

Terrorism in the Name of Religion: With Special Reference to Islam

Supervisor

Dr. Fr. Tapan C. De Rozario

Associate Professor

Department of World Religions and Culture

University of Dhaka

Researcher

Shah Mohammad Jonayed

Masters of Philosophy (M.Phil.)

Registration No: 38

Session: 2011-2012

Examination Roll Number: 2

Joining date: 17/07/2012



Department of World Religions and Culture

University of Dhaka

December, 2018

Terrorism in the Name of Religion: With Special Reference to Islam

Thesis re-submitted to the Department of World Religions and Culture,
University of Dhaka in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree
of Masters of Philosophy (M.Phil.) in World Religions and Culture.

By

Shah Mohammad Jonayed

M.Phil Researcher

Registration No: 38

Session: 2011-2012

Examination Roll Number: 2

Supervisor

Dr. Fr. Tapan C. De Rozario

Associate Professor
Department of World Religions and Culture
University of Dhaka

Department of World Religions and Culture
University of Dhaka
December, 2018

Terrorism in the Name of Religion:
With Special Reference to Islam

Preface

All religions preach the gospel of love and it is the foundation of human existence. Without peace, justice and love nations cannot develop, and mankind can enjoy neither happiness nor tranquility. In order to achieve social stability and world peace, there must be impartiality and harmonious living among nations, among political factions, among ethnic groups, and among religions. It is clear that peace is a divine prize that may come by the way of justice not by the terrorism. If there is religious terrorism there isn't peace.

Certainly the peace that may contain these specialties must be come from spirituality and it will come out from depth human existence, neither from mask nor from formal agreement of governments. So that the permanent and real peace will be held when it will grow from the fundamental base of religion. If religions can come together and cooperate with one another, then this is bound to influence nations, political factions, and ethnic groups, in this way, world peace and harmony will be realized.

We can say, religion wants peace in its reality and the man wants peace with his natural handiwork that has given by God. Original message of all safe conscious and divine religion may be summaries in a word peace. We can

understand from here that peace; justice and peaceful symbiosis are the common messages of all religions.

The present paper deals with the Terrorism in the Name of Religion: With Special Reference to Islam. Therefore, most of the evidence cited comes from the Quran, the Sunnah (Hadith) and different sacred texts. Many people do not know the real teachings of religions. Religion is from God and peace is still on the content of the names of God. Therefore, the religion can not exist except with the peace naturally.

Acknowledgement

I acknowledge with heartfelt thanks the assistance and cooperation of Dr. Fr. Tapan C. De Rozario, Associate Professor of the Department of World Religions and culture of the University of Dhaka. It was under his kind encouragement and guidance, I developed a thesis paper. I express my respect and deep valuation to him for his appreciation and help without any reservation. Finally, I recognize that my elder brother, Md Shahidul Islam has provided the essential encouragement that I need in project like this.

Dhaka

Shah Mohammad Jonayed

Dated:

Declaration

I declare that the present thesis is not published anywhere. This topic entitled “Terrorism in the Name of Religion: With Special Reference to Islam” has been selected as my subject of the thesis for the degree of Master of Philosophy of the Department of World religions and culture in the University of Dhaka.

Shah Mohammad Jonayed

Approval of the Supervisor

This is to certify that I have read the thesis entitled “**Terrorism in the Name of Religion: With Special Reference to Islam.**” resubmitted by Shah Mohammad Jonayed in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Masters of Philosophy (M.Phil.) and that this is a record of bonafide research carried out by him under my supervision and guidance.

Date: Dhaka

Dr. Fr. Tapan C. De Rozario

Associate Professor

Department of World Religions and Culture

University of Dhaka

Abbreviations and Acronyms

National

BHBCUC	Bangladesh Hindu Buddhist Christian Unity Council
BHWT	Bangladesh Hindu Welfare Trust
BJI	Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BPUP	Bangladesh Puja Udjapan Parishad
BTV	Bangladesh Television
CHT	Chittagogn Hill Tracts
CIID	The Center for Interreligious and Intercultural Dialogue
CPB	Communist Party of Bangladesh
DC	District Commissioner
ICS	Islami Chatra Shibir
JCD	Jatiyatabadi Chatra dal
JP	Jatiyo Party
JSD	Jatiyo Somajtantrik Dal
PCJSS	Parbattya Chattagram Jana Samhiti Samiti
PM	Prime Minister
WRC	World Religions and Culture

International

ACHR Asian Centre for Human Rights

AI	Amnesty International
AD	Anno Domini
BC	Before Christ

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CHR	Commission on Human Rights
ECMI	European Centre for Minority Issue
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
EU	European Union
GA	General Assembly
HRC	Human Rights Council
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICRC	International Committee of Red Cross
ILO	International Labour Organization
MDGs	Millennium DevelopmentGoals
NGO	Non-Government Organization
PCU	The Permanent Court of International Justice
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAFTA	South Asian Free Trade Area
UNDM	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belongings to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization
UNO	United Nations Organization
USSR	Uion of Soviet Socialist Republics
WHO	World Health Organization

Contents

Preface	i
Acknowledgement	iii
Declaration	iv
Approval of the Supervisor	
v Abbreviations and Acronyms	
vi	
Table of Contents	
Chapter 1	
Introduction	
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Rationale and Importance	1
1.3 Scope of the Study	2
1.4 Objective of the Study	2
1.5 Research Methodology	2
1.6 Limitations of the Study	3
Conclusion	3
Chapter 2	
Terrorism in the Name of Religion other than Islam	
2.1 Judaism	4
2.2 Christianity	9
2.3 Hinduism	17
2.4 Buddhism	26
2.5 Sikhism	33
Chapter 3	
Terrorism in the Name of Islam	
3.1 Taliban	
3.1.1 Ideology and Goals	38
3.1.2 Activities	39
3.1.2.1 Massacre Campaigns	40
3.1.2.2 Human Trafficking	41
3.1.2.3 Oppression of Women	42
3.1.2.4 Terrorism against Civilians	43

3.2 Hezbollah	
3.2.1 Ideology and Goals	46
3.2.2 Activities	48
3.2.2.1 Suicide Attacks and Kidnappings	48
3.2.2.2 Conflict with Israel	49
3.2.2.3 2000 Hezbollah Cross-border Raid	50
3.2.2.4 2006 Lebanon War	50
3.2.2.5 2010 Gas Field Claims	51
3.2.2.6 2011 Attack in Istanbul	51
3.3 Hamas	
3.3.1 Ideology and Goals	52
3.3.2 Activities	52
3.3.2.1 Gaza War	54
3.3.2.2 After the Gaza War	56
3.3.2.3 In the West Bank	57
3.3.2.4 Political Violence and Terrorism	58
3.3.2.5 Attacks on Civilians	58
3.4 Al-Qaeda	
3.4.1 Ideology and Goals	60
3.4.2 Activities	63
3.4.2.1 1992	63
3.4.2.2 1993 World Trade Center Bombing	63
3.4.2.3 9/11 Attacks	64
3.5 Lashkar-e-Taiba	
3.5.1 Ideology and Goals	65
3.5.2 Activities	66
3.6 Jaish-e-Mohammed	
3.6.1 Ideology and Goals	69
3.6.2 Activities	69
3.7 Boko Haram	
3.7.1 Ideology and Goals	72
3.7.2 Activities	73
3.7.3 Strategy and Recruiting	73

3.8 Islamic State	
3.8.1 Ideology and Goals	74
3.8.2 Activities	76
3.8.2.1 Destruction of Cultural and Religious Heritage	76
3.9 Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami	
3.9.1 Ideology and Goals	79
3.9.2 Activities	80
3.9.2.1 Activities in Bangladesh	80
3.9.2.2 Activities in India	80
3.9.2.3 2011 Delhi Bombing	80
3.10 Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh	
3.10.1 Ideology and Goals	81
3.10.2 Activities	82
Chapter 4	
Findings on Terrorism and a Few Suggestions	
4.1 Causes of Religious Terrorism	84
4.2 Religion doesn't Kill, People Kill	85
4.3 Psychological Imbalances	86
4.4 The How's and Why's of Religious Extremism	86
4.4.1 Only One True Religion	86
4.4.2 Religion Gives Absolute Truth	86
4.4.3 Religion Gives Complete Truth	87
4.4.4 Black-and-White Thinking	87
4.4.5 Only One Possible Interpretation	87
4.4.6 Church Leaders Represent God	87
4.4.7 The Epic Battle	88
4.4.8 Scapegoating	88
4.4.9 The Ultimate Cause	88
4.4.10 The End Justifies the Means	88
4.5 How not to Combat Religious Conflict	88
4.6 The Remedy for Terrorism	89
4.7 We Must Find a Universal Approach to Religion	90
Conclusion	92
Appendix	95
Bibliography	96

Chapter 1

Introduction

Now-a-days when we observe all the worries, pain, anger, misfortune, evil, conflicts, terrorism and confrontations around the world, we see that they are due to the wrong understanding of the religions. From this misunderstanding, we generate emotional attachments, differentiate between others and ourselves, and expand the conflicts and confrontations within ourselves to others. This is why we have worsening conflicts everywhere. “Terrorism in the Name of Religion: With Special Reference to Islam”

1.1 Background of the Study

The present thesis is about “Terrorism in the Name of Religion: With Special Reference to Islam” The core faith of Islam is benevolence, compassion, universal love but Muslim opposition countries especially led by USA determined Islam or Muslim as their enemy. They also believe that Islam supports terrorism. So they are trying to fight against Islam and Muslim by the name of “war on terror”. But the core faith of Islam is sincerity respect, humility, peace and harmony. Therefore, this leads me to study about religions and to know the role of religion against terrorism.

1.2 Rationale and Importance

Religions for peace and harmony are not only a motto for people of good will on this earth against any Terrorism, hatred and violence but also a call to hasten such peace and harmony through action in our own situations. I have realized that if we want to save the world today, religions must have solidarity and mutual coexistence and cooperation. In order to avoid killings, we must take religion as the foundation and every religious believer should learn his or her own sacred texts in depth. Therefore, I entitled my thesis as “Terrorism in the Name of Religion: With Special Reference to Islam”

1.3 Scope of the Study

The present study is perhaps a unique study because it is an academic study of the understanding of Terrorism in the Name of Religion: With Special Reference to Islam. Therefore the present study is itself a scope to study which covers the following aspects:

1. Position of different religions against terrorism.
2. Position of religions in the promotion of peace.
3. Role of Islam against religious terrorism, bloodshed, killings etc.
4. Finally the golden rules of world religions against terrorism.

1.4 Objective of the Study

The main objective of the thesis is to study Terrorism in the Name of Religion: With Special Reference to Islam. In here especially emphasizes on the role of Religion in the promotion of peace. Other specific objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To know about the religious terrorist groups of different religions especially Islam, their beliefs, views, misconceptions etc.
2. To discuss why and how religion and terrorism are associated.
3. To show various terrorist activities in world religions.
4. To provide evidence that all religion profess peace.

1.5 Research Methodology

This study is based on an extensive survey of the existing pertinent religious and scholarly writings. Survey research is often used to assess thoughts, opinions and feelings. The requisite pieces of information have been collected both from original and secondary sources. The present study, therefore, is a humble attempt to make a detailed study on this topic. The present study is an analytical study. The main original sources are different Religious Texts, especially the Holy Quran. The main secondary sources are: different books, newspapers, journals, periodicals, magazines and internet.

Sampling is the process of selecting units (e.g., people & organization) from a population of interested so that by studying the sample we fairly organize our result to the population from which they were chosen. Due to time and reduce expenditure, this quantitative and explorative research has been conducted through sampling method.

After collecting raw data, these data was classified and tabulated through using different statistical procedure. After getting data, it was presented in a descriptive way and thus the results got prepared.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

Every study has some limitations. The limitations of the present study are as follows:

- 1) Because of time constraint under the present circumstance it is not possible to go through each and every line of the scriptures of all religions, but on the basis of main important verses and subsequent events there has been a sincere endeavor to know the basic teachings of all religions.
- 2) It has not been possible to go further in details throughout all the historical documents related to these religions. However, from the relevant historical events the necessary information has been collected to clarify the topic concerned.
- 3) All the ethical values of all religions could be evaluated here but only from principal ethical are collected to prove that all religions play a vital against terrorism.

Conclusion

Religion is the instruction of leading a nonviolent life. If we think strongly, it will be clear that religion is not the source of terror campaign, fighting, riots etc. No religion attacks another faith. Like other religions Islam encourages harmony and justice. The whole Quran, taken as a complete text, presents a message of love. Unfortunately, some terrorist groups have been reportedly carrying out fanatic activities in the name of Islam. They are misguided and committing bloodbath in the name of Islam.

Chapter 2

Terrorism in the Name of Religion other than Islam

2.1 Terrorism in the Name of Judaism

Judaism promotes peace. It never allows any kind of violence. However, in course of time some groups started terrorist activities. Still they are engaged in violence. Its central tenets involve a respect for life of sanctity. It never allows violence. Here I have tried to focus on them and their violence which they are committing in the name of Judaism. Jewish Defense League (JDL), Kingdom of Israel (group), Jewish Underground, Brit HaKanaim etc are known terrorist groups of Judaism. They are committing murder in the name of religion.

The Jewish Defense League (JDL) is a Jewish organization whose purpose is to defend Jews from anti-Semitism by whatever means necessary. According to the FBI, the JDL has been involved in plotting terrorist attacks within the United States. Rabbi Meir Kahane founded it in New York City in 1968. The purpose of JDL was to protect Jews from local manifestations of anti-Semitism. Its criticism of the Soviet Union garnered support for the group, transforming it from a "vigilante club" into an activist organization with membership numbering over 15,000.¹ The group took to bombing Arab and Soviet properties in the United States, and targeting various alleged "enemies of the Jewish people", ranging from Arab-American political activists to neo-Nazis, for assassination.² A number of JDL members have been linked to violent, and sometimes deadly, attacks in the United States, including the killing of American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee regional director Alex Odeh in 1985, and a plot to kill U.S. Congressman Darrell Issa in 2001.³ When in 1994, JDL member Baruch Goldstein killed 29 Palestinians at prayer in the Cave of the Patriarchs Massacre in Hebron, the JDL stated on its website, "we are not ashamed to say that Goldstein was a charter member of the Jewish Defense League", and described his action as "a preventative measure against yet another Arab attack on Jews".

¹Christopher Hewitt, *Understanding Terrorism in America: From the Klan to Al Qaeda*. (Routledge, 2002) P. 35.

²Ernest Nasseph McCarus. *The Development of Arab-American Identity*. 1994, P. 180-183.

³Harvey W Kushner, *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*. 2003, P. 192-193.

Many Jewish groups have long been hostile to the group. According to one Anti-Defamation League official, the group consists only of thugs and hooligans.⁴

The Kingdom of Israel was a violent political group active in Israel in the 1950s. The group carried out attacks on the diplomatic missions of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia in protest against those countries' anti-Semitic policies, such as the Slánský trial and the Doctors' plot. They also attempted to assassinate German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer with letter bombs, and occasionally shot at Jordanian troops stationed along the border in Jerusalem. The group's leader, Yaakov Heruti, recruited former Lehi colleagues, as well as adolescents from Revisionist Zionist homes who had been brought up to see Lehi fighters as heroes. Separately, another Kingdom of Israel member, Yaakov Blumenthal organized another clique of activists in Jerusalem, most of who were Orthodox Jews. The group never had more than two dozen members.

The King David Hotel bombing was an attack carried out by the militant right-wing Zionist underground organization Irgun on the King David Hotel in Jerusalem on 22 July 1946.⁵ 91 people of various nationalities were killed and 46 were injured.⁶ The attack, which initially had the approval of the Haganah (the principal Jewish paramilitary group in Palestine) and was conceived of as a response to Operation Agatha (in which widespread raids, including one on the Jewish Agency, had been carried out), was the deadliest directed at the British during the Mandate era (1920–1948).⁷ The Irgun, considered to be terrorists by Mi5, planted a bomb in the basement of the main building of the hotel, under the wing which housed the Mandate Secretariat and a few offices of the British military headquarters. Warnings were sent by telephone, including one to the hotel's own switchboard, which the hotel staff decided to ignore, but none directly to the British authorities. A possible reason why the warning was ignored was that hoax bomb warnings were rife at the time. From the fact that a bomb search had already been carried out, it appears that a hoax call or tip-off had been received at the hotel earlier that day.⁸ Subsequent telephone calls from a concerned Palestine Post staff member and the police caused increasing alarm and the hotel manager was notified. In the closing minutes before

⁴Michael K Bohn, *The Achille Lauro Hijacking*. 2004, P. 176-177.

⁵William Roger Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945-1951: Arab Nationalism, the United States, and Postwar Imperialism*, (Oxford University Press, 1986) P. 430.

⁶Thurston Clarke, *By Blood and Fire*, (New York : G. P. Puttnam's Sons, 1981)

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

the explosion, he called an unknown British officer, but, for whatever reason, no evacuation was ordered.⁹The ensuing explosion caused the collapse of the western half of the southern wing of the hotel.¹⁰ Some of the inflicted deaths and injuries occurred in the road outside the hotel and in adjacent buildings.¹¹ Controversy has arisen over the timing and adequacy of the warnings and the reasons why the hotel was not evacuated.¹²The explosion occurred at 12:37. It caused the collapse of the western half of the southern wing of the hotel. Soon after the explosion, rescuers from the Royal Engineers arrived with heavy lifting equipment. Later that night, the sappers were formed into three groups, with each working an eight hour shift. The rescue operation lasted for the next three days and 2,000 lorry loads of rubble were removed. From the wreckage and rubble the rescuers managed to extract six survivors. The last to be found was D. C. Thompson, 24 hours after the building had collapsed. He appeared to be more or less unhurt, but later died due to shock. 91 people were killed, most of them being staff of the hotel or Secretariat: 21 were first-rank government officials; 49 were second-rank clerks, typists and messengers, junior members of the Secretariat, employees of the hotel and canteen workers; 13 were soldiers; 3 policemen; and 5 were members of the public. By nationality, there were 41 Arabs, 28 British citizens, 17 Palestinian Jews, 2 Armenians, 1 Russian, 1 Greek and 1 Egyptian. 46 people were injured.¹³Some of the deaths and injuries occurred in the road outside the hotel and in adjacent buildings. No identifiable traces were found of thirteen of those killed.¹⁴ One of the dead was Yulius Jacobs, an Irgun sympathizer.

The Jewish Underground was a militant organization formed by prominent members of the Israeli political movement Gush Emunim that existed from 1979 to 1984. The group's highest profile plot was to destroy the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. In 1980, the Jewish Underground carried out a series of car bomb attacks against Palestinian officials. As a result of these attacks, Bassam Shakaa, the mayor of Nablus lost both of his legs and Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah, lost one of his legs.¹⁵ On hearing the news, co-founder of Gush Emunim, Rabbi Haim Drukman, is said to have exclaimed, citing the

⁹Nicholas Bethell, *The Palestine Triangle*. (Andre Deutsch, 1979)

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³Thurston Clarke, *By Blood and Fire*, (New Yor : G. P. Puttnam's Sons, 1981)

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵"3 Israeli Terrorists Are Released In 4th Reduction of Their Terms,"*New York Times*, 27 December 1990.

Song of Deborah, 'Thus may all Israel's enemies perish!'¹⁶In 1983, three of its members were involved in a retaliation attack following the murder of Aharon Gross, a yeshivah student in Hebron. In broad daylight, two men entered the Islamic College of Hebron, spraying bullets and tossing a grenade. They murdered three students and wounded thirty-three.¹⁷ On 27 April 1984, Shin Bet agents arrested 15 people with ties to Gush Emunim. The suspects were taken into custody immediately after placing bombs under six Arab-owned buses in Jerusalem. The arrests followed an extensive two year investigation led by the head of the Serious Crimes Division and employing ninety policemen. The bombs were set to detonate on Friday afternoon as Muslim worshipers returned home from celebrating Isra and Mi'raj. A week later security forces raided the settlement of Kiryat Arba, finding a cache of stolen regional defense program weapons and explosives linked to the bomb plot.

Brit HaKanaim was a radical religious Jewish underground organization which operated in Israel between 1950 and 1953, against the widespread trend of secularization in the country. The group was made up of students at the Porat Yosef Yeshiva in Jerusalem and had more than 35 members at its peak. Among its members were Rabbi Mordechai Eliyahu, who later served as the Sephardic Chief Rabbi of Israel, and Shlomo Lorincz who later served as chairman of the Knesset Finance Committee as a member of Agudat Yisrael. The ultimate goal of the movement was to impose Jewish religious law in the State of Israel and establish a Halakhic state. The organization's members trained in using stolen weaponry. It initiated its violent campaign in January 1951. On January 18, several private cars in north Jerusalem, belonging to owners who drove during *Shabbat*, and placed oil-soaked bags in the garage of the Egged Bus Company to protest public transportation on *Shabbat*. In February 1951, twelve cars and taxicabs and a butcher shop that sold non-kosher meat were torched, and a restaurant that was open on *Shabbat* was bombed. The group's most ambitious plan was to carry out simultaneous attacks on the Knesset and the Ministry of Defense during the course of a debate about the drafting of women into the Israel Defense Forces. Its original plan was to plant a bomb in the Knesset and torch the archives at the recruitment office of the Defense Ministry. However, the group's leaders feared that such an action would provoke a harsh response from Israeli

¹⁶Ian Lustick, *For the land and the Lord: Jewish fundamentalism in Israel*, (Council on Foreign Relations, 1988)P. 131.

¹⁷Gershom Gorenberg, *The End of Days: Fundamentalism and the Struggle for the Temple Mount*, (Oxford University Press, 2000)P. 128–137.

security services and endanger many lives. The group then modified the plan, under which the flow of electricity to the Knesset compound would be disconnected and a smoke bomb thrown into the Knesset Plenum. By then, however, the group had been infiltrated by two Shin Bet agents, and its members were arrested before this attack could be carried out. After extensive investigations, most members were gradually released, but four were prosecuted given prison sentences ranging from six months to a year. During the period of their detention, allegations of police misconduct in the treatment of the detainees surfaced, and a parliamentary inquiry was opened. They completed their terms of imprisonment prior to the completion of the trial in the Jalmi prison, near Sha'ar HaAmakim. Since, the group has also sometimes been referred to as the Jalmi Underground.

Kahanism is loosely defined as a nationalist ideology of dedication and self-sacrifice for Jewish causes, such as physical and spiritual freedom and safety of Jews in Israel and worldwide. The term is derived from the name of the late Rabbi Meir Kahane (1932–1990), founder of the Jewish Defense League in USA and the Kach party in Israel. Based on fundamentalist Jewish beliefs, it influenced all types of Jews, from non-observant to Orthodox and Ultraorthodox; it has also drawn strong criticism and hostility from the Jewish establishment. The Jewish Defense League was formed in 1968 to combat anti-Semitism in the United States and to fight for freedom of the Soviet Jews. Not all Kahane supporters were Zionists or even Jewish. However, the term *Kahanism* was coined later, reflecting the views Rabbi Kahane expressed while he was active in Israeli political life. Chief among these is the idea that the State of Israel should defend itself against Arab and Nazi enemies, and thus should accord full citizenship exclusively to Jews, and that all gentiles should be accorded equal rights except voting provided they accept Jewish Religious Law.

2.2 Terrorism in the Name of Christianity

Christianity is a monotheistic religion centered on the teachings of Jesus Christ, whose resurrection, as understood by Christians, provided salvation for all mankind. Christianity's teachings, like those of other religions, contain messages of love, peace and justice. It never allows any kind of violence in the name of Christianity. The fifteenth century Spanish inquisition is sometimes considered an early form of state terrorism. These Church-sanctioned tribunals aimed to root out Jews and Muslims who had not converted to Catholicism, often through severe torture. Today in the United States, reconstruction theology and the Christian Identity movement have provided justification for attacks on abortion providers. Christian terrorism comprises terrorist acts by groups or individuals who claim Christian motivations or goals for their actions. As with other forms of religious terrorism, Christian terrorists have relied on idiosyncratic or literalistic interpretations of the tenets of faith—in this case, the Bible. Such groups have used Old Testament and New Testament scriptures to justify violence or to seek to bring about the "end times" described in the New Testament,¹⁸ while others have hoped to bring about a Christian theocracy.¹⁹

The Lord's Resistance Army is a militant group with a syncretic Christian extreme religious ideology, known for the extreme atrocities they commit against civilians, including killings, mutilations, rape, and in some accounts even cannibalism.²⁰ The group operates in northern Uganda, South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic. The Lord's Resistance Army was formed in 1987 in the Acholi region of Northern Uganda. Initially, the LRA was an outgrowth and continuation of the larger armed resistance movement waged by some of the Acholi people against a central Ugandan government which they felt marginalized them. Over 25 years, the LRA's political goals have become much harder to decipher. In the past decade, the group has spent much of its energy attacking, killing and enslaving unarmed Acholis of its own tribe (including many women and children). It is led by Joseph Kony, who proclaims himself

¹⁸ B. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, (Columbia University Press, 1999) P.105–120.

¹⁹ Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, (University of California Press, 2001)

²⁰ Richard Dowden, "Court threatens to block cannibal cult's peace offer," *Royal African Society*, January 5, 2011.

the "spokesperson" of God and a spirit medium, primarily of the Holy Spirit, which the group believes can represent itself in many manifestations.

The group is based on a number of different beliefs including local religious rituals, mysticism, traditional religion, Acholi nationalism, and Christianity,²¹ and claims to be establishing a theocratic state based on the Ten Commandments and local Acholi tradition.²² The LRA is accused of widespread human rights violations, including murder, abduction, mutilation, sexual enslavement of women and children and forcing children to participate in hostilities.

In January, 1997 the LRA attacked Lamwo, in northern Uganda. More than 400 people were killed, and approximately 100,000 people were displaced.

In May, 2002 the LRA attacked Eastern Equatoria in Sudan (now South Sudan). An estimated 450 people were killed, and witnesses state some villagers were forced to walk off a cliff.

In November 2002, in a border village in Southern Sudan, LRA members encountered a procession of some sixty mourners carrying a deceased member of their village. At gunpoint, the LRA forced the mourners to boil and eat the deceased. The mourners complied. After the corpse had been cooked and eaten all of the mourners were shot dead.

On December 25, 2008, the LRA massacred 189 people and abducted 120 children during a concert celebration sponsored by the Catholic church in Faradje, DRC, continuing the attack on December 26. Shortly afterwards, the LRA struck three additional communities: 75 people killed in a church north of Dungu, and the church burned; 48 people killed in Bangadi, and 213 people in Gurba. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs estimated the death toll as 189 in Faradje, Doruma and Gurba. However, Caritas International estimated the number of victims to be about 500.

On December 28, 2008, the Ugandan army published details of the Doruma attack, accusing LRA rebels of hacking to death 45 people in a church there.²³ An aid official speaking to AFP on condition of anonymity confirmed the December 26 massacre, saying

²¹Jeffrey Haynes, *Politics in the developing world*, (USA : Wiley-Blackwell, 2002) P. 121.

²²Gus Martin, *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*, (SAGE, 2006) P. 196–197.

²³“Ugandan LRA in church massacre”, *BBC News*, December 29, 2008.

the killings took place in a Catholic church in the Doruma area, around 40 kilometers from the Sudanese border. "There are body parts everywhere. Inside the church, the entrance and in the church compound," the aid official said. "We got information the rebels cut 45 people into pieces," added army spokesman Captain Chris Magezi.

Secretary-General of the United Nations Ban Ki-moon stated that he "condemns in the strongest possible terms the appalling atrocities reportedly committed by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in recent days". Caritas International said that it was "shocked by its staff reports" of the massacres.

To avoid abduction by the LRA, every night as many as 40,000 children flee their homes in the countryside to sleep in the relative safety of towns. Known as "night commuters", they seek refuge overnight at churches, hospitals, bus stations and temporary shelters before returning home again each morning.

Congo's army, along with armed forces from Uganda and Sudan, launched raids against LRA rebels in December 2008 intended to disarm the LRA and end its rebellion. The raids were unsuccessful.

Efforts by the Ugandan army in early 2009 ('Operation Lightning Thunder') to inflict a final military defeat on the LRA were not fully successful. Rather, the US-supported operation resulted in brutal revenge attacks by the LRA, with over 1,000 people killed in Congo and Sudan. The military action in the DRC did not result in the capture or killing of Kony, who remained elusive.²⁴

In August the Lord's Resistance army attacked the Our Lady Queen of Peace church in Ezo on the Feast of the Assumption while worshippers were at prayer. They proceeded to desecrate first the Eucharist then the altar itself, after which they abducted seventeen people of ages ranging from teens to twenties. One was tied to a tree and murdered soon after the initial attack. This event caused Sudanese Archbishop John Baptist Odama to call on the international community for help in finding a peaceful solution to the crisis.²⁵

In December, 2009, the LRA massacred "at least" 321 people in the Democratic Republic of Congo, according to a BBC investigation published in March, 2010. The deaths were

²⁴"Uganda to continue Congo LRA hunt". *BBC*, March 5, 2009.

²⁵"LRA: Ugandan bishop urges negotiated settlement". *BBC*, January 19, 2011.

verified by the Red Cross and Human Rights Watch. Victims were hacked or battered to death, and survivors were made to carry loads for their attackers. At least eighty children of both sexes were captured, the boys as fighters, the girls to be sex slaves for the LRA members. The sixty-mile (95 km) round-trip series of attacks began December 13, 2009, in Mabanga Ya Talo, and continued until December 18, traveling southeast down to the village of Tapili and back northwest again to the point of origin — a crossing over to the LRA camps on the north side of the Uele River near Mavanzonguda.

In May 2010 it was reported that an investigation was being undertaken by a senior UN official over the massacre of over 100 people in February 2010.²⁶ The massacre is said to have been carried out by Ugandan rebels in Kpanga, near DR Congo's border with the Central African Republic and Sudan.

The Makombo massacre was an incident that took place from 14 to 17 December 2009 in the Haut-Uele District of Democratic Republic of the Congo in the village and region of Makombo.²⁷ The non-governmental organization Human Rights Watch (HRW) believes the attacks, which killed 321 people, were perpetrated by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), who deny being responsible.

According to HRW, LRA forces attacked at least 10 villages, capturing, killing, and abducting hundreds of civilians, including women and children. The vast majority of those killed was adult men, whom LRA combatants first tied up and then hacked to death with machetes or crushed their skulls with axes and heavy wooden sticks. The dead include at least 13 women and 23 children, the youngest a 3-year-old girl who was burned to death.

The Iron Guard is the name most commonly given to a far-right movement and political party in Romania in the period from 1927 into the early part of World War II. The Iron Guard was ultra-nationalist, fascist, anti-communist, and promoted the Orthodox Christian faith. It is also considered an antisemitic organization, an ideology even going so far as to demand the introduction of "state anti-semitism". Romanian antisemitism had deep roots in the teachings of the Romanian Orthodox Church. Even as the Iron Guard moved beyond traditional religious anti-semitism to promote economic and racial anti-semitism, and violence against Jews, they did not abandon religious belief and religious language and

²⁶Thomas Fessy, "Fresh LRA massacre' in DR Congo". *BBC News*, May 2, 2010.

²⁷Martin Plaut, "DR Congo rebel massacre of hundreds is uncovered." *BBC News*, March 28, 2010.

symbolism was used in the speeches, poetry and songs of the Iron Guard. The youth movement had its stronghold in the Faculty of Theology of the University of Bucharest.²⁸

Originally founded by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu on July 24, 1927, as the Legion of the Archangel Michael and led by him until his assassination in 1938, adherents to the movement continued to be widely referred to as "legionnaires" and led to the organization of the "Legion" or the "Legionary Movement" various changes of the (intermittently banned) organization's name. In March 1930 Codreanu formed the "Iron Guard" as a paramilitary political branch of the Legion; this name eventually came to refer to the Legion itself. Later, in June 1935, the Legion changed its official name to the "Totul pentru Tara" party, literally "Everything for the Country", but commonly translated as "Everything for the Fatherland" or occasionally "Everything for the Motherland".

Historian Stanley G. Payne writes in his study of Fascism, "The Legion was arguably the most unusual mass movement of interwar Europe."²⁹ The Legion contrasted with most other European fascist movements of the period in its overt religiosity (in the form of an embrace of the Romanian Orthodox religion). According to Ioanid, the Legion "willingly inserted strong elements of Orthodox Christianity into its political doctrine to the point of becoming one of the rare modern European political movements with a religious ideological structure." The movement's leader, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, was a religious mystic who aimed at a spiritual resurrection for the nation.³⁰ According to Codreanu's heterodox philosophy, human life was a sinful, violent political war, which would ultimately be transcended by the spiritual nation. In this schema, the Legionnaire might have to perform fanatical and violent actions that would condemn him to damnation, which was considered the ultimate sacrifice for the nation.³¹ Like many other fascist movements, the Legion called for a revolutionary "new man". As for economics, there was no straightforward program, but the Legion generally promoted the idea of a communal or national economy, rejecting capitalism as overly materialistic.³² The movement considered its main enemies to be present political leaders and the Jews.

²⁸Shapiro Paul A, *Faith, Murder, Resurrection - in Antisemitism, Christian Ambivalence and the Holocaust*, (Indiana University Press) P.136

²⁹ Stanley GPayne. *A History of Fascism 1914-194*, (5 Madison : University of Wisconsin Press, 1995) P. 277-289.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

The Orange Volunteers (OV) or Orange Volunteer Force (OVF)³³ is an Ulster loyalist and Protestant fundamentalist paramilitary group in Northern Ireland.

The OV emerged during the 1998 Drumcree conflict when the Royal Ulster Constabulary and British Army prevented members of the Portadown Orange Order and their supporters from returning to the town centre down the Garvaghy road. However there is evidence to suggest that they had been actively recruiting and training members since as early as 1985.³⁴ The group is believed to be made up of dissident loyalists who disapprove of the Northern Ireland peace process and also of the more militant members of the Orange Order,³⁵ including former members of the Loyalist Volunteer Force and Ulster Defence Association. David Ervine, at the time a leading member of the Progressive Unionist Party, described the group as little more than a gang of Protestant fundamentalists and drug-dealers.

In 1998 and 1999, the Orange Volunteers were led by Clifford Peeples, a Protestant pastor from Belfast. One of the group's first actions was a synchronized attack on 11 Catholic churches. People defended the attack on the grounds that the churches were "bastions of the Antichrist".

On 27 November 1998, eight masked OV members brandishing guns and grenades staged a "show of strength" for a local journalist. The gunmen began the meeting with a Bible reading and ended it with prayers. They produced a "covenant" that said: "We are defenders of the reformed faith. Our members are practicing Protestant worshippers". They went on to state: "We are prepared to defend our people and if it comes to the crunch we will assassinate the enemies of Ulster. Ordinary Catholics have nothing to fear from us. But the true enemies will be targeted, and that's a lot wider than just Sinn Fein and the IRA". They vowed to target IRA prisoners released as part of the Belfast Agreement and claimed responsibility for a string of attacks on nationalist-owned businesses a month before hand.³⁶

³³"Loyalist paramilitaries admit to Toomebridge attack", *RTE News*, February 9, 1999.

³⁴Charles Messenger, *Northern Ireland - The Troubles*, P. 141.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶"New loyalist group threatens peace". *BBC News*. November 27, 1998.

Hutaree is a militia movement group adhering to the ideology of the Christian Patriot movement, based in Adrian, Michigan, in the United States.³⁷ The group was formed in early 2008. The name "Hutaree" appears to be a neologism; the group's web site says that it means "Christian warriors."³⁸ The group was allegedly preparing for what they believed would be an apocalyptic battle with the forces of the Antichrist, whom they believed would be supported and defended by local, state, and federal law enforcement. On their website, all police and military members who would support the current U.S. system of local, state or federal government were described as members of the "brotherhood" who are considered by the Hutaree to be enemies.³⁹

From March 28 to March 30, 2010, nine people thought to be Hutaree members were arrested in police raids in Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana (in Hammond), for their alleged involvement in a plot to kill various police officers and possibly civilians using illegal explosives and/or firearms.⁴⁰ An undercover agent played a role in the investigation that led indictments. Grand jury testimony by a law enforcement officer referred to an "undercover FBI agent" who worked on the case, the FBI declined to comment, but infiltration is a common tactic for law-enforcement officials targeting domestic militia groups.⁴¹ On May 3, 2010 a federal judge ordered that all nine members be freed on bond until their trial, saying that prosecutors were not able to demonstrate that the defendants would pose a danger if released.⁴²

The Lancieri or 'Lance-bearers' were a Romanian fascist paramilitary movement who adopted a blue shirted uniform and contributed to the country's political street battles in the 1920s and 1930s. The group was initially attached to the National-Christian Defense League and became noted in the 1920s for their attacks on that party's main target the Jews, as well as general disruption of university life.⁴³ Following the emergence of the National Christian Party the *Lancieri* became associated with that group and continued their wild ways, rivalling the Iron Guard (with whom they frequently clashed) in their

³⁷ "US 'Christian militants' charged after FBI raids" *BBC*, March 30, 2010.

³⁸ "Hutaree dialect -- rooted in religion or Pokemon?", *Detroit News*, March 29, 2010.

³⁹ "US 'Christian militants' charged after FBI raids" *BBC*, March 30, 2010.

⁴⁰ CNN Staff Writers "At least 7 arrested after raids in 3 states ", *CNN*, March 28, 2010.

⁴¹ Alex P Kellogg, "Militia Chief's Mistrust Festered, Friends Say", *The Wall Street Journal*, March 31, 2010.

⁴² Nick Bunkley, "Militia Members Released Until Trial in Michigan Plot". *The New York Times*, May 3, 2010

⁴³ *Background and Precursors to the Holocaust*, p. 26.

violence and mayhem.⁴⁴ The 1937 general election campaign in particular was marred by clashes between the two fascist groups and not even the intervention of Alfred Rosenberg could unite the warring factions. Clashes between the two groups would continue, although ironically the Lncieri owed much of their organization to the Iron Guard and indeed their continuing existence was as much an attempt to attract interest away from that group.⁴⁵

The Phineas Priesthood or Phineas Priests is a Christian identity movement that opposes interracial intercourse, the mixing of races, homosexuality, and abortion. It is also marked by its anti-Semitism, anti-multiculturalism, and opposition to taxation. It is not considered an organization because it is not led by a governing body, there are no gatherings, and there is no membership process. One becomes a Phineas Priest by simply adopting the beliefs of the Priesthood and acting upon those beliefs. Members of the Priesthood are often called terrorists for, among other things, planning to blow up FBI buildings, abortion clinic bombings, and bank robberies.⁴⁶

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵F. Veiga, *Istoria G rzii de Fier, 1919-1941: Mistica ultrana ionalismului*, Humanitas, Bucharest, 1993, P. 245-247.

⁴⁶"Phineas Priests Arrested in Spokane Robberies", *mhrn.org*, Montana Human Rights' Network, 1996.

2.3 Terrorism in the Name of Hinduism

A Hindu can never be a terrorist because Hinduism is based on love. It is the world's third largest religion after Christianity and Islam. Hinduism supports non-violence as a virtue but sometimes killings, massacres, riots, bombings are perpetrated by the Hindu violent groups.

The 1984 Anti-Sikh pogroms / Genocide⁴⁷ or the 1984 Sikh Massacre were four days of violence in northern India, particularly Delhi, during which armed mobs killed Sikhs, looted and set fire to Sikh homes, businesses and schools, and attacked *gurdwaras*, in response to the assassination of then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards.

In the 1970s, during the Indian Emergency, thousands of Sikhs campaigning for autonomous government were imprisoned.⁴⁸ The sporadic violence continued as a result of an armed Sikh separatist group which was designated as a terrorist entity by the government of India. In June 1984, during Operation Blue Star, Indira Gandhi ordered the Indian Army to secure the Golden Temple and eliminate any insurgents, as it had been occupied by Sikh Separatists who were stockpiling weapons. Later operations by Indian paramilitary forces were initiated to clear the separatists from the countryside of Punjab. Even today many Sikhs perceive the actions as an assault on their religion and rights, while the issue is contentious with abusive crimes committed by both sides.

The violence in Delhi was triggered by the assassination of Indira Gandhi on 31 October 1984, by two of her Sikh bodyguards in response to her actions authorising the military operation. The Government of India reported 2,700 deaths in the ensuing chaos. In the aftermath of the pogrom, the Government of India reported 20,000 had fled the city; however the PUCL reported "at least" 50,000 displaced persons. The most affected regions were neighborhoods in Delhi. Human rights organizations and the newspapers believe the massacre was organized. The collusion of political officials in the massacres and the failure to prosecute any killers alienated normal Sikhs and increased support for

⁴⁷"State pogroms glossed over". *The Times of India*, December 31, 2005.

⁴⁸Israel W Charny, *Encyclopedia of genocide*. ABC-CLIO, 1999, P. 516–517.

the Khalistan movement. The Akal Takht, the governing religious body of Sikhism, considers the killings to be a genocide.⁴⁹

In 2011, Human Rights Watch reported the Government of India had "yet to prosecute those responsible for the mass killings". The 2011 WikiLeaks cable leaks revealed that the United States was convinced about the complicity of Indian Government ruled by the Indian National Congress in the pogrom, and termed it as "opportunism" and "hatred" of the Congress government against Sikhs. Also in 2011, a new set of mass graves were discovered in Haryana and Human Rights Watch reported that "Widespread anti-Sikh attacks in Haryana were part of broader revenge attacks" in India.

In the 1970s, during the Indian Emergency, thousands of Sikhs campaigning for autonomous government were imprisoned.⁵⁰ In 1984, Indian Army launched operation called Operation Bluestar to flush out the separatists they believed were hidden in the Golden temple along with their leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, in which several thousand innocent Sikhs were killed and the Sikh reference library was burned.

After the assassination of Indira Gandhi on 31 October 1984, by two of her Sikh bodyguards, riots erupted on 1 November 1984, and continued in some areas for days, killing some 800 Sikhs. Sultanpuri, Mangolpuri, Trilokpuri, and other Trans-Yamuna areas of Delhi were the worst affected. Mobs belonging to Congress (I) carried iron rods, knives, clubs, and combustible material, including kerosene. The mobs swarmed into Sikh neighborhoods, arbitrarily killing any Sikh men or women they could find. Their shops and houses were ransacked and burned. In other incidents, armed mobs stopped buses and trains, in and around Delhi, pulling out Sikh passengers to be lynched or doused with kerosene and burnt.

Such wide-scale violence cannot take place without police help. Delhi Police, whose paramount duty was to upkeep law and order situation and protect innocent lives, gave full help to rioters who were in fact Congress Workers or else mercenaries hired by the Indian National Congress who were working under able guidance of sycophant leaders like Jagdish Tytler and H K L Bhagat. It is a known fact that many jails, sub-jails and lock-ups

⁴⁹"1984 riots were 'Sikh genocide': Akal Takht - Hindustan Times". *Hindustan Times*, July 14, 2010.

⁵⁰Israel WCharny, *Encyclopedia of Genocide*, ABC-CLIO, 1999, P.516–517.

were opened for three days and prisoners, for the most part hardened criminals, were provided fullest provisions, means and instruction to "teach the Sikhs a lesson". But it will be wrong to say that Delhi Police did nothing, for it took full and keen action against Sikhs who tried to defend themselves. These "riots" are alternately referred to as pogroms or massacres.⁵¹

The 2002 Gujarat violence was a series of incidents including the Godhra train burning and the subsequent communal riots between Hindus and Muslims in the Indian state of Gujarat. On 27 February 2002, the Sabarmati Express train was attacked at Godhra by a large Muslim mob⁵² as per a preplanned conspiracy. 58 Hindu pilgrims, mostly women and children returning from Ayodhya, were killed in the attack. This in turn prompted retaliatory attacks against Muslims and general communal riots on a large scale across the state, in which 790 Muslims and 254 Hindus were ultimately killed and 223 more people were reported missing.⁵³ 523 places of worship were damaged: 298 dargahs, 205 mosques, 17 temples, and 3 churches. Muslim-owned businesses suffered the bulk of the damage. 61,000 Muslims and 10,000 Hindus fled their homes. Preventive arrests of 17,947 Hindus and 3,616 Muslims were made. In total 27,901 Hindus and 7,651 Muslims were arrested. Nearly 10,000 rounds of bullets were fired in police shootings that killed 93 Muslims and 77 Hindus.⁵⁴

The nature of these events remains politically controversial in India. Some commentators have characterized the deaths of Muslims (but not the Hindus) as a genocide in which the state was complicit, while others have countered that the hundreds of Muslim and Hindu dead were all victims of riots or "violent disturbances".⁵⁵ Tension gripped parts of Gujarat state while examinations all over the state were cancelled. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad had called for a statewide bandh to protest the Godhra train burning. Fearing communal clashes the administration imposed a curfew in several areas. Rapid Action Force was deployed in Godhra's sensitive area and around Godhra station. On 1 March the Indian government dispatched around 1,000 paramilitary personnel to Gujarat and asked the army to be on standby to maintain law and order in the state. The Army began flag marches in

⁵¹ David Yoo, *New Spiritual Homes: Religion and Asian Americans*, 1999, P.129.

⁵² "India Godhra train blaze verdict: 31 convicted" *BBC News*, February 22, 2011.

⁵³ "790 Muslims, 254 Hindus perished in post-Godhra". *Times of India* (India), May 11, 2005.

⁵⁴ Sanjay Pandey, "More fall prey to police firings in Gujarat". *The Times Of India* (India), April 28, 2002.

⁵⁵ T. K. Oommen, *Reconciliation in post-Godhra Gujarat: the role of civil society*, 2008, p. 71.

the worst-affected areas and shoot-at-sight orders were issued in 34 curfew-bound cities and towns in Gujarat.⁵⁶

151 towns and 993 villages in fifteen to sixteen of the state's 25 districts were affected by the post-Godhra violence, which was particularly severe in about five or six districts. The violence raged largely between 28 February and 3 March, and after a drop, restarted on 15 March, continuing till mid June.⁵⁷ Northern and central Gujarat, as well as the north-eastern tribal belt which are closer to Godhra City, were the worst affected while Saurashtra and Kutch remained largely peaceful.

Attacks by large Hindu mobs began in the districts of Ahmedabad, Vadodara, and Saberkantha and, for the first time in its history, Gandhinagar on 28 February. Violence spread to the largely rural districts of Panchmahals, Mehsana, Kheda, Junagadh, Banaskantha, Patan, Anand and Narmada the next day. Over the next two days, Bharuch and Rajkot and later Surat were hit.

The first incidents of attacks on the Muslim community started at Ahmedabad, where Hindus began throwing stones at and later burned a Muslim housing complex known as Gulburg Society, and then spread elsewhere. The initial violence was believed to be instigated by unsubstantiated rumours, endorsed by a senior VHP leader, of Muslims having kidnapped three Hindu girls during the Godhra train attack.⁵⁸

In Ahmedabad, the dargah of the Sufi saint-poet Wali Gujarati in Shahibaug and the 16th century Gumte Masjid mosque in Isanpur were destroyed. The Muhafiz Khan Masjid at Gheekanta was ransacked. Police records list 298 dargahs, 205 mosques, 17 temples and three churches as damaged in the months of March and April.

Attacks on Hindus in Danilimda, Modasa, Himmatnagar, Bharuch, Sindhi Market, Bhanderi Pole, and other localities in the city of Ahmedabad in Gujarat were perpetrated by Muslim mobs. There was a significant loss of property. Late in March, more than one thousand Hindus in Dariyapur and Kalupur, including 550 dalits, fled their homes to stay

⁵⁶"Shoot orders in many Gujarat towns, toll over 200". *The Hindu* (India), March 2, 2002.

⁵⁷Brass Paul R, *The Production Of Hindu-muslim Violence In Contemporary India*. (University of Washington Press, 2005)P. 385–393.

⁵⁸Ibid.

in makeshift shelters after being attacked by Muslims mobs. According to the HRW report, over ten thousand Hindus were made homeless.⁵⁹

Several Hindu residential areas, including Mahajan No Vaado, a fortified enclave in Muslim dominated Jamalpur, were targeted following calls for retaliation.

In the morning the mosques began announcing that Islam was in danger, that there was poison in the milk. This was used as a code word. The milk was meant to be Muslims and poison meant Hindus. The rioting lasted between 2:15 p.m. and 5:30 p.m.⁶⁰

Residents were unable to go to work, fearing attacks. A Hindu temple in the area was destroyed. In Himmatnagar, a young man was killed when he went to a Muslim enclave on business.⁶¹ According to an official estimate, 1044 people were killed in the violence – 790 Muslims and 254 Hindus including those killed in the Godhra train fire. Another 223 people were reported missing, 2,548 injured, 919 women widowed and 606 children orphaned. Unofficial estimates put the death toll closer to 2000, with Muslims forming a very much higher proportion of those killed. When missing people were declared dead after 7 years, total deaths went up from 1044 to 1,267.⁶² At the same time, about two hundred policemen lost their lives trying to control the violence in Gujarat.

On 5 July 2005, five terrorists attacked the makeshift Ram temple at the site of destroyed Babri Mosque in Ayodhya, India. All five were shot dead in the ensuing gunfight with the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), while one civilian died in the grenade attack that the terrorists launched in order to breach the cordoned wall. The CRPF suffered three casualties, two of whom were seriously injured with multiple gunshot wounds.

On 5 July 2005, the heavily guarded Shri Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid complex, the site of the destroyed Mosque and, according to Hindus, the birthplace of God Shri Ram, at Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh state of India was attacked by heavily-armed terrorists. The attack was foiled by security officials and the attackers were killed.

⁵⁹ Attacks on Hindus, *Human Rights Watch*.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Saeed Khan, "Gujarat riot 'missing' declared dead". *The Times Of India* (India), March 2009.

The terrorists are believed to be from the terrorist organization Lashkar-e-Toiba, and are believed to have entered India through Nepal. They posed as pilgrims to Ayodhya and boarded a Tata Sumo at Akbarpur near the Kichaucha village in Faizabad. At Faizabad they abandoned the Sumo and hired a jeep driven by a driver, Rehan Alam Amsari. According to a statement by the driver, the terrorists visited the Shri RamMandir (Temple) at Ayodhya where they prayed, possibly to reinforce the impression that they were indeed pilgrims. The terrorists then drove the jeep into the Shri Ram Janambhoomi and forced the driver out of the vehicle, banging the jeep against the security cordon. At 9:05 am, they hurled M67 hand grenades from 50 meters away to breach the cordon fence. Ramesh Pandey, a pilgrim guide who happened to be near the site at this moment, 50 m away from the terrorists, died on the spot as a result of the grenade blast. Firing indiscriminately, the 5 terrorists entered Mata Sita Rasoi. Returning the gunfire, a platoon of 35 CRPF soldiers killed all five of the fighters in a gunfight that lasted for over an hour. Three CRPF soldiers also received serious injuries and, as of July 2008, two remain comatose. All the terrorists died within 100 meters of the site.

The Makkah Masjid bombing took place on May 18, 2007 inside the Makkah Masjid, a mosque the old city area in Hyderabad, capital of the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh located very close to Charminar. The blast was caused by a cellphone-triggered pipe bomb. Fourteen people were reported dead in the immediate aftermath, of whom five were killed by the police firing after the incident while trying to quell the mob.

According to the *Deccan Chronicle*, the bomb contained a high explosive substance filled in a 10-inch (250 mm) by 3-inch (76 mm) pipe. The Andhra Pradesh Forensic Science Laboratory claims that RDX and TNT were used in the 10 inches (25 cm) by 3 inches (7.6 cm) pipe bomb. The bomb was placed under a heavy granite slab that broke in two. Police later said that the slab had taken the force of the impact and saved many lives. The blast occurred near the open air section of the Makkah Masjid. At the time of the blast more than 10,000 people were inside the mosque premises, for the Friday prayers. The injured were treated at the Osmania hospital in Hyderabad. Following this Mumbai and other parts of Maharashtra were put on alert. State Home Minister K Jana Reddy said the blast, which injured over fifty people in addition to the death toll, could be the act of foreign elements.

The National Investigation Agency⁶³, Central Bureau of Investigation⁶⁴ and Anti Terrorist Squad (India) have uncovered the alleged role of former members of the RSS⁶⁵ behind the Makkah Masjid bombing.⁶⁶ On November 19, 2010, the Central Bureau of Investigation produced the preacher Swami Asimanand before the court in connection with the Makkah Masjid blast in Hyderabad in May 2007. Other cases that he has been linked with include 2007 Samjhauta Express bombings, 2008 Malegoan and Modasa bombing and Ajmer Sharif Dargah blast.⁶⁷ On January 15, the confession of Swami Aseemanand was published by Tehelka and CNN-IBN implicating various members of Saffron terror outfits in other cases such as Ajmer Sharif Dargah blast, 2006 Malegaon blasts, 2007 Samjhauta Express bombings, 2008 Malegoan and Modasa bombing. The confession was done in front of a magistrate citing the guilt he felt after seeing innocent Muslim boys arrested in the case by the police. However in late March 2011, Aseemanand redacted his 'confession' alleging that he was coerced by the ATS to make a confession⁶⁸ In April, 2010, Aseemanand submitted a letter to the court which said: "I have been pressured mentally and physically by the investigating agencies to 'confess' that I was behind these blasts." He also said he was threatened and pressured to become a government witness in the case.

A letter written by Aseemanand on December 20, 2010, two days after his confession to the CBI, was presented as evidence in January 2011 to show that the confession he gave was actually voluntary. The letter, which was never sent, was addressed to the presidents of India and Pakistan and explained why he had wanted to confess and tell the truth after seeing the innocent people that had been arrested and implicated with him. After Aseemanand's alleged confession, the families of the 32 men arrested in the aftermath of the bombing have begun demanding the release of the youths from jail.⁶⁹ However, this confession was later found to be obtained under duress.⁷⁰ In late 2011, Aseemanand wrote a petition to President of India Pratibha Patil describing torture allegedly meted out to him during his confinement, prompting the Punjab and Haryana high courts to issue a notice to the National Investigation Agency to investigate the allegations of torture.

⁶³ "HC notice to NIA on Aseemanand petition" *Times of India*, November 29, 2011.

⁶⁴ "RSS leader likely to be quizzed again in Masjid blast case". *The Hindu* (Chennai, India). 27 December 2010.

⁶⁵ "ATS may grill Aseemanand before tackling Indresh". *The Times Of India*, December 27, 2010.

⁶⁶ "HuJI ban takes no note of 'Hindu terror' role". *Times of India*, August 8, 2010,

⁶⁷ "Aseemanand arrest: Major boost to Ajmer dargah blast probe". *The Times Of India*. November 19, 2010.

⁶⁸ "Aseemanand takes back all he said, was 'coerced'". *Indian Express*, March 31, 2011.

⁶⁹ "Aseemanand's confession: Focus shifts to jailed Muslim youths" *India Today*, January 10, 2011

⁷⁰ "Coerced confession". *Indian Express*, December 8, 2011.

The attack happened in two waves. On November 1, 1984 a group of Indian National Congress members attempted to storm the village but the Sikh villagers were able to fend them off.⁷¹ However, at 10 AM on November 2, a truck and a bus carrying "200-250" young men arrived at the village.⁷² They began attacking the Sikhs armed with rods, lathis, diesel, kerosene, and matches as well as chanting slogans in favor of the Congress (I) party.⁷³ For four hours the Congress member's mob beat to death and burned 31 Sikh villagers.⁷⁴ They continued to burn down the Sikhs' bungalows and Gurdwara until the villagers who were able to escape the initial attack tried to find shelter in three different houses. The mob then set two of the houses on fire by pouring kerosene through the roof.⁷⁵ One villager, Balwant Singh, retaliated by killing one of the rioters with a sword and another group of villagers ran out of their burning house to fight back. Once the villagers started fighting back the massacre "came to an abrupt halt".⁷⁶

On the night of November 2, the 32 surviving Sikhs found shelter in the house of a Hindu family in Dhanora, a nearby village. Under the cover of night they escaped to Rewari in a tractor trolley.⁷⁷ Once the villagers started fighting back the massacre "came to an abrupt halt".⁷⁸ The survivors now reside in Ludhiana and Bathinda in Punjab.

A FIR was filed by Dhanpat Singh, the then sarpanch, or mayor, of Chillar at police station Jatusana in Mahendragarh district, which is now in Rewari district. It reveals the killers first came from Hali Mandi around 11 AM but were persuaded by the villagers to turn around. When they came in the evening they had several more trucks of reinforcements and a group of three Hindus had tried to persuade the killers to leave the village but were intimidated into leaving. It reports that 20 of the dead Sikh villagers' bodies were burned beyond recognition.

⁷¹"1984. Riots in Pataudi. Not a whisper escaped". *Tehelka*. March 12, 2011.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³Rakesh Ranjan, "Chillar tears lost to wind as cops 'lose' FIR". *The Pioneer* (Rewari district), March 10, 2011.

⁷⁴"1984. Riots in Pataudi. Not a whisper escaped". *Tehelka*, March 12, 2011.

⁷⁵Rakesh Ranjan, "Chillar tears lost to wind as cops 'lose' FIR". *The Pioneer* (Rewari district), March 10, 2011.

⁷⁶"1984. Riots in Pataudi. Not a whisper escaped". *Tehelka*. March 12, 2011.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

On February 23, 2011, the local police claimed to have lost the First information report, however *The Times of India* was able to find a signed copy of the report which had been obtained from the same police station just days earlier.

At 6 PM on November 1, 1984 after Indira Gandhi was shot, a mob under the guidance of Congress leader Lalit Maken set fire to Pataudi's Gurdwara which created a panic in the city.⁷⁹ As the armed mob rampaged through the town and set fire to Sikh homes in the city, one group of Sikhs escaped to the outskirts while another found shelter in local Hindu Ashram.⁸⁰ On November 2, the Sikhs returned to the city to see the damage done to their homes. Left tired and crying in front of their homes, they became separated from each other, and at 10 AM the mob returned and began burning people alive. Many of the Sikhs were able to escape but the Congress mob captured 17 of them, murdered them, and burned their remains to remove evidence.⁸¹ Although the survivors filed multiple FIRs with the police, one of the assailants were captured or prosecuted. After the massacre many Sikh families fled and only five families remain out of thirty that were settled prior to the massacre.⁸²

Religious violence in Orissa refers to civil unrest and riots in the remote forest region surrounding Kandhamal in the Indian state of Orissa. Parts of Kandhamal are tribal reservations where only tribal people can own land. Tribals and tribal land are protected by “The Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act”. The largest community in Kandhamal is the Kandha tribe. Most Kandha tribal people follow tribal religions or Hinduism. However, the socio-economic and political landscape is dominated by the second largest community non-tribal Panna who are mostly Christian. The region is also home to the Maoist Naxalite guerrillas who are the largest terror group operating against India and responsible for 3338 deaths in India in five years from 2004 to 2008.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

2.4 Terrorism in the Name of Buddhism

Buddhism is a religion or an approach to an enlightened life based on the teachings of the Buddha Siddhartha Gautama. The edict not to kill or inflict pain on others is integral to Buddhist thought. Periodically, however, Buddhist monks have encouraged violence or initiated it. The primary example in the 20th and 21st century is in Sri Lanka, where Sinhala Buddhist groups have committed and encouraged violence against local Christians and Tamils. The leader of Aum Shinrikyo, a Japanese cult that committed a lethal sarin gas attack in the mid-1990s, drew on Buddhist as well as Hindu ideas to justify his beliefs.

Aum Shinrikyo is a Japanese cult and terrorist organization. The group was founded by Shoko Asahara in 1984. The group gained international notoriety in 1995, when it carried out the subway. The name "Aum Shinrikyo" derives from the Sanskrit syllable *Aum*, which represents the universe, followed by *Shinrikyo* written in kanji, roughly meaning "religion of Truth". In English "Aum Shinrikyo" is usually translated as "Supreme Truth". In January 2000, the organization changed its name to Aleph in reference to the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet and Phoenician alphabets. It changed its logo as well. In 1995, the group claimed they had over 9,000 members in Japan, and as many as 40,000 worldwide. As of 2009, Aum Shinrikyo/Aleph membership is estimated about 1,650 people (650 priests, 1,000 laities) by the Japanese government. In July 2011, the cult reported its membership as 1,030.

The movement was founded by Shoko Asahara in his one-bedroom apartment in Tokyo's Shibuya ward in 1984, starting off as a yoga and meditation class⁸³ known as *Aum-no-kai* ("Aum club") and steadily grew in the following years. It gained the official status as a religious organization in 1989.⁸⁴ It attracted such a considerable number of young graduates from Japan's elite universities that it was dubbed a "religion for the elite".

On the morning of 20 March 1995, Aum members released sarin in a co-ordinate attack on five trains in the Tokyo subway system, killing 13 commuters, seriously injuring 54 and affecting 980 more. Some estimates claim as many as 5,000 people were injured by the sarin. It is difficult to obtain exact numbers since many victims are reluctant to come

⁸³ Anson D Shupe, *Wolves Within the Fold: Religious Leadership and Abuses of Power*, (Rutgers University Press, 1998) P. 34.

⁸⁴ James R Lewis, Jesper Aagaard Petersen, *Controversial New Religions*, (Oxford University Press, 2005) P. 162.

forward. Prosecutors allege that Asahara was tipped off about planned police raids on cult facilities by an insider, and ordered an attack in central Tokyo to divert attention away from the group. The plan evidently backfired, and the police conducted huge simultaneous raids on cult compounds across the country.

Over the next week, the full scale of Aum's activities was revealed for the first time. At the cult's headquarters in Kamikuishiki on the foot of Mount Fuji, police found explosives, chemical weapons and biological warfare agents, such as anthrax and Ebola cultures, and a Russian Mil Mi-17 military helicopter. The Ebola virus was delivered from Zaire in 1994.⁸⁵ There were stockpiles of chemicals that could be used for producing enough sarin to kill four million people. Police also found laboratories to manufacture drugs such as LSD, methamphetamine, and a crude form of truth serum, a safe containing millions of dollars in cash and gold, and cells, many still containing prisoners. During the raids, Aum issued statements claiming that the chemicals were for fertilizers. Over the next six weeks, over 150 cult members were arrested for a variety of offenses. The media were stationed outside their Tokyo headquarters on Komazawa Dori in Aoyama for months after the attack and arrests waiting for action and to get images of the cult and other members.

On 30 March 1995, Takaji Kunimatsu, chief of the National Police Agency, was shot four times near his house in Tokyo, seriously wounding him. While many suspect Aum involvement in the shooting, the *Sankei Shimbun* reported that Hiroshi Nakamura is suspected of the crime, but nobody has been charged.⁸⁶

While on the run, Asahara issued statements, one claiming that the Tokyo attacks were a ploy by the US military to implicate the cult, and another threatening a disaster that "would make the Kobe Earthquake seem as minor as a fly landing on one's cheek" to occur on 15 April. The authorities took the threat seriously, declaring a state of emergency, stocking up hospitals with antidotes to nerve gas while chemical warfare specialists of the Self-Defence Force were put on standby. However, the day came and went with no incident.

⁸⁵ Alexander Kouzminov *Biological Espionage: Special Operations of the Soviet and Russian Foreign Intelligence Services in the West*, Greenhill Books, 2006.

⁸⁶ "Man confesses to shooting Japan's top cop in 1995." *Japan Today*, March 20, 2008.

On 23 April, Murai Hideo, the head of Aum's Ministry of Science, was stabbed to death outside the cult's Tokyo headquarters amidst a crowd of about 100 reporters, in front of cameras. The man responsible, a Korean member of Yamaguchi-gumi, was arrested and eventually convicted of the murder. His motive remains unknown.

On the evening of 5 May, a burning paper bag was discovered in a toilet in Shinjuku station in Tokyo, the busiest station in the world. Upon examination it was revealed that it was a hydrogen cyanide device which, had it not been extinguished in time, would have released enough gas into the ventilation system to potentially kill 20,000 commuters. Several undetonated cyanide devices were found at other locations in the Tokyo subway.

During this time, numerous cult members were arrested for various offenses, but arrests of the most senior members on the charge of the subway gassing had not yet taken place.

Shoko Asahara was finally found hiding within a wall of a cult building known as "The 6th Satian" in the Kamikuishiki complex on 16 May and was arrested. On the same day, the cult mailed a parcel bomb to the office of Yukio Aoshima, the governor of Tokyo, blowing off the fingers of his secretary's hand. Asahara was initially charged with 23 counts of murder as well as 16 other offenses. The trial, dubbed "the trial of the century" by the press, ruled Asahara guilty of masterminding the attack and sentenced him to death. The indictment was appealed unsuccessfully. A number of senior members accused of participation, such as Masami Tsuchiya, also received death sentences.

The reasons why a small circle of mostly senior Aum members committed atrocities and the extent of personal involvement by Asahara remain unclear to this day, although several theories have attempted to explain these events. In response to the prosecution's charge that Asahara ordered the subway attacks to distract the authorities' away from Aum, the defense maintained that Asahara was not aware of events, pointing to his deteriorating health condition. Shortly after his arrest, Asahara abandoned his post as the organization's leader, and since then has maintained silence, refusing to communicate even with lawyers and family members.

On 10 October 1995, Aum Shinrikyo was ordered to be stripped of its official status as a "religious legal entity" and was declared bankrupt in early 1996. However the group continues to operate under the constitutional guarantee of freedom of religion, funded by a

successful computer business and donations, and under strict surveillance. Attempts to ban the group altogether under the 1952 Subversive Activities Prevention Law were rejected by the Public Security Examination Commission in January 1997.

The group underwent a number of transformations in the aftermath of Asahara's arrest and trial. For a brief time, Asahara's two preteen sons officially replaced him as guru. It re-grouped under the new name of Aleph in February 2000. It has announced a change in its doctrine: religious texts related to controversial Vajrayana Buddhist doctrines that authorities claimed were "justifying murder" were removed. The group apologized to the victims of the sarin gas attack and established a special compensations fund. Provocative publications and activities that alarmed society during Aum times are no longer in place.

Fumihiro Joyu, one of the few senior leaders of the group under Asahara who did not face serious charges, became official head of the organization in 1999.

In July 2000, Russian police arrested Dmitri Sigachev, an ex-KGB and former Aum Shinrikyo member, along with four other former Russian Aum members, for stockpiling weapons in preparation for attacking Japanese cities in a bid to free Asahara. In response, Aleph issued a statement saying they "do not regard Sigachev as one of its members".

In August 2003, a woman believed to be an ex-Aum Shinrikyo member took refuge in North Korea via China.

At 11:50 pm 31 December 2011, Makoto Hirata surrendered himself to the police and was arrested on suspicion of being involved in the 1995 abduction of Kiyoshi Kariya, the brother of an escaped former cult member, who subsequently died while Aum cultists interrogated him.⁸⁷ Police have traced Hirata to Osaka, and have released photos of his present appearance to aid the apprehension of the accomplices believed to have aided him as a fugitive.⁸⁸

The 2013 Burma anti-Muslim riots were a series of conflicts in various cities throughout central and eastern Burma (Myanmar), coinciding with the rise of the Buddhist 969 Movement led by nationalist monk U Wirathu. Many believe the 969 Movement has been responsible for inciting violence against Muslims in Burma.

⁸⁷"Aum Shinrikyo cult fugitive surrenders to Japan police". *BBC News*, January 1, 2012.

⁸⁸"Police hope Hirata photos lead to abettors". *Kyodo: Japan Times*, January 7, 2012.

Tensions between Buddhist and Muslim ethnic groups flared into violent clashes in Meiktila on March 20 and continued until the 22nd, killing at least 40 and wounding 61 people. The violence started on March 20 after a Muslim gold shop owner, his wife, and two Muslim employees allegedly assaulted a Buddhist customer and her husband in an argument over a golden hairpin. The situation further escalated when a local Buddhist monk was dragged from his bicycle, doused in petrol, and burnt alive by six Muslim youths at a nearby mosque.

The deadliest incident occurred when a Buddhist mob attacked and torched Mingalar Zayone Islamic Boarding School. While security forces stood by, rioters armed with machetes, metal pipes, chains, and stones killed 32 teenage students and four teachers.

On the 25th of March, communal rioting targeting Muslim houses and mosques spread to the towns of Othekone, Tatkone and Yamenthin. At least 9,000 residents were documented to have been displaced by the violence. In April, the BBC provided a video showing police officers standing by while rioters torched houses and businesses in Meiktila. The video also shows the brutal burning and killing of at least two Muslim students by the hands of the rioters, which included Buddhist monks.

On the 21st of May, seven Muslims, including the gold shop owner and those who perpetrated the murder of the monk, were convicted for inciting the unrest and jailed from 2 up to 28 years. In July, the Burmese courts sentenced 25 Buddhists to up to 15 years in prison for murder and other crimes during riot.⁸⁹

On the 30th of April, 400 Buddhists armed with bricks and sticks overran mosques and torched more than 100 homes and shops in Okkan, killing two people and injuring at least ten more. Another 77 homes were destroyed in the nearby villages of Yadanakon, Panipin, Chaukthe and Thekon. The riot reportedly began when a Muslim girl on a bicycle bumped into a Buddhist monk, knocking over his alms bowl.

On the 29th of May, violence broke out in Lashio, in Shan state bordering China, after reports that a 48-year-old Muslim man named Ne Win poured petrol on a young Buddhist woman with whom he was arguing and set her on fire. In response, a Buddhist mob armed with machetes and bamboo poles torched a mosque, a Muslim orphanage, and several shops after the police refused to surrender Ne Win. The Buddhists and Muslims continued to fight into the next day and at least one person died. Sword-wielding Buddhist gangs

⁸⁹"Burma jails 25 Buddhists for mob killings of 36 Muslims in Meikhtila". *The Guardian*. 11 July 2013.

began patrolling the streets on motorbikes, forcing as many as 1,400 Muslims to take shelter in a Buddhist monastery until the police and army were able to restore order.

On the 24th of August, violence once again flared up in Htangan village, 16 kilometers south of Kantbalu in the Sagaing Region, after the alleged attempted rape of a Buddhist woman by three Muslim men. Local monks led the enraged Buddhist villagers to retaliate by burning down Muslim owned businesses and the village mosque. State television reported that 44 houses and 15 shops owned primarily by Muslims were razed during the three-hour riot. One firefighter and one civilian were injured in the incident.

Between September 29 and October 2, Rakhine Buddhists have rioted and attacked Kamein Muslims in Thabyachaing and Linthi villages, about 20 kilometers north of the coastal town of Thandwe in Rakhine State. Seven Muslims and two Buddhists were killed and between 70 and 80 houses were set on fire. About 500 ethnic Kamein Muslims were forced to flee from their homes.⁹⁰ Local residents were worried a further round of violence between Rakhine Buddhist and Muslim communities after two young Rakhine Buddhists girls aged five and six, were found murdered on November 17 and 18 in separate incidents. One victim reportedly appeared to have been raped.⁹¹

- In April 2013, Muslim and Buddhist detainees from Burma clashed at a refugee camp in Indonesia. Eight Buddhists were killed and fifteen other people were wounded.⁹² Sources have asserted that the provocation for the riot was due to sexual harassment against female Rohingya Muslim inmates by the Rakhine Buddhist inmates.⁹³ Indonesian court jailed 14 Muslim Rohingya for nine months each in December. The sentence was lighter than the maximum penalty for violence resulting in death, which is 12 years. The men's lawyer said they would appeal for freedom because there was no real evidence shown during the trial.
- In May, two Muslims were arrested for planning to attack the Myanmar embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia with pipe-bombs. The mastermind of the plot said he was *still at war* with anyone oppressing Muslims.
- In June, at least four killings in Malaysia were linked to ethnic tensions in Myanmar. All the victims, including a man slashed to death by machete-wielding

⁹⁰"Thandwe Death Toll Rises to 7 With Discovery of Two More Bodies". *The Irrawaddy*. 12 October 2013.

⁹¹"Rakhine on edge after two girls found dead". *The Myanmar Times*. 27 November 2013.

⁹²"Rohingya-Buddhist Clashes in Indonesia 'Caused by Rape of Three Rohingya Muslim Women'". *Democratic Voice of Burma*. 9 April 2013.

⁹³"Indonesian prison riot sparked by rapes of Female Rohingya Inmates". *Democratic Voice of Burma*. 10 April 2013.

mob in Kuala Lumpur, were Buddhists from Burma. Malaysian police had arrested approximately 60 Burma immigrants in an attempt to control tensions.⁹⁴

- In July, Muslims were blamed for the Bodh Gaya bombings, targeting one of Buddhism's most revered sites.
- On August 5, two pipe-bombs went off outside the Ekayana Buddhist Centre in West Jakarta as some 300 people gathered inside the temple for a sermon, injuring three people. There was a note from the perpetrators that read "We respond to the screams of the Rohingya".

⁹⁴<http://www.irrawaddy.org/archives/36612>

2.5 Terrorism in the Name of Sikhism

Sikhism is one of the latest religions of the world. The rise of Sikhism is seen by many as a protest against both Hinduism and Islam.⁹⁵ Sikh extremism refers to threats or acts of violence against civilians, or material support for the acts of violence. Some extremists have been separatists pursuing the formation of a Sikh state, often referred to as Khalistan.⁹⁶ Some extremists took part in the Indian independence movement. Some extremists took part in sectarian or other religious violence. Religious terrorism has been used in the Khalistan movement. Babbar Khalsa, Khalistan Commando Force, Khalistan Liberation Force, Bhindranwala Tigers Force of Khalistan, Khalistan Zindabad Force, Shaheed Khalsa Force and Dashmesh Regiment are established terrorist groups in this religion.

Babbar Khalsa (BKI) also known as Babbar Khalsa International (BKI) is a Sikh armed organisation based in India. Many consider the Babbar Khalsa a Resistance movement, and it played a prominent role in the Punjab insurgency. Babbar Khalsa International was created in 1978, after a number of Sikhs were killed in clashes with the Nirankari sect.⁹⁷ It was active throughout 1980s in the Punjab insurgency but its influence declined in the 1990s after several senior members were killed in encounter killings with police.⁹⁸ Babbar Khalsa International has since been declared to be a terrorist organization in many countries, including India, Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. On March 13, Jagtar Singh Tara split from the Babbar Khalsa to form the Khalistan Tiger Force for undisclosed reasons. Four Babbar Khalsa International UK members were arrested and later bailed in July 2010 in connection with the murder of a Sikh leader in Punjab, India. Babbar Khalsa kept up a low level of activity until 1983.⁹⁹ Its membership was drawn from ex-servicemen, police officers, and Sikh religious organizations.¹⁰⁰ After Operation Bluestar the organization fell into disarray but was able to regroup and remained active.¹⁰¹ During its highest period of activity Babbar Khalsa International had 27 subgroups

⁹⁵ Kedar Nath Tiwari, *Comparative Religion*, (Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass, 1983) P.174.

⁹⁶ Dwight Hamilton, Kostas Rimsa, *Terror Threat*, (Dundurn Press, 19 November 2007) P. 26.

⁹⁷ David Wright-Neville, *Dictionary of Terrorism*. Polity. 2010. P. 46.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ C. Christine Fair, Ganguly, Sumit, *Treading on hallowed ground: counterinsurgency operations in sacred spaces*. (USA : Oxford University Press, 2008-09) P.41.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

operating under its direction.¹⁰² It specialized in the use of bombs,¹⁰³ particularly RDX. The Commission of Inquiry into the Investigation of the Bombing of Air India Flight 182 concluded that Talwinder Singh Parmar is now believed that he was the leader of the conspiracy to bomb Air India flights" Only Inderjit Singh Reyat who admitted to building the bomb, was convicted in the Air India bombing. The bombing attack, the worst act of airliner terrorism before 9/11 was followed by at least six other terrorist incidents, plots or threats which were linked to Babbar Khalsa sect in Surrey British Columbia, Hamilton and Montreal. Five Babbar Khalsa members from Montreal were arrested May 30th 1986 in another plot to bomb up Air India flights out of New York City. Newspaper editor Tara Singh Hayer was targeted with a bomb at his office in January 1986. Just weeks later, Sikhs from the Hamilton temple along with Air India bombing suspects Talwinder Singh Parmar and Ajaib Singh Bagri were arrested after being wiretapped discussing blowing up the Parliament and kidnapping children of MPs in India. Visiting Punjabi Cabinet Minister Malkiat Singh Sidhu was ambushed in Canada, surviving being shot in March 1986 by four gunmen. The crackdown on Sikh militant organizations by the Indian Government in the early 1990s, followed by the criminal and government infiltration of the Khalistan movement and the various militant organizations respectively, greatly weakened the Babbar Khalsa, ultimately leading to the death of Sukhdev Singh Babbar (9 August 1992) and Talwinder Singh Parmar (15 October 1992). Parmar's death remained controversial, and today he is accepted to have been shot dead by Indian police during custody; the Tehelka investigation found that Indian security forces had killed him after interrogation and were ordered to destroy his confession statements,¹⁰⁴ Canada's CBC network also reported that Parmar had been in police custody for some time prior to his death.¹⁰⁵

The death of Sukhdev Singh Babbar, described by India Today as "the most prominent leader since 1978" who had "an aura of invincibility", severely weakened Babbar Khalsa.

Despite setbacks incurred in the early Nineties, Babbar Khalsa is still active under ground, although not to the extent it once was. Current leadership resides with Wadhawa Singh Babbar, with Pratik Shah as deputy Jathedar. Babbar Khalsa is suspected by the Punjab

¹⁰²Crenshaw, Martha, *Terrorism in context*. (Penn State Press, 1995) P. 397.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴"Free. Fair. Fearless." *Tehelka*. August 09, 2009.

¹⁰⁵"CBC News In Depth: Air India - Bombing of Air India Flight 182". *Cbc.ca*. August 09, 2009.

police authorities to be responsible for a bombing at the Shingar Cinema Complex in Ludhiana on October 2007, in which 7 people were killed and 32 wounded.¹⁰⁶

The Khalistan Liberation Force or KLF is a militant group, and is part of the Khalistan movement to create a Sikh homeland called Khalistan via armed struggle. The KLF appears to have been a loose association of scattered Khalistani groups.¹⁰⁷ The KLF *Jathebandi* (organization) was founded by Aroor Singh and Sukhvinder Singh Babbar in 1986. Other KLF leaders who headed KLF after Aroor Singh were Avtar Singh Brahma (killed by Punjab police 21 May 1988), Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwal (Killed by Indian security forces on July 30, 1992)¹⁰⁸, Navroop Singh (Killed by India on August 4, 1992)¹⁰⁹ Kuldip Singh Keepa Shekhupura, and Navneet Singh Khadian (killed 25 Feb 1994). After Navneet Singh Khadian KLF singhs hand over command to Dr. Pritam Singh Sekhon. His death is a mystery till today. Now Harminder Singh (Nihang) @ Mintu from Dalli leads this organisation.

The KLF was responsible for several bombings of civilian targets in India during the 1980s and 1990s, sometimes in conjunction with Kashmir separatists.¹¹⁰ KLF was among the Sikh groups that claimed responsibility for the 1991 kidnapping of the Romanian chargé d'affaires in New Delhi, Liviu Radu. This appeared to be retaliation for Romanian arrests of KLF members suspected of the attempted assassination of Julio Ribeiro, 62, the Indian ambassador to Romania, in Bucharest. Radu was released unharmed after Sikh politicians criticized the action.

In the year 1991, Khalistan Liberation Force along with Bhindranwale Tiger Force of Khalistan and Dr. Sohan Singh (Head of Panthic Committee) etc participated in the secret peace negotiations with India in the city of Ludhiana. These meetings were initiated by Union Minister of State for Home Subodh Kant Sahay on the orders of the (then) Prime Minister of India Chandra Shekhar. It is said that this peace effort was sabotaged by Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence. Former Indian Intelligence Bureau Joint Director, Maloy Krishna Dhar stated in a press report published by *The Hindu* that "Prime Minister

¹⁰⁶"Terror back in Punjab: Babbar Khalsa suspect". *CNN-IBN*. October 15, 2007.

¹⁰⁷ Cynthia Keppley Mahmood, *Fighting for Faith and Nation*. Series in Contemporary Ethnography. (University of Pennsylvania Press, November 1, 1996) P.159.

¹⁰⁸"Death report exaggerated". *The Independent* (London). August 29, 1992.

¹⁰⁹"Sikh rebels blamed for massacre". *The Independent* (London). August 04, 1992.

¹¹⁰"Bus explosion in India kills at least 14", *CNN*, May 22, 1996.

Benazir Bhutto and her ISI advisers were determined not to let peace succeed. Pakistan's covert war in Jammu and Kashmir had exploded in 1990, and its establishment understood that the Punjab conflict tied down our troops, and threatened our logistical lines into Jammu and Kashmir.”

The KLF was listed in 1995 one of the 4 "major militant groups" in the Khalistan movement.¹¹¹ India, in the 1995 era, alleged that Pakistan provided Sikh militants with shelter and support. The separatist movement was largely crushed in the mid 1990s.¹¹² In 1999 it was reported that former KLF operative Manjinder Singh Issi, who took part in the Radu kidnapping, became disillusioned with KLF when he realized that its Pakistani supporters were more interested in disruptive violence in Punjab than Sikh autonomy. Arrests still occur as of 2005.

The Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZF) is a militant group, and is part of the Khalistan movement to create a Sikh homeland called Khalistan via armed struggle. It was identified in 2005 as a terrorist organisation by the EU. The Khalistan Zindabad Force is headed by Ranjit Singh Neeta, a native of Jammu and Kashmir.¹¹³ He was listed among India's 20 most wanted persons in 2008.

The strength and striking capabilities of the Khalistan Zindabad Force are currently unknown, but it is reported that attempts have been made for the Khalistan Zindabad Force and other militant groups from Kashmir to co-ordinate their efforts.¹¹⁴ In December 2005 the European Union classified the Khalistan Zindabad Force as a terrorist organization, freezing its monetary assets throughout its 25 member countries. The Khalistan Zindabad Force was reported to still be active in 2008.¹¹⁵

Claims and denials of responsibility have been reported in the name of the Khalistan Zindabad Force for a May 2009 attack at the Gurdwara Nanaksar in Vienna, Austria, that

¹¹¹Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism in Context*,(Pennsylvania : State University Press, January 1, 1995) P.394.

¹¹²"Bus explosion in India kills at least 14", *CNN*, May 22, 1996.

¹¹³"Ranjit Singh Neeta (Khalistan Zindabad Force)". *The Indian Express*, December 4, 2008.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

left Rama Nand, a leader of the Dera Sach Khand dead, 17 injured, and sparked riots across northern India.¹¹⁶

The Shaheed Khalsa Force claimed credit for marketplace bombings in New Delhi in 1997.¹¹⁷ The group was previously unknown. Shaheed Khalsa Force had asserted that it set off three blasts in a Delhi district on 2 October 1997, wounding 27 people during a Hindu religious procession.¹¹⁸ The same day, three bombs put in a train near Delhi killed 2 people and wounded 38, including 2 Japanese visitors and 5 Australians.¹¹⁹ Shaheed Khalsa Force also asserted responsibility for three explosions in Delhi on 10 October 1997 that killed a child and wounded 16.¹²⁰

All bombings for which Shaheed Khalsa Force claimed responsibility were in the Indian capital, Delhi. After 4-5 bomb-blasts in Delhi in 1997, the group was not reported again. Delhi police never arrested any member of SKF nor identified any of its leaders, so it remains unclear if the group was real or just a hoax.

This article is about the militant group founded by Shabeg Singh and others. The Dashmesh Regiment was a militant group, and is part of the Khalistan movement to create a Sikh homeland called Khalistan via armed struggle. The Dashmesh Regiment *jathebandi* was responsible for several terrorist bombings of civilian targets in India during the 1980s and 1990s.

The founding members were Amrik Singh, Damdami Taksal Wale and Shabeg Singh; all associated with Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. Responsibility for an April, 1984, wave of killings was claimed by the Dashmesh Regiment, a previously unrecognized group of Sikh separatists that counts the government among its sworn enemies for its attack on the golden temple in Amritsar and the Sikh genocide ordered by the Indian government against Sikhs from 1984 till now. Sikh separatists lobbed hand grenades into a religious house near their holy city of Amritsar, killing four and injuring 31. In many Punjab towns, separatists on motorcycles shot up cars, banks and people in the streets. Two Hindu political leaders who were responsible for the attack on the Akal Takht or conspired the

¹¹⁶"South Asia: Punjab riots after Vienna killing", *BBC News*, May 25, 2009.

¹¹⁷"3 Killed and 62 Hurt by Blasts At a Crowded Market in Delhi", *New York Times*, December 1, 1997.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

Sikh genocide in Delhi after the murder of Indira Gandhi and both national figures were gunned down. By week's end 23 had been killed and 80 injured.

Chapter 3

Terrorism in the Name of Islam

There are some Muslim terrorist groups who are engaged in massacre in the name of Islam. The terrorist groups are killing innocent people almost everyday. They are misguided and bear misconceptions about Islam. Notable terrorist groups of Islam are Taliban, Hezbollah, Hamas, Al-Qaeda, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed, Boko Haram, Islamic State, Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami, Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh etc.

3.1 Taliban

The Taliban is an Islamist militant and political group that ruled large parts of Afghanistan and its capital, Kabul, as the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan from September 1996 until October 2001. It gained diplomatic recognition from only three states: Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. The main leader of the Taliban movement is Mullah Mohammed Omar, and Kandahar is considered the birthplace of the Taliban.¹²¹

3.1.1 Ideology and Goals

The Taliban's ideological foundation focuses on the strict interpretation and enforcement of *Shariah* law. In a 1996 interview with Ahmed Rashid, Taliban spokesman Mullah Wakil explained the intentions of the Taliban in regards to *Shariah*¹²²

"The Sharia does not allow politics or political parties. That is why we give no salaries to officials or soldiers, just food, clothes, shoes, and weapons. We want to live a life like the Prophet lived 1400 years ago, and jihad is our right. We want to recreate the time of the

¹²¹Crews, Robert D, Amin Tarzi, *The Taliban and the Crisis of Afghanistan*, Harvard University Press, 2009, p. 278.

¹²²Rashid, Ahmed. *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*, New Haven: Yale University Press. p. 43 (Interview with Mullah Wakil, 1996).

Prophet, and we are only carrying out what the Afghan people have wanted for the past 14 years."

The decision-making processes are emulated after early tribal councils, believed to be consistent with the tribal ways of Arabs centuries before.

The ideology of the Taliban is considered a shift from traditional Islamist views held by anti-Soviet mujahideen fighters in the 1980s and early 1990s. It is seen as a combination of strict anti-modern Pashtun tribal ideology mixed with radicalized Deobandi interpretations of Islam. The latter are central to the ideologies of splinter groups, such as Jamait Ulema-e-Islam (JUI). Osama bin Laden's jihadist and pan-Islamist views also penetrated to the ideological foundations of the Taliban governance and insurgency.

While in power, they enforced one of the strictest interpretations of Sharia law ever seen in the Muslim world,¹²³ and leading Muslims have been highly critical of the Taliban interpretations of Islamic law.¹²⁴ The Taliban were condemned internationally for their brutal repression of women. The majority of their leaders were influenced by Deobandi fundamentalism,¹²⁵ and many also strictly follow the social and cultural norm called Pashtunwali.¹²⁶ The Taliban movement is primarily made up of members belonging to Pashtuntribes, the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan.

3.1.2Activities

From 1995-2001, the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence and military are widely alleged by the international community to have provided support to the Taliban. Pakistan has been accused by many international officials of continuing to support the Taliban today, but Pakistan claims to have dropped all support for the group since 9/11. Al Qaeda also supported the Taliban with regiments of imported fighters from Arab countries and Central Asia. Saudi Arabia provided financial support. The Taliban and their allies committed massacres against Afghan civilians,¹²⁷ denied UN food supplies to 160,000 starving civilians and conducted a policy of scorched earth burning vast areas of fertile

¹²³Abrams, Dennis, *Hamid Karzai*. Infobase Publishing, 2007, pp. 14.

¹²⁴Skain, Rosemarie, *The women of Afghanistan under the Taliban*. McFarland, 2002, p. 41.

¹²⁵Maley, William, *Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban*. C Hurst and Co. 2001, p. 14.

¹²⁶Shaffer, Brenda, *The limits of culture: Islam and foreign policy*, MIT Press, 2006, p. 277.

¹²⁷Rashid, Ahmed, *Taliban: Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia*. I.B.Tauris, 2002, p. 253.

land and destroying tens of thousands of homes during their rule from 1996-2001.¹²⁸ Hundreds of thousands of people were forced to flee to United Front-controlled territory, Pakistan and Iran.

After the attacks of September 11, 2001 the Taliban were overthrown by the Operation Enduring Freedom. Later it regrouped as an insurgency movement to fight the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (established in late 2001) and the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The Taliban have been accused of using terrorism as a specific tactic to further their ideological and political goals.¹²⁹ According to the United Nations, the Taliban and their allies were responsible for 75% of civilian casualties in 2010 and 80% in 2011. Today the Taliban operate in Afghanistan and northwest Pakistan. It is believed one of their current major headquarters is near Quetta in Pakistan.¹³⁰

3.1.2.1 Massacre Campaigns

According to a 55-page report by the United Nations, the Taliban, while trying to consolidate control over northern and western Afghanistan, committed systematic massacres against civilians. UN officials stated that there had been "15 massacres" between 1996 and 2001. "These are the same type of war crimes as were committed in Bosnia and should be prosecuted in international courts", one UN official was quoted as saying. The documents also reveal the role of Arab and Pakistani support troops in these killings. The report by the United Nations quotes "eyewitnesses in many villages describing Arab fighters carrying long knives used for slitting throats and skinning people". The Taliban's former ambassador to Pakistan, Mullah Abdul Salam Zaeef, in late 2011 stated that cruel behaviour under and by the Taliban had been "necessary".¹³¹

In 1998, the United Nations accused the Taliban of denying emergency food by the UN's World Food Programme to 160,000 hungry and starving people "for political and military

¹²⁸ Goodson, Larry P. *Afghanistan's Endless War: State Failure, Regional Politics and the Rise of the Taliban*. University of Washington Press, 2002, p.121.

¹²⁹ Skaine, Rosemarie, *Women of Afghanistan in the Post-Taliban Era: How Lives Have Changed and Where They Stand Today*. McFarland, 2009, p. 41.

¹³⁰ Pape, Robert Anthony; James K. Feldman, *Cutting the Fuse: The Explosion of Global Suicide Terrorism and How to Stop It*, University of Chicago Press, 2010, p. 142.

¹³¹ Gargan, Edward A "Taliban massacres outlined for UN". *Chicago Tribune*. October 2001.

reasons".¹³² The UN said the Taliban were starving people for their military agenda and using humanitarian assistance as a weapon of war.

On August 8, 1998 the Taliban launched an attack on Mazar-i Sharif. Of 1500 defenders only 100 survived the engagement. Once in control the Taliban began to kill people indiscriminately. At first shooting people in the street, they soon began to target Hazaras. Women were raped, and thousands of people were locked in containers and left to suffocate. This ethnic cleansing left an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 dead. At this time ten Iranian diplomats and a journalist were killed. Iran assumed the Taliban had murdered them, and mobilized its army, deploying men along the border with Afghanistan. By the middle of September there were 250,000 Iranian personnel stationed on the border. Pakistan mediated and the bodies were returned to Tehran towards the end of the month. The killings of the Diplomats had been carried out by Sipah-e-Sahaba a Pakistani Sunni group with close ties to the ISI. They burned orchards, crops and destroyed irrigation systems, and forced more than 100,000 people from their homes with hundreds of men, women and children still unaccounted for.¹³³

In a major effort to retake the Shomali plains from the United Front, the Taliban indiscriminately killed civilians, while uprooting and expelling the population. Among others, Kamal Hossein, a special reporter for the UN, reported on these and other war crimes. In Istalif, which was home to more than 45,000 people, the Taliban gave 24 hours' notice to the population to leave, then completely razed the town leaving the people destitute.¹³⁴

In 1999 the town of Bamian was taken, hundreds of men, women and children were executed. Houses were razed and some were used for forced labor. There was a further massacre at the town of Yakaolang in January 2001. An estimated 300 people were murdered, along with two delegations of Hazara elders who had tried to intercede.¹³⁵

¹³²"Associated Press: U.N. says Taliban starving hungry people for military agenda". *Nl.newsbank.com*. 1998-01-07.

¹³³Armajani, Jon (2012). *Modern Islamist Movements: History, Religion, and Politics*. Wiley-Blackwell. p. 207.

¹³⁴Coburn, Noah (2011). *Bazaar Politics: Power and Pottery in an Afghan Market Town*. Stanford University Press. p. 13.

¹³⁵Maley, William (2002). *The Afghanistan wars*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 240.

By 1999, the Taliban had forced hundreds of thousands of people from the Shomali Plains and other regions conducting a policy of scorched earth burning homes, farm land and gardens.

3.1.2.2 Human Trafficking

Several Taliban and al-Qaeda commanders ran a network of human trafficking, abducting women and selling them into sex slavery in Afghanistan and Pakistan.¹³⁶ *Time* magazine writes: "The Taliban often argued that the restrictions they placed on women were actually a way of revering and protecting the opposite sex. The behavior of the Taliban during the six years they expanded their rule in Afghanistan made a mockery of that claim."¹³⁷

The targets for human trafficking were especially women from the Tajik, Uzbek, Hazara and other ethnic groups in Afghanistan. Some women preferred to commit suicide over slavery, killing themselves. During one Taliban and al-Qaeda offensive in 1999 in the Shomali Plains alone, more than 600 women were kidnapped.¹³⁸ Arab and Pakistani al-Qaeda militants with local Taliban forces, forced them into trucks and buses.¹³⁹ *Time* magazine writes: "The trail of the missing Shomali women leads to Jalalabad, not far from the Pakistan border. There, according to eyewitnesses, the women were penned up inside Sar Shahi camp in the desert. The more desirable among them were selected and taken away. Some were trucked to Peshawar with the apparent complicity of Pakistani border guards. Others were taken to Khost, where bin Laden had several training camps." Officials from relief agencies say, the trail of many of the vanished women leads to Pakistan where they were sold to brothels or into private households to be kept as slaves.¹⁴⁰

However, not all Taliban commanders engaged in human trafficking. Many Taliban were opposed to the human trafficking operations conducted by al-Qaeda and other Taliban commanders. Nuruludah, a Taliban commander, is quoted as saying that in the Shomali Plains, he and 10 of his men freed some women who were being abducted by Pakistani

¹³⁶"*Lifting The Veil On Taliban Sex Slavery*". *Time*. 2002-02-10

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

members of al-Qaeda. In Jalalabad, local Taliban commanders freed women that were being held by Arab members of al-Qaeda in a camp.

3.1.2.3 Oppression of Women

The Taliban were condemned internationally for their brutal repression of women. In 2001 Laura Bush in a radio address condemned the Taliban's brutality to women. In areas they controlled the Taliban issued edicts which forbade women from being educated, girls were forced to leave schools and colleges. Those who wished to leave their home to go shopping had to be accompanied by a male relative, and were required to wear the *burqa*, a traditional dress covering the entire body except for a small screen to see out of. Those who appeared to disobey were publicly beaten. Sohaila, a young woman who was convicted of walking with a man who was not a relative, was charged with adultery. She was publicly flogged in Ghazi Stadium and received 100 lashes. The religious police routinely carried out inhumane abuse on women. Employment for women was restricted to the medical sector, because male medical personnel were not allowed to treat women and girls. One result of the banning of employment of women by the Taliban was the closing down in places like Kabul of primary schools not only for girls but for boys, because almost all the teachers there were women. Taliban restrictions became more severe after they took control of the capital. In February 1998, religious police forced all women off the streets of Kabul, and issued new regulations ordering people to blacken their windows, so that women would not be visible from the outside.¹⁴¹

3.1.2.4 Terrorism against Civilians

According to the United Nations, the Taliban were responsible for 76% of civilian casualties in Afghanistan in 2009, 75% in 2010 and 80% in 2011.¹⁴²

According to Human Rights Watch, the Taliban's bombings and other attacks which have led to civilian casualties "sharply escalated in 2006" when "at least 669 Afghan civilians were killed in at least 350 armed attacks, most of which appear to have been intentionally

¹⁴¹ Cooke, Miriam (2006). Daniel J. Sherman, ed. *Terror, Culture, Politics: 9/11 Reconsidered*. Indiana University Press. p. 177.

¹⁴² Kegley, Charles W.; Shannon L Blanton (2011). *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*. Cengage. p. 230.

launched at non-combatants." By 2008, the Taliban had increased its use of suicide bombers and targeted unarmed civilian aid workers, such as Gayle Williams.¹⁴³

The United Nations reported that the number of civilians killed by both the Taliban and pro-government forces in the war rose nearly 50% between 2007 and 2009. The high number of civilians killed by the Taliban is blamed in part on their increasing use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs), "for instance, 16 IEDs have been planted in girls' schools" by the Taliban.

In 2009, Colonel Richard Kemp, formerly Commander of British forces in Afghanistan and the intelligence coordinator for the British government, drew parallels between the tactics and strategy of Hamas in Gaza to those of the Taliban. Kemp wrote:

Like Hamas in Gaza, the Taliban in southern Afghanistan are masters at shielding themselves behind the civilian population and then melting in among them for protection. Women and children are trained and equipped to fight, collect intelligence, and ferry arms and ammunition between battles. Female suicide bombers are increasingly common. The use of women to shield gunmen as they engage NATO forces is now so normal it is deemed barely worthy of comment. Schools and houses are routinely booby-trapped. Snipers shelter in houses deliberately filled with women and children. The Taliban has often targeted health officials that work to immunise children against polio due to fears of the vaccine, including the fear that it is used to gather intelligence about their organisation. Polio vaccines were banned in the North Waziristan region of Pakistan in June 2012 and in December 2012, Taliban assassins killed four female UN polio-workers in Pakistan because they were thought to be spies. The Afghan government was forced to suspend vaccination efforts to eliminate polio from the Nuristan province in March 2013 because of a large Taliban influence in the province. Taliban leaders changed their stance on polio vaccination in early May 2013, saying the vaccine is the only way to prevent polio and that they would work with immunisation volunteers so long as polio workers are "unbiased" and "harmonised with the regional conditions, Islamic values and local cultural traditions."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³"South Asia | UK charity worker killed in Kabul". *BBC News*. 2008-10-20.

¹⁴⁴Babakarkhail, Z.; Nelson, D. (13 May 2013). "Taliban renounces war on anti-polio workers". *The Telegraph* (London).

In 1999, Mullah Omar issued a decree protecting the Buddha statues at Bamyan, two 6th-century monumental statues of standing buddhas carved into the side of a cliff in the Bamyan valley in the Hazarajat region of central Afghanistan. But in March 2001, the statues were destroyed by the Taliban of Mullah Omar, following a decree stating: "all the statues around Afghanistan must be destroyed."¹⁴⁵

Yahya Massoud, brother of the anti-Taliban and resistance leader Ahmad Shah Massoud, recalls the following incident after the destruction of the Buddha statues at Bamyan:

It was the spring of 2001. I was in Afghanistan's Panjshir Valley, together with my brother Ahmad Shah Massoud, the leader of the Afghan resistance against the Taliban, and Bismillah Khan, who currently serves as Afghanistan's interior minister. One of our commanders, Commandant Momin, wanted us to see 30 Taliban fighters who had been taken hostage after a gun battle. My brother agreed to meet them.

I remember that his first question concerned the centuries-old Buddha statues that were dynamited by the Taliban in March of that year, shortly before our encounter. Two Taliban combatants from Kandahar confidently responded that worshipping anything outside of Islam was unacceptable and that therefore these statues had to be destroyed. My brother looked at them and said, this time in Pashto, 'There are still many sun-worshippers in this country. Will you also try to get rid of the sun and drop darkness over the Earth?'

¹⁴⁵Luke Harding. "How the Buddha got his wounds". The Guardian (London). 2001-03-03.

3.2 Hezbollah

Hezbollah is a Shi'a Muslim militant group and political party based in Lebanon.¹⁴⁶ It receives financial and political support from Iran and Syria, and its paramilitary wing is regarded as a resistance movement throughout much of the Arab and Muslim worlds. The United States, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and Israel classify Hezbollah as a terrorist organization, in whole or in part.

3.2.1 Ideology and Goals

Hezbollah declared its existence on 16 February 1985 in "The Hizballah Program". This document was read by spokesman Sheikh Ibrahim al-Amin at the al-Ouzai Mosque in west Beirut and simultaneously published in al-Safir as "The Hizballah Program, an open letter to all the Oppressed in Lebanon and the World," and a separate pamphlet that was first published in full in English in 1987.

According to "The Hizballah Program" the principles of its ideology are:

- To expel Americans, the French and their allies definitely from Lebanon, putting an end to any colonialist entity on our land.
- To submit the phalanges to a just power and bring them all to justice for the crimes they have perpetrated against Muslims and Christians.

¹⁴⁶Jamail, Dahr, "Hezbollah's transformation", *Asia Times*, July 20, 2006.

- To permit all the sons of our people to determine their future and to choose in all the liberty the form of government their desire. We call upon all of them to pick the option of Islamic government which, alone, is capable of guaranteeing justice and liberty for all. Only an Islamic regime can stop any future tentative attempts of imperialistic infiltration onto our country.

It listed the Ayatollah Khomeini as the leader whose "orders we obey;" called on Christians to "open your hearts to our call" and "embrace Islam" and noted that "Allah has... made it intolerable for Muslims to participate in... a regime which is not predicated upon... the Sharia"; explained that Israel is "the vanguard of the United States in our Islamic world."

More broadly, current leader Sheikh Nasserallah has described Hizb'allah's ideology as having "two main axis: firstly, a belief in the rule by the just jurisconsult and adherence to Khomeini's leadership; and secondly, the continued need to struggle against the Israeli enemy."¹⁴⁷

In the early 1990s, Hezbollah underwent what a number of observers have called a process of "Lebanonization," which is reflected in acceptance of a multi-confessional Lebanon, rapprochement with a variety of non-Islamist forces, participation in electoral politics, and an emphasis on providing for the social welfare of its Shi'a Lebanese constituency.¹⁴⁸ This tendency was expressed in religious as well as strategic terms:

Christians and Jews differ with Muslims concerning the interpretation of the unity of God and the personality of God. Despite that, the Qur'an commands: Turn to the principle of unity—the unity of God and the unity of mankind. We interpret this to mean that we can meet with Marxists on the common ground of standing up to the forces of international arrogance; we can meet nationalists, even secular nationalists, on the common ground of Arab causes, which are also Islamic causes. Islam recognizes the Other. ...So Islam does not negate the other; it invites the other to dialogue.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ *Ettela'at*, 13 February 1993. In Ranstorp, *Hizb'allah in Lebanon*, 1997, p. 48.

¹⁴⁸ Graham Usher, "Hizballah, Syria, and the Lebanese Elections," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2. Winter, 1997, pp. 59–67.

¹⁴⁹ Mahmoud Soueid, "Islamic Unity and Political Change. Interview with Shaykh Muhammad Hussayn Fadlallah," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1. Autumn, 1995, pp. 61–75.

Since then, Hizbullah has published a new manifesto on 1 December 2009 which shifts its direction to better stay coherent with the current situation in their community. This new manifesto contains language that downplays the Islamic rhetoric and focuses more on integration into their community. Furthermore, the new manifesto calls for the elimination of the sectarian system in place right now in Lebanon and calls for replacement of this system by a secular modern system. However, the new manifesto states that the US and Israel are still Hizb'allah's prime enemies. Moreover, it eliminates the possibility of open discussion on its right to bear arms.

Hezbollah first emerged in response to the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, during the Lebanese civil war.¹⁵⁰ Its leaders were inspired by Ayatollah Khomeini, and its forces were trained and organized by a contingent of Iranian Revolutionary Guards. Hezbollah's 1985 manifesto listed its four main goals as "Israel's final departure from Lebanon as a prelude to its final obliteration," ending "any imperialist power in Lebanon," submission of the Phalangists to "just rule" and bringing them to trial for their crimes, and giving the people the chance to choose "with full freedom the system of government they want," while not hiding its commitment to the rule of Islam.

3.2.2 Activities

Hezbollah leaders have also made numerous statements calling for the destruction of the state of Israel, which they refer to as the "Zionist entity." These are

3.2.2.1 Suicide Attacks and Kidnappings

Between 1982 and 1986, there were 36 suicide attacks in Lebanon directed against American, French and Israeli forces by 41 individuals with predominantly leftist political beliefs and of both major religions, killing 659. Hezbollah denies involvement in any attack, though it has been accused of some or all of these attacks:

- The 1982–1983 Tyre headquarters bombings
- The April 1983 U.S. Embassy bombing (by the Islamic Jihad Organization)
- The 1983 Beirut barracks bombing (by the Islamic Jihad Organization), that killed more than 200 U.S. Marines at their barracks in Beirut

¹⁵⁰"Who are Hezbollah". *BBC News*, May 21, 2008.

- A spate of attacks on IDF troops and SLA militiamen in southern Lebanon.
- Hijacking of TWA Flight 847 in 1985,
- The Lebanon hostage crisis from 1982 to 1992.

Since 1990, Hezbollah has been accused of the following attacks and attempted attacks. Hezbollah leaders denied involvement:

- The 1992 Israeli Embassy attack in Buenos Aires, killing 29, in Argentina.
- The 1994 AMIA bombing of a Jewish cultural centre, killing 85, in Argentina.
- In 2002, Singapore accused Hezbollah of recruiting Singaporeans in a failed 1990s plot to attack U.S. and Israeli ships in the Singapore Straits.¹⁵¹
- The January 15, 2008, bombing of a U.S. Embassy vehicle in Beirut.
- In 2009, a Hezbollah plot in Egypt was uncovered, where Egyptian authorities arrested 49 men for planning attacks against Israeli and Egyptian targets in the Sinai Peninsula.

3.2.2.2 Conflict with Israel

Hezbollah has been involved in several cases of armed conflict with Israel:

- During the 1982–2000 South Lebanon conflict, Hezbollah waged a guerrilla campaign against Israeli forces occupying Southern Lebanon. Israel withdrew in 2000 in accordance with 1978's United Nations Security Council Resolution 425. With the collapse of their supposed allies, the SLA, and the rapid advance of Hezbollah forces, they withdrew suddenly on May 24, 2000 six weeks before the announced July 7 date." Hezbollah held a victory parade, and its popularity in Lebanon rose. Hezbollah and many analysts considered this a victory for the movement, and since then its popularity has been boosted in Lebanon.
- On July 25, 1993, following Hezbollah's killing of seven Israeli soldiers in southern Lebanon, Israel launched Operation Accountability (known in Lebanon as the Seven Day War), during which the IDF carried out their heaviest artillery and air attacks on targets in southern Lebanon since 1982. The aim of the operation was to eradicate the threat posed by Hezbollah and to force the civilian population north to Beirut so as to put pressure on the Lebanese Government to restrain

¹⁵¹"Fast Facts: Hezbollah." *Fox News*, July 13, 2006.

Hezbollah. The fighting ended when an unwritten understanding was agreed to by the warring parties. Apparently, the 1993 understanding provided that Hezbollah combatants would not fire rockets at northern Israel, while Israel would not attack civilians or civilian targets in Lebanon.

- In April 1996, after continued Hezbollah rocket attacks on Israeli civilians, the Israeli armed forces launched Operation Grapes of Wrath, which was intended to wipe out Hezbollah's base in southern Lebanon. Over 100 Lebanese refugees were killed by the shelling of a UN base at Qana, in what the Israeli military said was a mistake.¹⁵² Finally, following several days of negotiations, the two sides signed the Grapes of Wrath Understandings on April 26, 1996. A cease-fire was agreed upon between Israel and Hezbollah, which would be effective on April 27, 1996. Both sides agreed that civilians should not be targeted, which meant that Hezbollah would be allowed to continue its military activities against IDF forces inside Lebanon.

3.2.2.32000 Hezbollah Cross-Border Raid

On October 7, 2000, three Israeli soldiers – Adi Avitan, Staff Sgt. Benyamin Avraham, and Staff Sgt. Omar Sawaid were abducted by Hezbollah while patrolling the Israeli side of the Israeli-Lebanese border. The soldiers were killed either during the attack or in its immediate aftermath. Israel Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz has, however, said that Hezbollah abducted the soldiers and then killed them. The bodies of the slain soldiers were exchanged for Lebanese prisoners in 2004.

3.2.2.42006 Lebanon War

The 2006 Lebanon War was a 34-day military conflict in Lebanon and northern Israel. The principal parties were Hezbollah paramilitary forces and the Israeli military. The conflict was precipitated by a cross-border raid by Hezbollah during which they kidnapped and killed Israeli soldiers. In a speech in July 2008, Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah acknowledged that he had ordered the kidnapping of Israeli soldiers in order to free prisoners held in Israeli jails. The conflict began on July 12, 2006 when Hezbollah militants fired rockets at Israeli border towns as a diversion for an anti-tank missile attack

¹⁵²"History of Israel's role in Lebanon." *BBC News*, April 1, 1998.

on two armored Humvees patrolling the Israeli side of the border fence, killing three, injuring two, and seizing two Israeli soldiers.

Israel responded with airstrikes and artillery fire on targets in Lebanon that damaged Lebanese civilian infrastructure, including Beirut's Rafic Hariri International Airport (which Israel said that Hezbollah used to import weapons and supplies), an air and naval blockade, and a ground invasion of southern Lebanon. Hezbollah then launched more rockets into northern Israel and engaged the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in guerrilla warfare from hardened positions. The war continued until August 14, 2006. Hezbollah was responsible for thousands of Katyusha rocket attacks against Israeli civilian towns and cities in northern Israel, which Hezbollah said were in retaliation for Israel's killing of civilians and targeting Lebanese infrastructure. According to *The Guardian*, "In the fighting 1,200 Lebanese and 158 Israelis were killed. Of the dead almost 1,000 Lebanese and 41 Israelis were civilians."

3.2.2.52010 Gas Field Claims

In 2010, Hezbollah claimed that the Dalit and Tamar gas field, discovered by Noble Energy roughly 50 miles (80 km) west of Haifa in Israeli exclusive economic zone, belong to Lebanon, and warned Israel against extracting gas from them. Senior officials from Hezbollah warned that they would not hesitate to use weapons to defend Lebanon's natural resources. Figures in the March 14 Forces stated in response that Hezbollah was simply looking for another excuse to hold on to its arms. Lebanese MP Antoine Zahra said that the issue is another item "in the endless list of excuses" meant to justify the continued existence of Hezbollah's arsenal.

3.2.2.62011 Attack in Istanbul

In July 2011, Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera* reported, based on American and Turkish sources, that Hezbollah was behind a bombing in Istanbul in May 2011 that wounded eight Turkish civilians. The report said that the attack was an assassination attempt on the Israeli consul to Turkey, Moshe Kimchi. Turkish intelligence sources denied the report and said "Israel is in the habit of creating disinformation campaigns using different papers."

3.3 Hamas

Hamas is the Palestinian Sunni Islamic or Islamist organization, with an associated military wing, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades,¹⁵³ located in the Palestinian territories. Since June 2007 Hamas has governed the Gaza Strip, after it won a majority of seats in the Palestinian Parliament in the January 2006 Palestinian parliamentary elections¹⁵⁴ and then defeated the Fatah political organization in a series of violent clashes. Israel, the United States, Canada, the European Union,¹⁵⁵ and Japan classify Hamas as a terrorist organization, while Iran, Russia, Turkey, and Arab nations do not.

3.3.1 Ideology and Goals

Based on the principles of Islamic fundamentalism gaining momentum throughout the Arab world in the 1980s, Hamas was founded in 1987 (during the First Intifada) as an offshoot of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. Co-founder Sheik Ahmed Yassin stated in 1987, and the Hamas Charter affirmed in 1988, that Hamas was founded to liberate Palestine from Israeli occupation and to establish an Islamic state in the area that is now Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip.¹⁵⁶ However, in July 2009, Khaled Meshal, Hamas's political bureau chief, said the organization was willing to cooperate with "a

¹⁵³"Frequently Asked Questions About Hamas". *Abcnews.go.com*. January 6, 2006.

¹⁵⁴"Who are Hamas?". *London: BBC News*. January 26, 2006

¹⁵⁵"EU blacklists Hamas political wing". *BBC News*. September 11, 2003.

¹⁵⁶"Israeli Official Says Hamas Has Made Abbas Irrelevant" *New York Times*, February 27, 2006

resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict which included a Palestinian state based on 1967 borders", provided that Palestinian refugees hold the right to return to Israel and that East Jerusalem be the new nation's capital.¹⁵⁷

The Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, the Hamas affiliated military wing, has launched attacks on Israel, against both civilian and military targets. Attacks on civilian targets have included rocket attacks and, from 1993 to 2006, suicide bombings.¹⁵⁸ Attacks on military targets have included small-arms fire and rocket and mortar attacks.

In the January 2006 Palestinian parliamentary elections Hamas won a decisive majority in the Palestinian Parliament, defeating the PLO-affiliated Fatah party. Following the elections, the Quartet (United States, Russia, United Nations, and European Union) conditioned future foreign assistance to the PA on the future government's commitment to nonviolence, recognition of the state of Israel, and acceptance of previous agreements. Hamas resisted such changes, leading to Quartet suspension of its foreign assistance program and Israel imposing economic sanctions against the Hamas-led administration.¹⁵⁹ In March 2007 a national unity government, headed by Prime Minister Ismail Haniya of Hamas was briefly formed, but this failed to restart international financial assistance. Tensions over control of Palestinian security forces soon erupted into the 2007 Battle of Gaza, after which Hamas retained control of Gaza while its officials were ousted from government positions in the West Bank. Israel and Egypt then imposed an economic blockade on Gaza, on the grounds that Fatah forces were no longer providing security there.¹⁶⁰

In June 2008, as part of an Egyptian-brokered ceasefire, Hamas ceased rocket attacks on Israel and made some efforts to prevent attacks by other organizations.¹⁶¹ After a four-month calm, the conflict escalated when Israel carried out a military action with the stated aim of preventing an abduction planned by Hamas, using a tunnel that had been dug under the border security fence, and killed seven Hamas operatives. In retaliation, Hamas attacked Israel with a barrage of rockets. In late December 2008, Israel attacked Gaza,

¹⁵⁷Solomon, Jay. "Hamas Chief Outlines Terms for Talks on Arab-Israeli Peace". *Wall Street Journal*. July 31, 2009.

¹⁵⁸Urquhart, Conal. "Hamas in call to end suicide bombings". *The Observer*. April 9, 2006.

¹⁵⁹Erlanger, Steven. "Hamas Leader Faults Israeli Sanction Plan". *The New York Times*. February 18, 2006.

¹⁶⁰"Gaza may face economic disaster if blockade continues". *USA Today*. Associated Press. March 29, 2009.

¹⁶¹Akram, Fares; Isabel Kershner. "Gaza rocket attack into Israel kills a Thai worker". *New York Times*. March 18, 2010.

withdrawing its forces from the territory in mid-January 2009. After the Gaza War, Hamas continued to govern the Gaza Strip and Israel maintained its economic blockade. On May 4, 2011, Hamas and Fatah announced a reconciliation agreement that provides for "creation of a joint caretaker Palestinian government" prior to national elections scheduled for 2012.¹⁶² According to Israeli news reports quoting Fatah leader Mahmoud Abbas, as a condition of joining the PLO, Khaled Meshaal agreed to discontinue the "armed struggle" against Israel and accept Palestinian statehood within the 1967 borders, alongside Israel.¹⁶³

3.3.2 Activities

Hamas defeated the Fatah political organization in a series of violent clashes. Israeli sources state that Hamas also committed itself to enforce the ceasefire on the other Palestinian organizations. Even before the truce was agreed to, some on the Israeli side were not optimistic about it, Shin Bet chief Yuval Diskin stating in May 2008 that a ground incursion into Gaza was unavoidable and would more effectively quell arms smuggling and pressure Hamas into relinquishing power.

3.3.2.1 Gaza War

On June 17, 2008, Egyptian mediators announced that an informal truce had been agreed to between Hamas and Israel.¹⁶⁴ Hamas agreed to cease rocket attacks on Israel, while Israel agreed to allow limited commercial shipping across its border with Gaza, barring any breakdown of the tentative peace deal; Hamas also hinted that it would discuss the release of Gilad Shalit.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶²"Palestinian rivals Hamas and Fatah sign reconciliation deal"*The Guardian (UK)*, May 4, 2011.

¹⁶³ "Does Hamas Joining PLO Mean It Accepts 2 States?" By J.J. Goldberg, *The Forward*, December 22, 2011

¹⁶⁴Witte, Griff; Knickmeyer, Ellen. "Israel, Hamas Agree on Gaza Strip Truce". *Washington Post*. June 18, 2008.

¹⁶⁵"Israel agrees to Gaza ceasefire". *BBC News*. June 18, 2008.

While Hamas was careful to maintain the ceasefire, the lull was sporadically violated by other groups, sometimes in defiance of Hamas.¹⁶⁶ For example, on June 24 Islamic Jihad launched rockets at the Israeli town of Sderot; Israel called the attack a grave violation of the informal truce, and closed its border crossings with Gaza.¹⁶⁷ On November 4, 2008, Israeli forces, in an attempt to stop construction of a tunnel, killed six Hamas gunmen in a raid inside the Gaza Strip.¹⁶⁸ Hamas responded by resuming rocket attacks, a total of 190 rockets in November according to Israel's military.¹⁶⁹ With the six-month truce officially expired on December 19, Hamas launched 50 to more than 70 rockets and mortars into Israel over the next three days, though no Israelis were injured.¹⁷⁰ On December 21, Hamas said it was ready to stop the attacks and renew the truce if Israel stopped its "aggression" in Gaza and opened up its border crossings.¹⁷¹

On December 27 and 28, Israel implemented Operation Cast Lead against Hamas. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said "We warned Hamas repeatedly that rejecting the truce would push Israel to aggression against Gaza." According to Palestinian officials, over 280 people were killed and 600 were injured in the first two days of airstrikes.¹⁷² Most were Hamas police and security officers, though many civilians also died.¹⁷³ According to Israel, militant training camps, rocket-manufacturing facilities and weapons warehouses that had been pre-identified were hit, and later they attacked rocket and mortar squads who fired around 180 rockets and mortars at Israeli communities.¹⁷⁴ Chief of Gaza police force Tawfiq Jabber, head of the General Security Service Salah Abu Shraikh, senior religious authority and security officer Nizar Rayyan,¹⁷⁵ and Interior Minister Said Seyam¹⁷⁶ were among those killed during the fighting. Although Israel sent out thousands of cell-phone messages urging residents of Gaza to leave houses where weapons may be stored, in an attempt to minimize civilian casualties,¹⁷⁷ some residents complained there was nowhere to go because many neighborhoods had received the same message.¹⁷⁸ Israeli

¹⁶⁶"Hamas arrests militants after rocket fire" *Reuters*. July 10, 2008

¹⁶⁷"Israel closes Gaza after rockets" *BBC*, June 25, 2008

¹⁶⁸"Gaza truce broken as Israeli raid kills six Hamas gunmen", *The Guardian*, November 5, 2008.

¹⁶⁹Robin Lustig. "Gaza: the numbers". *BBC News*. January 6, 2009.

¹⁷⁰"Hamas 'might renew truce' in Gaza". *London: BBC News*. December 23, 2008.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷²"Civilian death toll rises after second day of air strikes," *The Guardian (UK)*, December 29, 2008.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴"Israeli airstrikes in Gaza kill more than 200" *msnbc.com*, December 28, 2008

¹⁷⁵"Obituary: Nizar Rayyan". *London: BBC News*. January 1, 2009

¹⁷⁶"Key Hamas Leader Killed". *London: BBC News*. January 15, 2009.

¹⁷⁷"Israeli airstrikes in Gaza kill more than 200" *msnbc.com*, December 28, 2008.

¹⁷⁸"Warnings Not Enough for Gaza Families" *New York Times*, January 5, 2009

bombs landed close to civilian structures such as schools,¹⁷⁹ and some alleged that Israel was deliberately targeting Palestinian civilians.

Israel declared a unilateral ceasefire on January 17, 2009.¹⁸⁰ Hamas responded the following day by announcing a one-week ceasefire to give Israel time to withdraw its forces from the Gaza Strip.¹⁸¹ Israeli, Palestinian, and third-party sources disagreed on the total casualty figures from the Gaza war, and the number of Palestinian casualties who were civilians. In November 2010, a senior Hamas official acknowledged that up to 300 fighters were killed and "In addition to them, between 200 and 300 fighters from the Al-Qassam Brigades and another 150 security forces were martyred." These new numbers reconcile the total with those of the Israeli military, which originally said were 709 "terror operatives" killed.

3.3.2.2 After the Gaza War

On August 16, 2009, Hamas leader Khaled Mashal stated that the organization is ready to open dialogue with the Obama administration because its policies are much better than those of former US president George W. Bush: "As long as there's a new language, we welcome it, but we want to see not only a change of language, but also a change of policies on the ground. We have said that we are prepared to cooperate with the US or any other international party that would enable the Palestinians to get rid of occupation." Despite this, an August 30, 2009 speech during a visit to Jordan in which Mashal expressed support for the Palestinian right of return was interpreted by David Pollock of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy as a sign that "Hamas has now clearly opted out of diplomacy." In an interview on May 2010, Mashal said that if a Palestinian state with real sovereignty was established under the conditions he set out, on the borders of 1967 with its capital Jerusalem and with the right of return, that will be the end of the Palestinian resistance, and then the nature of any subsequent ties with Israel would be decided democratically by the Palestinians.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹"Strike at Gaza school 'kills 40'". *London: BBC News*. January 7, 2009.

¹⁸⁰"Israel declares ceasefire in Gaza". *London: BBC News*. January 18, 2009.

¹⁸¹"Hamas announces ceasefire in Gaza". *London: BBC News*. January 18, 2009.

¹⁸²"Hamas renews offer to end fight if Israel withdraws"*Reuters*, May 30, 2010.

In July 2009, Khaled Meshal, Hamas's political bureau chief, stated Hamas's willingness to cooperate with a resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict which included a Palestinian state based on 1967 borders, provided that Palestinian refugees be given the right to return to Israel and that East Jerusalem be recognized as the new state's capital.¹⁸³

In 2011, after the outbreak of the Syrian civil war, Hamas distanced itself from the Syrian regime and its members began leaving Syria. Where once there were "hundreds of exiled Palestinian officials and their relatives", that number shrunk to "a few dozen." In September 2012, Hamas chief Khaled Meshal publicly announced his support for the Syrian opposition. He said "There is no contradiction in our adoption of democracy and reform, and our support of the resistance". This prompted Syrian state TV to issue a "withering attack" on him.¹⁸⁴ Meshal said that Hamas had been "forced out" of Damascus because of its disagreements with the Syrian regime.¹⁸⁵ In late October, Syrian Army soldiers shot dead two Hamas leaders in Daraa refugee camp. On November 5, 2012, the Syrian state security forces shut down all Hamas offices in the country. In January 2013, another two Hamas members were found dead in Syria's Husseinieh camp. Activists said that the two had been arrested and executed by state security forces. In 2013, it was reported that the Kassam Brigades of Hamas had begun training units of the Free Syrian Army.

In 2013, after "several intense weeks of indirect three-way diplomacy between representatives of Hamas, Israel, and the Palestinian Authority", no agreement was reached. Also, intra-Palestinian reconciliation talks stalled and, as a result, during Obama's visit to Israel, Hamas launched five rocket strikes on Israel. In November, Isra Almodallal was appointed the first spokeswoman of the group.

3.3.2.3 In the West Bank

In 2005, the human rights organization Freemuse released a report titled "Palestine: Taliban-like attempts to censor music", which said that Palestinian musicians feared that harsh religious laws against music and concerts will be imposed since Hamas group scored political gains in the Palestinian Authority local elections of 2005.

¹⁸³"Hamas Chief Outlines Terms for Talks on Arab-Israeli Peace". *Wall Street Journal*. July 31, 2009.

¹⁸⁴"Syria Berates Hamas Chief, an Old Ally, on State TV". *The New York Times*, October 2, 2012.

¹⁸⁵"Hamas and Fatah in unity talks, says Khaled Meshal". *BBC News*, February 7, 2013.

The attempt by Hamas to dictate a cultural code of conduct in the 1980s and early 1990s led to a violent fighting between different Palestinian sectors. Hamas members reportedly burned down stores that stocked videos which they deemed indecent and destroyed books which they described as "heretical."

In 2005, an outdoor music and dance performance in Qalqiliya were suddenly banned by the Hamas led municipality, for the reason that such an event would be forbidden by Islam, or "Haram".¹⁸⁶ The municipality also ordered that music no longer be played in the Qalqiliya zoo, and mufti Akrameh Sabri issued a religious edict affirming the municipality decision. In response, the Palestinian national poet Mahmoud Darwish warned that "There are Taliban-type elements in our society, and this is a very dangerous sign".

The Palestinian columnist Mohammed Abd Al-Hamid, a resident of Ramallah, wrote that this religious coercion could cause the migration of artists, and said "The religious fanatics in Algeria destroyed every cultural symbol, shattered statues and rare works of art and liquidated intellectuals and artists, reporters and authors, ballet dancers and singers – are we going to imitate the Algerian and Afghani examples?"

3.3.2.4 Political Violence and Terrorism

Hamas uses both political activities and violence in pursuit of its goals. For example, while politically engaged in the 2006 Palestinian Territories parliamentary election campaign, Hamas stated in its election manifesto that it was prepared to use "armed resistance to end the occupation".

From 2000 to 2004, Hamas was responsible for killing nearly 400 Israelis and wounding more than 2,000 in 425 attacks, according to the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 2001 through May 2008, Hamas launched more than 3,000 Qassam rockets and 2,500 mortar attacks into Israel.¹⁸⁷

3.3.2.5 Attacks on Civilians

¹⁸⁶ "Battling over the public sphere: Islamic reactions to the music of today." Jonas Otterbeck. *Contemporary Islam*. Volume 2, Number 3, 211–228,

¹⁸⁷ "Israel At 'War to the Bitter End,' Strikes Key Hamas Sites", *Fox News*, December 29, 2008.

In the first years of the First Intifada (1987–1993), Hamas violence was directed first at collaborators with Israel and at individuals it considered moral deviants, and then later at the Israeli military. A new direction began with the formation of the al-Qassam Brigades militia in 1992 and in 1993 suicide attacks began against Israeli targets on the West Bank.

Aftermath of 1996 Jaffa Road bus bombings in which 26 people were killed

The first such attack occurred on April 16, 1993, when an al-Qassam Brigades operative detonated explosives in a car he parked next to two buses, one military and one civilian, in the West Bank town of Mehola, killing a Palestinian civilian and wounding 8 Israeli soldiers.¹⁸⁸ After the February 1994 massacre by Baruch Goldstein of 30 Muslim civilians in a Hebron mosque, the al-Qassam Brigades expanded suicide attacks to target primarily civilians. The first of the suicide bombings that targeted civilians was at Afula on April 16, 1994, when a suicide bomber detonated an explosives-laden car next to a bus, killing nine (including the bomber) and wounding 50. The most deadly suicide bombing was an attack on a Netanya hotel on March 27, 2002, in which 30 people were killed and 140 were wounded. The attack has also been referred to as the Passover massacre since it took place on the first night of the Jewish festival of Passover at a Seder.

Hamas defended suicide attacks as a legitimate aspect of its asymmetric warfare against Israel, but they are considered as crimes against humanity under international law. Hamas renounced suicide attacks in April 2006. In a 2002 report, Human Rights Watch stated that Hamas leaders "should be held accountable" for "war crimes and crimes against humanity" committed by the al-Qassam Brigades.

In May 2006 Israel arrested a top Hamas official, Ibrahim Hamed, who Israeli security officials alleged was responsible for dozens of suicide bombings and other attacks on Israelis. Hamed's trial on those charges has not yet concluded.

While the suicide attacks ceased in 2005, al-Qassam Brigades rocket and mortar attacks on towns and settlements near Gaza continued. Since 2002, paramilitary soldiers of al-Qassam Brigades and other groups have used homemade Qassam rockets to hit Israeli towns in the Negev, such as Sderot. Al-Qassam Brigades was estimated in 2007 to have launched 22% of the rocket and mortar attacks, which killed fifteen people between the

¹⁸⁸ "Suicide car bomb kills two near West Bank restaurant", *Associated Press*, April 17, 1993.

years 2000 and 2009. The introduction of the *Qassam-2* rocket in 2008 enabled Palestinian paramilitary groups to reach, from Gaza, such Israeli cities such as Ashkelon.

In 2008, Hamas leader Khaled Mashal offered that Hamas would attack only military targets if the IDF would stop causing the deaths of Palestinian civilians. Following a June 19, 2008 ceasefire, the al-Qassam Brigades ended its rocket attacks and arrested Fatah militants in Gaza who had continued sporadic rocket and mortar attacks against Israel. The al-Qassam Brigades resumed the attacks after the November 4 Israeli incursion into Gaza.

3.4 Al-Qaeda

Al-Qaeda is a global militant Islamist organization founded by Osama bin Laden sometime between August 1988 and late 1989. It operates as a network comprising both a multinational, stateless army and a radical Sunni Muslim movement calling for global Jihad. It has been designated a "terrorist organization" by the United States, the United Kingdom, the United Nations Security Council, the European Union, NATO, and various other countries.

3.4.1 Ideology and Goals

The principal stated aims of al-Qaeda are to drive Americans and American influence out of all Muslim nations, especially Saudi Arabia; destroy Israel; and topple pro-Western dictatorships around the Middle East. Bin Laden also said that he wishes to unite all Muslims and establish, by force if necessary, an Islamic nation adhering to the rule of the first Caliphs.

According to bin Laden's 1998 *fatwa* (religious decree), it is the duty of Muslims around the world to wage holy war on the U.S., American citizens, and Jews. Muslims who do not heed this call are declared apostates (people who have forsaken their faith).

Al-Qaeda's ideology, often referred to as "jihadism," is marked by a willingness to kill "apostate" —and Shiite—Muslims and an emphasis on *jihad*. Although "jihadism" is at odds with nearly all Islamic religious thought, it has its roots in the work of two modern Sunni Islamic thinkers: Mohammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab and Sayyid Qutb.

Al-Wahhab was an 18th-century reformer who claimed that Islam had been corrupted a generation or so after the death of Mohammed. He denounced any theology or customs developed after that as non-Islamic, including more than 1,000 years of religious scholarship. He and his supporters took over what is now Saudi Arabia, where Wahhabism remains the dominant school of religious thought.

Sayyid Qutb, a radical Egyptian scholar of the mid-20th century, declared Western civilization the enemy of Islam, denounced leaders of Muslim nations for not following Islam closely enough, and taught that *jihad* should be undertaken not just to defend Islam, but to purify it.

Some have argued that "without the writings" of Islamic author and thinker Sayyid Qutb, "al-Qaeda would not have existed."¹⁸⁹ Qutb preached that because of the lack of *sharia* law, the Muslim world was no longer Muslim, having reverted to pre-Islamic ignorance known as *jahiliyyah*.

To restore Islam, he said a vanguard movement of righteous Muslims was needed to establish "true Islamic states", implement *sharia*, and rid the Muslim world of any non-Muslim influences, such as concepts like socialism and nationalism. Enemies of Islam in Qutb's view included "treacherous Orientalists"¹⁹⁰ and "world Jewry", who plotted "conspiracies" and "wickedly" opposed Islam.

In the words of Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, a close college friend of bin Laden:

¹⁸⁹Wright, Lawrence. *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. New York: Knopf.2006. p. 332.

¹⁹⁰Qutb, Sayyid . *Milestones*. Chicago: Kazi Publications. 2003.pp. 63, 69.

Islam is different from any other religion; it's a way of life. We were trying to understand what Islam has to say about how we eat, who we marry, how we talk. We read Sayyid Qutb. He was the one who most affected our generation.¹⁹¹

Qutb had an even greater influence on bin Laden's mentor and another leading member of al-Qaeda,¹⁹² Ayman al-Zawahiri. Zawahiri's uncle and maternal family patriarch, Mafouz Azzam, was Qutb's student, then protégé, then personal lawyer, and finally executor of his estate—one of the last people to see Qutb before his execution. "Young Ayman al-Zawahiri heard again and again from his beloved uncle Mahfouz about the purity of Qutb's character and the torment he had endured in prison."¹⁹³ Zawahiri paid homage to Qutb in his work *Knights under the Prophet's Banner*.¹⁹⁴

One of the most powerful of Qutb's ideas was that many who said they were Muslims were not. Rather, they were apostates. That not only gave jihadists "a legal loophole around the prohibition of killing another Muslim," but made "it a religious obligation to execute" these self-professed Muslims. These alleged apostates included leaders of Muslim countries, since they failed to enforce *sharia* law.

With the loss of key leaders culminating with the death of Osama bin Laden, al-Qaeda's operations have devolved from top-down controlled, to franchise associated groups, to lone wolf operators. With the death of key communicators, like Anwar al-Awlaki, the ability of al-Qaeda's "brand" to inspire, motivate and instill fear has sharply declined.¹⁹⁵

Characteristic techniques include suicide attacks and simultaneous bombings of different targets.¹⁹⁶ Activities ascribed to it may involve members of the movement, who have taken a pledge of loyalty to Osama bin Laden, or the much more numerous "al-Qaeda-linked" individuals who have undergone training in one of its camps in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq or Sudan, but not taken any pledge.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹Wright, Lawrence. *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. New York: Knopf.2006. p. 79.

¹⁹² http://gemsofislamism.tripod.com/qutb_milest_influence_obl.html

¹⁹³Wright, Lawrence. *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. New York: Knopf.2006. p. 36.

¹⁹⁴ Gilles Kepel, *The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West*, Belknap Press, 2004, p.74, 79, 98.

¹⁹⁵"The al-Qaeda Brand Died Last week," *Forbes*, September 6, 2011.

¹⁹⁶Wright 2006, pp. 107–108, 185, 270–271.

¹⁹⁷Wright 2006, pp.270.

Al-Qaeda ideologues envision a complete break from all foreign influences in Muslim countries, and the creation of a new Islamic worldwide caliphate. Reported beliefs include that a Christian–Jewish alliance is conspiring to destroy Islam.¹⁹⁸ Under Salafist jihadism they believe that the killing of civilians is religiously sanctioned, and they ignore religious scripture which forbids the murder of civilians and also internecine fighting.¹⁹⁹ Al-Qaeda also opposes man-made laws, and wants to replace it with a hardline form of sharia law.²⁰⁰

Al-Qaeda is also responsible for instigating sectarian violence among Muslims. Al-Qaeda is intolerant of non-Sunni branches of Islam and denounces them with excommunications called "takfir". Al-Qaeda leaders regard liberal Muslims, Shias, Sufis, Ahmadiyyas and other sects as heretics and have issued attacks on their mosques and gatherings. Examples of sectarian attacks include the Yazidi community bombings, Sadr City bombings, Ashoura Massacre and April 2007 Baghdad bombings.

3.4.2 Activities

Al-Qaeda has attacked civilian and military targets in various countries, such as the September 11 attacks, 1998 US embassy bombings and 2002 Bali bombings. The US government responded by launching the War on Terror. Al-Qaeda has continued to exist and grow through the decade from 2001 to 2011.

3.4.2.1 1992

On December 29, 1992, al-Qaeda's first terrorist attack took place as two bombs were detonated in Aden, Yemen. The first target was the Movenpick Hotel and the second was the parking lot of the Goldmohur Hotel.

The bombings were an attempt to eliminate American soldiers on their way to Somalia to take part in the international famine relief effort, Operation Restore Hope. Internally, al-

¹⁹⁸Fu'ad Husayn `Al-Zarqawi, "The Second Generation of al-Qa'ida, Part Fourteen", *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, July 13, 2005.

¹⁹⁹Ranstorp, Magnus *Unconventional Weapons and International Terrorism*, Routledge, 2009, p. 33.

²⁰⁰Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. Knopf, 2006, p. 246.

Qaeda considered the bombing a victory that frightened the Americans away, but in the U.S. the attack was barely noticed.

No Americans were killed because the soldiers were staying in a different hotel altogether, and they went on to Somalia as scheduled. However little noticed, the attack was pivotal as it was the beginning of al-Qaeda's change in direction, from fighting armies to killing civilians. Two people were killed in the bombing, an Australian tourist and a Yemeni hotel worker. Seven others, mostly Yemenis, were severely injured.

3.4.2.2 1993 World Trade Center Bombing

In 1993, Ramzi Yousef used a truck bomb to attack the World Trade Center in New York City. The attack was intended to break the foundation of Tower One knocking it into Tower Two, bringing the entire complex down.

Yousef hoped this would kill 250,000 people. The towers shook and swayed but the foundation held and he succeeded in killing only six people (although he injured 1,042

others and caused nearly \$300 million in property damage). After the attack, Yousef fled to Pakistan and later moved to Manila. There he began developing the Bojinka Plot plans to implode a dozen American airliners simultaneously, to assassinate Pope John Paul II and President Bill Clinton, and to crash a private plane into CIA headquarters. He was later captured in Pakistan.

None of the U.S. government's indictments against bin Laden have suggested that he had any connection with this bombing, but Ramzi Yousef is known to have attended a terrorist training camp in Afghanistan. After his capture, Yousef declared that his primary justification for the attack was to punish the U.S. for its support for the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories and made no mention of any religious motivations.

3.4.2.39/11 Attacks

The September 11, 2001 attacks were the most devastating terrorist acts in American history, killing approximately 3,000 people. Two commercial airliners were deliberately

flown into the World Trade Center towers, a third into The Pentagon, and a fourth, originally intended to target the United States Capitol, crashed in a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania.

The attacks were conducted by al-Qaeda, acting in accord with the 1998 *fatwa* issued against the U.S. and its allies by military forces under the command of bin Laden, al-Zawahiri, and others. Evidence points to suicide squads led by al-Qaeda military commander Mohamed Atta as the culprits of the attacks, with bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri, Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, and Hambali as the key planners and part of the political and military command.

Messages issued by bin Laden after September 11, 2001 praised the attacks, and explained their motivation while denying any involvement. Bin Laden legitimized the attacks by identifying grievances felt by both mainstream and Islamist Muslims, such as the general perception that the U.S. was actively oppressing Muslims.

3.5 Lashkar-e-Taiba

Lashkar-e-Taiba also transliterated as Lashkar-i-Tayyaba, Lashkar-e-Tayyaba, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, Lashkar-i-Taiba, Lashkar Taiba or LeT – is one of the largest and most active terrorist organizations in South Asia, operating mainly from Pakistan.²⁰¹

It was founded in 1990 by Hafez Saeed, Abdullah Azzam²⁰² and Zafar Iqbal²⁰³ in Afghanistan. With its headquarters based in Muridke, near Lahore in Punjab province of Pakistan, the group operates several training camps in Pakistan-administered Kashmir.

Lashkar-e-Taiba has been accused by India of attacking military and civilian targets in India, most notably the 2001 Indian Parliament attack and the 2008 Mumbai attacks. Its stated objective is to introduce an Islamic state in South Asia and to "liberate" Muslims residing in Indian Kashmir. The organization is banned as a terrorist organization by India,

²⁰¹Basset, Donna. Peter Chalk, ed. *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*. ABC-CLIO. 2012. p. 12.

²⁰²"Deadly Embrace: Pakistan, America and the Future of Global Jihad". *Brookings.edu*. 2012-10-28.

²⁰³"The 15 faces of terror". *Rediff.com*. 2012-10-28.

Pakistan, the United States, the United Kingdom, the European Union,²⁰⁴ Russia and Australia. Some experts such as former French investigating magistrate Jean-Louis Bruguière and New America Foundation president Steve Coll believe that Pakistan's main intelligence agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), continues to give LeT intelligence help and protection.²⁰⁵

3.5.1 Ideology and Goals

While the primary area of operations of LeT's militant activities is the Kashmir Valley, their professed goal is not limited to challenging India's sovereignty over Jammu and Kashmir.

LeT sees the issue of Kashmir as part of a wider global struggle. The group has repeatedly claimed through its journals and websites that its main aim is to destroy the Indian republic and to annihilate Hinduism and Judaism. LeT has declared Hindus and Jews to be the "enemies of Islam", as well as India and Israel to be the "enemies of Pakistan". In a pamphlet entitled "Why Are We Waging Jihad?" the group defined its agenda as the restoration of Islamic rule over all parts of India and declared India, Israel and the United States as existential enemies of Islam. The LeT believes that violent jihad is the duty of all Muslims and must be waged until eight objectives are met: ending persecution against Muslims, establishing Islam as the dominant way of life in the world, forcing infidels to pay jizya, fighting for the weak and feeble against oppressors, exacting revenge for killed Muslims, punishing enemies for violating oaths and treaties, defending all Muslim states, and recapturing occupied Muslim territory.

In the wake of the November 2008 Mumbai attacks, investigations of computer and email accounts revealed a list of 320 locations worldwide deemed as possible targets for attack. 20 of the targets were locations within India. Analysts believed that the list was a statement of intent rather than a list of locations where LeT cells had been established and were ready to strike.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴"Council Decision of 22 December 2003". Eur-lex.europa.eu. 2011-12-17.

²⁰⁵Steve Coll: "Zawahiri's record suggests he will struggle" | FRONTLINE". PBS. 2 May 2011.

²⁰⁶Ramesh, Randeep. "Mumbai attackers had hit list of 320 world targets". *The Guardian* (London). 19 February 2009.

In January 2009, LeT publicly declared that it would pursue a peaceful resolution in the Kashmir issue and that it did not have global jihadist aims, but the group is still believed to be active in several other spheres of anti-Indian terrorism. The disclosures of Abu Jundal, who was extradited to India by the Saudi Arabian government, however, revealed that LeT is planning to revive militancy in Jammu and Kashmir and conduct major terror strikes in India.²⁰⁷

3.5.2 Activities

- 1998 Wandhama massacre: 23 Kashmiri pandits were murdered on 25 January 1998.²⁰⁸
- In March 2000, Lashkar-e-Taiba militants are claimed to have been involved in the Chittisinghpura massacre, where 35 Sikhs in the town of Chittisinghpura in Kashmir were killed. An 18-year-old male, who was arrested in December of that year, admitted in an interview with a *New York Times* correspondent to the involvement of the group and expressed no regret in perpetrating the anti-Sikh massacre. In a separate interview with the same correspondent, Hafiz Muhammad Saeed denied knowing the young man and dismissed any possible involvement of LeT.²⁰⁹ In 2010, the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) associate David Headley, who was arrested in connection with the 2008 Mumbai attacks, reportedly confessed to the National Investigation Agency that the LeT carried out the Chittisinghpura massacre.²¹⁰ He is said to have identified a LeT militant named Muzzamil as part of the group which carried out the killings apparently to create communal tension just before Clinton's visit.²¹¹
- The LeT was also held responsible by the government for the 2000 terrorist attack on Red Fort, New Delhi. LeT confirmed its participation in the Red Fort attack.
- LeT claimed responsibility for an attack on the Srinagar Airport that left five Indians and six militants dead.

²⁰⁷"Lashkar wants to revive militancy in Kashmir, plans 'big strikes' in state: Abu Jundal". *The Times of India*. 13 July 2012.

²⁰⁸"Violent 'army of the pure'". *BBC*. 14 December 2001.

²⁰⁹Bearak, Barry. "A Kashmiri Mystery". *The New York Times*. 31 December 2000.

²¹⁰"Lashkar behind Sikh massacre in Kashmir in 2000, says Headley." *Hindustan Times*. 25 October 2010.

²¹¹"Chittisinghpura Massacre: Obama's proposed visit makes survivors recall tragedy". *The Tribune, Chandigarh*. 25 October 2010.

- The group claimed responsibility for an attack on Indian security forces along the border.
- The Indian government blamed LeT, in coordination with Jaish-e-Mohammed, for a 13 December 2001 assault on parliament in Delhi.²¹²
- 2002 Kaluchak massacre 31 killed 14 May 2002. Australian government attributed this massacre to Lashkar-e-Taiba when it designated it as a terrorist organization.
- 2003 Nadimarg Massacre 24 Kashmiri pandits gunned down on the night of 23 March 2003.
- 2005 Delhi bombings: During Diwali, Lashkar-e-Taiba bombed crowded festive Delhi markets killing 60 civilians and maiming 527.²¹³
- 2006 Varanasi bombings: Lashkar-e-Taiba was involved in serial blasts in Varanasi in the state of Uttar Pradesh. 37 people died and 89 were seriously injured.
- 2006 Doda massacre 34 Hindus were killed in Kashmir on 30 April 2006.
- 2006 Mumbai train bombings: The investigation launched by Indian forces and US officials have pointed to the involvement of Lashkar-e-Taiba in Mumbai serial blasts on 11 July 2006. The Mumbai serial blasts on 11 July claimed 211 lives and maimed about 407 people and seriously injured another 768.
- On 12 September 2006 the propaganda arm of the Lashkar-e-Taiba issued a fatwa against Pope Benedict XVI demanding that Muslims assassinate him for his controversial statements about the prophet Muhammad.
- On 16 September 2006, a top Lashkar-e-Taiba militant, Abu Saad, was killed by the troops of 9-Rashtriya Rifles in Nandi Marg forest in Kulgam. Saad belongs to Lahore in Pakistan and also oversaw LeT operations for the past three years in Gul Gulabghash as the outfit's area commander. Apart from a large quantity of arms and ammunition, high denomination Indian and Pakistani currencies were also recovered from the slain militant.
- 2008 Mumbai attacks In November 2008, Lashkar-e-Taiba was the primary suspect behind the Mumbai attacks but denied any part.²¹⁴ The lone surviving gunman, Ajmal Amir Kasab, captured by Indian authorities admitted the attacks

²¹²Prashant, Pandey. "Jaish, Lashkar carried out attack with ISI guidance: police". *The Hindu*. 17 December 2001.

²¹³"Delhi Metro was in LeT's cross-hairs". *Rediff.com*. 15 November 2005.

²¹⁴"Chaos reigns throughout Bombay". *Le Monde* (in French). 27 November 2008.

were planned and executed by the organization.²¹⁵ United States intelligence sources confirmed that their evidence suggested Lashkar-e-Taiba is behind the attacks.²¹⁶ A July 2009 report from Pakistani investigators confirmed that LeT was behind the attack.²¹⁷

- On 7 December 2008, under pressure from USA and India, the Pakistan Army launched an operation against LeT and Jamat-ud-Dawa to arrest people suspected of 26/11 Mumbai attacks.²¹⁸
- In August 2009, LeT issued an ultimatum to impose Islamic dress code in all colleges in Jammu and Kashmir, sparking fresh fears in the tense region.²¹⁹
- In September and October 2009, Israeli and Indian intelligence agencies issued alerts warning that LeT is planning to attack Jewish religious places in Pune, India and other locations visited by Western and Israeli tourists in India. The gunmen who attacked the Mumbai headquarters of the Chabad Lubavitch movement during the November 2008 attacks were reportedly instructed that "Every person you kill where you are is worth 50 of the ones killed elsewhere."

3.6 Jaish-e-Mohammed

Jaish-e-Mohammed is a Pakistani-based, Terrorist Islamic group²²⁰ established by Maulana Masood Azhar in March 2000. JeM aims to end Indian rule in disputed Jammu and Kashmir (JandK), expel Indian security forces from the region, and unite JandK with Pakistan. Most Jaish-e-Mohammed attacks have been described as fidayeen attacks. In October 2001, JeM was designated as a Pakistani-based, terrorist organization by the United States pursuant to E.O. 13224 and by the UN 1267 Committee. The group has been banned by the Indian government under provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) on October 25, 2001. Former US Secretary of State, Colin Powell, in a notification on December 26, 2001, designated the outfit as a foreign terrorist organization. The United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada have also designated JeM as a

²¹⁵"Three Pakistani militants held in Mumbai". *Reuters*. 28 November 2008

²¹⁶Mark Mazzetti. "US Intelligence focuses on Pakistani Group". *The New York Times*. 28 November 2008.

²¹⁷Hussain, Zahid. "Islamabad Tells of Plot by Lashkar". *The Wall Street Journal* (Islamabad). 28 July 2009.

²¹⁸"Pakistan raids camp over Mumbai attacks – CNN.com". *CNN*. 8 December 2008.

²¹⁹"Impose Islamic dress code in colleges: LeT". *The Times of India*, 2009-08-28.

²²⁰Hoffman, Bruce, *Inside Terrorism*, Columbia University Press, 2006, pp. 286-287.

FTO. In 2002, the Pakistani government outlawed the group and the organization subsequently broke into two factions; the Jamaat ul-Furquan group and the Khuddam ul-Islam section. Both of these smaller groups were banned in late 2003. JeM has also declared open war against the United States in removing coalition forces from Afghanistan.

3.6.1 Ideology and Goals

JEM espouses an extremist interpretation of Sunni Islam. JEM seeks to overthrow Indian rule in Kashmir and unite the province with Pakistan under shari'a, or Islamic law.²²¹ The group also aims to eradicate Hindus and other non-Muslims from the Indian subcontinent and to expel foreign troops from Afghanistan.

3.6.2 Activities

- A member of Jaish-e-Mohammed, helped police to arrest four people allegedly plotting to bomb a New York City synagogue as well as to shoot Stinger missiles at military aircraft in the United States. The arrest of the four took place in May 2009. One of the four, by the name of James Cromitie, allegedly expressed the desire to join Jaish-e-Mohammed. This expression allegedly took place approximately a year prior to this arrest.²²²
- December 9, 2009: five Muslim Americans, who knew each other from the ICNA Center in Arlington, Virginia, were detained in Pakistan during a police raid.²²³ The men had met with Jaish-e-Muhammed in Pakistan and offered their assistance in *jihadi* attacks.²²⁴ The house they were detained in was occupied by Khalid Farooq, the father of one of the men. He is suspected of ties to Jaish-e-Muhammed, to which the house itself is also linked.
- July 2008: JeM claimed the killing of 47 Indian troops in Kashmir on a Web site commonly used by Islamic militants.

²²¹"Jaish-e-Mohammad: A profile", *BBC News*, February 06, 2002.

²²²"Synagogue targeted in NY plot, four charged", *Reuters*, May 21, 2009.

²²³Shane, Scott, "Pakistan Detains Five Americans in Raid Tied to Militants". *The New York Times*, December 9, 2009.

²²⁴"Pakistan and FBI confirm US Muslims arrested", *BBC*, December 10, 2009.

- May 30, 2006: Grenade attack on a police vehicle escorting a Human Rights Commission vehicle in Srinagar, the capitol of Indian-administered Kashmir: one killed, ten injured.
- May 31, 2005: Suicide bombing at the Madinatul Ilm Imambargah mosque in eastern Karachi: five killed, 20 wounded.
- August 9, 2002: Grenade attack at a Christian hospital in Taxila: four killed, 20 injured.
- August 5, 2002: Shooting at a Christian school near Murree: six killed, at least two wounded.
- December 13, 2001: Gunmen attacked the Parliament of India in New Delhi in coordination with the Pakistan-based terrorist group Lashkar-e-Taiba: nine dead, 18 injured.

3.7 Boko Haram

The Congregation of the People of Tradition for Proselytism and Jihad²²⁵ better known by its Hausa name Boko Haram is an Islamic jihadist and takfiri militant and terrorist organization based in the northeast of Nigeria, north Cameroon and Niger. Founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002,²²⁶ the organisation seeks to establish a "pure" Islamic state ruled by sharia law, putting a stop to what it deems "Westernization." The group is known for attacking Christians and government targets,²²⁷ bombing churches, attacking schools and police stations,²²⁸ kidnapping western tourists, but has also assassinated members of

²²⁵"Nigeria policemen in court trial for Boko Haram killing". *BBC News*. 13 July 2011.

²²⁶"Boko Haram: Rocking the Nigerian boat". *France24*. 27 December 2011.

²²⁷"Dozens killed in Nigeria clashes". *Al Jazeera*. 24 December 2011.

²²⁸Mark Lobel. "Deadly attack on Nigeria's Bayero university". *BBC*. 30 April 2012.

the Islamic establishment.²²⁹ Violence linked to the Boko Haram insurgency has resulted in an estimated 10,000 deaths between 2001 and 2013.

The group exerts influence in the northeastern Nigerian states of Borno, Adamawa, Kaduna, Bauchi, Yobe and Kano. In this region, a state of emergency has been declared. The group does not have a clear structure or evident chain of command and has been called "diffuse" with a "cell-like structure" facilitating factions and splits. It is reportedly divided into three factions with a splinter group known as Ansaru. The group's main leader is Abubakar Shekau. Its weapons expert, second-in-command and arms manufacturer was Momodu Bama.

Whether it has links to jihadist groups outside Nigeria is disputed. According to one US military commander, Boko Haram is likely linked to Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), but others have found no evidence of material international support, and attacks by the group on international targets have so far been limited. On November 13, 2013 the United States government designated the group as a terrorist organisation.

Many of the group's senior radicals were reportedly partially inspired by the late Islamic preacher known as Maitatsine. Others believe the group is motivated by inter-ethnic disputes as much as religion, and that its founder Yusuf believed there was a campaign of "ethnic cleansing" by Plateau State governor Jonah Jang against the Hausa and Fulani people. Amnesty International has accused the Nigerian government of human rights abuses after 950 suspected Boko Haram militants died in detention facilities run by Nigeria's military Joint Task Force in the first half of 2013. The conflicts have left around 90,000 people displaced. Human Rights Watch claims that Boko Haram uses child soldiers, including 12 year olds.

3.7.1 Ideology and Goals

Boko Haram was founded as an indigenous group, turning itself into a Jihadist group in 2009. It proposes that interaction with the Western world is forbidden, and also supports opposition to the Muslim establishment and the government of Nigeria.

²²⁹Campbell, John. "Should U.S. fear Boko Haram?". *CNN*. October 1, 2013.

The members of the group do not interact with the local Muslim population²³⁰ and have carried out assassinations in the past of anyone who criticises it, including Muslim clerics.²³¹

In a 2009 BBC interview, Mohammed Yusuf, then leader of the group, stated his belief that the fact of a spherical Earth is contrary to Islamic teaching and should be rejected, along with Darwinian evolution and the fact of rain originating from water evaporated by the sun. Before his death, Yusuf reiterated the group's objective of changing the current education system and rejecting democracy.²³² Nigerian academic Hussain Zakaria told BBC News that the controversial cleric had a graduate education, spoke proficient English, lived a lavish lifestyle and drove a Mercedes-Benz.²³³

In the wake of the 2009 crackdown on its members and its subsequent reemergence, the growing frequency and geographical range of attacks attributed to Boko Haram have led some political and religious leaders in the north to the conclusion that the group has now expanded beyond its original religious composition to include not only Islamic militants, but criminal elements and disgruntled politicians as well. For instance Borno State Governor Kashim Shettima said of Boko Haram: “[they have] become a franchise that anyone can buy into. It's something like a Bermuda Triangle.” The group has also forcibly converted non-Muslims to Islam.

3.7.2 Activities

Before colonisation and subsequent annexation into the British Empire, the Bornu Empire ruled the territory where Boko Haram is currently active. It was a sovereign sultanate run according to the principles of the Constitution of Medina, with a majority Kanuri Muslim population. The Bornu Sultanate emerged after the overthrow of the Kanem-Bornu Empire ruled by the Sayfawa dynasty for over 2000 years. The Bornu Sultanate of the Kanuri is distinct from the Sokoto Caliphate of the Hausa/Fulani established in 1802 by the military conquest of Usman dan Fodio. Both the Bornu Sultanate and Sokoto Caliphate came under control of the British in 1903. However, owing to activities of early Christian missionaries

²³⁰Dozens killed in Nigeria clashes. London: BBC. 26 July 2009.

²³¹"Muslim sect kills prominent cleric in Nigeria's restless northeast as violence continues". *Washington Post*. Aug 13, 2011.

²³²"Deadly Nigeria clashes spread". *Al Jazeera*. 2009-07-27.

²³³"Nigeria's 'Taliban' enigma". *BBC News*. 28 July 2009.

who used Western education as a tool for evangelism, it is viewed with suspicion by the local population. Increased dissatisfaction gave rise to many fundamentalists among the Kanuri and other peoples of northeast Nigeria.

One of the most famous such fundamentalist was Mohammed Marwa, also known as Maitatsine, who was at the height of his notoriety during the 1970s and 1980s. He was sent into exile by the Nigerian authorities, he refused to believe Muhammad was the Prophet and instigated riots in the country which resulted in the deaths of thousands of people. Some analysts view Boko Haram as an extension of the Maitatsine riots.

3.7.3 Strategy and Recruiting

In March 2012, it was reported that Boko Haram had taken a strategy to simulate convoys of high-profile Nigerians to access target buildings that are secured with fortifications. Boko Haram has also reportedly attacked Christian worship centres to "trigger reprisal in all parts of the country", distracting authorities so they can unleash attacks elsewhere.

The group is also known for using motorcycles as a vehicle to assassinating government officials and security officers. This has led to motorcycle bans in the city of Maiduguri.²³⁴

It was gathered that the group uses the Internet to propagate its activities and enhance its radicalisation and circulation of extremist ideologies. Boko Haram is reportedly planning to greatly increase its following in many states.

3.8 Islamic State

Islamic State (IS),²³⁵ is a Salafi jihadist extremist militant group and self-proclaimed Islamic state and caliphate, which is led by and mainly composed of Sunni Arabs from Iraq and Syria.²³⁶ As of March 2015, it has control over territory occupied by ten million people²³⁷ in Iraq and Syria, as well as limited territorial control in Libya and Nigeria. The group also operates in other parts of the world, including South Asia.²³⁸ On 29 June 2014, the group proclaimed itself to be a worldwide caliphate, with Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi being

²³⁴"Nigeria's Maiduguri bans motorbikes to stop Boko Haram". *BBC News*. 8 July 2011.

²³⁵"What is Islamic State?". *BBC News*. 26 September 2014.

²³⁶"Kurds accused of 'ethnic cleansing' by Syria rebels". *CBS News*. 22 June 2015.

²³⁷"Islamic State-controlled parts of Syria, Iraq largely out of reach: Red Cross". *Reuters*. 25 June 2015.

²³⁸"Pakistan Taliban splinter group vows allegiance to Islamic State". *Reuters*. 18 November 2014.

named its caliph,²³⁹ and renamed itself "Islamic State". As a caliphate, it claims religious, political and military authority over all Muslims worldwide, and that "the legality of all emirates, groups, states, and organizations, becomes null by the expansion of the caliphate's authority and arrival of its troops to their areas".²⁴⁰

The United Nations has held ISIL responsible for human rights abuses and war crimes, and Amnesty International has reported ethnic cleansing by the group on a "historic scale". The group has been designated as a terrorist organization by the United Nations, the European Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, India, Indonesia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Syria and other governments. Over 60 countries are directly or indirectly waging war against ISIL.

3.8.1 Ideology and Goals

Since at least 2004, a significant goal of the group has been the foundation of a SunniIslamic state. Specifically, ISIL has sought to establish itself as a caliphate, an Islamic state led by a group of religious authorities under a supreme leader—the caliph—who is believed to be the successor to Muhammad. In June 2014, ISIL published a document in which it claimed to have traced the lineage of its leader al-Baghdadi back to Muhammad,²⁴¹ and upon proclaiming a new caliphate on 29 June, the group appointed al-Baghdadi as its caliph. As caliph, he demands the allegiance of all devout Muslims worldwide, according to Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*).

When the caliphate was proclaimed, ISIL stated: "The legality of all emirates, groups, states and organizations becomes null by the expansion of the khilafah's (caliphate's) authority and arrival of its troops to their areas."²⁴² This was a rejection of the political divisions in the Middle East that were established by Western powers during World War I in the Sykes–Picot Agreement.²⁴³ It follows an extremist interpretation of Islam, promotes religious violence, and regards those who do not agree with its interpretations as infidels

²³⁹Withnall, Adam. "Iraq crisis: Isis changes name and declares its territories a new Islamic state with 'restoration of caliphate' in Middle East". *The Independent*. 29 June 2014.

²⁴⁰"Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi: The man who would be caliph". *The Week*. 13 September 2014.

²⁴¹Johnson, M. Alex. "'Deviant and Pathological': What Do ISIS Extremists Really Want?". NBC News. 3 September 2014

²⁴²Johnson, M. Alex. "'Deviant and Pathological': What Do ISIS Extremists Really Want?". NBC News. 5 September 2014.

²⁴³Tran, Mark; Weaver, Matthew. "Isis announces Islamic caliphate in area straddling Iraq and Syria". *The Guardian*. 30 June 2014.

or apostates. According to Hayder al Khoei, ISIL's philosophy is represented by the symbolism in the Black Standard variant of the legendary battle flag of Muhammad that it has adopted: the flag shows the Seal of Muhammad within a white circle, with the phrase above it, "There is no God but Allah". Such symbolism has been said to point to ISIL's belief that it represents the restoration of the caliphate of early Islam, with all the political, religious and eschatological ramifications that this would imply.

According to some observers, ISIL emerged from the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, the first post-Ottoman Islamist group dating back to the late 1920s in Egypt.²⁴⁴ It adheres to global jihadist principles and follows the hard-line ideology of al-Qaeda and many other modern-day jihadist groups. However, other sources trace the group's roots to Wahhabism. *The New York Times* wrote:

For their guiding principles, the leaders of the Islamic State ... are open and clear about their almost exclusive commitment to the Wahhabi movement of Sunni Islam. The group circulates images of Wahhabi religious textbooks from Saudi Arabia in the schools it controls. Videos from the group's territory have shown Wahhabi texts plastered on the sides of an official missionary van.

According to *The Economist*, dissidents in the ISIL capital of Ar-Raqqah report that "all 12 of the judges who now run its court system ... are Saudis". Saudi Wahhabi practices also followed by the group include the establishment of religious police to root out "vice" and enforce attendance at salat prayers, the widespread use of capital punishment, and the destruction or re-purposing of any non-Sunni religious buildings.²⁴⁵ Bernard Haykel has described al-Baghdadi's creed as "a kind of untamed Wahhabism".²⁴⁶

ISIL aims to return to the early days of Islam, rejecting all innovations in the religion, which it believes corrupts its original spirit. It condemns later caliphates and the Ottoman Empire for deviating from what it calls pure Islam, and seeks to revive the original Wahhabi project of the restoration of the caliphate governed by strict Salafist doctrine.

²⁴⁴Hussain, Ghaffar. "Iraq crisis: What does the Isis caliphate mean for global jihadism?". *The Independent*. 6 July 2014

²⁴⁵"The other beheaders". *The Economist*. 20 September 2014.

²⁴⁶Kirkpatrick, David D. "ISIS' Harsh Brand of Islam Is Rooted in Austere Saudi Creed". *The New York Times*. 24 September 2014

Following Salafi-Wahhabi tradition, ISIL condemns the followers of secular law as disbelievers, putting the current Saudi government in that category.²⁴⁷

3.8.2 Activities

Salafists such as ISIL believe that only a legitimate authority can undertake the leadership of jihad, and that the first priority over other areas of combat, such as fighting non-Muslim countries, is the purification of Islamic society. For example, ISIL regards the Palestinian Sunni group Hamas as apostates who have no legitimate authority to lead jihad and fighting Hamas as the first step toward confrontation with Israel.²⁴⁸

3.8.2.1 Destruction of Cultural and Religious Heritage

UNESCO's Director-General Irina Bokova has warned that ISIL is destroying Iraq's cultural heritage, in what she has called "cultural cleansing". "We don't have time to lose because extremists are trying to erase the identity, because they know that if there is no identity, there is no memory, there is no history", she said. Referring to the ancient cultures of Christians, Yazidis and other minorities, she said, "This is a way to destroy identity. You deprive them of their culture, you deprive them of their history, their heritage, and that is why it goes hand in hand with genocide. Along with the physical persecution they want to eliminate – to delete – the memory of these different cultures. ... we think this is appalling, and this is not acceptable." Saad Eskander, head of Iraq's National Archives said, "For the first time you have cultural cleansing... For the Yazidis, religion is oral, nothing is written. By destroying their places of worship ... you are killing cultural memory. It is the same with the Christians – it really is a threat beyond belief."

To finance its activities, ISIL is stealing artefacts from Syria and Iraq and sending them to Europe to be sold. It is estimated that ISIL raises US\$200 million a year from cultural looting. UNESCO has asked for United Nations Security Council controls on the sale of antiquities, similar to those imposed after the 2003 Iraq War. UNESCO is working with Interpol, national customs authorities, museums, and major auction houses in attempts to prevent looted items from being sold. ISIL occupied Mosul Museum, the second most important museum in Iraq, as it was about to reopen after years of rebuilding following the

²⁴⁷al-Ibrahim, Fouad. "Why ISIS is a threat to Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism's deferred promise". *Al Akhbar (Lebanon)*. 22 August 2014

²⁴⁸Mamouri, Ali. "Why Islamic State has no sympathy for Hamas". *Al-Monitor*. 29 July 2014.

Iraq War, saying that the statues were against Islam and threatening to destroy the museum's contents.²⁴⁹

ISIL considers worshipping at graves tantamount to idolatry, and seeks to purify the community of unbelievers. It has used bulldozers to crush buildings and archaeological sites.²⁵⁰ Bernard Haykel has described al-Baghdadi's creed as "a kind of untamed Wahhabism", saying, "For Al Qaeda, violence is a means to an ends; for ISIS, it is an end in itself". The destruction by ISIL in July 2014 of the tomb and shrine of the prophet Yunus—Jonah in Christianity—the 13th-century mosque of Imam Yahya Abu al-Qassimin, the 14th-century shrine of prophet Jerjis—St George to Christians—and the attempted destruction of the Hadba minaret at the 12th-century Great Mosque of Al-Nuri have been described as "an unchecked outburst of extreme Wahhabism".²⁵¹ "There were explosions that destroyed buildings dating back to the Assyrian era", said National Museum of Iraq director Qais Rashid, referring to the destruction of the shrine of Yunus. He cited another case where "Daesh (ISIL) gathered over 1,500 manuscripts from convents and other holy places and burnt all of them in the middle of the city square". In March 2015, ISIL reportedly bulldozed the 13th-century BC Assyrian city of Nimrud, believing its sculptures to be idolatrous. UNESCO head, Irina Bokova, deemed this to be a war crime.²⁵²

There is also the fear that warfare waged on any side will harm cultural heritage. "The worst thing about wars is that they do not distinguish between the past and the future", Mosul calligrapher and conservationist Abdallah Ismail told a local correspondent for the German-funded publication Niqash.org. He suggested that ISIL was "taking the pulse" of the local population to see how it would react to its appetite for destruction. Philippe Lalliot, France's ambassador to UNESCO gave this perspective: "When people die in their tens of thousands, must we be concerned about cultural cleansing? Yes, definitely yes ... It's because culture is a powerful incentive for dialogue that the most extreme and the most fanatical groups strive to annihilate it." According to the London Charter and several

²⁴⁹"The Plight of Mosul's Museum: Iraqi Antiquities At Risk Of Ruin". *NPR*. 9 July 2014.

²⁵⁰Christopher Dickey, "ISIS Is About to Destroy Biblical History in Iraq," *The Daily Beast*. 7 July 2014

²⁵¹Al-Alawi, Irfan. "Extreme Wahhabism on Display in Shrine Destruction in Mosul". *Gatestone Institute*. 4 October 2014.

²⁵²"Nimrud: Outcry as IS bulldozers attack ancient Iraq site". *BBC News*. 6 March 2015.

Hague Conventions, the deliberate destruction of historical sites and places of worship, unless such destruction is a necessity during war, is a war crime.²⁵³

3.9 Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami

Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami means "Islamic Struggle Movement." It is an Islamic fundamentalist organization most active in South Asian countries of Pakistan, Bangladesh and India since the early 1990s. It was banned in Bangladesh in 2005. The operational commander of HuJI, Ilyas Kashmiri, was reportedly killed in a U.S. Predator drone strike in South Waziristan on June 4, 2011. He was linked to the February 13, 2010 bombing of a German bakery in the Indian city of Pune. A statement was released soon after the attack

²⁵³ Gary D. Solis. *The Law of Armed Conflict: International Humanitarian Law in War*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 301–303, 556–560. 15 February 2010.

which claimed to be from Kashmiri; it threatened other cities and major sporting events in India.

3.9.1 Ideology and Goals

HuJI, along with other jihadi groups such as Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT), HuM, and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) emerged from the same source, and therefore had similar motivations and goals.²⁵⁴ However, HuJI and HuM were both strongly backed by the Taliban, and therefore the group professed Taliban-style fundamentalist Islam. HuJI espoused a Pan-Islamic ideology, but it believed in violent means to liberate Kashmir and make it a part of Pakistan.²⁵⁵ It belongs to the Deobandi school of thought and its recruits are indoctrinated in the mould of radical Islam. By describing itself as the "second line of defence for every Muslim", it aims to establish Islamic rule by waging war. The group operating in Bangladesh, HuJI-B, aims to establish Islamic rule in the country by waging war and killing progressive intellectuals. It draws inspiration from Osama bin Laden and the Taliban. At one point of time, it had issued a slogan, *Amra Sobai Hobo Taliban, Bangla Hobe Afghanistan* (We will all become Taliban and we will turn Bangladesh into Afghanistan).

The HuJI supports, like the other Pakistan-based terrorist groups, the secession of JandK from India and its eventual accession to Pakistan, essentially through violence. It also propagates the idea of Islamic rule over all parts of India.

Among the other objectives of the HuJI is the Islamisation of Pakistani society.

3.9.2 Activities

After the group established its Bangladesh wing, the operations in Bangladesh increased, with the major source of recruitment coming from the Islamic madrassas.²⁵⁶ The training for these recruits was given in the hilly areas of Chittagong and Cox's Bazaar.

²⁵⁴Zahid Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam*, Columbia University Press, 2007, page 52.

²⁵⁵Zahid Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam*, Columbia University Press, 2007, page 71.

²⁵⁶Suhrid Sankar Chattopadhyay and Haroon Habib, "Challenges in the east" *Frontline magazine*, January 17–23, 2006.

3.9.2.1 Activities in Bangladesh

Members of the group made an attempt on the life of Shamsur Rahman, the liberal poet in January 1999.²⁵⁷ Committed to establishing an Islamic rule, HuJI was the prime suspect in a scheme to assassinate the Prime Minister of Bangladesh Sheikh Hasina in the year 2000, and has been blamed for a number of bombings in 2005. In October 2005, it was officially banned by the government of Bangladesh.

3.9.2.2 Activities in India

In April 2006, the state police Special Task Force in India uncovered a plot hatched by six HuJI terrorists, including the mastermind behind the 2006 Varanasi bombings, involving the destruction of two Hindu temples in the Indian city of Varanasi. Maps of their plans were recovered during their arrest. Pakistani passports had been in the possession of the arrested. Apparently Huji has claimed the responsibility for the blasts in New Delhi high court which has claimed lives of 10 and has injured around 60. Vikar Ahmed, a member of a right-wing Islamic group, and connected to HuJI, has been accused of murdering police officers in Hyderabad. He is also a suspect in the Meecca Masjid bombing

3.9.2.3 2011 Delhi bombing

Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami has claimed responsibility for the 2011 Delhi bombing. However, this has not been confirmed by the National Investigation Agency. 14 people were killed and 94 people were injured in the bomb blast. Police have released two sketches of the suspects.

3.10 Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh

Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen is an Islamist organisation operating in Bangladesh. It was founded in 1998 in Dhaka division by Abdu Raman²⁵⁸ and gained public prominence in 2001 when bombs and documents detailing the activities of the organization were discovered in

²⁵⁷“Shamsur Rahman, Bangladeshi Poet Dies”*The New York Times*, August 19, 2006.

²⁵⁸ “Terrorism: A Tragic Tale of Continued Denials”, *New Age*, September 27, 2005.

Parbatipur in Dinajpur district.²⁵⁹ The organization was officially banned by the government of Bangladesh in February 2005 after attacks on NGOs, but struck back in mid-August when it detonated 500 bombs at 300 locations throughout Bangladesh.

3.10.1 Ideology and Goals

The JMB's aim is to replace the current state of Bangladesh with an Islamic state based on Sharia. It has explicitly stated on more than one occasion that it opposes the political system of Bangladesh and seeks to "build a society based on the Islamic model laid out in Holy Quran-Hadith."²⁶⁰ The organization follows the ideals of the Taliban of Afghanistan. Its chief has been quoted as stating that "our model includes many leaders and scholars of Islam. But we will take as much (ideology) from the Taliban as we need." It opposes democracy as being in violation of Shari'a or the Islamic law.²⁶¹ It also opposes socialism and its avowed objective is to neutralize left-wing extremists, especially cadres of the Purba Banglar Communist Party (PBCP). JMB also is opposed to cultural functions, cinema halls, shrines and NGOs. In another leaflet it said, "We don't want Taguti [non-Islamic] law, let Qur'anic law be introduced. Law framed by humans cannot continue and only the laws of Allah will prevail."²⁶²

They have claimed responsibility for several violent attacks and bombings. JMB's communiqués reveal a Salafist doctrine that is common across international radical Islamist organizations. In a leaflet written in Bengali and Arabic found at various bombing sites of 17 August 2005 it stated:

“We are the soldiers of Allah. We have taken up arms for the implementation of Allah's law the way the Prophet, Sahabis and heroic Mujahideen have implemented for centuries. If the government does not establish Islamic law in the country after this [third] warning and, rather, it goes to arrest any Muslim on charge of seeking Allah's laws or it resorts to

²⁵⁹ Maneeza Hossain, *The Rising Tide of Islamism in Bangladesh*, Hudson Institute: Current Trends in Islamist Ideology vol. 3, February 16, 2006.

²⁶⁰ Julfikar Ali Manik, "Bangla Bhai active for 6 yrs", *The Daily Star*, 2004-04-13.

²⁶¹ Anand Giridharadas, "Bangladesh Tipping Point is Feared", *International Herald Tribune*, 19 August 2005.

²⁶² "JMB Suicide Bomber Kills 2 Judges", *The Daily Star*, 15 November 2005.

repression on Alem-Ulema, the Jamaatul Mujahideen [JMB] will go for counteraction, Insha Allah.”²⁶³

Several captured members of the group have claimed that their targets include traditional Bangladeshi cultural and non-government organizations such as BRAC, Proshika, and Grameen Bank. Leader Abdur Rahman is alleged to have taught JMB operatives that "it's not a sin to loot valuables of Grameen Bank, BRAC, Proshika, Asa and Karitas' as they encourage women to shed Burqa (veil)."²⁶⁴

The JMB was believed to have comprised at least 100,000 members, and have an extensive network of organizations,²⁶⁵ including connections to legal Islamist organizations. Six of the top leaders of JMP were captured by the Rapid Action Battalion security force in 2005. On the evening of 29 March 2007, four were executed by hanging for the killing of two judges and for the August 2005 bombings.²⁶⁶

3.10.2Activities

On 20 May 2001 25 petrol bombs and documents detailing the activities of the organization were discovered and eight of its members were arrested in Parbatipur in Dinajpur district. It is believed to have been involved in an explosion of seven bombs on 13 February 2003 at one of its hideouts, having been preparing to explode them in northern Bangladeshi towns during International Mother Language Day.

On 12 January 2005, bomb blasts at two separate cultural events in Sherpur and Jamalpur districts injured 25 and 10 respectively.²⁶⁷ Bomb blasts on 15 January 2005 at Jatra performances at Bogra and Natore killed two and injured over 70 people.²⁶⁸ On August 17, 2005, 500 small bombs at 300 locations in 50 cities and towns across Bangladesh detonated within the space of 30 minutes. Dhaka international airport, government buildings and major hotels were targeted.²⁶⁹ There were 50 injuries but only two fatalities - a child in Savar, near Dhaka, and a Rickshaw-puller in Chapai Nawabganj District -

²⁶³ “Leaflets Ridicule Democracy”, *The Daily Star*, 18 August 2005.

²⁶⁴ Chaitanya Chandra Halder and Shamim Ashraf, “2 Britons funded JMB to carry out bomb attacks”, *The Daily Star*, 2006-02-09.

²⁶⁵ Anwar Ali, “Jama’atul Tentacles Spread in Five and Half Years”, *The Daily Star*, August 19, 2005.

²⁶⁶ Julfikar Ali Manik and Shariful Islam, “Six JMB militants hanged”, *The Daily Star*, March 31, 2007.

²⁶⁷ “35 Hurt in Jamalpur and Sherpur Blasts”, *New Age*, January 13, 2005.

²⁶⁸ Star Report, “2 killed, 60 hurt in bomb attacks on Jatra shows”, *The Daily Star*, January 16, 2005.

²⁶⁹ *The Columbia World Dictionary of Islamism*, Columbia University Press, 2007, p.69-70

because of the small size of the bombs. Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh claimed responsibility for the bombings.²⁷⁰

Blasts later in the year were more deadly "killing judges, lawyers, policemen and common people". It killed two judges in Jhalakathi in South Bangladesh on November 14, 2005.²⁷¹

The group has threatened journalists, with more than 55 receiving death threats between September and December 2005. Following a December 8, 2005 suicide bombing, Reuters reported the group threatened to kill women, including non-Muslims, who did not wear the veil, according to news reports posted by defenddemocracy.org.

²⁷⁰ "Bombs explode across Bangladesh", *BBC news report*, August 17, 2005.

²⁷¹ Chaitanya Chandra Halder and Shamim Ashraf, "2 Britons funded JMB to carry out bomb attacks," *The Daily Star*, February 09, 2006.

Chapter 4

Findings on Religious Terrorism and a Few Suggestions

All the religions of the world support love, peace and harmony. No religion permits atrocities like murder, terror campaign, kidnapping and any kind of violence. But unfortunately, all most everyday we come to know about the fanatic activities, riots, massacres in the name of religion. For this reason many people died in past. Many people are being killed everyday. These attacks are taken place mostly for misunderstanding and misinterpretation of religion. The violent groups are misguided by the so-called religionists who bear misconceptions of religion. They are far from the teaching of their own religions. They never try to realize the real truth of religion. They are unable to know the inner beauty of religion. Due to the lack of religious awareness, they are committing murder in the name of religion. Many thinkers, scholars, leaders blame Islam and its followers but terrorism is not the monopoly of any particular religion. There are fanatics and fundamentalists in every religion. However, a terrorist is not a true Muslim, not a true Christian, not a true Hindu or a Buddhist.

4.1 Causes of Religious Terrorism

Some of the factors that lead to religious terrorism are:

- Wrong Interpretation of religion
- Wrong Interpretation of the Issue of religious war
- Mullah (Religious Scholar), Responsible for the Religious Fanaticism, Terrorism, and the Unjustified Carnage
- Frustration and desperation to achieve a goal
- Confused emotion
- Shortsightedness and Impulsive action
- Belief in a non-verifiable concept of heaven and merit; a childish concept of God favoring some and angry at others, thereby undermining the omniscience and omnipotence of the Divine.
- Terrorism induces fear psychosis in all, increases poverty, suffering and loss of life with no apparent gains.

4.2 Religion doesn't Kill, People Kill

After the 2001 terrorist attacks, many Christians came to see Islam as a violent religion affected by the concept of Jihad, or holy war. The problem with this approach is that the vast majority of Muslims were as shocked by the attacks as were Christians. Most Muslims do not see their religion as violent, and they consider Jihad as a purely spiritual type of warfare. On the other hand, Christianity has also been deeply affected by the concept of holy war. The medieval Crusades against Muslims is one obvious example. However, a more recent example is the war between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. And many Christians hold the firm belief that Christianity is the only true religion and that all non-Christians will burn in Hell. An important consideration is that while Christianity has led to extremism and fanaticism, most Christians are not extremists. The same holds true for Muslims and the members of most other religions. So it seems that in most cases only a minority of the followers of a particular religion go to the extreme of being willing to kill in the name of God. This points to the conclusion that it is not religion in itself that leads to conflict. It is people's approach to religion that leads to conflict. This seemingly simple conclusion opens up a world of opportunities for promoting religious unity and tolerance. We now see that religious conflict is caused by a particular attitude towards, a particular approach to, religion. It now becomes clear to us that if we want to reduce religious conflicts, we need to take a closer look at the approach that causes people to go to the extreme. However, this is not a simple topic, and we must caution against taking a simplistic view. We must especially caution against finger-pointing and denial. All religions uphold harmony. No faith allows any kind of violence. In course of time some groups started terrorist activities by mis using religions. They are engaged in brutality.

4.3 Psychological Imbalances

There is no doubt that many religious extremists have psychological imbalances. Therefore, religion and spirituality must address this issue and help people heal such imbalances. Nevertheless, it is also a fact that most imbalanced people do not become religious extremists, but criminals or mental patients. Therefore we cannot explain religious extremism as the effect of mental illness alone. Even though some extremism is obviously caused by psychological problems, we still cannot deny that a religious culture can play a part in encouraging extremism. Now let us look at which elements of religious culture can encourage extremism.

4.4 The How's and Why's of Religious Extremism

We cannot separate religious extremism from the culture in which it emerges. We cannot remove extremism without changing the culture. Let us look at some of the factors that cause people to develop an extremist approach to religion:

4.4.1 Only One True Religion

Many religious people believe there is only one God. Therefore, they reason that one God would not give us many different religions and consequently there can be only one true religion—their own. This exclusivist approach to religion will inevitably encourage extremism because you automatically come to see all other religions as false. If a religion is false, it must be of the Devil, so it is your duty to fight that religion. This must be God's will, and it is only for the salvation of non-believers.

4.4.2 Religion Gives Absolute Truth

Many religious people believe that if a religion is given by God, its teachings and doctrines must be absolute and infallible. After all, how could an almighty God give forth a religious doctrine that was anything less than the absolute truth. Again, it follows that all different beliefs must be partly or wholly erroneous. The inevitable result is that you see yourself in opposition to people who belong to other religions.

4.4.3 Religion Gives Complete Truth

Many religious people believe their religion provides not only an infallible description of God, they also believe it is complete. They believe that God is perfect and thus a doctrine given by God must be perfect. They also believe that something which is perfect could not possibly change. Therefore, their religion could never evolve or change over time. There is no need to adapt a religion to changing times—instead the times should adapt to the complete and infallible doctrine. In other words, they believe they must resist all changes in their religion. Again this creates tension and conflict.

4.4.4 Black-and-White Thinking

Many religious people believe that religion must be defined in terms of black and white. Their religion is completely right, while all conflicting religions are completely wrong. They believe there is no possibility of a compromise, because if you give the Devil one finger, he will take the whole hand. They are not open to the idea that there could be an approach to religion which was not based on this black-and-white thinking.

4.4.5 Only One Possible Interpretation

Many religious people believe there is only one way to interpret their religious scriptures. Obviously, it is the interpretation chosen by their current church leaders. They believe all other interpretations are wrong and come from the Devil. Therefore, it is their duty to eradicate such false interpretations and possibly even the people who promote them.

4.4.6 Church Leaders Represent God

Many religious people believe the leaders of their religion are God's representatives on Earth. The leaders speak for God and therefore they should never be questioned or gain said. Such people demand blind obedience and thus anyone who does not respect this absolute authority is seen as an enemy.

4.4.7 The Epic Battle

Many religious people believe that the world is a battleground between good (God) and evil forces. Obviously, it would be naive to ignore that there seems to be evil forces working in the world. Yet many religious people define good and evil by saying that their religion represents good while all others or certain others represent evil. Such a definition of good and evil can only promote conflict and extremism.

4.4.8 Scapegoating

Human beings have always had a tendency to avoid taking personal responsibility for their situation. One example is the belief that your problems are caused by other people. In the religious field, this leads to the belief that all of the problems in the world are caused by people who belong to false religions. Non-believers then become the scapegoats. In other words, anyone who disagrees with or opposes your beliefs is deceived by the Devil or working for the Devil.

4.4.9 The Ultimate Cause

Many religious people believe their religion represents the ultimate cause. They are fighting for a just cause, backed by the ultimate authority, namely God. Therefore, everything they believe or do is right in an ultimate sense. This then makes it possible for these people to justify almost anything as being necessary in order to win the ultimate victory.

4.4.10 The End Justifies the Means

The sense of ultimate justification easily leads to the sense that the ends can justify the means—any means. Some people believe that because they are working for God's purposes, it is acceptable to violate the laws of God defined by their religion. In other words, it becomes acceptable to kill other people in the name of God even though virtually every religion defines killing as wrong.

4.5 How not to Combat Religious Conflict

The idea of overcoming religious conflict is not new. In fact, throughout history many people have attempted to remove all religious conflict. The problem is that

they have attempted to do this by establishing their religion as the only religion, seeking to wipe out all other religions in the process. It is not difficult to observe that in today's world there are more religions than ever on this planet. Therefore, we must conclude that any attempt to force religious unity will be doomed to fail. Seeking to force or persuade everyone to espouse your religion simply will not reduce religious conflict. So we must find a different approach, and it is not that difficult to see a possible solution.

4.6 The Remedy for Terrorism

If people are guided by their respective religions and sincerely learn the teachings on morality, virtue, and realize the spirit of sincerity, compassion, love, peace, respect, benevolence, honor, loyalty and forgiveness, I believe no man can commit violence in the name of religion. We can be optimistic to live under a single sky having difference of beliefs but with unity, harmony and peace. We have to-

- Inculcate a broader perspective of life -- value life more than race, religion and nationality.
- Educate people in human values – friendliness, compassion, cooperation and upliftment.
- Teach methods to release stress and tension.
- Cultivate confidence in achieving noble aims by peaceful and nonviolent means.
- Create spiritual upliftment
- Strive for multi-cultural and multi-religious education and spiritual upliftment to reach every part of the globe

The obvious, the inescapable, conclusion is that as long as most of the world's religious cultures are influenced by some or all of these confrontational factors, there is no way to reduce religious conflicts. These factors not only encourage conflict, they breed conflict. And in allowing such conflict and tension to continue, it is almost inevitable, and certainly predictable, that some people will take this general culture into extremism and fanaticism. So if we are to have any chance of

reducing conflict, then we must find a different approach to religion, an approach that is not dominated by these confrontational elements. We must find an approach that promotes understanding, tolerance and even unity among religious people. In that respect, it is extremely important to recognize that most religious cultures are influenced by at least some of these elements. Obviously, not everyone is willing to take these elements into the extreme. Yet everyone who tolerates these conflict-breeding elements is contributing to maintaining the general culture.

4.7 We must Find a Universal Approach to Religion

If we are to find a better approach to the problem of religious conflict, we must do something that has never been done before. We must begin by creating a new understanding, a new awareness concerning religion.

By looking at history, it is easy to see that humankind is engaged in a process that moves in a clear direction. Obviously, our technology is becoming increasingly advanced. Our lifespan is increasing and in many countries the standard of living, health and wealth are continually improving. Yet we also see a forward movement concerning intangible aspects of life. For thousands of years, slavery was an integral and accepted element of most cultures. Yet today most nations have voluntarily outlawed slavery. How did this happen? It happened because we have gradually been increasing our understanding of certain aspects of life. This has led to an increased awareness of the value of human life, and the abolishment of slavery was simply a natural outcome of our increased awareness. We have also seen a new awareness of many other aspects of life, such as human rights, individual freedoms, economic opportunity and environmental issues.

If we are to overcome religious conflict, we must find a way to neutralize those cultural elements that inevitably lead to conflict. This can be done only by increasing people's understanding of the spiritual side of life. We must develop and promote a new level of awareness which makes people everywhere realize that it is time to move beyond religious conflict. We have abolished the belief that one

person can own another person and treat that person as a piece of property. It is time to abolish the belief that you can treat people as non-persons because they belong to another religion than your own. It is time to abolish the belief that you can do God's work by violating God's laws. It is time to abolish the idea that it is acceptable to kill people in the name of God.

Conclusion

Religion is the guideline to lead a peaceful life. If we think deeply, it will be clear that religion is not the root of terrorism, violence, riots etc. No religion attacks another religion. All religions support harmony and justice. We have no doubt that there will be complete peace and tranquility in this world if the followers of different faiths, religions live up to the high principles set before them by their respective religions.

Judaism's religious texts overwhelmingly endorse compassion and peace, and the Hebrew Bible contains the well-known commandment to "love thy neighbor as thyself". In fact, the love of peace and the pursuit of peace is one of the key principles in Jewish law. While Jewish tradition permits waging war and killing in certain cases, however, the requirement is that one always seeks a just peace before waging war. Judaism, from the days of the prophets, has proclaimed to mankind the ideal of universal peace, striving for spiritual and physical disarmament of all nations. Judaism rejects violence and relies upon moral education, love and sympathy.

Christianity is a monotheistic religion centered on the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, whose resurrection, as understood by Christians, provided salvation for all mankind. Christianity's teachings, like those of other religions, contain messages of love and peace, and those that can be used to justify violence. Christian nonviolence comes mainly from an understanding of the life and message of Jesus, and the experience of the early church which was nonviolent for the first couple of centuries. Gandhi said "The only people of earth who do not see Christ and his teachings as nonviolent are Christians." The Christian concept of love is surely incompatible with death and killing. Christian nonviolence is an imperative grounded in faith and in the example of the early Christian community.

In Hinduism, non-violence is considered the highest virtue or the virtue of virtues, attained only at the end of a prolonged spiritual practice, when one reaches perfection in self-control and makes peace with oneself and with the rest of the world. In the classical yoga, it is rightly identified as the first of the five self-restraints. Only in a

non-violent mind do all the modifications rest in peace even in a state of duality. In Hinduism non-violence is not only the means but also the end. The Bhagavadgita aims to achieve the same goal through various paths. It declares that those who do not disturb others and are not disturbed by them in turn are very dearer to God. It is the state of non-violence possible only when the triple gunas are in perfect equilibrium or when sattva predominates. A person is violent when the gunas are active and strive for predominance. Hence the scriptures encourage spiritual aspirants to cultivate sattva which is the key to experience peace. Only those in whom sattva predominates become peaceful and non-violent and qualify for liberation.

Buddhism is a religion or approach to an enlightened life based on the teachings of the Buddha Siddhartha Gautama twenty five centuries ago in northern India. The edict not to kill or inflict pain on others is integral to Buddhist thought. The Buddha, when He converted a non-Buddhist, got the convert to promise five things, these five promises are called 'Panca Sila' (The Five Precepts). The first promise of these five is that 'I promise not to kill any living being.' This indicates that the primary quality a Buddhist should possess is non-violence. The Buddha denounced all forms of violence. The Buddha asked loving-kindness to be extended not only to men, but even to all animals.

Sikhism is one of the latest religions of the earth. The rise of Sikhism is seen by many as a remonstrance against both Hinduism and Islam. Sikhism denounced all types of violence. Sikhism's teachings, like those of other religions, hold messages of love and harmony. Unfortunately, some fanatic groups have been reportedly carrying out terrorist activities in the name of Sikhism. They are misguided and committing massacre in the name of Sikhism. This religion throw-outs brutality and relies upon ethical teaching, love and compassion.

Like other religions Islam promotes peace and justice. The entire Quran, taken as a complete text, gives a message of hope, faith, and peace to a faith community of one billion people. The overwhelming message is that peace is to be found through faith in God, and justice among fellow human beings. When the Quran was revealed there was no United Nations or Amnesty International to keep the peace or expose injustice. Inter-tribal violence and vengeance was commonplace. As a matter of survival, one

must have been willing to defend against aggression from all sides. Nevertheless, the Quran repeatedly urges forgiveness and restraint, and warns believers not to "transgress" or become "oppressors." World famous Hindu saint scholar Dr. Mahanambata Brahmachari said, the five letters of ISLAM reflect- *I shall love all mankind*. We can easily understand the real theme of Islam from a non-Muslim brother like him. Unfortunately, some terrorist groups have been reportedly carrying out terrorist activities in the name of Islam. They are misguided and committing murder in the name of Islam.

We can understand that the goals of all religions in this world are benevolence, compassion, universal love, sincerity, respect, humility, and harmony. For example, all religious preceptors proclaimed orders forbidding the anti-social, anti-human activities like stealing, untruthfulness, fraudulence, rancor, animosity, homicide, adultery etc. Again, all the prophets advised their followers to develop their humanistic bent of mind by love and devotion to humanity and serving them. They always preached the gospel of love and peace. Nobody was attacked by them. Their teaching always supported justice. No true religion can allow any kind of violence.

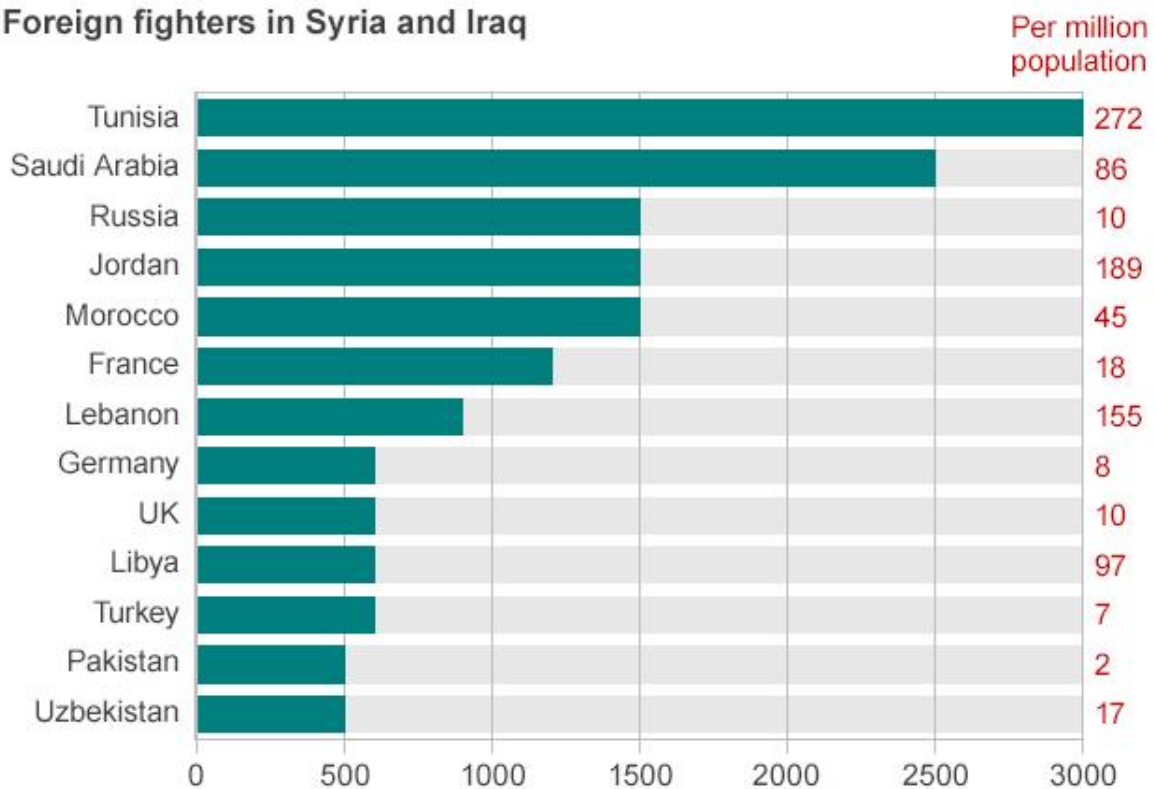
Appendix

BamyanBuddhas



Taller Buddha in 1963 and in 2008 after destruction

Foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq



Note: Upper estimates used. Countries with fewer than 500 fighters not included

Source: ICSR, CIA World Factbook

Bibliography

1. Primary sources

Religious Texts

Ismaiel, M. Ibn & Khan, Muhammad M., *The Translation of the meaning of Sahih Al-Bukhari : Arabic-English*, Dar-us-Salam Publications, Saudi Arabia, 1997.

Khan, M. Muhsin & Al-Hilali, M. Taqi-ud-Din, *The Noble Quran : Interpretation of the meanings of the Noble Quran in the English Language*, Dar-us-Salam Publications, Saudi Arabia, 1999.

2. Secondary sources

A. Books

Abul Hashim, *As I See It*, Islamic Academy, Dhaka, 1965.

Abul Hashim, *The Creed of Islam*, Dhaka, 1980.

AdamsGerry, *Before the Dawn, London* : Mandarin Paperbacks, 1997.

Adrian Guelke, *The age of Terrorism and the International Political System*, London : I.B. Tauris, 1995.

Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*, New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996.

Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia*, I.B.Tauris, 2002.

Alexander, Yonah, David Carlton and Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism : Theory and Practice*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979.

Alexander Kouzminov *Biological Espionage: Special Operations of the Soviet and Russian Foreign Intelligence Services in the West*, Greenhill Books, 2006.

AnimaBose, *Peace and Conflict Resolution in the World Community*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1991.

Anson D. Shupe, *Wolves Within the Fold: Religious Leadership and Abuses of Power*, Rutgers University Press, 1980.

Athar Hussain, *Prophet Muhammad and His Mission*, New Delhi, 1967.

- Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Islam: Muhammad and His Religion*, New York, 1958.
- Ayatullah Morteza Mutahhari, *The Human Being in the Quran*, Islamic Propagation Organization, Sepehr, Tehran (Iran), 1984.
- Brenda Shaffer, *The limits of culture: Islam and foreign policy*, MIT Press, 2006.
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Carol Christine Fair, Sumit Ganguly, *Treading on hallowed ground: counterinsurgency operations in sacred spaces, USA* : Oxford University Press, 2008-09
- Charles W. Kegley, Shannon L Blanton, *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*, Cengage, 2011.
- Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, *Hinduism: Doctrine and Way of Life*, New Delhi, 1959. Christopher Hewitt, *Understanding Terrorism in America: From the Klan to Al Qaeda*, Routledge, 2002
- Cynthia Keppley Mahmood, *Fighting for Faith and Nation. Series in Contemporary Ethnography*, University of Pennsylvania Press, November 1, 1996.
- Dalbir Singh Dhillon, *Sikhism: Origin and Development*, New Delhi, 1987.
- David P. Barash, Charles P. Webel, *Peace and Conflict Studies*, Sage Publications, California, 2000.
- David Wright-Neville, *Dictionary of Terrorism*, Polity, 2010.
- Donna Basset, Peter Chalk, ed. *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, ABC-CLIO, 2012.
- Dr Hansraj, *Advanced History of India*, Surjeet Publications, New Delhi, 1999.
- Dr Majid Ali Khan, *Muhammad the Final Messenger*, Dept. of Islamic and Arab-Iranian Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, 1979.
- Ernest Nasseph McCarus, *The Development of Arab-American Identity*, 1994.
- Fathi Osman, *Concepts of the Qur'an*, MVI Publication, Los Angeles, California, 1999.
- Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, Second Edition, 1979.
- Gary D. Solis, *The Law of Armed Conflict: International Humanitarian Law in War*, Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Gershon Gorenberg, *The End of Days: Fundamentalism and the Struggle for the Temple Mount*, Oxford University Press, 2000.

- Gilles Kepel, *The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West*, Belknap Press, 2004.
- Gus Martin, *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*, SAGE, 2006.
- Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, *Muhammad: the holy Prophet*, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore (Pakistan), 1961.
- Hakim Abdul Hameed, ed., *Islam at a Glance*, New Delhi, 1981.
- Hans Kueng, *Christianity and the World Religions*, Collins Publishers, London, 1986.
- Harvey W Kushner, *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*. 2003.
- Harun-ur Rashid, *An Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies*, The University Press Limited, Dhaka, 2005.
- Huston Smith, *The World's Religions*, Harper Collins Publishers, New York, 1958.
- Hammalawa Saddhatissa Maha Thera, *The Buddha's Way*, London, 1975.
- James R. Lewis, Jesper Aagaard Petersen, *Controversial New Religions*, Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Jeffrey Haynes, *Politics in the developing world, USA* : Wiley-Blackwell, 2002.
- John Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful means: Peace and Conflict*, Hawai'i , 1995.
- John Galtung, Carl.G.Jacobsen, Kai F.B.Jacobsen, *Searching for Peace: The road to Transcend*, Pluto Press, London, 2000.
- John Hick, *Philosophy of Religion*, Prentice Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi, 1987.
- Jon Armajani, *Modern Islamist Movements: History, Religion, and Politics*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- J.Harris Proctor, ed., *Islam and International Relations*, Frederick A. Praeger Inc. Publishers, New York, 1965.
- Joseph Ratzinger, *Introduction to Christianity*, Ignatius Press, San Francisco, 1968.
- Kedar Nath Tiwari, *Comparative Religion*, Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass, 1983.
- Khurshid Ahmed Enver, *Muhammad of Arabia (Peace be on him)*, Young people Publishing Bureau, Lahore, 1976.
- Lal Mani Joshi, *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India*, Delhi, 1977.
- Larry P. Goodson, *Afghanistan's Endless War: State Failure, Regional Politics and the Rise of the Taliban*, University of Washington Press, 2002.

- Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*, New York: Knopf, 2006.
- Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. Knopf, 2006.
- Louis Jacobs, *The Jewish Religion: A Companion*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995.
- Maneeza Hossain, *The Rising Tide of Islamism in Bangladesh*, Hudson Institute: Current Trends in Islamist Ideology vol. 3, 2006.
- Magnus Ranstorp, *Unconventional Weapons and International Terrorism*, Routledge, 2009.
- Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. University of California Press, London, 2001.
- Martin Lings, *Muhammad: his life based on the earliest sources*, Vikas Pub. House, New Delhi, 1983.
- Martin Dillon, *God and the Gun: The Church and Irish Terrorism*, New York : Routledge, 1997.
- Martha Crenshaw, *Terrorism in context*, Penn State Press, 1995.
- Michael K Bohn, *The Achille Lauro Hijacking*, 2004.
- Miriam Cooke, Daniel J. Sherman, ed. *Terror, Culture, Politics: 9/11 Reconsidered*. Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Muhammad Hamidullah, *Introduction to Islam*, New Delhi, 1992.
- Muhammad Qutb, *Islam the Misunderstood Religion*, Cairo, 1964.
- Muhammad Saleem, *Omar the Great*, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore Pakistan, 1957.
- Mordecai Menahem Kaplan, *Basic Values in Jewish Religion*, New York, 1957.
- M. Ishaque Khalid, *The Challenge of Islam*, The Islamic Council of Europe, London, 1980.
- Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, *Muhammad: Seal of the Prophets*, Routledge and Kegan Paul Press, London, 1982.
- Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, *Islam and Human Rights*, Ascot Press, Brixton, London, 1967.
- Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din, *Translation of the Meanings of the Noble Quran in English Language*, Madinah, 1420.
- Myres Smith McDougal, *Approaches to Peace*, United States institute of Peace, Washington DC, 1991.

- Narada Thera, *A Manual of Buddhism*, Kuala Lumpur, 1971.
- Nicholas Bethell, *The Palestine Triangle*, Andre Deutsch, London, 1979.
- Niru Kumar Chakma, *Buddhism in Bangladesh And Other Papers*, Abosar Publication, Dhaka, 2007.
- Noah Coburn, *Bazaar Politics: Power and Pottery in an Afghan Market Town*, Stanford University Press, California, 2011.
- Paul Richard Brass, *The Production Of Hindu-muslim Violence In Contemporary India*, University of Washington Press, 2005.
- Ramchandra Narayan Dandekar, *Some aspects of the History of Hinduism*, University of Poona, Poona, India, 1967.
- Robert Anthony Pape; James K. Feldman, *Cutting the Fuse: The Explosion of Global Suicide Terrorism and How to Stop It*, University of Chicago Press.
- Robert D Crews, Amin Tarzi, *The Taliban and the Crisis of Afghanistan*, Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Rosemarie Skain, *The women of Afghanistan under the Taliban*, McFarland, 2002.
- Sakunthala Jagannathan, *Hinduism: An Introduction*, Bombay Press, Bombay (India), 1985.
- Saiyid Sulaiman Nadwi, *Muhammad: the Ideal Prophet*, Islamic Research and Pub., Lucknow, Pakistan, 1977.
- Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones*, Chicago: Kazi Publications, 2003.
- Sayed AmeerAli, *The Life and Teachings of Mohammad*, Adam Publishers and Distributions, New Delhi, 1965.
- Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Ideals and Realities of Islam*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1975.
- Shapiro A.Paul, *Faith, Murder, Resurrection - in Antisemitism, Christian Ambivalence and the Holocaust*, Indiana University Press.
- Shashibhusan Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1974.
- Sir William Muir, *Muhammad and Islam*, Religious Trust Society, London, 1887.
- Sir William Muir, *The Life of Muhammad from original sources*, New ed., London, 1877.
- Stanley George Payne, *A History of Fascism 1914-1945*, Madison : University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.
- Sudhir Kakkar, *The Colours of Violence*, The University of Chicago, USA, 1996.

- Surindar Singh Kohli, *Sikhism and Major World Religions*, Amritsar (India), 1995.
- Syed Mahmudul Hasan, *Islam*, Islamic Foundation Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1962.
- Syed Abdul Ala Maudui, *Towards Understanding Islam*, Delhi, 1984.
- Thomas R. Metcalf, *Concise History of India*, Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Thomas Walker Arnold *The Preaching of Islam*, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore Pakistan, 1961.
- Thurston Clarke, *By Blood and Fire*, New York : G. P. Puttnam's Sons, 1981.
- William Maley, *The Afghanistan wars*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2002
- William Maley, *Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban*. C Hurst & Co. 2001.
- William Roger Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945-1951: Arab Nationalism, the United States, and Postwar Imperialism*, Oxford University Press, 1986.
- William Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford Clarendon Press, London, 1953.
- William Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford Clarendon Press, London, 1956.
- Zahid Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam*, Columbia University Press, 2007.

B. Dictionaries

- Collins English Dictionary*, Collins Publishers, Sydney, Australia, 1982.
- The Columbia World Dictionary of Islamism*, Columbia University Press, 2007.

C. Encyclopedias

- Dr.M.I. Naved, ed., *Encyclopedia of Islamic Empires and Dynasties*, Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, India, 2009, Vol.2-3-4-5.
- James Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Charles Scribners Sons, New York, Vol.10.
- John L. Esposito, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, Oxford University Press, Inc, 1995, Vol.1-4.
- Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Macmillan Publishing Company, New York, 1987, Vol.12.

D. News Papers, Journals and Websites

Mahfuz Anam(ed.), *The Daily Star*,64–65, Kazi Nazrul Islam Avenue, Dhaka-1215, Bangladesh

Matiur Rahman(ed.), *The Daily Prothom Alo*,CA Bhaban, 100 Kazi Nazrul Islam Avenue, Kawran Bazar, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Gerard Baker(eds), *The Wall Street Journal*, 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York City, New York, U.S.

Dean Baquet(eds), *New York Times*,The New York Times Building, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York City, New York 10018

Jaideep Bose(eds),*The Times of India*,Mumbai, India.

James Harding (Director of News & Current Affairs),*BBC News*,London, United Kingdom

Jonathan Wolman(eds), *Detroit News*, 160 West Fort Street, Detroit, Michigan 48226, United States.

Bobby Ghosh(eds), *Hindustan Times*, 18–20 Kasturba Gandhi Marg, New Delhi 110001,India.

Mukund Padmanabhan(eds), *The Hindu*,The Hindu Group and Kasturi and Sons LimitedChennai, India.

Raj Kamal Jha(eds), *Indian Express*, B1/B, Express Building, Sector 10, Noida, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Aroon purie(eds), *India Today*,Nodia, Uttar Pradesh,India.

Raj Kamal Jha(eds), *Indian Express*, B1/B, Express Building, Sector 10, Noida, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Upendra Rai (Editor in Chief), *Tehelka*,New Delhi,India.

www.wikipedia.com,*Al-Jazeera*, www.worldpress.org, www.mhrn.org,