Terrorism and its reflections in the action of armed forces

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ABSTRACT

The 9/11 tragedy has completely changed the world scenario and terrorism has been declared as major threat to world peace and security. The manner, in which the terrorist attack was launched, had shaken the entire world in general and United States of America in particular. The war in Afghanistan and occupation of Iraq has raised many questions; consequently, the labelling of various organizations and groups as terrorists and the absence of an agreeable definition has complicated the problem of a united and effective response. Today, Muslim world is the most affected community who is being targeted world over and has been labelled as terrorists and extremists.

The emergence of armed groups, the nature of the terrorist threat and the increasing number of weak or failed states that are incapable of controlling or enforcing the laws within their territories bring about new circumstances and dangers that cannot be explained by the old security paradigm.

During the course of research, it has been found that not only the 9/11 incident but the other terrorist activities are also having their roots in political and social injustices, economic disparities and subjugation of political and human rights. Weak economies, inflation, unemployment, high rate of population growth, low literacy level and poor health care are permanent irritants.

In this paper, an endeavour has been made to define the terrorism, identify its causes, and recommend measures for its eradication, at national and international level. Role and efficacy of United Nations, in combating this new type of horror, reflections of terrorism in the action of armed forces has also been highlighted.

Keywords: Terrorism; Causes; Role and efficacy of United Nations; National Defense.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The destruction of the Twin Towers, the attack on the Pentagon and the crash near Pittsburgh are tragedies of epic proportions. Terrorism has had its sway in many parts of the world for decades, but, what happened on September Eleventh is painful beyond measure.

The seeds of violence lie buried in the Armistice signed on November 11, 1918, which ended the First World War. The savagery of the World War II and the introduction of Nuclear Weapons precluded the possibility of any other war but it gave rise to many new terminologies including Low Intensity Conflict, Limited War the finished product of which is, "Terrorism". The question of a definition of terrorism has haunted the debate amongst the states for decades. A first attempt to arrive at an internationally acceptable definition was made under the League of Nations, but the convention drafted in 1937 never came into existence. The UN Member States still have no agreed-upon definition.

Injustice, disregard for the law and double standards of law and morality provide basis for revolt in the societies. Man a superior creation of God gifted with a thinking mind and a conscience can tolerate injustice, deprivation, cruelty and exploitation by fellow human to a certain extent. Beyond that it is revolt. The method of revolt may be sabotage, insurgency, subversion and terrorism, and are in fact poor man's versions of war. In the process, those not directly responsible for the injustice are also caught up and made to suffer.

No religion or society, teaches violence because violence begets violence. We reap what we sow. Hate discriminates and destroys. The only way violence can be lessened is to adopt measures embracing economic, social, educational and religious upliftment. The United Nations being an apex international organization should play its effective role for identifying and combating this threat.

To achieve the objective of the research it has been divided into introduction, three section, and recommendations, Conclusion as follows:

Section I: Global View of Terrorism.

Section II: General Causes of Terrorism.

Section III: Strategies and Efficacy of the United Nations, countries, armed forces to combat Terrorism.

2. GLOBAL VIEW OF TERRORISM

2.1 EVOLUTION OF TERRORISM

Although the phenomenon of terrorism is not new but the terms "Terrorism" and "Terrorist" are of relatively recent date. Terrorism predated the French Revolution by millenniums. From times immemorial terrorist acts have included assassination, execution, arbitrary imprisonment, mutilation, seizing hostages and slaves, and a wide variety of atrocities that only fiendish minds could devise.

Terrorism has emerged in many different forms and out of such various motivations as religious protest movements, political revolts and social uprisings. One of the earliest-known examples of a terrorist movement is the rebellion of the Jews of Palestine against the Romans in A.D.70.

The roots of modern terrorism sprang during and after the World War II. During Nazi occupation of Europe, resistance groups were set up throughout the occupied territories with the support of Allied Governments operating from Britain. Pamphlets on discrete actions, parts of easily assembled sten guns, adaptable plastic explosives along with guiding instructions were dropped by the Royal Air Force in occupied territory. Thus the skills of guerrilla warfare were learned by respectable citizens and modern weapons became household utensils. There onward the evolution of terrorism as a doctrine was supported by various historical events and ideological developments.

2.2 Historical Patterns

World War Two, Unprecedented devastation of nuclear bomb was a significant feature of World War II. World had seen the cost of conventional war. The destruction and expenditure of war were unaffordable. So the attention was focussed on a cheaper mode of warfare. Low intensity warfare became popular of which terrorism was a direct product.

End of Colonialism, between 1940 and 1970 newly independent states were created with arbitrarily defined boundaries with neighbours. These countries also offered fertile grounds for terrorism to flourish.

Emphasis on Human Right, Growing emphasis on human rights in western democracies placed high value on life of a single citizen. Terrorist found out that kidnapping, mobilizing public opinion and threat of assassinations was liable to offer concession unattainable through other means.

Ideological Shifts, Several political and religious changes occurred between 1950 and 1960. The few mentioned below had direct influence on perpetuation of terrorism:-

End of colonialism gave birth to the concept of Third World composed of poor and miserable countries. The concept acted as a magnet for interest and compassion of youth in the west. Philosophers added justification to this fury by establishing connection between western prosperity and Third World misery.

Western support for Israel and discriminations by UNO lead to the creation of many organizations to resolve the issue through other means.

Technological Advances:

Foremost factor is the growth of mass communication, especially the television. That enabled 'Black September' organization to announce their presence under the spotlight of Munich Olympics in 1972. Murder of 11 Israeli athletes was witnessed on television by some 500 million people around the world. Since then television has become the terrorists' medium of choice.

Air travel increased manifold in the seventies. This growth helped terrorists in many-ways. It provided them means of rapid movement from target to safety. It also offered greater number of potential hijack targets.

2.3 Role of Publications. Publications like "Partisans Handbook" dropped during Nazi occupation of European countries and "Wretched of the Earth", formed the theoretical basis for development of doctrine of terrorism. Mao's instructions on means to snatch China from nationalists and Russian revolutionary literature which expressed Marxist-Leninist revolutionary strategies and teachings helped form the basis of numerous terrorist organizations in the world.

2.4 Definitions

In General The word "terror" is derived from the Latin expression "terrere", which means, "to frighten". Its dictionary meaning is" Violence committed by groups in order to intimidate population or government into granting their demands"[2] Terrorism by nature is difficult to define. Scholars, politicians, security experts and journalists, all use a

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[2] Webster's North New Collegiate Dictionary(Springfield,Mass:Merriam and Webster,inc.1983) page-1219

variety of definitions of terrorism. However, certain issues in the definition of terrorism still remain unresolved, some are[3]: -

The boundary between terrorism and other forms of political violence.

Separating "terrorism" from simple criminal acts.

The relationship between guerrilla warfare and terrorism.

The difference between terrorism and freedom struggle.

Prevailing Definitions of Terrorism

League of Nations Convention (1937). In this convention terrorism was defined as, "All criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public"[4].

United States Definition. United States Code defines terrorism as," premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience"[5].

EU Definition. Terrorist offences, include intentional acts, by their nature and context, which may be seriously damaging to a country or to an international organization, as defined under national law, where committed with the aim of[6]: -

Seriously intimidating a population, or.

Unduly compelling a government or international organization to perform or to abstain from performing any act, or.

Destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or international organization.

Terrorism Research Centre[7]. Terrorism research centre of US has quoted following definitions given by various scholars and experts: -

Terrorism is the use or threatened use of force designed to bring about political change. Brian Jenkins

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[3] Boaz Ganor. An article "Is One Man's Terrorist is Another Man's Freedom Fighter". [Online] Available http://www.ict.org.il/articles/define.html. 22 Jul 2002.

[4] UN Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention. Under the subject," Definitions of Terrorism". [Online] Available http://www. odcp.org/terrorism-definitions.html

[5] Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f (d).

[6] Article 1 of the political agreement on the framework of decisions on combating terrorism. [Online] Available http://www.statewatch.org/news/2001/dec/07terrdef.htm

[7] Terrorism Research Center. Under the subject" Definitions", [Online] Available http://www.terrorism.com/terrorism/def.shtml

Terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted. Walter Laqueur

Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives. FBI Definition

OIC's Proposed Definition. Terrorism is an act carried out to achieve an inhuman and corrupt objective, involving threat to security of any kind and violation of rights acknowledged by religion and mankind.
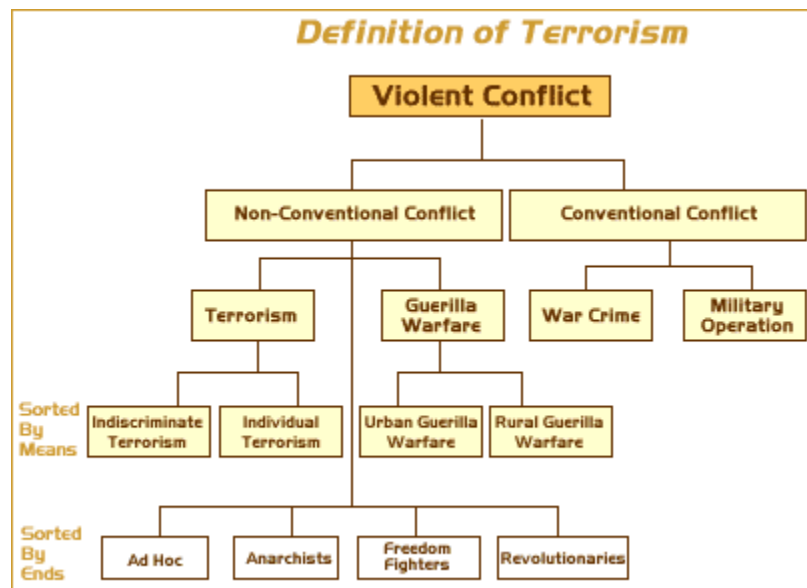

Figure 1

2.5 Analysis of Prevailing Definitions

Double Standards. There is a vast amount of hypocrisy on the subject of terrorism. We all condemn it, except where our friends or we are engaging in it. Then we ignore it, or gloss over it, or attach to it tags like "liberation" or "defence of the free world"[8].

EU Definition The definition does not impose any restriction on freedom struggles/national liberation movements. However it is too broad and does not lead to any specific actions against terrorists.

United States Definitions. The definitions proposed by various departments and United States Law, does not include acts of violence against civilians that are committed

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[8]   Maxwell Taylor, The Terrorist. P 3.

by the military forces of recognized states, but only those by individuals or non-state organizations.

Both state and non-state organizations can be involved in terrorism. We do not usually think in these terms, of course, and we prefer to reserve the term terrorism for those states of which we disapprove[9].

OIC's Definition. As per OIC, the fact that an operation is violent does not constitute a condition for considering it a case of terrorism. It necessitates ascertaining the nature of one act or another to determine whether it is a case of terrorism or not, which is not practicable. However definition does cater for the following: -

Acts of national resistance exercised against occupying forces and colonizers, which are recognized by international community, e.g., struggle of Palestinian against Israeli occupation forces.

Retaliation against any aggression if there is no other alternative.

Flaws/Limitations of Prevailing Definitions

Freedom Struggle/National Liberation versus Terrorism. The prevailing definitions do not distinguish between the terrorism and legitimate and internationally recognized freedom struggles, even when these are aimed at obtaining independence from foreign occupation.

Muslim world reiterates its absolute faith in the need to distinguish the brutal and unlawful terrorist activities perpetrated by individuals, by groups, or by states, from the legitimate struggle of oppressed and subjugated nations against foreign occupation of any kind.

Terrorism versus Guerrilla Warfare[10]. It is feared that the prevalent concept and understanding of terrorism will affect all the guerrilla movements being waged in the different parts of the world. It is essential to differentiate between the two entirely different concepts:-

Paul Wilkinson distinguishes between terrorism and guerrilla warfare by stressing, "Guerrillas often do fight according to conventions of war. Terrorists place no limits on means employed and frequently resort to widespread assassination.

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9   Maxwell Taylor, The Terrorist, under the subject, "Who Undertakes the Terrorism", P.6.
10   Boaz Ganor. An article "Is One Man's Terrorist is Another Man's Freedom Fighter". [Online] Available http://www.ict.org.il/articles/define.html,22 Jul2002.

If an attack deliberately targets civilians, then that attack will be considered a terrorist attack, whereas, if it targets military or security personnel then it will be considered a guerrilla attack. Refer figure 2 below.

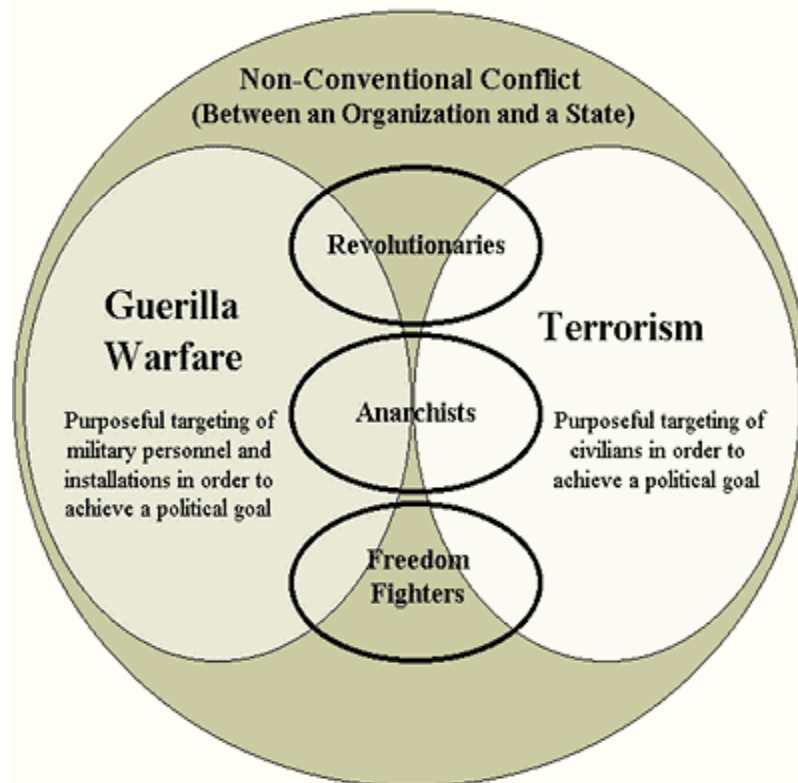## Ends & Means in Non-Conventional Conflict

Non-Conventional Conflict
(Between an Organization and a State)

Revolutionaries

Guerilla Warfare

Purposeful targeting of military personnel and installations in order to achieve a political goal

Anarchists

Terrorism

Purposeful targeting of civilians in order to achieve a political goal

Freedom Fighters

Figure 2

Proposed Definition. Keeping in view the foregoing analysis, terrorism can be defined on the following lines: -

It is the unlawful use of force and violence against personnel and property by an individual, group, community or a state for intimidating the opposition for political, social, ethnic, economic and religious purposes. It involves following: -

Indiscriminate killing of civilians.

Indiscriminate killing of security forces/armed forces of a country, which are not the occupation forces.

Indiscriminate destruction of buildings /infrastructure and other resources of the states, which are meant for the welfare and development of general public.

Atrocities, massacres, genocides and brutalities committed by the armed forces/ security forces of the states, against its own people and freedom fighters with a view to suppress them.

Analysis of Proposed Definition

It includes individual, group, community or a state, so any one involved into terrorist acts can be brought to justice under the international law/conventions of anti-terrorism.

It allows the perusal of freedom struggles and movements of national liberation; however it restricts the use of indiscriminate killing of humanity, especially the civilians.

3. GENERAL CAUSES OF TERRORISM

The reasons behind terrorism are as diverse as the types of people who commit such attacks. Terrorists often believe that they have exhausted all attempts of legitimate religious or political change, and have no other option to bring recognition to their cause and change to the society, they live in. Main causes behind such acts are[11]:-

Political Oppression / Injustice. It has emerged as an explosive cause for terrorism in the recent history. With the emergence of democratic republics, political aspirations of the masses have risen considerably but there is evidence where these aspirations were not allowed to get manifested, forcing people to resort to terrorist violence for ventilating their feelings.

Disregard of International Laws and Conventions. There are certain states which are not having any regard of any international law or organisation but pursuing their own interest even at the cost of freedom and sovereignty of weaker nations. This gives rise to frustration and result in the form of violent acts which may be termed as terrorism.

Religious Intolerance. Interference in religious and personal freedom results into emotional out bursts capable of leading to terrorist violence.

Economic Deprivation. It is in the form of unemployment, income and wealth disparities, lack of other basic amenities of life and discrimination resulting into in-accessibility to suitable economic avenues has given birth to several terrorist movements all around the world.

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[11] Combs Cindy "Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century. New Jersy:Prentice-Hall,2000 and {online} Available,www.state.gov/journals/itgic/0297/ijge/jg-3.htm.2001.

Regional Disparities. This is also an important contributor to the emergence and growth of terrorism. This occasionally takes the form of separatist movements. Concentration of economic infra structure at selected places, ignoring the economic benefits of the region and lopsided allocation of resources results into economic disparities among the various regions compelling them to seek regional autonomies and failure to evoke response to these demands leads to regional terrorism.

3.1 Causes of Terrorism in Egypt

Targets of terrorism in Egypt have included government officials, police, armed forces, tourists and the Christian minority. Many attacks have been linked to Islamic extremism, and terrorism increased in the 1990s when the Islamist movement al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya targeted high-level with the politics leaders and killed hundreds in its pursuit of implementing traditional Sharia law in Egypt ,we can highlight the causes of terrorism in Egypt due to:[12].

Ayman Al-Zawahiri, an Egyptian doctor and leader of Egyptian Islamic Jihad group, is believed to be behind the operations of al Qaeda. Four out of 30 people on the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation "most wanted" terrorist list, he is considered one of the main reasons of terrorist activities in Egypt.

The Arab Spring revolutions concentrated in five countries, it lead to regime's toppling in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen and produced a civil war in Syria , this increases the State failure resulted by the antigovernment protests that had weakened or anesthetized the State capacities, this leads to highest the levels of terrorist activities in those countries.
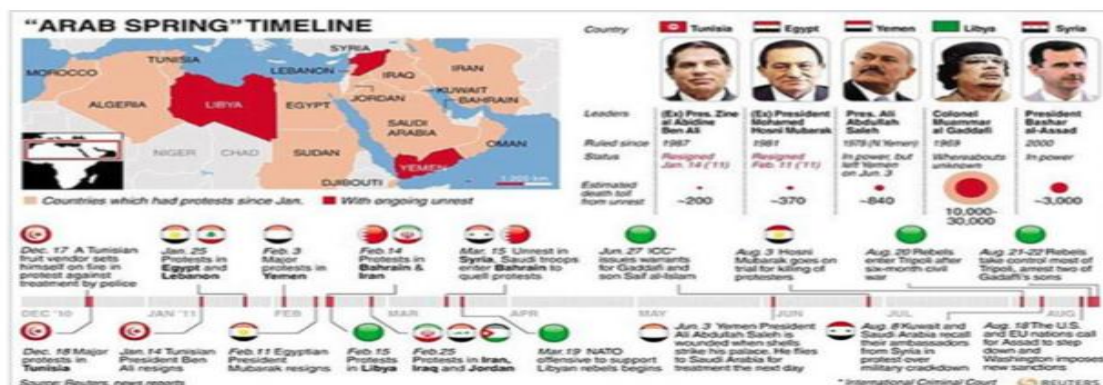
Timeline of the Arab Spring

Figure 3

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[12]   Murphy, Caryle Passion for Islam : Shaping the Modern Middle East: the Egyptian Experience, Scribner, 2002, p.4

Regional and Provincial Disharmony. This is also in general an important contributor to the emergence and growth of terrorism. A sense of deprivation among the small provinces, feeling of social injustice and discrimination among a certain class of society are manifestation of this threat.

Poor Economic System. Islamic socio-economic system based on justice and equal opportunities has remained a dream in egypt. Hard work, honesty and other such virtues have lost their importance. Dishonesty, bribery, drug trade and other malpractice's are common to make easy money and enhance the social status.

Foreign Support. Turkey and Qatar supporting terrorist organizations and agencies leads to increase in terrorist activities aimed at destabilizing Egypt.

3.2 Factors Promoting Terrorism

Terrorism can only thrive when certain favourable conditions are prevalent. Such conditions should either exist actually or be perceived to exist. The major reasons can be summarised as: -

A Cause. A highly appealing cause is the starting point of any terrorist movement. The cause is the fountainhead and the motivation force. Apart from giving it a start, it is also the mainstay of the movement.

Protracted Political Disputes. Protracted and deadly political disputes which are being ignored due to conflicting interests of major powers are providing ideal breeding grounds for terrorist elements to pursue their agenda.

Discriminatory Policies of Major Powers. Major Powers especially The United States is not following any principled stance or moral values to pursue their national agenda. Palestine, Chechnya and Kashmir are few examples.

Weak Administration. An administration other wise functional but lacking the will to assert its authority when required could be as conducive to the growth of terrorism as a bad and weak administration. A terrorist movement, which faces a strong and determined administration, would make deliberate efforts to weaken its authority and render it ineffective.

Foreign Support. Ethnicity, easy access and suitable routes to an unfriendly country facilitate foreign support. It could be moral, material, financial support and also safe sanctuaries for hiding or training the terrorist with impunity.

Finance and Arms Availability. Terrorism as a mode of struggle is the most expensive form due to its peculiar nature and absence of popular support. Without the lure of money, a terrorist movement will be hard to sustain and would soon lose its sting.

4. <u>**Strategies and Efficacy of the united nations, countries, armed forces to combat Terrorism**</u>

<u>General</u>. On the day after the heinous September 11 terrorist attacks in Washington and New York, the General Assembly of the United Nations, by consensus of the 189 member states, called for international cooperation to prevent and eradicate acts of terrorism and to hold accountable the perpetrators and those who harbour or support them. Same day, the United Nations Security Council unanimously determined, for the first time ever, any act of international terrorism to be a threat to international peace and security. This determination laid the foundation for Security Council action to bring together the international community under a common set of obligations in the fight to end international terrorism. The major steps taken by the UN to combat terrorism are[13]:-

Resolution 1373

On September 28, 2001, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1373 under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. This historic resolution established a body of legally binding obligations on all UN member states. Its provisions require, among other things, that all member states prevent the financing of terrorism, strengthen their borders, banking practices, immigration, and intelligence cooperation and deny safe haven.

<u>**Security Council Committee**</u>.   Established a Committee of the Security Council, consisting of all the members of the Council, to monitor implementation of 1373 resolution, with the assistance of appropriate expertise, and calls upon all States to report to the Committee, no later than 90 days from the date of adoption of this resolution and thereafter according to a timetable to be proposed by the Committee, on the steps they have taken to implement this resolution;

Under the Chapter VII of the Charter of United Nations following steps were to be taken by the member countries:-

<u>**Finance**</u>

Prevent and suppress the financing of terrorist acts.

Criminalize the wilful provision or collection, by any means, directly or indirectly, of funds by their nationals or in their territories with the intention to carry out terrorist acts.

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[13] Security Council {online} Available,http://www.un.org/documents/scres.htm and http://www.un.org/terroris/

Freeze without delay funds and other financial assets or economic resources of persons who commit, or attempt to commit, terrorist acts or participate in or facilitate the commission of terrorist acts.

Support to Terrorists

Refrain from providing any form of support, active or passive, to entities or persons involved in terrorist acts.

Take the necessary steps to prevent the commission of terrorist acts, including provision of early warning to other States by exchange of information.

Deny safe haven to those who finance, plan, support, or commit terrorist acts, or provide safe havens.

Afford one another the greatest measure of assistance in connection with criminal investigations or criminal proceedings relating to the financing or support of terrorist acts.

Border Security and Immigration. Prevent the movement of terrorists or terrorist groups by effective border controls and controls on issuance of identity papers and travel documents.

Exchange of Information and Intelligence

Find ways of intensifying and accelerating the exchange of operational information, especially regarding actions or movements of terrorist persons or networks, forged or falsified travel documents.

Exchange information in accordance with international and domestic law and cooperate on administrative and judicial matters to prevent the commission of terrorist acts.

Increase cooperation and fully implement the relevant international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism and Security Council resolutions 1269 (1999) and 1368 (2001).

Refugee Status

Take appropriate measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of national and international law, including international standards of human rights, before granting refugee status, for the purpose of ensuring that the asylum seeker has not planned, facilitated or participated in the commission of terrorist acts.

Ensure, in conformity with international law, that refugee status is not abused by the perpetrators, organizers or facilitators of terrorist acts.

4.1 Strategies of Egypt to combat Terrorism and its reflection on armed forces:-

The Egyptian government continued to confront active terrorist groups that conducted deadly attacks on government, military, and civilian targets throughout the country.

The Legislative and Legal Affairs committee of the Parliament planned to discuss an amendment to Egypt's criminal procedures law that would expedite judicial appeals procedures to ensure swift justice in terrorism-related cases.

The National Security Sector, a division of the Ministry of Interior (MOI), is primarily responsible for counterterrorism functions in the Nile Valley, but also works with other elements of the MOI, the Egyptian General Intelligence Service, and the Egyptian armed forces. Have to be in a high cooperation and information sharing among the various counterterrorism elements within the Egyptian government.

Egypt's borders with Gaza and Libya, although smuggling was also a problem along the border with Sudan. The Egyptian armed forces aggressively sought to destroy underground tunnels that connect Gaza and Sinai. The armed forces continued to maintain the de-populated buffer-zone along the border with Gaza.

Egypt maintained an increased military presence along the borders; the government used cargo and passenger vehicle x-ray scanning devices at the borders crossing to inspect traffic traveling both into and out of the country. The Egyptian armed forces were also working to procure a suite of mobile surveillance technologies to improve its situational awareness along the borders.

Egypt enacted a criminalization system for terrorist financing, in accordance with international standards, and has comprehensive procedures to implement financial sanctions pursuant to the UN Security Council.

Concerning countering Violent Extremism Egypt's Dar Al-Iftaa, an official body that issues religious edicts, has taken the lead in establishing a General Secretariat for Fatwa Authorities Worldwide to counter violent extremist religious messaging via religious channels. Dar Al-Iftaa sends scholars to engage communities considered vulnerable to violent messaging; trains new muftis; organizes international outreach and speaking tours throughout Muslim majority countries and the West; publishes books and pamphlets to challenge the alleged religious foundations of violent extremist ideology; runs

rehabilitation sessions for former violent extremists; and confronts violent extremists in cyber space.

International and Regional Cooperation: Egypt continued to participate in the Global Counterterrorism Forum, co-chairing (along with the United States) the Criminal Justice and Rule of Law Working Group. Egypt holds a non-permanent seat on the UNSC through the end of 2017, and presides over the UNSC Counter-Terrorism Committee. It is also a member of the African Union.

5. Conclusions from the Analysis and Prevailing Definitions

There are number of conclusions that can be drawn from the this paper however, some important ones relating to our subject have been listed below:-

There is not a single definition which has clearly defined the terrorism. International terrorism is a global scourge, and it is our common enemy. If we want to launch a global campaign against terrorism, we must all be agreed as to what constitutes terrorism, who a terrorist is, and which terrorist threats require urgent attention. In the absence of such agreement, the powerful few will impose their definition upon the majority according to their own interests, and select the targets for the global community accordingly.

It does not lay a clear line between the terrorism and guerrilla warfare, which will be used by the states for suppressing the normal guerrilla movements.

We must not be so absorbed in the horror and challenge of terrorism that we forget or ignore the circumstances that gave rise to it, and sustain it.

General consensus which emerges is that indiscriminate terror, use of force for political, social, ethnic, economic and religious purposes, can never, in principle, be morally justified, whether committed by an individual, group, community or a state.

Terrorism will not rear its ugly head if the conditions that breed it do not exist. Terrorism feeds on many things: territory forcefully occupied; land wrongfully seized; homes bombed and bulldozed to rubble; ethnic cleansing; religious persecution; trampling of legitimate political aspirations; oppression; poverty; deprivation; and most of all, the absence of satisfactory avenues to seek redress.

Terrorism cannot be eliminated unless the breeding ground is sanitised. Unless we tend to the root causes, terrorist movements will continue to survive and thrive. Punitive action in the absence of other credible measures in fact will eventually make them stronger. Even as the terrorist movements are decimated, the breeding grounds will provide them with new recruits, fresh supplies, arms, cover and intelligence.

All necessary and legitimate means must be employed to remove the threat, but in doing so, one cannot destroy everything that happens to lie in the path of our search for terrorists. One must value the lives and welfare of innocent people. If one destroys as indiscriminately as the terrorist does, one becomes a terrorist oneself.

Action against terrorism and terrorists, whether at home or abroad, must be governed by the rule of law and accepted norms of behaviour. If it is at home it is domestic law and norms, but if abroad, it is international law and international norms.

We must respect not only laws but institutions as well. In the international sphere the pre-eminent institution is the United Nations. The United Nations is not a perfect instrument. But we cannot seek recourse to it only when it is expedient, and ignore it when it is perceived to be not convenient. In the campaign against international terrorism the United Nations must be the source of all authority and moral sanction.

Terrorism has no religion, terrorists motivated by socio-political goals, not spiritual aspirations. Militants, not men of faith. .

Threat of terrorism is a hard ground reality all over the world. Conventional wars have become too expensive and may be difficult because of political compulsions. So terrorism has taken the shape of war itself with almost no drain on human resources. Absence of universal definition is a major impediment for legislation and specific punishments against those perpetrating, involved in, or supporting terrorism.

An overall view of the entire phenomenon in general reveals a coordinated effort both in political and military field to meet the challenge. The scourge of terrorism will by no means be eliminated by use of force unless the international community - including the United States - takes a cold hard look at its causes, least of which is the global political order, the war against terrorism will not be won. Armed response has to be modified not to create overreaction.

6. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

6.1 International Response

Identification/Interpretation of Terrorism,The problem of consensus as to what terrorism is arises from varied interests of nations. An incident which is termed as terrorist act by one is considered as heroic by another country. UNO has to play an important and positive role in this regard to help member nations agree on one definition of terrorism to form the basis of international efforts to counter the menace.

Elimination of Causes of Terrorism, The real cure of terrorism in general and acts of individual terrorism in particular consists, in removing the conditions/causes that have

brought it about. The outstanding political disputes should be settled in a just manner and at the same time efforts should be made to remove the social injustices at national and international level.

Strengthening of International Laws and Institutions, International institutions especially the United Nations should be strengthened and no one should be allowed to carryout any action without the approval of such bodies.

International Cooperation, Any response that has to succeed must emerge out of a broad based cooperation among the counties world wide. Following are the areas deserving attention in this regard:-

International Terrorist Networks, UN instead of US should lead the campaign to trace and eliminate such organizations. The sponsor states, the intermediaries, coordinating and commanding structures and the motives must be identified. There funding sources should be identified and squeezed.

Intelligence, One of the most important areas in international cooperation is to share intelligence regarding terrorist groups. An intelligence organization be setup under the UN having representation of maximum countries. Interpol should also be affiliated with this organization.

Media Control. An international platform must exist for coordination between efforts of print as well as electronic media of various countries. Media must be engaged against terrorism rather than assisting in spreading terror. At the same time media must be used to bring awareness among the masses.

Training and Financial Assistance. Developed countries must provide financial aid to underdeveloped countries for combating this menace, especially where the reasons are economic or social in nature.

6.2 National Response

Political Response This aspect should encompass following:-

National Consensus to Deal with Terrorism. The landscape of terrorism has changed now. Whole nation has to be on the same grid in order to combat terrorism. Consensus should be achieved between all political parties about the nature of threat and response that must be generated.

<u>Law Enforcement</u>. Effective clamp down on the terrorist will greatly help to prevent the recurrence of such acts. There should be open trials and exemplary punishment for all those who are involved in such acts.

<u>Need for Predetermined Tough Policy</u>. By adopting an all encompassing policy and a unified approach, the chances for success of the terrorists may be foreclosed. Government should stand firm and not be subdued by the psychological pressures reacted by the acts of terrorism. A predetermined policy will reduce the spectrum of action of terrorists.

<u>Social Injustice and Economic Disparity</u>. Increasing but highly justified feeling of deprivation, grave social injustice and economic disparity prevailing among different regions and segment of society be overcome by strict measures. Long term policy changes be implemented to address grievances emerging from political, social, economic, racial, religious or sectarian discriminations.

<u>Utilization of Development Funds</u>. Development of the affected areas is the cornerstone of any counter terrorist strategy. It has been observed and experienced that the funds released for development purposes are not utilized properly thus causing unrest and deprivation amongst masses. The government should find ways of utilizing these developmental funds for tangible effects.

<u>Sectarian Divide</u>. Militant religious cadres flourishing at the cost of national integration and exploiting the religion should be severely dealt with. Linkage between ethnic/religious parties and foreign countries, flow of funds, arms and ammunition through these sources need to be checked and stopped at priority

<u>Social/Psychological Response</u>. The government in addition to countering the terrorism have also to address the population and launch a psychological campaign against terrorists.

Governments must assure protection to the population and must not submit to the terrorist.

General awareness about the potential threat of terrorism be created.

Psychological operations be launched to calm the nation, to alienate them from supporting the terrorists and their cause. Such operations carried out against terrorists must include following:-

Tarnish the fascinated image of terrorist by severe punishments and propagation of damage to religion and the nation due to their acts.

Amnesty programmes and protection of those individuals who leave their organisations voluntarily.

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