He

Who sent down Tranquility in to the hearts of Believers, that they may add Faith to their faith[Al Quran(Fath):18].” Of the Oath of Fealty taken by the Muslims at Hodaibiyya under an extremely difficult situation, the Holy Quran recalls, “He knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down Tranquility to them, and He rewarded them with a speedy Victory[Al Quran(Fath):18].”

In the situations referred to above, we see that whenever Almighty Allah wishes to frustrate and destroy the designs of His enemies, He does so by strengthening the hearts of the Believers, and by sending down calm and tranquility upon them as from Himself. We, therefore, infer that, to prevent our adversaries from imposing their will and decision upon us in war, it is essential for us to maintain a state of calm, assurance, hope and tranquility amongst our ranks. But, what should we do to impose our will and decision upon the enemy? To find answer to this question, let us make another probe in to the Book.

Talking of Badr, the Holy Quran addresses the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him), “Remember, the Lord inspired the angels (with the message), I am with you: give firmness to the Believers: I will instill terror into the hearts of the Unbelievers[Al Quran(Anfal):12].” Again in the battle of Ohad, the Book identified the causes of the Muslims defeat and provided them divine guidance about their future course of action. Should the Muslims observe the divine code of conduct prescribed for them, the Book held out a promise, saying, “Soon shall We cast terror into the hearts of the Unbelievers [Al Quran (Al imran):151].” On the question of instilling terror into the hearts of the enemies, a reference is also available in Sura ‘Ahzab,’ pertaining to the battle

of Khandaq. "And those of the people of the Book who aided them," the Holy Quran referred to the treachery of Banu Quraiza, "Allah did take them down from their strongholds and cast terror into their hearts, (so that) some ye slew, and some ye made prisoners. And He made you heirs of their lands, their houses, and their goods, and of a land which ye had not frequented (before). And Allah has power over all things[Al Quran(Ahzab):26-27]."

We see that, on all these occasions, when God wishes to impose His will upon His enemies, He chooses to do so by casting terror into their hearts. But, what strategy does He prescribe for the Believers to enforce their decision upon their foes? "Let not the Unbelievers think," God commands us directly and pointedly, "that they can get the better (of the Godly): they will never frustrate them. Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies of Allah and your enemies, and others besides, whom ye may not know, but whom Allah doth know[Al Quran(Anfal):59-60]."

The Quranic military strategy thus enjoins us *to prepare ourselves for war to the utmost in order to strike terror into the heart of the enemies, known or hidden, while guarding ourselves from being terror-stricken by the enemy*. In this strategy, guarding ourselves against terror in 'Base'; preparation for war to the utmost is the 'Cause'; while the striking terror into the hearts of the enemies is the 'Effect'. The whole philosophy revolves round the human heart, his soul, spirit and Faith. *In war, our main objective is the opponent's heart or soul, our main weapon of offence against*

this objective is the strength of our own souls, and to launch such an attack, we have to keep terror away from our own hearts.

The Quranic strategy comes into play from the preparation stage, and aims at imposing a direct decision upon the enemy. Other things remaining the same, our preparation for war is the true index of our performance during war. We must aim at creating a wholesome respect for our *Cause* and our will and determination to attain it, in the minds of the enemies, well before facing them on the field of battle. So spirited, zealous, complete and thorough should be our preparation for war that we should enter upon the 'war of muscles' having already won the 'war of will'. Only a strategy that aims at striking terror into the hearts of the enemies from the preparation stage can produce direct results and turn Liddell Hart's dream into a reality.

During peace-time, our 'Will' must find its expression through 'Preparation'. The war of preparation being waged by us during peace is vastly more important than the active war. Strategy has comparatively greater stakes in a drill square, during a training exercise, at a model discussion and in an operational conference than in the theatre or zone of operations. Anything we do or fail to do during peace-time is creating a certain impact—favourable or otherwise—upon our potential adversaries. Seemingly trivial and innocent acts of commission and omission can also accumulate together to assume great importance. We must be constantly conscious of the fact that our strategy is working in full swing during peace-time, and by our actions, we are either contributing towards the attainment of its aim or are undermining it, as the case may be.

Preparation must be 'to the utmost', both in quality and in quantity. It must be a continuous and never ending process. Preparation should be at the plane of total strategy, that is, Jihad, and not of the military instrument alone. Military preparedness will yield the desired results only if it forms a part of the total preparedness. Quantitative preparation may have its physical limitations but qualitative preparation is limited only by our will and energy to acquire it. The lesser the physical resource, the greater must be the stress and reliance of the spiritual dimensions of war. The operational effectiveness of a fighting force depends upon its total strength: physical as well as spiritual. An army might be inferior in one field but should be superior to the opponent in the aggregate. The side that is inferior in the physical strength can draw on its spiritual strength to acquire a higher degree of aggregate strength. Physical strength must, however, be prepared for and applied 'to the utmost'. Physical preparedness is complimentary to spiritual preparedness and *vice versa*; none can compensate or intercede for the other.

Terror struck into the hearts of the enemies is not only a means, it is the end in itself. Once a condition of terror into the opponent's heart is obtained, hardly anything is left to be achieved. It is the point where the means and the end meet and merge. Terror is not a means of imposing decision upon the enemy; it is *the decision* we wish to impose upon him. Psychological and physical dislocation is, at best, a means, though, by no means, conclusive for striking terror into the hearts of the enemies. Its effects are related to the physical and spiritual stamina of the opponent but are seldom of a permanent and lasting nature. An army that practises the Quranic philosophy of war in its totality is

immune to psychological pressures. When Liddell Hart talks of imposing a direct decision upon the enemy through psychological dislocation alone, he is taking too much for granted.

Terror cannot be struck into the hearts of an army by merely cutting its lines of communication or depriving it of its routes of withdrawal. It is basically related to the strength or weakness of the human soul. It can be instilled only if the opponent's Faith is destroyed. Psychological dislocation is temporary; spiritual dislocation is permanent. Psychological dislocation can be produced by a physical act but this does not hold good of the spiritual dislocation. To instill terror into the hearts of the enemy, it is essential, in the ultimate analysis, to dislocate his Faith. An invincible Faith is immune to terror. A weak Faith offers inroads to terror. The Faith conferred upon us by Holy Quran has the inherent strength to ward off terror from us and to enable us to strike terror into the enemy. Whatever the form or type of strategy directed against the enemy, it must, in order to be effective, be capable of striking terror into the hearts of the enemy. A strategy that fails to attain this condition suffers from inherent drawbacks and weaknesses; and should be reviewed and modified. This rule is fully applicable to nuclear as well as conventional wars. It is equally true of the strategy of nuclear deterrence in fashion today. To be credible and effective, the strategy of deterrence must be capable of striking terror into the hearts of the enemy.⁸⁶

7.3.5.4 Principles of War. There are a set of principles of war spelt out clearly in the holy Quran, though not in an organized fashion like the normal military pamphlet or manual written by human being. Those principles are rightly extracted displayed by

the learned military scholar Brigadier S.K. Malik. He organized the Quranic principles of war as follows:

The Quranic maxims on the conduct of war encompass the art of decision making, the supremacy of the aim, selection of objectives, constant striving, and comparative evaluation of situation, domination and aggressiveness, will and determination, patience and perseverance, firmness and steadfastness, and prayers. Within the overall framework of the Quranic concept of the strategy of war, these rules bestow calmness, hope, assurance and moral ascendancy on the Muslim armies and instill terror in the hearts of the enemy. A brief discussion on each of these rules of war follows in the subsequent paragraphs.

Decision Making: "And consult them in affairs (of moment)," the Book instructed the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him),"then, when thou hast taken a decision, put thy trust in Allah. For Allah loves those who put their trust(in Him) [Al Quran 3(al Imran):159]." These lines, revealed on the occasion of Ohad when confusion prevailed regarding the decision about the choice of the battle-field, have three main implications. Firstly, all decisions pertaining to war must be taken after cool, deliberate, thorough and detailed deliberation and consultations. Secondly, the prerogative of the final decision rests with the commander. Thirdly, once taken, the decision must be upheld with single-minded attention and devotion. When everything 'human' has gone into the process of decision making, trust must be reposed in God and all fears, doubts and reservations thrown over-board.

The Supremacy of the Aim: Once the decision is taken, the aim must be kept supreme and uppermost through all the stages of the conduct of war and followed through with utmost zeal. During the Days of Ignorance, the spoils of war and ransom for the prisoners captured during the fighting used to offer great temptation to the belligerents. By a divine injunction, the Holy Quran subordinated these temptations to the primary and overriding aim of destroying the enemy. Considerations like the spoils of war and ransom or generosity for the prisoners were relegated to a secondary position. They were to be attended to only after 'the war lays down its burdens,'[Al Quran(Mohammad):4] or, alternately, after the Muslims had 'thoroughly subdued the land'[Al Quran(Anfal):67].

Selection of Objectives: On the occasion of Badr, the Holy Quran issued instructions to the Muslims about the selection of their objectives. "Smite ye above their necks" it said, "and smite all their finger-tips off them[Al Quran(Anfal):12]." The most sensitive parts of the human body lie above the neck. An effective strike against these parts can finish off the opponent totally. At Badr, however, most of the Koraish warriors were wearing armour. The Holy Quran counselled the Muslims to smite the finger-tips off such opponents. In battle, therefore, we should first identify and strike at the most sensitive and vulnerable, points of our adversary and aim at finishing him off completely. When that is not possible, our effort should be to choose those targets which, when struck, will deprive him of his ability to use his weapons or combat strength against us. We should always avoid hitting the enemy's strength directly with our weakness.

Constant Striving and Struggling: The decision having been taken and the objectives selected, the Book called upon the Muslims to strive and struggle, towards the attainment of the aim, constantly and actively. "Strive and struggle, with your goods and your persons, in the cause of Allah. That is best for you, if ye (but) knew[Al Quran(Tauba):41]," were the repeated Quranic directions on the subject. Striving and struggling implies the spending of one's self in the way of God either through life or property or both. It demands the pursuit of the aim using multiple and alternative plans, methods and techniques. Ceaseless but determined, spirited, and thorough efforts launched in the pursuit of the aim are bound to be crowned with success, soon or late. The real test of this virtue, however, comes under conditions of adversity, not prosperity. The struggle must be kept on with full zeal and confidence; come what the odds.

Comparative Evaluation of Situations: War is an interplay between two or more opposing forces. While assessing or evaluating a military situation, the Holy Quran exhorted the Muslims not to remain unmindful of the enemy situation. The picture would emerge only after a relative assessment of both the sides is carried out. "If a wound hath touched you," the Book assured the Muslims, "be sure a similar wound hath touched the others[Al Quran(Al-Imran):140]." Similarly, it said, "And slacken not in following up the enemy. If ye are suffering hardships, they are suffering similar hardships; but ye have hope from Allah, while they have none[Al Quran(Nisaa):104]." Ability to locate and exploit the enemy's weaknesses even under adverse circumstances is a supreme act of generalship. The great Muslim general, Khalid bin Walid, was an expert in this art, and it accounted much for his

brilliant victories. Successful is the commander who can accurately assess the strength and weakness of his own as well as those of his adversary at all stages of the conduct of war.

Domination and Aggressiveness: The Holy Quran wishes to see the Muslim armies always in an uppermost, dominating and commanding position over those of their adversaries. "When the forbidden months are past," the Book directed them, "then fight and slay the Pagans wherever ye find them, and seize them beleaguer them and lie in wait for them in every stratagem, (of war) [Al Quran(Tauba):5]." The Book wants the Muslims to retain the initiative to themselves through bold, aggressive but calculated and deliberate planning and conduct of war. We shall later see that, despite the gross inferiority of his numbers and material, the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) never let the initiative to pass on to his adversaries. The study of the Prophet's military campaigns will also provide us an insight into some of the methods adopted by him to ensure the retention of the initiative.

Will and Determination: "Be not weary and faint-hearted, crying for peace, when ye should be uppermost." The Holy Quran counselled the Muslims, "for Allah is with you, and will never put you in loss for your (good) deeds[Al Quran(Mohammad):35]." On the same theme, Book instructed the Muslims, "So lose not heart, nor fall into despair: for ye must gain mastery if ye are true in Faith[Al Quran(Al Imran):139]." Referring to the demoralization that gripped them during the battle of Ohad, the Book observed, "How many of the Prophets fought, (in Allah's way), and with them (fought) large bands of Godly men? But they never lost heart if they met with disaster in Allah's way, nor did they weaken (in will)

nor give in[Al Quran(Al Imran):146].” Commenting on those undaunted few who stood to their ground in face of grave danger at Ohad, the Book remarked, “Of those who answered the call of Allah and the Apostle, even after being wounded, those who do right and refrain from wrong have a great reward, Men said to them, ‘A great army is gathering against you:’ and frightened them: but it (only) increased their Faith[Al Quran(Al Imran):172-173].” The Quranic message on this vitally important issue is that men of Faith fighting for a righteous Cause with total Devotion and Submission and willing to make total Sacrifice have no cause to fall into despair or weaken in will and determination.

Patience and Perseverance: The Holy Quran has laid the greatest emphasis on patience and perseverance (Arabic Sabr) as one of the principal war-winning factors. “Allah,” says the Book repeatedly, “is with those who patiently persevere[Al Quran(Anfal):46].” The Holy Quran also claims that the exercise of patience and perseverance can compensate for numerical inferiority. “O Apostle ! rouse the Believers to the fight,” came the divine command at Badr, “if there are twenty amongst you, patient and persevering, they will vanquish two hundred : if a hundred, they will vanquish a thousand of the Unbelievers : for these are a people without understanding[Al Quran(Anfal):65].” “The Arabic word ‘Sabr,’” comments Allama Abdullah Yousaf Ali, “implies many shades of meanings which it is impossible to comprehend in one English word.” In his opinion, it implies patience in the sense of being thorough, and not rash. It also means constancy, firmness of purpose and steadfastness. It entails a systematic, as opposed to spasmodic or chance action. It demands a cheerful attitude of resignation and understanding in sorrow, suffering, crisis or defeat.

Haqqani interprets it as following Reason, and restraining Fear, Anger and Desire. Patience is an aspect of courage which, in turn, is supported and nourished by professional competence of the highest order. In war, human and equipment casualties will occur; plans will be upset and will need modifications; the frictions of war will upset the movement plans; positions will be overrun by the enemy; and attacks will be halted, even repulsed. It will take 'patience' born of professional competence, and moral courage to face these situations, and 'perseverance' to attain the goal, tribulations notwithstanding.'

Firmness and Steadfastness: Firmness and steadfastness go hand with patience and perseverance. "O ye who believe! Fight the Unbelievers who gird you about, and let them find firmness in you[Al Quran(Tauba):123]," was the divine guidance revealed to the Muslims on the eve of the battle of Tabuk. Similar instructions appear in the Book on numerous other occasions. Giving the Muslims the divine concept of firmness and steadfastness, the Book says, "Truly Allah loves those who fight in his Cause in battle array, as if they were a solid cemented structure [Al Quran (Saff):4]." During the conduct of fighting, the Holy Quran bade the Muslims never to turn their backs to enemy, except on two occasions. "O ye who believe!" it directed, "when ye meet the Unbelievers in hostile array, never turn your backs to them. If any do turn his back to them on such a day---unless it be in a stratagem of war, or to retreat to troop (of his own)---he draws on himself the wrath of Allah, and his abode is Hell, ---an evil refuge (indeed) [Al Quran(Anfal):15-16]." The two exceptions recognized were withdrawal as a stratagem of war and the retreat of a detachment of troops to the main body. Allama Abdullah Yousaf Ali interprets

stratagem of war as 'reculer pour mieuz sauter', that is, to go back in order to jump forward or to deceive the enemy by a feint.

Sacrifice: In the Quranic perspective, supreme achievement lies in supreme sacrifice. Sacrifice denotes a bond between Man and God: in it man sacrifices the ephemeral things of this world to obtain, in return, eternal salvation, the fulfillment of his highest spiritual hopes, which the Holy Quran describes as 'achievement supreme.' "Who is he," offers Almighty Allah, "that will loan to Allah a beautiful loan which Allah will double unto his credit and multiply many times [Al Quran (Baqara):245]?" Sacrifice may take the form of bearing suffering, hardships, want, hunger, thirst, fatigue, injury and death. It must be motivated by a selfless spirit of serving the cause. The reward of sacrifice is a life of honor in this world and salvation in the Hereafter. "Never will I suffer to be lost the work of you," promises the Holy Quran, "be he male or female: ye are members, one of another. Those who have left their homes, or been driven out there from, or suffered harm in My cause, or fought or been slain,--verily, I will blot out from them their iniquities, and admit them into Gardens with rivers flowing beneath; a reward from the Presence of Allah, and from His Presence is the best of rewards[Al Quran(Al Imran):195]." The first person singular used by Almighty Allah for purposes of emphasis in these lines is worth noting and should leave us in no doubt about the value of sacrifice. The Holy Quran is full of such injunctions. History stands witness to the fact that a self-sacrificing nation has always come out to be the victorious.

Unity of Thought and Action: During the conduct of fighting, the Holy Quran called upon the Believers to display the highest

standards of mutual love, affection, respect and concern. It enjoined them to hold together the Rope of God, collectively and firmly, and forge unity and cohesion in their ranks. "O ye who believe!," the Book said, "persevere in patience and constancy: vie in perseverance; strengthen each other; and fear Allah; that ye may prosper [Al Quran(Al Imran):200]." The Holy Quran warned them to guard against disunity amongst their ranks, saying, "And obey Allah and His Apostle; and fall into no disputes, lest ye lose heart and your power depart [Al Quran (Anfal):46]." Giving the Muslims the divine concept of unity the Book rules, "And (moreover) He hath put affection between their hearts. Not if thou hadst spent all that in the earth, couldst thou have produced that affection, but Allah hath done it: for He is Exalted in Might, Wise [Al Quran (Anfal):63]." On another occasion, the Book observed, "Mohammad is the Apostle of Allah; and those who are with him are strong against Unbelievers, (but) compassionate amongst each other[Al Quran (Fath):29]." The Muslim military history has it that disunity amongst the Muslim ranks was one of the biggest factors responsible for some of their worst defeats. A glaring example is the battle of Tours, fought and lost by the Muslims due to internal strife, in France in 721 AD. But for mutual dissensions, they stood all chances of winning the battle, and changing the entire course of European history in consequence.

Security and Precautions: The army must observe full precautions to guard itself against being surprised by the enemy. "O ye who believe!," advised the Holy Quran, "take your precautions, and either go forth in parties or go forth all together[Al Quran (Nisa):71]." It also directed the Muslims to take full precautions while engaged in prayers, saying, "When thou (O

Apostle) art with them, and standest to lead them in prayer, let one party of them stand up (in prayer) with thee, taking their arms with them. When they finish their prostrations, let them take their positions in the rear, and let the other party come up—which hath not yet prayed,— and let them pray with the taking all precautions, and bearing arms[Al Quran (Nisa):102].” The Book went on to warn them, “The Unbelievers wish, if ye were negligent of your arms and your baggage, to assault you is a single rush. But there is no blame on you if ye put away your arms because of the inconvenience of rain or because ye are ill; But take (every) precaution for yourselves [Al Quran (Nisa):102].”

Discipline and Obedience: Discipline and obedience forms the very heart of Islam, the religion of submission to the Will of God. The necessity of willing and instant obedience has been emphasized by the Holy Quran on numerous occasions. The discipline and obedience with which the Muslims followed their great leader had since become proverbial. While there are innumerable such examples of submission and obedience, we must constantly remind ourselves of fact that it was indiscipline and insubordination of orders that was, in the main, responsible for the Muslim debacle at Ohad.

Prayers: During the conduct of fighting, the Book calls upon the Muslims to resort to prayers more often than in times of peace. The Quranic philosophy on the subject is that prayers strengthen Faith and protect against psychological pressures. Innumerable are the Quranic instructions of the subject of prayers but we may just remind ourselves of a few. “O ye who believe!,” says the Book, “when ye meet force, be firm, and call Allah in remembrance much

(and often); that ye may prosper[Al Quran (Anfal):45].” As to the Godly response to the prayers, the divine verdict has it, “When My servants ask thee concerning Me, I am indeed close (to them); I listen to the prayer of every suppliant when he calleth on Me: let them also, with a; listen to My call, and believe in Me; that they may walk in the right way [Al Quran (Baqara):186].”

CHAPTER 8-PROPHET'S (SM) TEACHINGS TO ERADICATE TERRORISM

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CHAPTER 8-PROPHET'S (SM) TEACHINGS TO ERADICATE TERRORISM

8.1 **Introduction.** "Islam" is the most vibrated, discussed, researched as well as misunderstood religion. "Jihad" on the other hand, is the most misinterpreted as well as exploited facet of Islam. The messenger (SM) of Allah had displayed the ways and means of "Jihad" throughout his carrier of 23 years in Makkah and Madinah. Knowingly or unknowingly his (SM) role model of Jihad is being misused or exploited through misinterpretation across the world. Even the non-Muslim Western world had utilized their version of Jihad to defeat their archrivals. But, only the prophet's (SM) interpretation and exercise of Jihad is authorized and legal form of Jihad. His (SM) version of Jihad is the complete Islamic revolution. Waging a war was the final stage of his (SM) Jihad, where he followed and imposed a specific as well as humanitarian set of rules of engagement and code of conduct in the battle field. His (SM) battles were only to eliminate but not to perpetrate terrorism. Indeed, the Prophet (SM) left a deep rooted and immensely effective philosophy to eradicate terrorism from the surface of earth.

8.2 **True Perspective of Prophet's (SM) Jihad.** Jihad indeed, is one of the rituals of Islam. The word Islam is an Arabic word derived from the root "Salam" means peace. Another meaning of it is surrendering to Allah unconditionally. The person accepts the spirit of peace and submits himself completely to the Almighty Allah is called Muslim. Therefore, the goal of Islam is establishing peace in this world and in the life hereafter also. Jihad, on the other hand, is the ways and means or strategy to accomplish the mission of Islam. An injustice is done while interpreting the meaning of Jihad as the "Holy War." But in Islam there is nothing called "Holy War". No where in Quran and Sunnah (Biography of Prophet (SM)) the words or phrase "Holy War" had been used. In Islamic dictionary, a war can not be holy or unholy. In Islamic perspective, war is either just or unjust. It has been observed that now-a-days, wherever Muslims are involved in

any war that is termed as Jihad, which not only incorrect also an unjust done towards Islam. The word "Jihad" is the derivative of the Arabic elementary word J-H-D; Jahdu or Jahada. 'Jahada' is a verb in its past form which is very rich in its meaning. The Arabic-English Lexicon provides the following literal translations of the verb:⁸⁷

He strove, labored, or toiled; exerted himself or his power or efforts or endeavors or ability; employed himself vigorously, strenuously, laboriously, diligently, studiously, laboriously, diligently, studiously, sedulously, earnestly, or with energy; was diligent, or studious; took pains or extraordinary pains (in such a things or in the affair).

Jihad is one of the nouns from the root word jahada. It means:⁸⁸

"The using, or exerting, one's utmost power, efforts, endeavors, or ability, in contending with an object of disapprobation".

From the Prophet's (SM) biography it has been seen that Jihad is a wide spectrum of event in which all kinds of activities are included to achieve a goal. The activities encompass starting from calling people to the fold of Islam up to facing the enemy in the battlefield. The Prophet (SM) had followed five distinct stages to conduct his Jihad to establish Islam in the world. Primarily, he (SM) invited the selected people to the fold of Islam. In the second stage of his (SM) Jihadi movement, Prophet (SM) organized those who accepted the new faith. Thirdly, he (SM) purified and trained those people who took the voluntary membership of his (SM) Islamic movement. In the fourth step, Prophet (SM) started an intensive movement to establish Islam in the world. Finally, the Messenger (SM) of Allah had entered the stage of Qital or armed struggles. He (SM) had to wage a protracted war for long ten years to defend his new movement and faith. Therefore, it is cleanly understood that fighting the enemies

in the battlefield is not the Jihad, rather it is called Qital, which is the last and final stage of Jihad. Widely accepted Imam Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328 C.E) asserts that Imam should continue Jihad through two means: one, Da'wah or peaceful propagation of Islam; and two, consolidation of the Muslims in their own land and determined resistance against the foreign invaders.⁸⁹ The Egyptian scholar sheikh Mahmud Shaltut- considered to be an authority on the issue of Jihad in the Muslim world –concluded:⁹⁰

- a. That there is not a single verse in the Qoran which could support the opinion that the aim of fighting in Islam is conversion;
- b. That there are only three reasons for fighting, viz. to stop aggression, to protect the Mission of Islam and to defend religious freedom.

The only major thinker who dealt with the issue of Jihad in the subcontinent Mawlana Mawdudi (1903-79) said any type of Jihad, defensive or other must be in the way of God (fi sabil Allah) and not for any materialistic purpose.⁹¹ The Prophet (SM) himself described different dimensions of Jihad in light of various time, space and situation. His (SM) different version of Jihad is as following:

- a. The best Jihad for you (Hazrat Ayesha -RA) is a pure Hajj (pilgrimage).
- b. The best Jihad for you (one of his companions) is rendering services to your parents.
- c. The best Jihad is speaking the truth on the face of a tyrannical ruler.

d. After returning from a military campaign with his (SM) troops the Prophet (SM) said "we have returned from minor jihad to major Jihad". Here he (SM) meant major Jihad as fighting against the self-instinct.

8.3 Ethics and Values of Prophetic (SM) Jihad. The Messenger (SM) of Allah conducted his Jihad of Islamic movement for long twenty three years relentlessly. The most successful leading exponent of revolutionaries of the entire universe followed specific ethics and values very strictly and also ensured his staffs and followers to do so. He (SM) never violated or allowed any body to violet the ethical values while conducting the Jihad. Indeed, the Prophet's (SM) Jihad was a systematic movement of preaching Islam only. Not a single man was forced to accept his (SM) belief. The holy Quran, the manual of Prophet's (SM) Jihad strictly ordained, "There is no compulsion in religion "[AL Quran 2 (Baqarah): 256]. The Quran left the choice of belief to individual's discretion and declared, "... It is the truth from your lord, Let whoever wishes believe and whoever wishes reject it ..." [Al Quran 18 (Kahf):29]. Quran also set everybody free to practice his own religion as saying, "... To you be your religion, and to me my Religion (Islamic Monotheism)" [Al Quran 109 (Kafirun): 6]. Moreover, the Messenger (SM) of Allah was ordered for inviting the people to the fold of Islam politely with love and affection. It is taught in the Quran, "Invite to the way of your lord with wisdom and fair admonition and argue with them in the kindest way" IAI Quran 16 (Nahl): 125]. When the enemies of Islam were putting resistance to the movement and unleashed criticism and persecution then he (SM) was told, "Be patient with what they say, and keep away from them in a good way" [Al Quran 73 (Muzzammil): 10]. The kind hearted Prophet (SM) had been worried about the salvation of the people in the life thereafter. Therefore, the general people's indifference towards Islam used to make him (SM) highly apprehensive about their fate, which caused his frustrations. He (SM) was then cautioned by Allah the Almighty, "So remind them! You are only a reminder. You

are not a dictator over them “[Al Quran 88 (Ghashiyah): 21-22]. The first principle of the Prophetic (SM) Jihad indeed, was the choice of free will and the role the Prophet (SM) there in, had been only to disseminate the message of Islam. The guiding principle described by the heavenly manual as follows:

So if they dispute with you (Muhammad) say: “I have submitted my self to Allah (in Islam), and (so have) those who follow me. “And say to those who were given the scripture (Jews and Christians) and to those who are illiterates (Arab pagans): “Do you (also) submit yourselves (to Allah in Islam)?” If they do, they are rightly guided; but if they turn away, your duty is only to convey the Message; and Allah is all-Seer of (His) slaves [Al Quran 3 (Imram): 20].

Therefore, there is no forceful conversion in Jihad. Allah forbids that by ordaining, “... And your (Muhammad) are not a tyrant over them (to force them to belief). But admonish by the Quran, him who fears My Warning!” [Al Quran 50 (Qaf): 45]. The next elementary principle of Jihad had been followed by the Prophet (SM) was the only Allah’s cause of all types of Jihadi activities. The Quran guided him (SM) saying, “Therefore listen not To the Unbelievers, but strive against them (by preaching) with the utmost strenuousness, with it (the Quran). [Al Quran 25 (Furqun): 52]. In any account the Jihad must be for the cause of Allah i.e. Fi sabil Allah (through the way of Allah). It is ordered, “And fight in the way of Allah and know that Allah is All-Hearer, All Knower” [Al Quran 2 (Baqarah): 244]. There must not be any slack in sincerity and commitment while conducting Jihad Fi Sabil Allah. Hence, the Muslims were reminded, “and strive hard in Allah’s cause as you ought to strive (with sincerity and with all your efforts that His name should be superior)...” [Al Quran 22 (Hajj): 78]. Jihad in Allah’s way is the only condition to receive divine support. Quran declares, “and those who strive in our (cause), We will certainly guide them to Our Path: For

verily Allah Is with those who do right.” [Al Quran 29 (Ankabut): 69]. The condition to succeed in Jihad is also that Jihad has to be in the Allah’s cause only. It is ordained, “O you who believe! Do your duty to Allah and fear Him. Seek the means of approach to Him, and strive hard in His cause as much as your can. So that you may be successful.” [Al Quran 5 (Maidah): 35]. The Prophet (SM) himself defined the Jihad as saying, “...He, who fights only to establish the glory and sanctity of Quran, is the only individual fighting in the Way of Allah” (Bukhari). the Prophet (SM) had been receiving the guidance to conduct Jihad from Allah, the Almighty time to time. Meanwhile, opposition, resistance and persecution to the Muslims had reached to the peak. They plotted to kill the Prophet (SM) and evicted his (SM) followers from their estates. At this juncture, Prophet (SM) migrated to Madinah along with his followers. But the Makkans did not abandon their hostilities. They planned to attack Madinah and exterminate the Muslims and their faith once for all. Now the critical time and space had arrived to switch over to the final stage of Jihad i.e. Qital or armed struggle had to be exercised by the Muslims. Thus, the first ever green signal for waging war was given like, “Permission to fight is given to those, who are fighting against them, because they (believers) have been wronged, and surely, Allah is Able to give them victory. Those who have been expelled from their homes unjustly... [Al Quran 22 (Hajj): 39-40]. The second commandment for the Armed Jihad was, “And fight in the Way of Allah those who fight you, but transgress not the limits...” [AL Quran 2 (Baqarah): 190]. Above two revelations have eventually set the terms and conditions to wage ware as the final stage of Jihad as follows:

- a. When a battle is enforced on the Muslim.
- b. When the Muslims are persecuted, tortured and intimidated to make their lives at a stake.

- c. If the Muslims are evicted from their homes or land and their estates, assets and other belonging have been seized forcefully.
- d. If the Muslims are oppressed for their religious belief and their religious freedom has been curtailed.
- e. The Armed Jihad must be waged for the right cause and only for the sake of Allah's satisfaction.
- f. While waging the war, the well defined limits must not be transgressed and the Quranic code of conduct for war to be followed.

The Quranic code of conduct for Armed Jihad or the rules of engagement for Qital are as following:⁹²

- a. War is to be waged only with those who encourage and engage it.
- b. Priests in churches, children, women and the elderly must never be harmed.
- c. Sown fields must not be damaged.
- d. Treaties and agreements must not be broken.
- e. Animals must not be harmed.
- f. There must be no cruelty and torture.

- g. Towns must not be destroyed.

Therefore, an Islamic scholar Jaid Yaseen has rightly defined Jihad as follows:⁹³

“Jihad in its truest and purest form, the form to which all Muslims aspire, is the discrimination to do right, to do justice even against your own interests. It is an individual struggle for personal moral behavior. Especially today it is a struggle that exists on many levels: self purification and awareness. Public service and social justice, on a global scale. It is a struggle involving people of all ages, colors and creeds, for control of the big decisions: not only who controls what piece of land, but more importantly who gets medicine and who can eat”.

In fact, the history of Prophet’s (SM) conflict with his (SM) enemies is a unique one in the arena of warfare. He (SM) followed the Quranic code of conduct in waging the wars and achieved the astonishing victory with minimum casualties in the annals of military history. He (SM) was enforced Armed Jihad during his (SM) stay at Madinah for 3604 days. In those days he (SM) fought about eighty skirmishes and battles, in which he (SM) led twenty nine battles directly. It is quite astonishing to note that in all those eighty battles, total killed in actions were 1018; out of which 259 were Muslims and the rest 759 had been from the enemy sides. Marcel A. Boisard had expressed the significance of the Prophet’s (SM) warfare in a very appropriate manner. He said, “... the battle fought by the prophet illustrate the particular nature of Islamic war: it is just in its cause, defensive in its initiative, decent in proceedings, pacific in its end, and humanitarian in its treatment of conquered enemy.”⁹⁴

8.4 Prophet's (SM) Teachings of Peace Initiative: A comprehensive Program to Eradicate Terrorism from the World. The Prophet Muhammad (SM) came to this world when the world was passing through an era of darkness pregnant with social instability, atrocities and terrorism, anarchism, looting, killing, robbing etc all types of socio-economic and political crises. The mission assigned to him (SM) was to bring social order, rooting out terrorism and establish peace in the world. The Prophet (SM) could successfully accomplish his vested task. He (SM) took total 23 years to eradicate terrorism from Arabian peninsula and had set up a universal role model for the present as well as future world to follow the process of peace. He (SM) was indeed, tasked by the Lord, Allah and received a manual, Al Quran for the mission accomplishment. The Manual guided him (SM) perfectly in each and every step to succeed. Therefore, the Manual, Al Quran as well as his (SM) Practical exercise and spelt out philosophy are the universal guidance to eradicate global terrorism of today's world. Therefore, George Bernard Shaw described:⁹⁵

I have always held the religion of Mohammed in high estimation because of its wonderful vitality. It is the only religion which appears to me to possess that assimilating capacity to the changing phase of existence which can make itself appeal to every age. I have studied him... he must be called the savior of Humanity. I believe that if a man like him were to assume the dictatorship of the modern world, he would succeed in solving its problems in a way that would bring it the much needed peace and happiness ...

Therefore, the emergence of the Prophet (SM) is a great favor for the universe. The Quran said, "And we have sent you (SM) not but as a mercy for the Alamin (mankind, Jinns and all other exists)" [Al Quran 21 (Anbiyah): 107]. Really, he (SM) came to his world for the well-being of the mankind as

it is declared, "Verily, there has come unto you a Messenger (SM) from amongst yourselves. It grieves him that you should receive any injury or difficulty. He (SM) is very much well-wisher of yours..." [Al Quran 9 (Tawbah): 128]. The then worst state of socio-economic as well as political condition grieved him (SM). So, he (SM) started thinking the ways and means to rescue the world from that precarious state. The Quran then taught him (SM), "O mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another. Verily, the most honorable of you with Allah is he (who is) the most righteous of you. [Al Quran 49 (Hujurat): 13].

That whole mankind is one community. Geographical and racial or ethnic differences are only to know each other and maintain peace and harmony.

8.4.1 Establishing Justice. Indeed, the then world was just at the verge of destruction owing to the dominance of injustice everywhere in the society. The social fabrics were completely polluted with indiscriminate disorder, anarchy, lawlessness and misjudgment and unjust. Therefore, the Prophet (SM) was instructed to establish justice on the earth, absence of which was the root of all types of social disorder, oppression, tyranny, persecution and terrorism. The instructions are as following:

- a. So judge you between men in truth (and justice). [Al Quran 38 (Saad): 26]
].
- b. God loveth those who judge in equity. [Al Quran 5 (Maidah): 42].

c. Verily! Allah commands that you should render back the trusts to those, to whom they are due; and that when you judge between men, you judge with justice, how excellent is the teaching which He (Allah) gives you! Truly, Allah is ever All-Hearer, All-Seer. [Al Quran 4 (Nisa): 48].

d. O you who believe! Stand out firmly for justice, as witness to Allah, even though it be against yourselves or your parents, or your kin, be he rich or poor, Allah is a Better Protector to both (than you). So follow not the lusts (of your hearts), lest you may avoid justice, and if you distort your witness or refuse to give it, verily, Allah is Ever Well Acquainted with what you do. [Al Quran 4 (Nisa): 135].

e. O you who believe! Stand out firmly for Allah and be just witness and let not the enmity and hatred of others make you avoid justice. Be just: that is nearer to piety, and fear Allah. Verily Allah is Well-Acquainted with what you do. [Al Quran 5 (Maidah): 8].

f. And eat up not one another's property unjustly (in any illegal way e.g. stealing, deceiving, etc.), nor give bribery to the rulers (judges before presenting your cases) that you may knowingly eat up a part of the property of others sinfully. [Al Quran 2 (Baqarah): 188].

g. And O my people! Give full measure and weight in justice and reduce not the things that are due to the people, and do not commit mischief in the land, causing corruption. [Al Quran 11 (Hud): 85].

8.4.2 Killing is Non-Acceptable Crime. Killing of innocent is never accepted in Islam. This is considered to be a heinous most crime in the earth. It would be the greatest offence to kill someone innocent in the name of Jihad or Islam. Only a convicted offender could be executed, through substantial judicial process by a legitimate or competent authority. The Quran declared:

a. ... If any one killed a person not in retaliation of murder, or (and) to spread mischief in the land, it would be as if he killed all mankind, and if any one saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of all mankind... [Al Quran 5 (Maidah): 32].

b. ... Allah has made the life respectable for you, do not kill that except for a just cause... [Al Quran 6 (Anam): 151].

The Messenger (SM) of Allah also warned the act of killing as follows:

a. In the day of judgment, the first trial would be prosecuted of bloodshed and killing. (Al Haditch, Sahih Al Bukhari and Muslim).

b. the God's wrath will be the most on three kinds of people; murderers are one of them. (Al Haditch, Sahih Al Bukhari).

The self killing through suicide is also strictly prohibited in Islam. Suicide is never justified unless it is to kill an armed enemy in the battlefield. Throwing oneself in to a market place or in a public gathering of innocent citizens fitted with explosives is a heinous crime in Shariah Law. Therefore, suicidal attacks are condemned in Islam as following:

- a. ...And not kill yourselves... [Al Quran 4 (Nisa): 29].
- b. ...And do not throw yourselves into destruction and do good. Truly, Allah love the good-doers. [Al Quran 2 (Baqarah): 195].

8.4.3 Islam Forbids Perpetration of Terrorism. The two Quranic words 'Fitnah' and 'Fasad' are the synonym of terrorism, which include all types starting from domestic up to global terrorism. Quran termed terrorism as the gravest offence and ordained, "... And Al-Fitnah is worse than killing... [Al Quran 2 (Baqarah): 191]. Islam warned the perpetrators of terrorism as under:

- a. ... And do good as Allah has been good to you, and seek not mischief in the land. Verily Allah likes not the Mufsidun (these who commits great crimes and sins, oppressors, tyrants, mischief makers, corrupts). [Al Quran 28 (Qasas): 77].
- b. The blame is against those who oppress people with wrong doing and instantly transgress beyond bounds through the land, defying right and justice. For such there will be a penalty grievous. [Al Quran 42 (Shura): 42].
- c. Do no mischief on earth, after it has been set in order, but call on Him with fear and hope (for His Mercy). [Al Quran 7 (Araf): 56].

d. They (over) strive to do mischief on earth. God loveth not those who make mischief. [Al Quran 5 (Maidah): 64].

e. Mischief has appeared on land and sea because of (the meed) that the hands of men have earned, that God may give them a taste of some of their deeds: in order that they may turn back (from evil). [Al Quran 30 (Rum): 41].

f. For the oppressors (wrong-doers), We have prepared a Fire. [Al Quran 18 (Kahf): 29].

g. That home of the Hereafter (paradise), We shall assign to those who rebel not against the truth with pride and oppression in the land nor do mischief by committing crimes. And the good end is for the righteous. [Al Quran 28 (Qasas): 83].

8.4.4 Quranic Philosophy to Develop Comprehensive Social and Global Security. The religion of Islam came to his world to establish eternal peace. The word "Islam" means peace. If we de-abbreviate 'Islam' then it becomes: I Shall Love All Mankind (ISLAM). The Phrase, "peace be upon you" (Salam) is the key words of Islam. The Muslims always converge and get apart with wishing salam to each other as per the Prophet's (SM) teaching. Because, the ultimate goal of Islam is peace. The teachings of peace in Islam are:

a. And the slaves of the most Beneficent (Allah) are those who walk on earth in humility and sedateness, and when the foolish address them (with bad words), they reply back with mild words of gentleness. [Al Quran 25 (Furqan): 63].

- b. The Prophet (SM) said, "I swear by Allah, he is not a believer; from whom the neighbor is not secured". (Al Bukhari, Muslim).
- c. The Prophet (SM) said, "Be gracious to the habitants of the earth, then the Lord of the heavens would be kind to you. (Abu Daud, Tirmidhi).
- d. Help ye one another in righteousness and piety, but help ye not one another in sin and rancor: and fear God. [Al Quran 5 (Maidah): 2].
- e. Enjoin what is just and forbid what is wrong. [Al Quran 31 (Luqman): 17].
- f. But the plotting of Evil will hem in only the authors there of. [Al Quran 35 (Fatir): 43].
- g. For the oppressors (wrongdoers), We have prepared a Fire. [Al Quran 18 (Kahf): 29].
- h. Let them laugh a little: much will they weep: a recompense for the (Evil) they do. [Al Quran 9 (Tawbah): 82].
- j. O you who believe! If a rebellious evil person comes to you with news, verify it, lest you harm people in ignorance, and afterwards you become regretful to what you have done. [Al Quran 49 (Hujurat): 6].

k. And what is wrong with you that you fight not in the cause of Allah, and for those weak, ill-treated and oppressed among men, women, and children, whose cry is: " Our Lord! Rescue us from this town whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from You one who will protect, and raise for us from you one who will help. [Al Quran 4 (Nisa): 75].

l. The Prophet (SM) instructed, "If any one of you sees evil-wrong doing, it is his duty to eradicate that." (Al Bukhari).

m. Allah's wrath will be upon them, who do not take steps to refrain the oppressor from perpetration of his terror acts". (Abu Daud, Tirmidi).

8.4.5 Teaching of Humility. Practicing the policy of humility and modesty is the Prophet's (SM) one of vital facets to succeed in eradicating terrorism. He (SM) is the only leader in the history of the world, who simultaneously taught and manifested humility. His (SM) teachings in this regard are as under:

a. We feed you seeking Allah's Countenance only. We wish for no reward, nor thanks from you. [Al Quran 76 (Insan): 9].

b. Worship God and do not associate anything with Him. Be good to your parents and relatives and to orphans and the very poor, and to neighbors who are related to you and neighbors who are not related to you, and to companions and travelers and your slaves. God does not love anyone vain or boastful. [Al Quran 4 (Nisa): 36].

- c. A good action and a bad action are not the same. Repel the bad with something better and, if there is enmity between you and someone else, he will be like a bosom friend. [Al Quran 41 (Fussilat): 34].
- d. Ward off evil with what is better. We know very well what they express. [Al Quran 23 (Muminun): 96].
- e. You do not return evil for evil, but excuse and forgive. (Bukhari, volume 6, Book 60, Number 362).
- f. Those who spend (in Allah's cause- deeds of charity, alms etc.) in prosperity and in adversity, who repress anger, and who pardon men; verily Allah loves Al-Muhsininun (the good-doers). [Al Quran 3 (Imran): 134].
- g. And turn not your face away from men with pride, nor walk in insolence through the earth. Verily, Allah likes not each arrogant boaster. And be moderate (or show no insolence) in your walking, and lower your voice. Verily, the harshest of all voices is the voice (Braying) of the ass. [Al Quran 31 (Luqman): 18-19].
- h. The Prophet (SM) said, "Allah has sent me message, you should adopt modesty. Do not transgress limit on others nor show pride over others. (Al Haditch, Muslim, Abu Daud).
- j. The Prophet (SM) said, " the best trait is to wish and feed people regardless of known or unknown. (Al Haditch, Bukhari).

k. O you who believe! Let not a group scoff at another group, it may be that the latter are better than the former; not let (some) women scoff at other women, it may be that the latter are better than the former, nor defame one another, nor insult one another by nicknames. How bad is it, to insult one's brother after having faith [i.e. to call your Muslim brother (a faithful believer) as : " O sinner" or "O wicked", etc], And whosoever does not repent, then such are indeed Zalimun (wrong-doers etc.). [Al Quran 49 (Hujurat): 11].

l. The Prophet (SM) said, I swear by whom my soul is in his hand, you will not enter paradise until you believe, and you will not believe until you love each other. Do you want me to guide you to something which if you practice, you will love each other? Spread greeting with peace among of you. (Sahih Bukhari, Book 8 Number 40).

m. "Don't hate one another, don't envy one another, don't sell over the sale to another, don't dispute with one another and don't back-bite one another. The servants of God are brethren to one another."⁹⁶

n. The strong man is not the one who is strong in wrestling, but the one who controls himself in anger.⁹⁷

p. Once the Prophet (SM) raised up on his feet kept standing in honor of a funeral procession. His (SM) companions also followed the Prophet (SM), but informed him (SM) that it was the dead body of a Jew. The Prophet (SM) replied, "So what! Was he not a human

being? He (SM) then instructed them to stand up in honor of any funeral procession."⁹⁸

q. And if anyone of the Mushrikun (polytheists, idolaters, pagans, disbelievers in the Oneness of Allah) seeks your protection then grant him protection, so that he may hear the word of Allah (the Quran), and then escort him to where he can be secure, that is because they are men who know not. [Al Quran 9 (Tawbah): 6].

r. Before launching a campaign, the Prophet (SM) used to brief his generals, "Do not strike to kill the women, children, porter and old men. Don not mutilate dead body."⁹⁹

s. That person is nearest to God, who pardons, when he has someone in his power, one who would have injured him.¹⁰⁰

8.4.6 Islamic Teachings of Tolerance and love. The Prophet (SM) taught his followers to orchestrate extreme tolerance and love to the opponents. He (SM) himself exercised tolerance and love to the highest magnitude and left examples for the humanity. These teachings would remain as key tools to establish peace and prosperity in the world. The Quran ordains:

a. And the slaves of the Most Beneficent (Allah) are those who walk on the earth in humility and sedateness, and when the foolish address them (with bad words), they reply back with mild words of gentleness. [Al Quran 25 (Furqan): 63].

- b. And verily, whosoever shows patience and forgives that would truly be from the things recommended by Allah. [Al Quran 42 (Shura): 43].
- c. ...But if you pardon (then) and overlook, and forgive (their faults), then verily, Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. [Al Quran 64 (Tagabun): 14].
- d. ...Who repress anger, and who pardon men; verily, Allah loves Al Muhsinun (the good-doers). [Al Quran 3 (Imran): 134].
- e. ...And when are angry, they forgive. [Al Quran 42 (Ash Shura): 37].
- f. Show forgiveness, enjoin what is good, and turn away from the foolish (i.e. don't punish them). [Al Quran 7 (Araf): 199].
- g. The recompense for an evil is an evil like thereof, but whoever forgives and makes reconciliation, his reward is due from Allah. [Al Quran 42 (Shura): 40].

The Prophet (SM) also said, "That person is nearest to god, who pardons, when he has someone in his power, one who would have injured him."¹⁰¹

8.4.7 Islamic Teachings of Balanced Human Rights. The Messenger (SM) of Allah had preached and talked about Human Rights (HR) throughout his carrier. His (SM) practices about HR displayed a superb standard in the history of human civilization. His (SM) behavior and conduct with the archrivals, with the prisoners, diehard enemies in the battlefields and the killers of his (SM) kith and kin are the universal

lessons for the humanity. He (SM) listed the category of people who are not pleasing to God as follows:

“Those who act cruelly and unjustly in the sacred lands, those who yearn for the ways of the ignorant, and those who wrongly shed human blood. (Sahih Bukhari Haditch, Ibid, P 53).

The revelations of the holy Quran about HR are as following:

- a. God commands you to return to their owners the things you hold on trust and, when you judge between people, to judge with justice. [Al Quran 4 (Nisa): 58].
- b. Correct and courteous words accompanied by forgiveness are better than charity followed by insulting words. God is Rich Beyond Need, All-Forbearing. [Al Quran 2 (Baqarah): 263].
- c. And in their (pious) properties, there was the right of the beggar, and the Mahrum (the poor who does not ask the others). [Al Quran (Zariyat): 19].
- d. Therefore, treat not the orphan with oppression, and repulse not the beggar. [Al Quran 93 (Duha): 9-10].
- e. And if the debtor is in a hard time (has no money), then grant him time till is easy for him to repay, but if you remit it by way of charity, that is better for you if you did but know. [Al Quran 2 (Baqarah): 280].
- f. O you who believe! Enter not houses other than your own,

until you have asked permission and greeted those in them that is better for you, in order that you may remember. And if you find no one therein, Still, enter not until permission has been given. And if you are asked to go back, go back, for it is purer for you, and Allah is All-Knower of what you do. [Al Quran 24 (Nur): 27-28].

g. O you who believe! Let not a group scoff at another group, it may be that the latter are better than the former; nor let (some) women scoff at other women, it may be that the latter are better than the former, nor defame one another, nor insult one another by nicknames. [Al Quran 49 (Hujarat): 11].

h. O you who believe! Avoid much suspicions, indeed some suspicions are sins. And spy not, neither backbite one another. [Al Quran 49 (Hujurat): 12].

j. Allah does not forbid you to deal justly and kindly with those who fought not against you on account of religions and did not drive you out of yours homes. Verily Allah loves those who deal with equity. [Al Quran 60 (Mumtahinah): 8].

In light of the Quranic Teachings, the great Prophet (SM) established the most expected HR in the earth. He (SM) said in this regard:

a. God has sent me instructions, "you should adopt modesty. Do not exceed your limit over other and do not carry out act of boasting over other." (Haditch-Muslim, Abu Daud).

b. When you three remain together, two of you must not

whisper leaving the third one alone. Because, the rest one would be hurt. (Haditch-Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Daud, Tirmidi).

c. Who possesses two men's meal he should include a third man while taking food. Likewise, the man having four person's meal should feed a fifth and five men's meal possessor to feed a sixth men. (Huditch –Bukhari, Muslim).

d. Who possesses an additional transport; he should give that to a man having none. And the man having excess money of traveling expenditure, he should give that to a man who has no money to travel. (Haditch – Bukhari, Abu Daud).

e. It is unlawful for you to shed the blood of one another or take (unlawfully) the fortunes of one another. They are as unlawful, (Haram) as shedding blood on such a day as today (Day of Arafah) and in such a month (Dhul Hijjah) as this Haram month and in such a sanctified city as this sacred city (i.e. Makkah and the surrounding areas). [Prophet's (SM) address on the Farewell Pilgrimage].¹⁰²

8.4.8 Ethical Diplomacy and International Relations. The Messenger (SM) of Allah has taught and practiced a balanced pattern of diplomacy branded with principle, ethics, humility, welfare, and honor. He (SM) composed the first ever written constitution of world to bring the various tribes and nations into a state framework and brought peace and stability in Madinah. He (SM) also successfully brought the other nations and tribes of the desert of Arabia with superb diplomacy and maintained friendly diplomatic relations with the then superpowers of Persian and Roman Empires. To maintain the just-based diplomatic relations with

international community the Prophet (SM) followed the divine principles as follows:

- a. ... Help each other to goodness and goodliness. Do not help each other to wrongdoing and enmity. Have fear of God. God is severe in retribution. [Al Quran(Maidah)5:2].

- b. And turn not your face away from men with pride, nor walk in insolence through the earth. Verily, Allah likes not each arrogant boaster. [Al Quran 31 (Luqman): 18].

- c. And walk not on the earth with conceit and arrogance. Verily, you can neither rend nor penetrate the earth, nor can you attain a stature like the mountains in height. [Al Quran 17 (Isra)): 37].

- d. When you are greeted with a greeting, greet in turn, with what is better than it, or (at least) return it equally. Certainly, Allah is Ever a Careful Account Taker of all things. [Al Quran 4 (Nisa): 86].

- e. O you who believe! If a rebellious evil person comes to you with news, verify it, lest you harm people in ignorance, and afterwards you become regretful to what you have done. [Al Quran 49 (Hujurat):6].

- f. O you who believe! Stand out firmly for Allah, be just witness, and let not the enmity and hatred of others make you avoid justice. Be just: that is nearer to piety, and fear Allah. Verily,

Allah is Well Acquainted with what you do. [Al Quran 5 (Maideh): 8].

g. O mankind! We have created you from a male and female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another. [Al Quran 49 (Hujurat): 13].

h. ... And fulfill (every) covenant. Verily! The covenant will be questioned about. [Al Quran 17 (Isra): 34].

8.4.9 Muslim's Emergence was to Establish Peace and Justice.

The purpose of the emergence of Muslim Ummah was to establish peace and justice in the earth. The Prophet (SM) turned a terror-torn society into paradise within only twenty-three years. Following his (SM) teachings the robbers became the custodians of others' properties, the ferocious terrorists became the most modest and noble ones, the notorious stupid became most gentleman, the desperate disgruntled peoples became most pious, the arch-rivals became the dearest friends to each other, and an atrocity ravaged society had seen the hope of life and prosperity. The teachings were ordained through the Holy Quran to the Prophet (SM) as under:

a. Among these We have created, a community guides with the Truth, and establishes justice therewith. [Al Quran 7 (Araf): 181].

b. The men and women of the believers are friends of one another. They command what is right and forbid what is wrong, and perform prayer and pay charity tax, obey God and his Messenger (SM). They are the people on whom God will have mercy; God is Almighty, All Wise. [Al Quran 9 (Taubah): 71].

c. And say to My servants that they should only say those words that are the best. (Because) Shaitan (Satan) verily, sows disagreements among them. Surely, Shaitan (Satan) is to man a plain enemy. [Al Quran 17 (Isra): 53].

d. Let there be a community among you who call to the good, and enjoin the right, and forbid the wrong. They are ones who have success. [Al Quran 3 (Imran): 104].

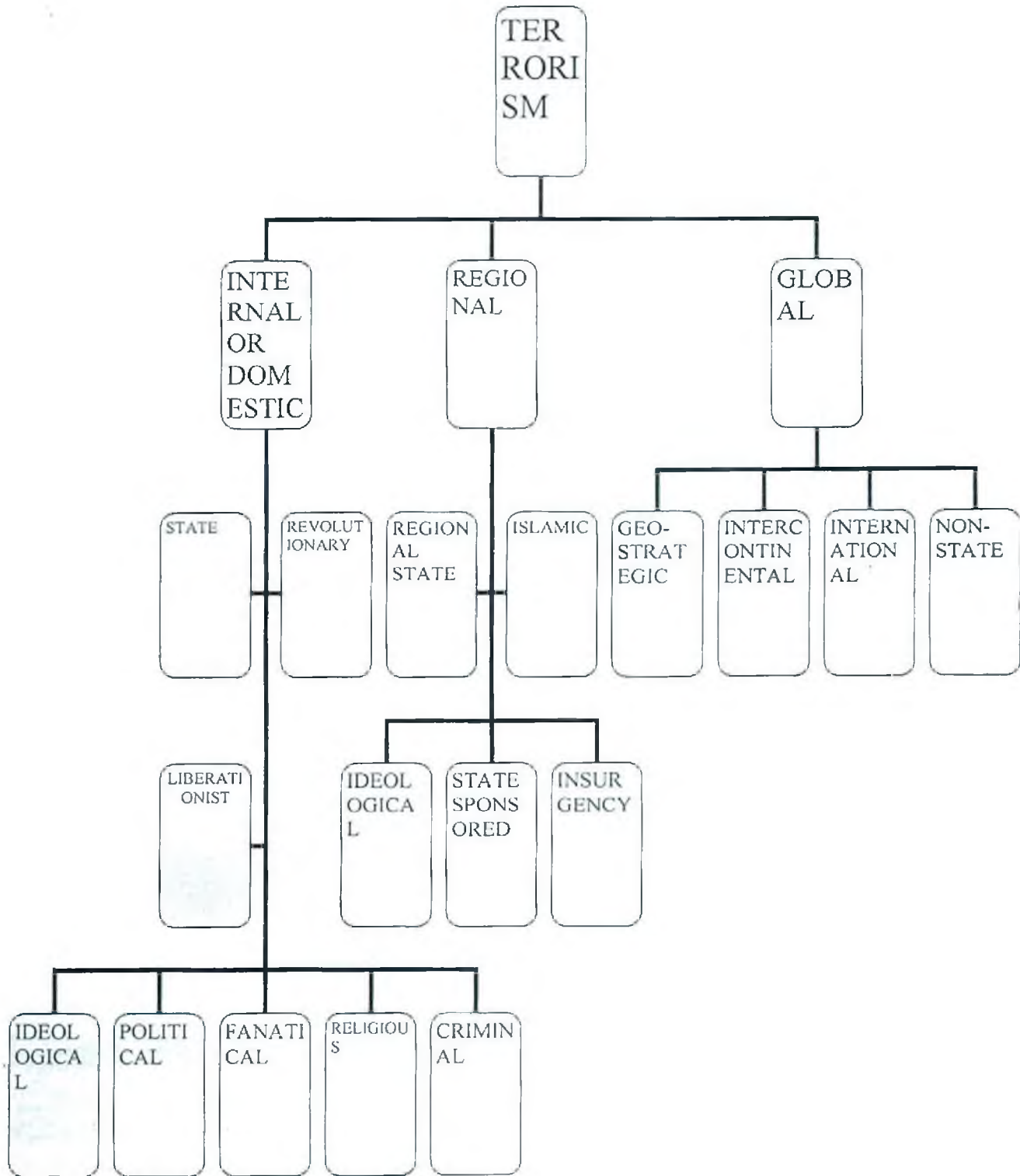
e. You are the best nation ever raised up for mankind. You enjoin the right, forbid the wrong and believe in God. If the people of the book were to believe, it would be better for them. Some of them are believers, but most of them are deviators. [Al Quran 3 (Imran): 110].

f. (They are those who, If We give them power in the land, (they) establish Regular prayer and give Zakat, enjoin the right and forbid wrong... [Al Quran 22 (Hajj): 41].

CONCLUSIONS

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The modern brand of terrorism is causing blood bath to many innocents everyday, but the world is yet to reach in a consensus about defining terrorism. The scholars are indeed in great dilemma and also contradict each other while defining it. The Oxford English Dictionary defines, a policy intended to strike with terror those against whom it is adopted; the employment of methods of intimidation; the facet of terrorizing or condition of being terrorized. In the Holy Quran, The term "Fitnah" and "Fasad" have been used to deliver ordinances against terrorism. Fitnah means the causes which disrupt and destabilized the normal human life and Fasad stands for the events which cause disruption of human belief, culture, religion etc. Till to date there are about one hundred definitions about terrorism have been given by the experts. Types or forms of terrorism are again another aspect where the scholars differ from each other like the definitional discourse. The experts have categorized terrorism in many forms, which often tend to overlap each other. However, terrorism has got three main forms like Domestic, Regional and Global terrorism. The various types of terrorism are shown in a tree form as under:



The terrorists employ various types of tactics to perpetrate their heinous acts. With the advent of technological advancement the tactics and methods of perpetration have become more modernized. However, the methods terrorists commonly employ to accomplish their mission are as under:

Arson; bombs in vehicles; remote control explosions; 'Molotov cocktails; biological and chemical materials disseminated offensively; grenades; gun attacks (hand and automatic); mortar attacks; attacks with rocket launchers; knife attacks; machete attacks; hijacking of vehicles and aircrafts; hostage taking; kidnapping torture; sabotage attacks on building, public facilities and transport; assassination (of individuals and groups); letter bombs; stoning; vandalism leading to serious injury or death.

At the moment, more than hundred terrorist outfits are active across the world in about seventy countries. The most infamous of them are; Al Qaida, LTTE, ETA, IRA etc. Internal terrorism is basically the domestic form of terrorism. Ideological terrorism took heavy toll in Bangladesh – especially in North-Western and South-Western part - since the independence. Indeed, the Ideological terrorism commenced in Bangladesh is just the extension of communist movement that started in Naxalbari in 1967 within the proximity of the then East Pakistan's Western border. In the view of many, political terrorism started for a short period immediately after December 16, 1971. Since then the terrorist activities in the name of politics continued through the decades. Thereby, a culture of political terrorism is being practiced in Bangladesh, which encompasses domination showdown, tender terrorism, muscle demonstration, vote rigging, extortion, attacking the rally of other political parties, vandalism, looting, killing, assassination etc. However, the country had experienced the worst forms of political terrorism perpetrated in 1975 and 1981 in which two presidents of Bangladesh including four leading political figures were brutally killed. The

history of fanatical terrorism in Bangladesh is not too far. It just started to occur since 1999. Initially, this type of terror group used to carry out their heinous perpetration clandestinely till 17 August 2005, when they successfully exploded near simultaneous bombs in 63 out of 65 districts of Bangladesh and delivered leaflets to pronounce their coming call. Bangladesh is bleeding since 1970s due to ethnic terrorism in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). They unleashed anarchism in the hilly areas, perpetrated extortion, rape, kidnap, looting, robbing, threatening, torturing and killing the non-tribesmen etc. They also killed hundreds of security men by laying ambush or launching raid on the routine security patrols along the far flung areas of deep forests. The criminal terrorism is the most common form of terrorism being perpetrated in Bangladesh. The activities of miscreants generally cause the overall deterioration in the law and order situation. They resort to atrocities to the general citizens to have unlawful possession over their wealth and property. Though there are various types of terrorism causing a huge toll in terms of life and material, but the political terrorism is the most dangerous and disastrous for Bangladesh. However, the ideological terrorism is at the state of down sliding and substantially controlled by the law enforcing agencies. Internal feuds and constant chasing by security agencies have reduced their activities to a tolerance level. Fanatical terrorism on the other hand, is under tight controlled by RAB.

The entire South Asian region is bleeding since the partition of sub-continent in 1947, caused by terrorism. The use of terror as the effective weapon of separatist elements was being practiced in Indian Sub-continent since long. The regional countries are suffering from terrorism stemmed either from within or imposed by neighboring or other foreign countries. The Maoism and the Naxalites are posing the most dangerous threat to the democratic governance in geographically the widest area in South Asian region. There are many terrorist groups including five infamous terror outfits are active in the region. Most influential groups are the People's War Group (PWG) and the Communist Party

(Red Flag), which have the transnational agenda. The Maoist threat appears to have overtaken all other insurgencies in India from the point of geographical spread. At least 165 districts in 14 states, out of total of 602 districts in the country, were affected by various levels of Maoist mobilization and violence by the end of year 2005. The another hallmark of Ideological terrorism in the region is Maoist movement in Nepal. They apparently succeeded after about ten years brutal movement which cost heavy toll of about 13000 lives of Nepali innocent civilians, member of armed forces and Maoist guerrillas. Actually the South Asian Region is mostly affected by the State Sponsored Terrorism. The blame and counter blame of the regional states for sponsoring terrorism to another state and also the small states' blame to the bigger state of harboring terrorists have become very common phenomena in the region. Whatever the case may be, the hard reality orchestrated that the perpetration of terrorism is taking huge toll of human lives in the region each and every day. The terrorists, based on insurgencies have dangerously affected the south Asian region. Sri Lanka has been torn down by the LTTE insurgents for two decades. The Government could defeat the LTTEs apparently in May 2009. But, by then about 100,000 lives were taken by the acts of terrorism and another hundreds of thousands were displaced, tortured and maimed. The SBs in CHT of Bangladesh have killed thousands of armed and unarmed citizens till treaty was signed in December 1997. In the region, India is the most sufferer country from insurgency terrorism. Almost all the states of North Eastern India are besieged with separatist elements. The religious terrorism on the other hand, is continuously threatening the internal security of India. Sometimes, it causes embarrassment to the Indian peoples and government. Being the biggest secular democracy in the world, existence of multi-religio-cultural communities renders religious violence across the country.

With the process of globalization the principles, feature and nature of terrorism have been changed drastically. The terrorists' motivation, purpose,

tactics, methods selection of targets, lethality of perpetration, capability to reach and weapons of attack have gone far modernized, sophisticated and globalize, in nature. The genesis of global terrorism could be traced back to the 1870s, when Bakuninist Anarchist was active in Europe. The Japanese United Red Army with its professed aim of "world revolution" was another hallmark of globalization of terrorism. In the modern days, the terrorism has engulfed the entire world. It has emerged as a menace in modern world. Today, the world is simply a small international community. What affects a society directly or indirectly influences the another society. This process of globalization connotes the use of violence by a dissident group or nation to avenge against the actions of a powerful state in another country allied to that state to achieve a stated mission. It is like Iraq's use of scud missiles against Israel during the Gulf War, albeit Israel was not at war with Iraq. Therefore, Iraq's launching of scud at Israel, the ally of America had proved that the world is vilagized or globalized due to the availability of technological weapons. Indeed, the chronological geo-political development in the Middle-East is the point of initiation of today's global terrorism. Another landmark in the arena of Global terrorism is the events of Libyan terror activities.

Basically, Al Qaeda is the legacy of American secret operations in Afghanistan to defeat Soviet occupation since 1979 to 1989 through CIA and Inter services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan. Primarily, OBL and Azzam founded Al Qaeda in 1989 in Afghanistan to keep "alive the Jihadist spirit among Muslims in General, and Arabs in particular, by opening bases for their Jihad along with maintaining contact lines with them", after the Afghan struggle ended against the Soviets. Thereafter, OBL decided to carry out jihad across the Muslim world to overthrow corrupt Muslim regimes and relieving the oppressed Muslim brethren. In February 1998, Bin Laden and a group of leading fellow extremists declared that it is the duty of all Muslims to kill Americans, including civilians and their allies, whenever, the opportunity arises. The heinous attacks on Twin Tower in New York on 11 September 2001 caused to be unleashed the war on

terror across the earth. The war initiated by U.S in retaliation to the Twin Tower attacks engulfed the entire global village. U.S unilaterally attacked Afghanistan to punish the Taliban regime for harboring OBL and his Al Qaeda network on 7 October 2001. They carried out indiscriminate aerial bombing, strafing, launched missiles, precision rockets, and cluster bombs in civilian as well as military areas on the suspected targets of their own choice. Thousands of American and NATO soldiers poured in Afghanistan, launched offensives on Taliban militants as well as on unarmed suspected Taliban. Thus, hundreds of thousands of Afghans have been killed, maimed and wounded. Another several millions were displaced. The war on terror is being continued in Afghanistan for about eight years without any substantial achievement on the side of America. Rather, it is getting more and more global shape very rapidly. The U.S.A and Western powers are also waging the war on global terrorism simultaneously in Iraq, basing on false allegations. The Bush Administration alleged that Iraq possessed the weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD). They also blamed Saddam to had collaboration with OBL in 9/11 attacks, where about three thousand Americans were killed. Therefore, Anglo-American Forces invaded Iraq in March 2003. The Saddam regime had been collapsed within a month and Iraq was captured. President Bush declared the victory in Iraq in April 2003, but till to date, the Iraqis are running their insurgency operations. The occupant forces' soldiers are being attacked regularly, while they have established there a reign of terror. Their perpetrations of terrorism in Iraq include some of the worst war crimes like raping, killing and burning of civilian victims, let alone shooting cold-bloodedly at any one. Besides, prisoners' persecution in number of concentration camps or jails across Iraq is a well known event to the world. About fifty thousand apprehended youths are subject to such kind of terrorism in Iraq.

Combating terrorism without understanding its underlying causes is just like hitting around the bush. Terrorists indeed, are generally driven to perpetrate acts of terrorism due to variety of motives - whether rational or irrational - in

which extreme forms of violence are utilized to express and redress specific grievances and demands. Root causes of terrorism consist of combination of multiple factors and circumstances, ranging from general to specific, global, regional, or local, societal or individual levels. The causes may also be structural or psychological, dynamic or static, facilitating or triggering events or other possible variations. Therefore, to combat terrorism, it is essential to research and systematically map the spectrum of root causes underlying a rebellion's origins, grievances and demands. Weakness in democratic process and lack of rule of law shed many forms of domestic terrorism. The terrorist groups or individuals find their easy space in such kind of nation states. Political violence and anarchism cause to unleash governmental coercion and systematic persecution on the citizens indiscriminately. The social injustice is the prime motivating factor behind all types of terrorism. Cumulative social injustice leads an individual, a group, a community towards the violent revolt through atrocity or terrorism, even at transnational horizon. Fikri Abdulmahdi (1992) suggest that the major factors behind terrorism are the conflict between the West and East during the cold war era, the Israeli occupation of Arab lands, savage Middle Eastern security intelligence forces, and the policing methods of dictatorial regimes in the Middle East. Extremism is one of the main motivating factors for perpetration of terrorism. Secular or religious extremism both may contribute to terrorism also. The apparent clash of civilization erupted in the post 9/11 world. The Bush Administration identified the Al Qaeda of OBL as the main perpetrator of 9/11, though substantial evidence is yet to be produced. Instantly, USA declared the "Crusade" against the so called Islamic terrorism. Thereafter, fierce attack in Afghanistan, invasion in Iraq, Israeli invasion in Palestine, Israel-Hezbollah war in Lebanon, U.S-Iran tension over nuclear issues and finally exporting war on terror in the land of Pakistan; all those are the apparent manifestation of the clash of civilization theory Samuel Huntington. The sudden flare up of modern global war has got its roots in the ongoing Iraq and Afghan wars. In the framework of global war on terror the U.S.A and her Western allies crumbled the Taliban

regime for allegedly harboring OBL and enforced a prolong war on them. After completing the total destruction of Taliban, they invaded Iraq alleging her possessing WMD and maintaining secret linkage with Al Qaeda. Both the wars failed to yield any positive result for the global welfare, but successfully could drive the affected Muslim citizens towards the hardliner retaliation as the tactics of weaker side.

The genesis of modern Islamic movement could be traced back to the foundation of 'Islamic Brotherhood' in Egypt by Hasan-al-Banna back in 1928. Over the decades this movement shaded many other organizations across the Muslim world. This movement was also intercepted and blended with various new concepts of different Islamic leaders and thinkers before it got derailed by OBL in the recent years who gave it the shape of global terrorism. The Afghan invasion of Soviet Russia in 1979 had sown the seed of Al Qaeda and this was CIA, who fostered and nurtured OBL to turn into the global terrorist. CIA indeed, recruited the fiery clerics like Palestinian Abdullah Azzam and Egyptian 'blind Shaikh Dr. Omar Abdur Rahman and also Saudi Millionaire OBL to collect Muslim youths from across the world and organize them to wage the war against the non-believer Soviet Empire. Taliban are, therefore, the byproduct of Westerner's 'Holy Jihad' against Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan. This Taliban were born in the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, where the Jamiat-E-Ulema Islam (JUI) used to run hundreds of religious school mainly in Psthun areas of Pakistan.

The followed strategy, tactics and technique of Hazrat Muhammad (SM) is the only alternative in the modern world to abolish terrorism and bring peace and prosperity. Because, till to date there is no success story in the history other than Prophet's (SM) success in combating terrorism. Therefore, the great Philosopher George Bernard Shaw argued, "I believe that if a man like Muhammad were to assume the dictatorship of modern world, he would succeed

in solving its problem in a way that would bring it the much-needed peace and happiness". Indeed, the Prophet (SM) of Islam was sent down as the symbol of global peace in the Earth. The holy Quran declares:

"We send you (Prophet) Mohammad not, but as a Mercy for the whole of Universe" [Al Quran-21 (Anbiya): 107].

Indeed, the Prophet (SM) of Islam was sent down as the symbol of global peace in the Earth. Even before being blessed with the Prophet hood, he (SM) started taking initiative for conflict resolution in the conflict-torn society of Makkah. Thereafter, throughout his carrier for about 23 years, the Prophet (SM) had striven to eradicate terrorism and enshrine peace and prosperity in the world. That was the era of dark in the history of mankind, known as "Iyam-e-Jahelia" to the civilized society. The terrorism had engulfed the entire world. Reign of terror was the only means of survival in the society, where perpetration of terrorism was the matter of bravery and pride. The Messenger (SM) of Allah became very anxious about the security of the Mankind and started thinking how to bring peace in the society. He (SM) gathered the selected youths and forged a peace building organization Hilful Fujul to enforce peace in Arabia. After hijrah (Migration) in Madinah, the Prophet (SM) found that Madinite society had been divided into segments of various tribes, clans and different religious communities. Disputes, mistrusts, jealousy, intolerance, ethnicity and communality may any time trigger the inter-tribal clash in and around the then Madinah. He (SM) quickly appreciated the magnitude of the situation started working to bring unity and peace in Madinah. The Prophet (SM) then called all the community leaders and formulated a peace accord namely "Madinah Sanad", the first ever written constitution in the history of political science. The Prophet's

(SM) Islamic revolution in deed, is the most successful as well as unique in the history of world's religions, ideologies and theories. To succeed, he (SM) had to strive for long twenty three years. He (SM) did not adopt any unfair means to secure an overnight success. Even, there is not a single evidence of perpetration of terror act. Rather, he (SM) himself was persecuted severely along with his family and followers. There is no instance of persecution of such magnitude to a Prophet or revolutionist leader in the history of revolution. He (SM) was severely tortured, psychologically and physically during entire period of the Islamic movement, his companions were brutally tortured and executed. An economic sanction was imposed on his (SM) clan for long three years. Even he (SM) was stoned to bleed for calling the people to the fold of Islam. Finally, the Quraishites plotted to execute the Prophet Mohammad (SM). At this backdrop, the Messenger of Allah (SM) migrated to Madinah and set up a small Islamic state with the overwhelming supports of Madinites. There also the Qurashites made all out ventures to destroy the Muslims and their new state. They imposed a long drawn war against Madinah including three major pitched battles. Despite the all out resistance put up by Quraishites, the Prophet (SM) advanced with his (SM) movement with steady pace through infinite patience and tolerance. Finally, he (SM) recaptured Makkah by a silent offensive when the Makkans were caught by surprise. In the bloodless attack, the Makkans surrendered to him spontaneously. The messenger of Allah entered the Kabah with his big triumph forces and forgave the Quraishites' enmity, all their misdeeds and terrorist activities, which they had been perpetrating for last twenty years.

"Islam" is the most vibrated, discussed, researched as well as misunderstood religion and "Jihad" is the most misinterpreted as well as exploited facet of Islam. The messenger (SM) of Allah had displayed the ways and means of "Jihad" throughout his carrier of 23 years in Makkah and Madinah. Jihad indeed, is one of the rituals of Islam. The word Islam is an Arabic word derived from the

word "Salam" means peace. Another meaning of Islam is surrendering to Allah unconditionally. The person accepts the spirit of peace and submits himself completely to the will of Almighty Allah is called Muslim. Therefore, the goal of Islam is establishing peace in the world as well as in the life hereafter. Jihad on the other hand, is the ways and means or strategy to achieve the aim of Islam. Jihad is one of the nouns from the root word jahada. It means:

"The using, or exerting, one's utmost power, efforts, endeavors, or ability, in contending with an object of disapprobation".

From the Prophet's (SM) biography it has been seen that Jihad is a wide spectrum of event in which all kinds of activities are included to achieve a goal. The activities encompass starting from inviting people to the fold of Islam up to facing the enemy in the battlefield. In conducting Jihad the Prophet (SM) had followed five distinct stages to establish Islam in the world. Primarily he (SM) invited the selected people to the fold of Islam. In the second stage of his (SM) Jihadi movement, Prophet (SM) organized those who accepted the new faith. Thirdly, he (SM) purified and trained those people took the membership of his (SM) Islamic movement. In the fourth step, Prophet (SM) started an intensive efforts to establish Islam in the world. Finally, the Messenger (SM) of Allah had entered the stage of Qital or armed struggles. He (SM) waged a protracted war for long ten years to defend his faith. Therefore, it is clearly understood that fighting the enemies in the battlefield is not the Jihad rather that is Qital, which is the last and final stage of Jihad. Indeed, the Prophet's (SM) Jihad was the systematic movement of preaching Islam only. Not a single man was forced to accept his (SM) belief. The holy Quran, the manual of Prophet's (SM) Jihad strictly ordained, "There is no compulsion in religion "[AL Quran 2 (Baqarah): 256]. The Quran left the choice of belief to individual's discretion and declared, "... It is the truth from your lord, Let whoever wishes believe and whoever wishes reject it..." [Al Quran 18 (Kahf):29]. The Quran also set everybody free to

practice his own religion as saying, "... To you be your religion, and to me my Religion (Islamic Monotheism)" [Al Quran 109 (Kafirun): 6]. Moreover, the Messenger (SM) of Allah was ordered for inviting the people to the fold of Islam politely with love and affection. It is taught in the Quran, "Invite to the way of your lord with wisdom and fair admonition and argue with them in the kindest way" [Al Quran 16 (Nahl): 125]. When the enemies of Islam were putting resistance to the movement and unleashed criticism and persecution then he (SM) was told, "Be patient with what they say, and keep away from them in a good way" [Al Quran 73 (Muzzammil): 10].

Therefore, the Manual of Islamic Jihad, Al Quran as well as the Prophet's (SM) practical performance and spelt out philosophy are the universal guidance to eradicate global terrorism of today's world. The Prophet (SM) was instructed to establish justice on the earth, absence of which is the root of all types of social disorder, oppression, tyranny, persecution and terrorism. On the other hand, killing of innocent is never accepted in Islam. Quran termed terrorism as the gravest offence and ordained, "... And Al-Fitnah is worse than killing... [Al Quran 2 (Baqarah): 191]. The Muslims always converge and get apart with wishing salam to each other as per the Prophet's (SM) teaching. Practicing the policy of humility and modesty is the Prophet's (SM) one of vital facets to succeed in eradicating terrorism. He (SM) is the only leader in the history of the earth who simultaneously taught and manifested humility. The Prophet (SM) taught his (SM) followers to orchestrate extreme tolerance and love to the opponents. He (SM) himself exercised tolerance and love to the highest magnitude and left examples for the humanity. These teachings would remain as key tools to establish universal peace and prosperity in the world. The Messenger of Allah (SM) had preached and talked about Human Rights (HR) throughout his carrier. The Messenger (SM) of Allah has taught and practiced a balanced pattern of diplomacy branded with principle, ethics, humility, welfare, and honor. The purpose of the emergence of Muslim Ummah was to establish peace and

RECOMMENDATIONS

justice in the earth. The Prophet (SM) successfully turned a destructed society into paradise within twenty-three years. Following his (SM) teachings the robbers became the custodians of others properties, the ferocious terrors became the most modest and noble ones, the notorious people became most gentleman, the desperate disgruntles became most pious personalities, the arch-rivals became the dearest friends to each other and a destroyed society started showing the hope of life and prosperity.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The research work finally suggests to recommend the followings:

- a. It is found that 'injustice' is the main cause, which generates terrorism at every levels -- starting from individual up to global sphere. Therefore, the Prophet's (SM) basic teaching of 'justice' has to be implemented to eradicate terrorism from this world.
- b. The spirit of Jihad is being misunderstood, misinterpreted as well as exploited by a small vested segment of the Muslim community. Therefore, the real spirit and meaning of Islam and Jihad - in light of Prophet's (SM) teaching - to be circulated and propagated across the world by a credible authority, formed by KSA as well as OIC.
- c. OIC should come forward to arbitrate the ongoing global war on terror between the Western and Islamic extremist groups. The Westerners on the other hand, have to resort to the diplomatic approach in order to combat the global terrorism; where OIC and KSA may play their active roles in the light of Prophet's (SM) teachings of arbitration and diplomacy.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX-1

Terrorism in Bangladesh*

Bangladesh has suffered in recent times from outbursts of extremist violence and terrorism. Despite its historical and social dynamics that are loaded against any form of terrorism based on religious extremism. This new and undesirable phenomenon appeared in the country even before 9/11. The major early incidences were:

- On 6 March 1999, explosions at the Udichi's (a secular independent cultural organization) cultural function in Jessore district left 10 people dead and over 100 injured.
- Same year on 8 October 8 people were killed and 30 others injured in a bomb blast at Ahmedia Masjid in Khulna. It was followed by another bomb blast at Alai Pak Darbarsharif – a center for congregation of followers of Sufi (mystic type of) Muslim holy men in Faridpur district, killing 4 people.
- On 20 January 2001, 7 people were killed in bomb blasts at the Communist Party Bangladesh rally at Paltan Maidan and nearby Awami League office at Bangabandhu Avenue, Dhaka.
- Two months later on 14 April 2001, the first day of Bengali New Year, 10 people were killed and some 50 wounded in bomb explosions at a cultural function at Ramna Park in Dhaka.

* Source: Mizanur Rahman Shelley, "Bangladesh Perspectives in Global War on Terrorism: British Engagement with Bangladesh in Counter Terrorism: Opportunities for Cooperation", in the book 'Global War on Terror: Bangladesh Perspective', Edited by Mufleh R. Osmany and Mohammad Humayun Kabir, Published by Academic Press and Publishers Library in association with Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Dhaka, September 2007.

- On 3 June 2001, 10 more people were killed and 30 others injured in a bomb attack on a church at Baniarchang in Gopalganj district.
- On 15 June 2001, a bomb attack on the Awami League (AL) office in Narayanganj district left 22 people dead and many more injured.
- On 23 September 2001, 8 people were killed and over 100 injured in a bomb attack on an AL public meeting at Mollahat in outlying Bagerhat district.
- On 26 September 2001, 4 people were killed in a bomb blast near an AL rally in Snamganj district.

All these pre- and post-9/11 terrorist attacks took place when the avowedly secular AL, the vanguard of Bangladesh's liberation movement, was in power. The attacks were not claimed by any group. The government of the day suspected that misguided extremists were behind these violent incidences. Identification and rounding up of the culprits were not completed during the tenure of the AL government (1996-2001).

The activities of terrorist groups continued to gather strength after the four party alliance government led by the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) took office in October 2001 in the wake of a massive victory in the national elections. The major incidences were:

- On 28 September 2002 more than 100 people were injured in a series of blasts at a movie house and circus arena in outlying Satkhira district.

- On 6 December 2002, bomb blasts in four movie houses at Mymensingh district town killed 27 and injured more than 200.
- Seven people were killed and 20 others injured in a bomb blast at a fair in Tangail district on 17 January 2003.
- Three people were killed and the British High Commissioner in Bangladesh Mr. Choudhury was among the 70 injured in a powerful bomb blast at Hazrat Shahjalal Shrine in Sylhet district on 21 May 2004.
- On 21 August 2004, grenade attacks on an AL rally in Dhaka left 22 people, including senior AL leader Mrs. Ivy Rahman, dead and over 100 injured. AL president Sheikh Hasina narrowly escaped the attack.
- A Major grenade attack on an AL rally in Habiganj district on 27 January 2005 left four people dead, including senior AL leader and former Finance Minister Shah AMS Kibria.
- On 17 August 2005 nationwide bomb explosions at some 500 spots across 63 districts (out of existing 64) within a span of 30 minutes left 2 persons dead and several injured.
- On 14 November 2005 in the southern district of Jhalakati bomb attacks on a vehicle left 7 people dead including two judges of the district court.
- On 29 November 2005, first ever in Bangladesh suicide bomber exploded himself at the courthouse of the Gazipur district killing himself along with seven others.

- On 29 November 2005 on the court premises of the port city of Chittagong suicidal attacks on a police transport left 2 dead, including one policeman,, And 20 injured.

Evidently, the nature and intensity of the incidences showed that the perpetrators of terrorist activities had become more organized and bold. The synchronized bombings in 63 out of 64 districts of the country on 17 August 2005 were claimed for the first time by an extremist group – Jamiatul Mujahedeen Bangladesh (JMB).

Following these, the society and government of Bangladesh became seriously concerned about the rise and expansion of terrorism based on religious extremism. Awareness led to strong nationwide resentment and resistance. The civil society, vast majority of religious leaders who are moderate and tolerant, the mass media and NGOs cooperated fully with the government in condemning and building up resistance against the heinous acts committed by extremists distorting the precepts of Islam.

By March 2006 the security forces succeeded in rounding up the top leaders of the terrorist groups, including Shaikh Abdur Rahman and Siddiqui Islam alias Bangla Bhai of JMB.

For the time being it appears that the backbone of the more active extremist-terrorist groups has been broken and the threat contained. There is also broad agreement among national and international authorities and analysts that the terrorists in Bangladesh have no evident links with international extremists, such as the Al-Qaeda.

The question of foreign-linked funding is under investigation. There is no clear indication as yet of external patronage of the indigenous terrorists. Closer and more thorough enquiry is needed to reach a conclusion in this matter.

Bangladesh is certainly concerned about the possibility of expansion and intensification of extremist terrorism. These concerns are shared by the countries, friends and development partners of the West, including Britain. Bangladesh is the only Large Islamic pocket in the eastern part of the South Asian subcontinent bordering on Southeast Asia. It stands between the western fringe of the subcontinent including Afghanistan and Pakistan, where Al-Qaeda has established its presence, and Indonesia and Malaysia to the East, where the Jama'i Islamiya-backed terrorists are active. The increasing intensification of the activities of Muslim extremist groups in southern Thailand and south Philippines also add to the worries of Bangladesh. The apprehension that Bangladesh may be used as a linking ground or transit for the extremists operating in neighbouring eastern and western regions creates greater worries for Bangladesh and its friends.

Another cause of concern relates to the economic weakness to this predominantly Muslim nation. Although the economy has been growing at a steady rate of more than 4 percent of the GDP over the last three decades and a half and in the current year growth rate is projected at some 6.7%, the country still remains poor. The per capita income stands at an inadequate US 400 dollars. Nearly 50% of the people are victims of poverty. Many live on less than 2 dollars a day. The workforce is joined by two million every year. Unemployment and disguised unemployment remain very high. The number of unemployed is estimated to stand at more than 30 million in a population of 140 million. A considerable number of the educated youth, including especially those educated in the madrashas (Muslim religious education institutions), also remain unemployed or underemployed. Poverty and unemployment act as fertile

breeding grounds of discontent of discontent. This often exploited by extremist-terrorist leaders and organizations that find easy recruits among the dissatisfied youth. Another concern is the undesirable trisection of the education system in Bangladesh on account of historical and cultural reasons. The main stream is overwhelmingly dependent on the national language Bangla and has not until recent times equipped the students with knowledge in English adequate to compete in international job markets including those in ICT.

The English dominated stream, manifest in kindergartens and English medium schools and private universities, largely contributes to the making of a class with weak and inadequate knowledge of their own mother language Bangla and its rich literature. Further, the third stream composed of madrashas principally imparts religious education without building sound bases of knowledge and skills in either Bangla or English and in modern science and technology. In consequence, the majority of the madrasha graduates are not equipped with education suitable for obtaining gainful employment in a globalizing world.

The students and graduates of the madrasha stream are, in origin and end, the most economically and socially disadvantage in a nation which is largely ruled and dominated by western educated elites. Yet, the 250,000 mosques and more than 50,000 madrashas of various types form the sources of persons constituting the 'Muslim nucleus' in Bangladesh. Some 1.60 million madrasha students are denied opportunities of successfully competing in the modern job market. The madrashas themselves are not uniformed in their structures and resources.

Three main types of madrasahs in Bangladesh are the Alia Madrasah, the Qawmi Madrasah and the Hafizia Madrasah.

Alia Madrasah

All Alia Madrasahs are under the Bangladesh Alia Madrasah Education Board and controlled by the government of Bangladesh. There are about 24000 Alia madrasahs in Bangladesh. Beside teaching of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu languages these also impart lessons on Quran, Hadith, English, Mathematics, Science and Technology. Alia Madrasahs mostly provide practical-oriented modern education. All categories of Alia Madrasahs are entitled to receive government aid if they fulfill prescribed conditions of the state authorities like the Bangladesh Madrasah Education Board and National University of Bangladesh.

Qawmi Madrasah

Qawmi madrasahs follow the syllabus of Deoband Madrasah of Uttar Pradesh, India. They are largely outside the control and monitoring by the Government. These madrasahs initially teach the basic, elementary lessons of Islam and then move on to impart more comprehensive lessons in Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages according to their syllabus. Most of these madrasahs are run by votaries of Sunni/Wahabi/Deoband ideology. There are about 15,000 Qawmi madrasahs in the country and their yearly expenditure is around Taka 4.00 billion (US\$ 59.00 million). Around 7,000 Qawmi Madrasahs are controlled by non-government Qawmi Madrasah Education Board. The rest 8,000 Qawmi madrasahs are controlled by the Tanbimul Madaris Dini-Al Qawmi Bangladesh, also called North Bengal Qawmi Madrasah Education Board and Chormonai Madrasah of Barisal. These institutions receive donations from individuals and groups as well as from Middle Eastern and other Muslim countries. There is a big gap between the general education and Qawmi madrasah education system, as

the latter does not follow the government prescribed syllabus. As a result, their students remain virtually outside the orbit of modern education.

Hafizia Madrasha

Hafizia Madrasha provides training on memorizing the Holy Quran only. On completion of this task a student gets the title of "Quran-e-Hafiz". These are non-government madrasahs and the students usually come from very poor families. There are around 8,000 Hafizia Madrashas in each Upazillah (sub-district) are financed by various individuals and groups. The students of these institutions tend to have restricted vision and are denied the benefits of modern scientific education.

Bangladesh and its friends are concerned that the massive pool of religiously education and oriented madrasha graduates and students may be exploited by the extremist terrorist elements and groups. Their poverty and isolation from the western-oriented and educated segments of the society increase the possibilities of their falling prey to the designing terrorist organizations.

It should be noted, however, that Islamic revivalism, which may or may not necessarily lead to extremism and terrorism, is not the function of Muslim nucleus around mosques and madrashas in predominantly Muslim countries. As John Esposito, a reputed US scholar on Islam, asserts that the phenomenon of Islamic revivalism, which some in the West misperceived as fundamentalism, is a natural happening. Esposito observed in his book *The Islamic Threat – Myth or Reality* that post-imperial and post-colonial Muslim countries were led by the westernized minority elite who shared the western imposed concept that progress and modernization necessarily meant secularization. While the processes and institutions in these societies were secularized, the mind and

culture of the majority was not. Moreover, the failure of the westernized ruling elite to deliver the goods in terms of substantially and meaningfully improving the quality of life of the masses led to disillusionment with the ways of the secularized elite and paved the path of the reassertion of Islam in the politics of these societies.

In these societies, Esposito said, Islam never really disappeared. "It is more correct to view Islamic revivalism as having led to higher profile of Islam in Muslim politics and society. Thus what had previously seemed to be an increasingly marginalized force in Muslim political life, reemerged in the seventies – often dramatically – as a vibrant sociopolitical reality."

While addressing the complex problems that may emanate from the Muslim nucleus one has to carefully note the general backdrop of Islamic resurgence as masterfully portrayed by Esposito.

APPENDIX 2

Chronology of Al Qaeda network attacks 1988 to 2005*

1988 Al Qaeda ('The Base') was founded by Abdullah Azzam and Osama Bin Laden, both of whom had experience of recruiting Sunni Islamist extremists to join the Mujahadeen fighters who expelled the former Soviet Union's forces from Afghanistan. Al Qaeda's main aims are: to expel the US, other Western states and non-Muslim regimes from places in Saudi Arabia. the movement also wants to overthrow the Muslim regimes in all the countries of the Muslim world and ultimately to establish a pan-Islamic Caliphate by forming a coalition of Sunni fundamentalist extremist groups dedicated to waging a 'holy war' against the US, and other Western countries, European countries, Israel and also Muslim regimes/governments that Al Qaeda regards as 'apostates' because of their friendly relations with the US and other Western countries.

1992 Mounted bomb attacks against US troops in Aden, Yemen.

1993 Claims to have shot down US helicopters and killed US servicemen in Somalia.

1998 February – Issued a statement announcing the formation of the 'World front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders, and calling on all Muslims to kill US citizens civilian and military – and their allies everywhere.

* Source: Paul Wilkison, "*TERRORISM VERSUS DEMOCRACY The Liberal State Response*", Second Edition, Published by Routledge in 2006.

1998 August – Carried out suicide bombings of the US Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, killing over 240 and injuring over 5,000 people.

2000 October – Attack USS *Cole* in the harbour of Aden, Yemen, killing 17 US naval personnel and injuring 39 people.

2001 June – Merged with the Egyptian group, Islamic Jihad, led by Ayman Zawahiri. Zawahiri became deputy leader of Al Qaeda under bin Laden.

2001 11 September – Nineteen Al Qaeda suicide hijackers seized control of four US commercial airliners and crashed them into the World Trade Center towers and the Pentagon, killing almost 3,000 people. The passengers and crew of the fourth airliner became aware of the hijackers' intentions and made a heroic attempt to regain control of the aircraft from the hijackers. In the resulting struggle the plane went out of control and crashed in Pennsylvania, killing all passengers and crew.

2001 Autumn – Coalition forces toppled the Taliban regime in Afghanistan which has given the Al Qaeda movement safe haven.

2001 December – Al Qaeda member, Richard Reid attempted to detonate a bomb hidden in his shoe while traveling on an American Airlines flight from Paris to Miami. He was thwarted and overwhelmed by cabin crew and passengers before he could set off the explosion.

2001 Late – A series of Al Qaeda linked attacks planned against targets in Singapore were thwarted as a result of some fortunate intelligence

breakthroughs and the arrest of network members of the Al Qaeda affiliate, Jemaah Islamiyah. Among the targets the Singapore plotters were planning to attack were the Israeli, American, Australian and British embassies and consulates. US vessels and a bus carrying American soldiers from their base.

2002 11 April – Nizar nawar used a petrol tanker filled with explosives to attack the synagogue in Djerba. Twenty-one people, most of them German tourists, were killed in the attack.

2002 6 October – Carried out a suicide attack against the tanker *MV Limburg* off the coast of Yemen killing one person and injuring 4 others.

2002 12 October - Al Qaeda affiliated group, Jemaah Islamiyah carried out suicide bombing attacks of two nightclubs in Bali packed with tourists. The attacks were almost simultaneous and caused a huge fire; 202 people were killed in the attacks.

2002 28 November – Two missiles (Strela SA-7) were fired at an Arkia Airlines flight with 261 passengers and crew on board as it took off from Mombassa airport. The missiles missed their target but shortly afterwards a suicide terrorist drove a car bomb in to the Paradise Hotel in Mombassa, killing 10 people, of whom 3 were Israelis, and injuring 80 others.

2003 to March 2006 – Terrorists linked to Al Qaeda have been responsible for hundreds of attacks in Iraq, not only against Coalition troops but also against Iraqi civilians and members of the newly-established Iraqi army and police. In December 2004, a taped message was broadcast in which bin Laden announced

his official support for Abu Mu'sab Al Zaraqawi and the unification of Al Qaeda with Zaraqawi's terrorist network. Hundreds of Iraqi civilians have been killed in a series of suicide bombings. In 2006 Al Qaeda affiliates in Iraq intensified terrorist attacks on Shi'ites and on shi'ite holy sites in a desperate effort to provoke a full-scale civil war between Sunnis and Shi'ites. In February 2006 the Golden Mosque in Samarra, one of the holiest places in Shi'ite Islam, was bombed. It is estimated that over 400 people died in the following week in reprisal attacks between Shi'ites and Sunnis. The bombing of the Golden Shrine was clearly an act aimed at provoking further polarization and civil war.

Zaraqawi's group has also been responsible for holding a number of Western hostages, and for killing them. It is known that Zaraqawi's group killed the American, Nicholas Berg, and it is believed they have also murdered other hostages.

2003 9 May – Al Qaeda's affiliate in Saudi Arabia attacked three residential complexes in Riyadh simultaneously, killing 29 people.

2003 15 May – a series of suicide bombs in Casablanca killed 45 and injured 100 people. The bombers were in a group linked to Al Qaeda.

2003 August – Jemaah Islamiyah launched a suicide vehicle bomb attack on the Marriott hotel, Jakarta.

2003 9 September – Jemaah Islamiyah carried out a suicide car bomb attack on the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, killing 9 and injuring 180 people.

2003 8 November – Suicide attacks on the al-Muhi residential complex killed 17 and injured 122 people.

2003 15 November – Suicide terrorists affiliated to Al Qaeda set off two vehicle bombs at Istanbul's two main synagogues killing 23 people and injuring 300 others.

2003 20 November – Suicide terrorists from the same network carried out car bomb attacks on the British Consulate and HSBC Bank in Istanbul killing 34 and injuring 500 people.

2004 March – A cell based in Spain and identifying itself as a group sharing Al Qaeda's objectives carried out a massive bombing of trains at Madrid railway stations, killing 181 and injuring 2,051 people.

2004 21 April – A suicide terrorist blew himself up inside a booby-trapped car next to the security headquarters in Riyadh, killing four people.

2004 29 May – Terrorists attacked the offices of three western oil companies using light weapons. Although they had intended to set off a car bomb, they were unable to do this. It became a siege situation and the terrorists killed 16 hostages.

2005 July – An Al Qaeda linked cell succeeded in carrying out a series of suicide bombings on the London Underground and on a double-decker bus, killing 52 civilians and injuring hundreds more.

APPENDIX-3

Major Terrorist Groups*

This appendix briefly describes several of the major groups that are treated at greater length in the main portion of this book. It draws heavily on the US State Department's *Patterns of Global Terrorism* reports and the *MIPT Knowledge Base*, among other sources. The appendix is not meant to present original research or to offer more than the barest description of the groups in question. As the point of the Appendix is to offer concise overviews of the various groups, I have refrained from discussing some of the more contentious issues with regard to particular dates, activities, and so on that would be of concern to specialists but not to a general audience.

Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)

DESCRIPTION

- Palestinian nationalist group split from the PLO in 1974. Led by Sabri al-Banna until 2002, the group operates internationally.
- The Iraqi government claimed the Abu Nidal committed suicide in August 2002. Some believe that Saddam Hussein ordered Abu Nidal assassinated. The ANO has stated that the group is still in operation and will appoint a new leader.

GOALS

Historical goal of the total liberation of Palestine through armed struggle.

* Source: Daniel Byman, "*Deadly Connections States that Sponsor Terrorism*", Published by CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2005.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- The group has conducted attacks in twenty countries since 1974 and targeted the US, England, France, Israel, the PLO, and various Arab countries.
- As of October 2004, the group is reportedly responsible for 77 attacks which inflicted 565 casualties and killed 188 persons.

GROUP SIZE

A few hundred individuals.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Historical aid from Iraq, Syria, and Libya.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Maintained presence in Iraq at least until 2002. Maintains an operational presence in Lebanon. The group has demonstrated the ability to operate over a wide area, including the Middle East, Asia, and Europe.

KEY LEADERS

Aref Abu Baker (Abu Bakr); Abdel Rahman Issa (Abu-al-Rahman Isa); Sabri I-Banna (deceased).

Al-Qaida

DESCRIPTION

- Sunni Islamic fundamentalist umbrella organization. Reportedly operates in approximately sixty-five countries.
- Founded in 1988 by Osama bin Laden and Dr. Abdullah Azzam in Afghanistan. Successor to the Afghan Bureau Azzam created to funnel Arab recruits to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan.

GOALS

Establishment of a pan-Islamic Caliphate. Overthrow of regimes within the Muslim world it deems un-Islamic. Withdrawal of Western, principally US, forces from the Arabian Peninsula. Destruction of Israel. Punishment of the US for perceived acts of aggression against Muslims.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- In 2002-03, conducted bombings in Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Turkey, Kenya, Tunisia. Conducted suicide attack on the MV Limburg near the Yemeni coast. Attacked US military personnel in Kuwait. Reportedly supported bombings in Indonesia and was involved in attacks in Afghanistan, Attempted to shoot down an airliner in Kenya with a shoulder-fired missile.
- Conducted suicide attacks in the US on September 11, 2001 against the World Trade Center Towers in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, DC by crashing hijacked airliners into the buildings. A fourth hijacked airliner was crashed near Shanks Vile, Pennsylvania. An Al Qaida associate, Richard Reid, unsuccessfully attempted to detonate a bomb on a transatlantic flight.
- As of October 2004, the group is reportedly responsible for 21 attacks which inflicted 6,327 casualties and killed 3, 539 persons.

GROUP SIZE

Estimates vary. The US State Department estimates Al-Qa'ida comprises several thousand members. The international Institute of Strategic Studies estimates that al Qa'ida, in a slightly different formulation, can draw on more than 18,000 potential terrorists based on estimates that as many as 20, 000 terrorists passed through al-Qa'ida training camps in Afghanistan.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Formerly provided with safe haven by Afghanistan and the Sudan. No known formal state sponsorship currently.

KEY LEADERS

Osama bin Laden: Dr. Ayman Zawahiri.

HAMAS

DESCRIPTION

- Sunni Islamist Palestinian nationalist group established in 1987 after the outbreak of the first *intifada*. The group was founded by the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine.
- In addition to conducting attacks, the group operates social services not provided by the Palestinian Authority within the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

GOALS

To destroy Israel and establish an Islamic Palestinian state.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- Most notable for suicide bombings and relatively high operational tempo.
- As of October 2004, the group is reportedly responsible for 167 attacks which inflicted 2,589 casualties and killed 522 persons.

GROUP SIZE

More than 1,000 members.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Limited support from Iran and Syria.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Israel.

KEY LEADERS

Mahmud al-Zahhar; Ibrahim Ghousheh; Musa Abu Marzuq; many other leader deceased.

Harakat Ul-Mujahidin (HUM)

DESCRIPTION

Pakistani militant group formed in 1985, split from Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HUJI), to combat soviet troops in Afghanistan. Shifted operations to Kashmir and Jammu following the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989. merged with HUJI in 1993, at the urging of Pakistan's ISI, to form Harkat-ul-Ansar (HUA) which was designated a foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) by the US. HUA was subsequently returned to the name Harakat ul-Mujahidin to avoid sanctions.

GOALS

Liberation of Kashmir and its accession to Pakistan.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- Conducted numerous attacks against the Indian military forces and civilians in Kashmir. Hijacked an Indian airliner in 1999 and is linked to the kidnapping of five Western tourists in Kashmir during 1995. All five were reportedly killed later in the year.
- Information on number of attacks, casualties inflicted, and persons killed is unavailable.

GROUP SIZE

Several hundred members.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Reportedly, historic support from Pakistan's ISI.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Kashmir and Pakistan.

KEY LEADERS

Maulana Masood Azhar; Farooq Kashmiri Khalil; Fazlur Rehman Khalil; Maulana Saadatullah Khan.

Hizb-ul-Mujahedin

DESCRIPTION

Kashmiri militant group. Hizb-ul-Mujahedin is the militant wing of Jamaat-I-Islami, the Pakistani Islamic political party.

GOALS

To unite Kashmir with Pakistan.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- Conducts attacks primarily against Indian military, and at times civilian, targets in Jammu and Kashmir.
- As of October 2004, the group is reportedly responsible for five attacks which inflicted four casualties and killed eight persons.

GROUP SIZE

Several hundred members.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Reportedly, receives significant support from Pakistan. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency urged Jamiat-e-Islami to establish Hizb-ul-Mujahedin to counter the secular Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF).

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Jammu, Kashmir, and Pakistan.

KEY LEADERS

Abdul Majeed Dar; Syed Salahuddin.

Jais-e-Mohammed (JEM)(Army of Mohammed)

DESCRIPTION

Islamic extremist group based in Pakistan and formed in 2000. The group is associated with the Jamiat-e-Ulema Islam Fazlur Hehman faction (JUI-F) political group. The group was banned by the Pakistani government in 2002.

GOALS

Unite Kashmir with Pakistan.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- Claims to have conducted suicide attacks, later denied by the group against Jammu and Kashmir legislative buildings. The Indian government claims that JEM was involved in the December 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament.
- As of October 2004, the group is reportedly responsible for two attacks which inflicted sixty casualties and killed thirty-nine persons.

GROUP SIZE

Several hundred members.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Reportedly received assistance from Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Kashmir, Jammu, and Pakistan.

KEY LEADERS

Maulana Qari Mansoor Ahmed; Maulana Masood Azhar; C Maulana Abdul Jabbar; Sheikh Omar Saeed; Maulana Sajjad Usman.

Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF)

DESCRIPTION

Two groups historically operated under the JKLF title, one led by Amanullah Khan and the other by Yasin Malik. JKLF was established by Khan in 1977 following the effective destruction of the Jammu and Kashmir National Liberation Front (JKNLF) by Indian forces, Malik split from Khan in 1995 over a difference in tactics; the Malik faction had renounced violence. The Khan faction was effectively destroyed by the Indian military in two separate attacks in 1996. The Malik faction, the only surviving JKLF group, is a member of the All Party Huriyat Conference.

GOALS

To establish an independent Jammu and Kashmir.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- The group engaged in propaganda supporting a plebiscite on independence in Jammu and Kashmir during the 1970s. In the 1980s, the

group engaged in terrorist attacks, including the hijacking of an Indian Airlines aircraft and the killing of the Indian Deputy High Commissioner.

- Beginning in 1991, the group was increasingly marginalized and actively suppressed by the Pakistani ISI and allied insurgent groups. Initially, the ISI used the JKLF to establish a network within Kashmir and recruit insurgents. ISI used those recruits to establish pro-Pakistani groups (e.g., Hizab-ul-Mujahedin) which supported Pakistani control over Kashmir, rather than Kashmiri independence.

GROUP SIZE

Unknown.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Historically, Pakistan through the ISI.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

England and Kashmir.

KEY LEADERS

Yasin Malik.

Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) (currently the Kongra-Gel (KGK))

DESCRIPTION

Kurdish Marxist-Leninist group established in 1982 within Turkey.

GOALS

- Historically, establish an independent, democratic Kurdish state.
- Following the 199 arrest of the PKK's Leader, Abdullah Ocalan, by Turkey and his subsequent declaration of a unilateral ceasefire, the group was

significantly weakened. In 2002, the group changed its name to the Kurdistan Freedom and democracy Congress (KADEK) and then to the Kurdistan People's Conference (KHK) in 2003. Later in 2003 the group changed its name once more to the Kongra-Gel (KGK). The group has asserted that it has eschewed violence, yet continues military training.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- In the 1990s, the group attacked Turkish governmental and commercial organizations in Western Europe, as well as bombing tourist sites and kidnapping foreigners within Turkey.
- As of October 2004, the group is reportedly responsible for 84 attacks which inflicted 214 casualties and killed 38 persons.

GROUP SIZE

Approximately 5,000 members.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Historically received aid from Syria, Iran and Iraq.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Turkey, Europe, and the Middle East.

KEY LEADERS

Abdullah Ocalan; Cemil Bayik; Duran Kalkan; Osman Ocalan; Kemal Pir.

Lashkar-e-Tayyeba (LeT)

- Militant arm of Markaz-ud-Dawa-wal-Irshad, a Pakistani Sunni Muslim religious organization.
- LeT is a member of the International Islamic Front or Jihad against the US and Israel formed by Osama bin Ladin.

GOALS

To establish an Islamic state that includes all Muslim majority regions surrounding, and including, Pakistan.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- Since 1993, conducts attacks in Jammu and Kashmir. The Indian government believes that the LeT was involved in the December 2001 attacks on the Indian Parliament.
- Abu Zubaydah was captured in Pakistan at an LeT safe house in 2002. It is believed that the LeT is assisting al-Qaida.
- As of October 2004, the group is reportedly responsible for 10 attacks which inflicted 217 casualties and killed 98 persons.

GROUP SIZE

Several thousand members.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Historical support from Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Pakistan, Jammu, and Kashmir.

KEY LEADERS

Abdullah Azam; Maulana Abdul Wahid Kashmiri; Hafiz Mohammed Saeed; Saifullah; Zaki ur Rehman Lakhwi.

Lebanese Hizballah

DESCRIPTION

Radical shi'ite organization established in 1982 following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

GOALS

Historically, establish a Shi'its theocracy in Lebanon, destroy Israel, and eliminate Western influences from the region.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- From 1982 until 2000, Hizballah waged a guerrilla campaign against Israel to drive it out of Lebanon and weaken it in general.
- In 2003, the group established a sizeable presence, an approximately 90 person "Security team," among Shi'ia in Sourhern Iraq.
- Among many notable attacks are the 1994 bombing of a Jewish cultural center in Buenos Aires, the 1992 bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires, the 1984 suicide bombing at the US embassy in Beirut, and the 1983 bombing of the multinational force barracks in Beirut.
- As of October 2004, the group is reportedly responsible for 189 attacks which inflicted 1,150 casualties and killed 851 persons.

GROUP SIZE

- Several hundred active members and several thousand part-time fighters, activists, and supporters.

- Receives significant financial, military, and diplomatic aid from Syria and Iran.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Primarily Lebanon, however, maintains cells in Europe, Africa, South America, North America, and Asia.

KEY LEADERS

Hassan Nasrallah; Naim Qassem; Mohammad Raad; Imad Mugniyah.

The Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ)

DESCRIPTION

Sunni Islamist Palestinian Movement founded in the late 1970s.

GOALS

Destroy Israel and establish an Islamic Palestinian state.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- Notable for large-scale suicide bombings.
- As of October 2004, the group is reportedly responsible for 44 attacks which inflicted 618 casualties and killed 122 persons.

GROUP SIZE

Approximately 1,000 members.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Iran and Syria.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Israel, the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

KEY LEADERS

Sheikh abd al-Aziz Awda; Bashir Musa; Ramadan Abdullah Shallah.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and al Fatah

DESCRIPTION

The PLO is an umbrella organization composed of Palestinian nationalist groups. The PLO was founded in 1964 under the guidance of Egypt. Al-Fatah, led by Yasir Arafat, aligned itself with the PLO in 1967. By 1969, Arafat was serving as the PLO's Chairman and Fatah had established itself as the dominant faction within the broader organization. Since the 1993 Oslo Accords, the PLO has transformed itself into the quasi-government Palestinian Authority. Element within Fatah continue terrorist attacks against Israel.

GOAL

Establish a Palestinian State.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- The PLO carried out attacks against Israel from Jordan in the mid-to late 1960s until expelled in September 1970. The group then moved to Lebanon and continued to conduct attacks against Israel until the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and subsequent expulsion of the PLO.
- Al-Fatah, operating under the name "Black September." Held hostage, and killed or caused the deaths of eleven Israeli athletes, member of the 1972 Israeli Olympic team during the Munich Olympics.

- Elements of al Fatah including the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades and the Fatha Tanzim conducted attacks against Israel prior to, and especially after, the start of the second *intifada*.
- The PLO conducted over 8000 terrorist or other attacks between 1969 and 1985, primarily against Israeli citizens.

GROUP SIZE

More than 10,000 members for al-Fatah alone.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Historic support for terrorist activities from Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and various other Arab states.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Gaza, West Bank, Israel, Lebanon, and Western Europe.

KEY LEADER

Yasir Arafat (deceased). As of the writing, it is unclear who will emerge as the preeminent leader of the PLO.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

DESCRIPTION

A Marxist-Leninist Palestinian nationalist group formed in 1967. Joined the PLO in 1968.

GOALS

To destroy Israel and establish a Palestinian state. The PFLP believes the Palestinian nationalist movement is an element in a larger class struggle and seeks to replace conservative Arab regimes with Marxist Leninist states.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- Committed numerous terrorist attacks during the 1960s and 1970s, most notably a series of airline hijackings. The group continues to conduct limited operations, but is increasingly marginalized.
- As of October 2004, the group is reportedly responsible for 89 attacks which inflicted 594 casualties and killed 148 persons.

GROUP SIZE

Approximately 800 members.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Syria, Lebanon, Israel, West Bank, and Gaza strip.

STATE SPONSORS

Syria.

KEY LEADERS

George Habash, Abdel Rahim Mallouh, Abmed Saadat.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine –General Command (PFLP-GC)

DESCRIPTION

A splinter group of the PFLP which left the larger organization in 1968. The group is strongly opposed to the PLO.

GOAL

To destroy Israel and establish a Palestinian state.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

Most active during the 1970s and 1980s. Conducted attacks in Europe and the Middle East. Notable for novel methods (e.g., use of hot air balloons, and of hang gliders) to mount cross-border attacks into Israel.

GROUP SIZE

Several hundred members.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Syria and Iran.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Southern Lebanon, Israel, West Bank, and Gaza Strip, offices and bases located in Damascus and Lebanon.

KEY LEADER

Ahmad Jabril

Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA)

DESCRIPTION

The IRA was established in 1919 during the Anglo-Irish War (1919-21). The Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) assumed effective political control of the IRA in 1969.

GOAL

Unification of an independent Ireland.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- The IRA has conducted bombings, assassinations, and kidnappings in Northern Ireland and England throughout its history.

- The IRA committed itself to non-violent methods in pursuit of its political goals following the ceasefire in July 1997 which was reaffirmed in July 2002. Splinter groups such as the Continuity IRA and Real IRA continue to employ violence, however.
- As of October 2004, the group is reportedly responsible for 82 attacks which inflicted 124 casualties and killed 26 persons.

GROUP SIZE

Several hundred members

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Historical support from Libya and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, Great Britain, and Europe.

KEY LEADERS (SINN FEIN)

- Sinn Fein, an Irish Republican political party, is widely considered the political wing of the Provisional Irish Republican Army.
- Gerry Adams (Sinn Fein); Martin McGuinness (Sinn Fein)

Revolutionary Organization 17 November (N 17)

DESCRIPTION

- Greek Leftist group established in 1975. The group is named for the date of a student protest in November 1973 against the Greek dictatorship.

- Nineteen core members were arrested in 2002 following a failed bombing. It is believed the group was effectively broken by the arrests and has been inactive since the arrests.

GOALS

Removal of US Military bases from Greece, the removed of the Turkish military from Cyprus, withdrawal of Greece from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and withdrawal of Greece from the European Union (EU).

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- During the 1980s, conducted assassinations and bombings against US officials and Greek politicians. During the 1990s the group also conducted attacks against EU Facilities and foreign firms.
- As of October 2004, the group is reportedly responsible for forty-five attacks which inflicted forty casualties and killed seven persons.

GROUP SIZE

Believed to be inactive. Members claim an additional ten members (beyond the 19 arrested in 2002) are still at large.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Greece.

KEY LEADER

Alexandros Giotopoulos

Supreme Council for Islamic Revolutions in Iraq (SCIRI)

DESCRIPTION

Shi'ite Muslim umbrella organization of Iraqi factions opposed to Saddam Husayn. The group was established in Iran in 1982 and initially included some elements of the Da'wa party. After the 2003 overthrow of Saddam Husayn's regime, several SCIRI leaders have entered politics and are part of the government.

GOAL

Islamic-based democracy in Iraq.

MAIN ACTIVITIES

- Elements of what became SCIRI conducted a variety of attacks against Saddam's regime and other opponents of Iran.
- Elements of the SCIRI militia known as the Badr Brigade which was trained by Iran reportedly entered Iraq after the US invasion.

GROUP SIZE

Several thousand.

STATE SPONSORSHIP

Iran.

AREA OF OPERATIONS

Iraq and Iran

KEY LEADER

Ayatollah Mohammed Bakr Hakim.

APPENDIX-4

GLOSSARY OF TERRORIST GROUPS*

Action Directe French extreme left group formed in 1976: the group faded out following the arrest of its main leaders in 1987.

Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade Palestinian group aiming to expel Israeli military and settlers from the West Bank and Jerusalem and to form a Palestinian state.

Al Fatah A Palestinian organization, founded in 1956, with the aim of establishing a Palestinian state: it formally renounced international terrorism in 1988.

Al-Gama'al-Islamiyya Founded in the late 1970 in Egypt, it aimed to overthrow the Egyptian government by violence. It carried out a series of terrorist attacks including the massacre of 58 tourists and 4 Egyptians in the Valley of the Kings in November 1997. In June 1999 the group announced a ceasefire but Sheikh Omar Abd al-Rahman, its spiritual leader, withdrew his support for the ceasefire while in prison in the US.

Al-Jihad A radical Islamist group that aimed at overthrowing the Egyptian government: later under Ayman Zawahiri, it merged with Al Qaeda.

* Source: Paul Wilkison, "*TERRORISM VERSUS DEMOCRACY The Liberal State Response*", Second Edition, Published by Routledge in 2006.

Al Qaeda Jihad Organisation Mesopotamia Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

Al Qaeda Al Qaeda ('The Base') was founded in 1989 by Osama bin Laden and Abdallah Azam. They aim to establish a pan-Islamist caliphate (Super state) uniting all Muslims. Al Qaeda has declared a jihad or holy war against the US and its allies and has set up a World Islamic front for Jihad declaring it is 'the duty of all Muslims to kill US citizens – civilian or military, and their allies everywhere' (bin Laden 'fatwa', 23 February 1998). A key feature of the Al Qaeda movement is its explicit commitment to mass-killing terrorist attacks, making it the most dangerous terrorist organization in recent times.

Angry brigade A small British anarchist group formed in 1968.

Ansar al-Islam Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

Asbat al-Ansar Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group, based in Lebanon.

Assassin Sect A sect of Shi'a Islam that was active in Persia and Syria in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and that used the dagger to assassinate opponents.

Aum Shinrikyo A Japanese cult responsible for the Sarin gas attack on the Tokyo underground in March 1995.

Baader-Meinhof Group Red army faction (Rote Armee Fraktion), also commonly known as the Baader-Meinhof Group: formed in the late 1960s, this group became one of the leading fighting communist organizations in Europe. It lost its momentum following the suicides of its key leaders in goal, and eventually disbanded in March 1998.

Black had A Serbian extreme nationalist group formed in 1911 and linked to the Serbian military, who assassinated Archduke Ferdinand in 1914.

Black September Palestinian terrorist group responsible for the Munich Olympics attack in 1972.

Brigate Rosse Formed in 1969, it became the major Italian left-wing group waging terrorism, aiming at overthrowing the Italian government and replacing it with a revolutionary communist system. The group was defeated in early 1980s by police and judicial measures and through its own internal divisions and deterioration.

CCC Cellules Communistes Combattantes (Fighting Communist Cells): a Belgian extreme left group active in the 1980s.

Continuity IRA Splinter group that decided to continue to wage violence to oppose the Good Friday Agreement.

Cosa Nostra Literally 'our thing', a branch of the Italian Mafia in the US.

DFLP Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine: it split from the PFLP in 1969 under its leader Nayef Hawatmeh.

ELN National Liberation army Colombia: an extreme left group formed in 1965. Its major activity has been kidnapping for ransom.

EOKA Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (National organization of Cypriot Fighters): it waged a campaign of terrorism from 1955 to 1960 to force Britain to relinquish its colonial rule over Cyprus and to unite Cyprus with Greece (Enosis).

ETA Euzkadi Ta Asxkatasuna (Basque Fatherland and Liberty): aimed at establishing an independent Marxist Basque state.

EYAL Israeli extreme nationalist group bitterly opposed to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process: the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was linked to this group.

FARC Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia formed in 1964: a Marxist group that wages guerrilla war and terrorism, specializing in kidnapping for ransom and providing armed protection for narcotics traffickers.

FCO Fighting Communist Organization, a term used to describe any of the 'Red Army' terrorist groups that emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

FLNC Front de Liberation Nationale de la Corse (Corsican National Liberation Front): the group emerged in 1976 and has conducted a campaign of terrorism against French authorities with the aim of securing autonomy for Corsica.

FLQ Front de liberation du Quebec (Québec Liberation Front): the group waged a terrorist campaign in the 1960s and early 1970s against the Canadian authorities with the aim of securing the separation of Québec from the rest of Canada.

GAL Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberation (Anti-terrorist Liberation Group): a Spanish death squad responsible for the murder of ETA activists in France during the 1980s. The group received covert support from high levels in the Spanish government and security forces.

GIA Armed Islamic Group: an extreme Algerian Islamist group that since the early 1990s has waged a ruthless campaign of terrorism with the aim of overthrowing the secular Algerian regime and replacing it with an Islamic state.

GSPC Salafist Group for Call and Combat: Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

Hamas Islamic Resistance Movement: a Palestinian Islamic fundamentalist group, formed in 1987, aiming to establish an Islamic Palestinian state: won Palestinian elections, 2006.

Harakat-ul-Mujahedin Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

Hezbollah The Party of God: a shi'a Islamist fundamentalist movement backed by Iran and established in the early 1980s. It aims to create an Islamic Lebanese republic.

Hizb-e-Islam/Gulbuddin Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

HUA Harakut ul-Ansar: an Islamist fundamentalist group, formed in 1993, aimed at securing the transfer of jurisdiction over the whole of Kashmir to Pakistan. It has now been renamed Harakat ul-Mujaheddin.

INLA Irish National Liberation Army: a small Marxist group aimed at expelling British presence from Northern Ireland.

IRA Irish Republican army, formed in 1969, it became the dominant Republican organization and the most lethal group in Western Europe. It declared a ceasefire in 1997, and in 1998 Sinn Fein, its political wing, signed the Good Friday Agreement aimed at establishing a power-sharing government in Northern Ireland.

Islamic Army of Yemen Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

Islamic Group Egyptian Islamic group: Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

Islamic Jihad the name adopted by Hezbollah when claiming some of their terrorist operations in Lebanon in the 1980s.

Jaish-e-Mohammad Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

Japanese Red Army see JRA

Jemaah Islamiyah (Islamic Group) Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

JRA Japanese Red Army: an extreme left group formed in the early 1970s with the aim of overthrowing the Japanese government and monarchy and promoting world revolution.

Kach an extreme right-wing Jewish group, founded by Rabbi Meir Kahane. Aimed at restoring the biblical state of Israel.

KLA Kosovo Liberation Army: a militant organization of Kosovo Albanians aiming at wresting control of Kosovo from the Serbs.

KMT Kuomintang: Chinese Nationalist Party.

Lashkar-e-Jhangvi Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

Lashkar-e-Tayyiba Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

Libyan Islamic Fighting Group Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

LTTE See Tamil Tigers.

M19 Movimiento 19 Abril (April 19 Movement): an extreme left Colombian group, formed in 1974. In 1981, It split into two factions, one supporting a non-violent political strategy, the other (CNB) committed to continuing.

Mafia Sicilian secret society that developed into a major international crime organization.

Mlada Bosna Young Bosnia: an extreme Bosnia Serb group formed before the First World War.

Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

MRTA Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement: a Marxist group formed in 1983 and aimed at establishing a Marxist regime in Peru. It takes its name from Tupac Amaru (See Tupamaros).

Mujaheddin Brigades An extreme Palestinian group operating in Gaza.

New People's army The armed wing of the Philippines Communist Party founded in 1969.

November 17 Greek extreme left group: formed in 1975 taking its name from 17 November 1973 student uprising against the Colonel's regime.

PRLP Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine: formed in 1967 and led by George Habash: it is opposed to the Israeli Palestinian peace process.

PIJ the Palestinian Islamic Jihad: formed in the 1970s by Palestinians in Gaza, it is bitterly opposed to the Israeli Palestinian peace process and aims to set up an Islamic-Palestinian state and to remove the state of Israel.

PKK Kurdistan Workers, Party: formed in 1974, it seeks to create an autonomous Kurdish homeland in South –eastern Turkey.

PLO Palestinian Liberation Organisation: formed in 1974, it became recognized by Arab states as 'the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people'. In September 1993, the PLO leader, Yasser Arafat, and the Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, agreed to the Declaration of Principles and set in train the Israeli – Palestinian peace process.

Provisional IRA Provisional Irish Republican Army: formed in 1969, it became the dominant Republican organization and the most lethal group in Western Europe. It declared a ceasefire in 1997, and in 1998 Sinn Fein, its

political wing, signed the Good Friday Agreement aimed at establishing a power-sharing government in Northern Ireland.

RAF Red army faction (Rote Armee Fraktion), also commonly known as the Baader-Meinhof Group: formed in the late 1960s, this group became one of the leading fighting communist organizations in Europe. It lost its momentum following the suicides of its key leaders in goal, and eventually disbanded in March 1998.

Real IRA A militant Irish Republican group that decided to wage violence to oppose the Good Friday Agreement: it Carried out the Omagh bombing in 1998, causing the death of 29 people, the worst atrocity in the history of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland.

Red Brigades Brigade Rosse: formed in 1969, it became the major Italian left-wing group waging terrorism, aiming at overthrowing the Italian government and replacing it with a revolutionary communist system. The group was defeated in early 1980s by police and judicial measures and through its own internal divisions and deterioration.

Secret Organization of Al Qaeda in Europe Al Qaeda major affiliate and support group.

Shining Path Sendero Luminoso: a Maoist group formed in the late 1960s, it has waged a particularly ruthless and lethal terrorist campaign aimed at overthrowing the Peruvian government, but the capture of its founder, Abimael Guzman, in 1992 severely weakened the organization.

Sinn Fein Political wing of the Provisional IRA.

Socialist Patients Collective An extreme left group, formed in the late 1960s: it believed West German society was sick and that only revolutionary action would save it.

SPLA Sudanese People's Liberation Army: formed in 1973, it has waged an insurgency against the Arab-speaking northerners who have dominated the country since 1956.

Tamil Tigers Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam: an extremist Tamil separatist organization formed in 1972. It has used terrorism and guerrilla and conventional warfare in its conflict with the Sri Lankan security forces that has cost thousands of lives on both sides.

Tawhid and Jihad Group Terrorist group linked to Al Qaeda, started by Musab al Zaraqawi: it is believed to have been responsible for the beheading of British hostage Ken Bigley.

TREVI International Terrorism, Radicalism, Extremism and Violence: an informal grouping of European states promoting closer cooperation on international terrorism, radicalism, mainly involved in criminal activity including drug trafficking.

Tupamaros Uruguayan Left-wing group, formed in 1963: its name derives from Tupac Amaru, a Peruvian Indian leader killed in the eighteenth century.

UDA Ulster defence Association: formed in 1971: it is the largest Loyalist paramilitary organization in Northern Ireland.

UFF Ulster Freedom Fighters: a terrorist arm of the UDA.

UNITA Uniao Nacional Para a Independencia Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola): established in 1966, it remained involved in political violence following UN efforts to resolve the Angolan conflict.

UVF Ulster Volunteer Force: formed in 1966, this is a Northern Ireland Loyalist group.

Weathermen An extreme left group in the US: formed out of Student for a Democratic Society in 1969. It fizzled out in the mid-1970s.

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