
CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES



**PROCEEDINGS OF SEMINAR
ON
THE CHALLENGE OF TERRORISM**

29th October, 1998

CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES

MEMBERS OF GOVERNING COUNCIL

Shri R.D. Sathe (Ex-Foreign Secretary Govt. of India)	: President FM & M
Prof. V.G. Bhide (Ex-Vice Chancellor, Pune University)	: Vice President FM
Air Marshal (Retd) Y.V. Malse (Ex-VCAS)	: FM & M
Shri S. S. Marathe (Ex-Secretary, Industries, Govt. of India)	: FM
Admiral (Retd.) J.G. Nadkarni (Ex-Chief of Naval Staff)	: FM & M
Prof. Gautam Sen Head, DDSS, (Pune University)	: FM & M
Air Cmde. (Retd.) Jasjit Singh Director, IDSA	: M Ex-Officio
Lt Gen H.M. Khanna GOC-in-C, Southern Command	: M Ex-Officio
Vice Admiral Arun Prakash Commandant, NDA	: M Ex-Officio
Air Marshal (Retd.) S. Kulkarni	: M Director
Gp. Capt. (Retd.) S.G. Chitnis	: M Dy. Dir./Secy./Tr.

HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS

Shri P.V.R. Rao, (Ex-Defence Secretary, Govt. of India)	: FM & M
Shri R.D. Sathe (Ex-Foreign Secretary, Govt. of India)	: FM & M
Shri R.D. Pradhan (Ex-Governor Arunachal Pradesh)	: M
Shri Vijay R. Kirloskar Industrialist, Chairman, Kirloskar Group	
Shri Abhay Firodia Industrialist, Chairman, Bajaj Tempo Ltd.	

FM : Founder Member.

M : Member of Governing Council.

CONTENTS

Item	Page
Proceedings of the Seminar	1
Welcome by Director : Air Mshl S Kulkarni	2
Opening Remarks : Dr. Madhav Godbole by Chairman	3
Session I : The Challenge of Terrorism : A Military Perspective	6
Main Speaker : Lt Gen G.B. Shekatkar	
Session II : The Challenge of Terrorism : Theoretical And Political Aspects	23
Main Speaker : Prof. A Narsimha Rao	
: Comments on Intelligence Aspects of Terrorism by : Shri V.G. Vaidya	39
Concluding Remarks : Dr. Madhav Godbole	43
Closing Remarks : Air Mshl S. Kulkarni	49
Summary of Discussions :	50
List of Participants :	54

Editor : **Gp Capt (Retd) S.G. Chitnis, VSM**
Deputy Director, CASS

Address : **Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies**
MMDW Potdar Complex
Pune University Campus
Pune - 411 007
Tele Fax No. 357516 (Off)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEMINAR

Air Mshl (Retd) S Kulkarni Director, Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies (CASS) opened the Seminar and welcomed Dr Madhav Godbole, Chairman of the Seminar and the distinguished guests. He welcomed all the participants of the Seminar.

The Seminar was chaired by Dr Madhav Godbole former Home Secretary, Government of India. Lt Gen G.B. Shekatkar, AVSM, VSM, Commandant Infantry School, Mhow spoke on the subject of "The Challenge of Terrorism : A Military Perspective" in the first session. Lt Gen. Shekatkar has long and practical experience in dealing with terrorism, both in the North East and Jammu and Kashmir. He has also handled the issue at Army Headquarters. In the second session, Prof. A Narsimha Rao, former Professor, Osmania University, Secunderabad dealt on the "Theoretical And Political Aspects" of the subject. Shri J.F. Ribeiro IPS (Retd) was not able to be present for the Seminar due to an urgent unforeseen meeting at Delhi. Shri V.G. Vaidya, former Director of the Intelligence Bureau gave his expert comments on the Intelligence Aspects of Terrorism.

After presentation by the Main Speakers and expert comments from the Intelligence angle, the Seminar was thrown open for general discussion. The discussion proved animated, educative, thought provoking and lively.

WELCOME BY DIRECTOR

AIR MARSHAL S KULKARNI

On behalf of the Centre For Advanced Strategic Studies, I welcome you all to the Seminar on the Challenge of Terrorism this morning. I would also like to take this opportunity to convey at the outset my sincere thanks to the Principal of the Wadia College for making this venue available to us. Over a period of time, a number of our members and invitees had suggested that we should vary the venue at which we hold our meetings, so that a large number of our invitees, as also students could attend our programme and in our attempt to do that, we are holding this seminar today at the Wadia College.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome today, on behalf of the Centre, Dr. Madhav Godbole, former Home Secretary, Lt. Gen. Shekatkar, who is the Commandant at Infantry School, Mhow. He has first hand operational experience, both in the North East as well as J & K in these operations. We have with us Dr. Narasimha Rao from Osmania University, former Professor of Political Science from Osmania University, who has been interested in these matters for quite sometime. We are unfortunate that Shri Ribeiro, who was to take part in this seminar had an urgent meeting at Delhi yesterday afternoon and therefore is unable to join us for this seminar. However, we are very fortunate in Pune that we have many experts in various fields with us and therefore we requested Shri V.G. Vaidya who was Director of the Intelligence Bureau, to give some of his comments on intelligence aspects of terrorism.

I will hand over the proceedings to Dr. Madhav Godbole and then we will have the presentation by General Shekatkar, followed by presentation by Shri Narasimha Rao, and comments by Shri V.G. Vaidya. With that I would now request Dr. Madhav Godbole to carry on with the Seminar.

Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN'S OPENING REMARKS

DR. MADHAV GODBOLE

I propose to make some opening comments, more with a view to name the issues which I think, ought to be addressed, and I am sure, will be addressed as a part of this seminar. First, I must congratulate the Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies to have selected this subject, that has become more or less a permanent subject on the agenda of all Governments for the last 15 to 20 years. It is unfortunate that it has received very little attention at the political level in addressing the issues. But a few things have become clear over a period of time. First is that terrorism cannot be treated merely as a law and order problem, but it has much larger socio-economic, political, religious connotations which have come up during the last ten years which cannot be overlooked and therefore any effort to tackle this problem merely as a problem of law and order will not meet with any significant success.

The second part which became clear is that even a movement like Naxalism is with us for over 30 to 35 years, arising basically out of the feeling of injustice, grievances of landless people, of people who are neglected sections of society, of tribals which have remained unattended by the Government of India as also by the State Governments.

The third aspect, which we have seen in J & K and also in North East is the alienation of people from the administration. It is only in that kind of a surrounding and that is the kind of a society that terrorism takes root. It is really a failure of the political system that we have permitted such a large alienation to come about between the people, common man and the ruling class, ruling elite.

The next point, it is interesting to see the nexus between the beaurocrat, criminal and the police. This is an issue which can no longer be relegated to the background if we are serious about tackling terrorism.

An issue which has to be referred to is that of human rights, something which has come up in a major way in the last ten years, nationally and also internationally. And therefore the kind of limitations which it puts on the armed forces as also on the police and the other

forces in terms of putting down terrorism. The sensitivity of society to any excess by any of these agencies is something which has to be taken note of and has to be addressed.

Then there is the question of TADA. As you must have been reading in the newspapers about revival of mini-TADA or a revised TADA in Maharashtra. The very manner in which TADA was done away with is also a matter to be pondered upon. It was purely because of political compulsions of parties that a campaign was started that TADA was anti-muslims.

In fact no law can be against one religion or any other religion. It is a question of implementation that was wrong in the running of TADA and there could have been ways of dealing with this situation. Proposals were prepared for amendment of TADA in the Home Ministry. But ultimately with the dissensions within the Congress party itself, one major group supporting the doing away with TADA, finally the TADA had to be given a decent burial and now we are left with a situation where police have no instrument to deal with terrorism at all. And that is the issue which I think we should discuss in this seminar.

The next question is about the role of Central Government agencies on the one hand and the State Government agencies on the other. The problems of co-ordination between the Central Government multifarious agencies, on the one hand and the State Government agencies on the other, which work in the field and where often there is a feeling of effort of oneupmanship rather than sharing the information, sharing intelligence which leads to difficulties in addressing the problem.

The related question which is also under discussion for the last several years and has not been addressed fully as yet, is the question of setting up of national security council, whether that is going to make a difference to this situation. There are major differences of view as to whether in Indian system it will be effective or otherwise. But I think if we can hear something on the subject, it might be useful.

Lastly, no amount of legislation or any other effort will be of any success unless police reforms are carried out in a serious manner and that is an issue which is now before the Supreme Court in a public interest litigation. The last 20 to 25 years the Central Police Commission as also

the State Police Commission has given series of reports suggesting a number of changes in the police administration. But these have remained unattended at the political level and therefore unless we are prepared to tackle this problem of police reforms, we will not be able to deal with this question of terrorism effectively.

I have, as I said earlier, my effort was merely to flag some of the issues which I think will need a further consideration in the seminar today. At this stage I would now request General Shekatkar to make his presentation. In him, we are indeed lucky to have a person who has dealt with terrorism at very close quarters and has dealt with it in an area which has troubled us for the last ten years. In respect of terrorist activities, both in the Army Headquarters as also in the field, he has immense experience and I am sure that his talk will give us new insight into the problem. General Shekatkar.

SESSION I**THE CHALLENGE OF TERRORISM :
A MILITARY PERSPECTIVE****Chairman : Dr. Madhav Godbole****Main Speaker : Lt Gen G.B. Shekatkar****PAPER PRESENTED BY LT GEN G.B. SHEKATKAR**

First of all, Ladies & Gentlemen, I am most grateful to Air Marshal Kulkarni to have given me this chance to stand in front of you and share some thoughts on this subject which is drawing the attention of the entire world, entire humanity, entire human society as such.

I have a problem. He is my teacher. He is my guru. I was a student in National College of Defence Administration. I have my company commander General Pandit, under whom I have served. I have my commanding officer sitting here, who made sure that I became a Lt.Col. General Joshi is here. Shri Vaidya, has been in the IB. Mr. Godbole was a Home Secretary when I was a youngster. Now in front of so many experts, I do not know what to speak. In case if I make a mistake, if I am not found very convincing, you know whom to blame and whom to praise.

The problem is to be seen from the military point of view. This is what I will do and I will share some of my experience and at that time if I use the word "I", kindly excuse me. It is generally not expected from a soldier. The word "I" should never be used. The second thing is that soldiers are generally not supposed to speak. We become experts only when we have gone home after retirement. My request to you is, in case there are people from Press or who have a flair for writing, kindly if you want to quote something, be kind.

We talk of the world problem today, of terrorism. It is assuming a great importance day by day. The very fact that large number of heads of the State, decided to speak in the United Nations, this year, including

our Prime Minister. The topic was terrorism. So it is the concern of the people, the society, the human beings.

Today there are two aspects which are threatening the very existence of the world, today at this very moment when we are sitting in this very hall. There are 68 countries in the world who are fighting militancy, fundamentalism, terrorism, insurgency, guerilla warfare, whatever it is. But this is going on at the present moment. This is threatening the entire world people and this trend is going to continue in times to come for a variety of reasons.

Today, we see that terrorism is no more merely going and killing a fellow while he is sleeping or some such thing. It has become a techno terrorism. The technology has given the boost by the delaying mechanism which can be used in explosive devices. General Sohoni is here. He just said in the Seminar in CME the other day. You can have the delay mechanism ranging from three seconds to three months. You put the device today in front of this dais. It will explde after three months, at the time when you want it. You put a device, here in the car park, anywhere. You go somewhere nearby and you make a communication call from a telephone and at 1, 2, 3 frequency and fall off.

Now that is a sort of magnitude to the problem that is coming and that is getting converted into techno terrorism. There are a number of reasons for it, which I will cover subsequently. Take our own country, the way we are fighting the menace. It can be the North East, it can be Punjab. In Punjab we overcame the problem. It can be Kashmir, Telangana, it can be Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu even Maharashtra, the same problem. The problem is here because this sort of conflict is the world over. Large numbers of innocent people are getting killed for no reason.

In the slide in front you see the combatant and civilian casualties ratio in the first world war. For combatants it was 95% and for civilians it was 5%. In the Second World War it came to 50 : 50. Today the casualty ratio of the combatants, particularly throughout the world is 5% and 90% are the innocent people who are getting killed. That is the magnitude of the problem because when a bomb is exploded or even an ID is exploded. The terrorist is very careless who is there, who is the target.

His aim is to create panic, cause destruction and degrade the faith of the people in the organisation, the system, the government which is responsible to ensure the security and safety of people and that is the problem which is coming up.

You take on the issues of the international terrorism. On one side it shows the number of incidents the world over from 1991 to 1997. Each incidence of this sort results into death of hundreds of people, and the financial loss of millions and millions of dollars. It affects the economy, it affects the very psyche of the people throughout the world and we are only witnessing one facet of the whole thing. This is the type of casualties which are going on. If you commute the total casualties or rates from 1985 to 1997, almost about 31000 people have died for no fault of theirs. They are not the people in uniform, they are not the people from police, they are not the people from BSF, but the innocent civilian people, who had nothing to do with anybody, they have lost their lives. So this is assuming another facet.

I was coming to different varieties. The first and the foremost that the core armed sponsorship, sitting thousands of miles away, Mr. Vaidya would like to speak, I am sure, on this subject. I am sure if you can sponsor a group you can create a terrorist out of a small little boy who is just 10 years old. I will be covering this aspect a little later. If you give five guns to a third rate criminal in Pune, the entire city will not sleep for three months. One does not know who will be the victim, who will be the target and what is the ultimate aim.

So this is one aspect which is coming. It is taking a new dimension of war. It is replacing somehow the conventional conflict day by day, depending on who is your adversary. It gives you two options. AK 47 rifle if you take it from the Punjab border, it is available to you free of cost. But in a countryside it costs just 1500 rupees. If you come this side, it costs 3000 rupees and by the time it reaches Bihar, it costs two and a half lacs. It is just available. You can pick up the thing.

But the point is, only one rifle, whether it is free of cost or costing three lac rupees, or two and a half lac, can result into the innocent death and can create panic. Internationally, somehow, unless their country is subjected to this particular menace, people just give only a lip service to this complicated issue.

A terrorist in India can be a freedom fighter for Pakistan. For the Mujahidin, he is a hero. He is a liberator. And despite the fact that the whole world is fighting this problem of terrorism, we have not come to a reasonable definition of terrorism. What is terrorism? I leave it to this august audience to decide because the younger generation which is going to face this problem is also involved.

The next point is the varieties of agencies which are handling this situation. People see it from different angles. The perceptions are different, depending on what type of glass one is looking through. The problem is seen in a different context. To the suffering of innocent people, if I am in a particular ministry my perceptions are of one pattern. If I am in another ministry, my perceptions are different. People make use of this sort of difference of opinions. Particularly in all democratic societies this happens. It is not to blame media, particularly in a country like ours, I think we should be grateful to media. It is because of them that we are getting to know the food habits of certain people in India. What do they eat, what do they survive on.

But the point is sometimes different perceptions of the people. I will give you the live examples of how people see it in different ways. Human rights is another factor. Unfortunately some of the people who are violating human rights are giving us the mantra of the observance of human rights. When I was in Kashmir, I was questioned a number of times. They said, you are violating human rights. I said whose human rights they are, and what is your concept of human rights, what do you call human rights violation.

My philosophy of human rights is or can be, that you commit an act of violation of human rights, if you take liberty with the religious feelings of the people, or if you hurt the religious sentiments of the people. If you hurt religious sentiments then you are violating human rights. You have no business, to do that, whether in uniform or otherwise.

Secondly if you take liberties with the ladies, you are violating human rights. You have no business to do that, no matter what it is, unless she forms a part of terrorist organisation. Then there are different ways of dealing with it, because this is something which can be avoided. No temptation to pick up. Third is no theft, no looting, no marpit.

But the rest, if somebody is killed somewhere, an innocent fellow is killed in a cross fire, will you call it a human rights violation? Then there is no answer to this and I said, I am performing the last rites of my own colleagues every day to respect the human rights of your perception, for what you perceive as human rights. I am performing the last rites, sending the dead bodies of my own people. He is also somebody's son, somebody's brother, somebody's father. What crime he has committed by coming into Kashmir or Punjab. He says, no, no you are committing violation of human rights. I said what about the human rights in Vietnam, what about human rights in other parts of the country, of the world, of Europe. But some people, they try and threaten. They misuse this mantra of human rights. This is a new challenge to the armed forces also.

Let me give you an example. A gentleman Mr. Sateja from Bombay, a drug smuggler, a drug addict, a gang mafia, a terrorist, we got him in the place called Zolab in Jammu & Kashmir. Those of you who have been in Kashmir Valley, Kupwada, Line of Actual Control, 8000 feet high. He was picked up. We asked him, what are you doing here? He said no, no I lost my way. But how did you manage to come upto Kashmir, where did you lose your way. And he was staying in some nearby hotel. He said no, no, I am doing a research. I am an environmentalist. But why here? Where are your papers? Have you taken permission from somebody? What are you doing? Because that Zolab area, that area is famous for coffee cultivation.

When we picked him and we came back to Bombay, I rang up the Commissioner of Police in Bombay. So and so is with us, can you find out his whereabouts. His father spoke to me. Requested me. Said, General please pardon him. He had been to Kashmir. He had been to the Line of Control. He had visited Charare Sheriff. He had visited Hazratbal. All that he recorded in his diary. When he came back to Bombay, he gave an interview to some paper, saying the army gave him help. He sought the help of the army. Now a person who is reading his story will get convinced because he does not know the real thing. Now this is the real problem that comes up.

Drug smuggling is another menace that is taking place. Unfortunately, the drug smugglers in the garb of terrorist are creating the panic in that particular belt which is supposed to be the trade route

of the narcotic people. Nobody is prepared to go there. There is a problem coming up. I am not going to blame anybody, but these are the facts of life unfortunately.

Another problem is the arms smuggling. You are well aware of the things at the Purulia arms case. The smuggling, it came upto Maharashtra coast. I was dealing with it. I was associated with it, when the RDX and the Bombay blast took place. I was working on this. I was working from my own point of view. I was posted in Army Headquarters at that time. It was an eye opener. Who were involved in that. Unbelievable, unimaginable. You just can't think of it.

But the point is, then I have a few questions. The same RDX which was allowed to come which you allowed to land, how are you sure whom it is going to kill. Are you sure you are not going to be a victim of this? There was no answer to it. We all know what happened thereafter. They have expelled some innocent people. They have expelled some military people, people from police force.

The problem for us in our cuntry is the philosophy of some of our adversaries. It says that they remain committed to the integration of Kashmir in their territory, i.e. in Pakistan. They are aware that a purely military solution of this problem is impossible to be achieved. They are convinced. They have been told by the people that you cannot do this sort of a thing. It is beyond them. They all knew that for whatever reasons, the only circumstances in which the proposition would be viable would be a state of open and complete revolt, probably by all or a general population in J & K and their dependence on insurgency, militancy and terrorism. This is an official philosophy of one of our neighbours. It is a philosophy. It is an official document.

The point is, have we been able to read in between the lines? And what preventive measures one has taken. And flowing from this comes the other one, it is a philsofhy. It says the ISI support for Islamic insurgency and nothing from intelligentia. Islam does not teach you fundamentalism, Islam does not teach you terrorism. It has nothing to do. It was a misuse of the religious sentiments and the religious feelings. It can be any religion for that matter. But the official version is that insurgency and terrorism in Kashmir is a direct part of religious fervour.

Present situation in Kashmir is a direct by-product of the Pakistan's national security policy and the giant step, mark the word, giant step. But such is the magnitude of the problem. Now how do we deal with this. And then fortunately there is one line directive which is given, it says that the water in J & K must boil at the right temperature. That is all. This is how the orders are given generally by somebody. The President of Pakistan giving direction to the ISI Chief. I am sure, Mr. Vaidya will be aware of this. Just one line directive.

Now what is your definition of temperature in Kashmir Valley, whether it is Zelam, whether it is Wooller Lake, whether it is Nala? What is your perception of the temperature? How far it should go? Who will control the temperature who controls the knob and what mechanism you evolve to make sure that the temperature remains at a particular point, so that you can have a nice steam or a nice bath. This is the magnitude of the problem.

The other things which goes from here is the philosophy or the awareness. It says you cannot fight with them, meaning India because they have a larger army. But you can fight them, you can terrorise them by selective killing. We see the manifestation of this philosophy on ground, we see this philosophy on the ground. It is happening, We are losing our people, we are losing our dear ones, our young people, anybody for that matter.

When I was there, or when we are there, we were fighting this menace successfully. And the manifestation is when it gets translated into activities of this. It says, though the militants cannot defeat India, it can keep it in a state of war. A citizen of this very country, a professor whose one child was a legal expert, practitioner and the other one is an officer. He is making a statement and this was almost about ten years back. And we see what is happening today. He is Abdul Ghani. He is known as a member of Youth Congress.

This is the problem one has to take into account when you talk at the micro level and then you have to work out how it will percolate down and what form it will take on the ground. That is a problem area which comes. With this philosophy how do you overcome the problem? The other thing is when we have to take note of these facts of life. Some of the leaders, the use or misuse of the information technology. You can

influence the minds of the people sitting thousands of miles away by using the satellite channels, provocative broadcast, speeches. Because the media exposition or the exposition of the information technology has reached our doors.

At any given time, if you are using internet, eight million people are watching, in a moment of time. Look at the speeches being given by one of the Prime Ministers of our neighbouring countries and then I leave it to your judgement. Has anybody in India spoken like this? And what are the implications of these on the ground? Such provocations, are some of the examples of this type which have resulted into militancy and terrorism in Kashmir or elsewhere. There are series like this. That is the point to be noted. Benazir Bhutto shouting to the audience "Azadi Lenge Bahaduro, Desh Ki Awaz Buland hogi" is just one example. The provocations which are made from the top to bottom makes an impact on the psychologies of the people because of absence of anything to counter this propaganda. People are vulnerable, as the Chairman himself mentioned in the morning. Alienation or whatever it is, they find themselves away from the main stream. They find themselves subjected to certain amount of hatred. This is what their perceptions of it and when people give such encouragement, the end result is what we are witnessing on the ground.

"Har School Se Ekahi Awaz Buland Hogi-Azadi" All this. Anything meant to be government schools were completely destroyed. Har Building Se Ekahi Awaz Buland Hogi. Azadi Bachcha Bachcha. Even today you can hear this. If you ask them, you want onions or ration. They will say, "Ration Nahi Chahiye. Azadi Chahiye". But when you ask them what is the concept of it, what is your concept of "Azadi". "Nahi Sab Hamari Azadika Matlab Hai Hamako Hamare Ilakeme Kam Karane Deejiye and Hamako Hamare Mijaj Par Rahane Deejiye. Hamako Pani Milna Chahiye, Bijli Milna Chahiye. Is Tarahaka Kam Hai".

When I listened to this, I made a survey. There are about 69 families who are shouting the slogans of "Azadi" whom I met. They are spending crores and crores of rupees and dollars outside India. So those 69 people, they are the ones who were asking Azadi and not every one is asking Azadi. But the point is people are misusing this sort of facility which is available to them.

Then how is the terrorist operating? Look at the example of this communication system. Those who are interested to know. How do you make out, what do you make out of this message. Nothing is there. All words. You pick up. There are no authorised communication channels and when you pick up thereby using whatever methodology you have, it reads like this "Jamate Islami and Hiz-Bul-Mujahidin will wash the way. It is their concept I have not corrected the English because I think it must be the true production.

Every morning we collect all the messages which have been transmitted during the last twenty four hours and if there are any important transmissions, my orders are they are to be handled immediately so that we can act react whatever one knows.

Jamate Islami And Hizbul Mujahidin will wash the way. The only way is to kill the families and relatives of the country breakers. You know who are working so we knew whom to protect, who may be the next target. Without wasting any time you move on to these people. It also says, there will be neither movement of goods nor men will be allowed to and if a few persons get Mujahidins. Get Mujahidins means people are coming from across the border whom you know which are the routes, who are the guides and then you can activate your operational agencies to counter the infiltration.

Another example of this. One gets this sort of messages. "Need The Following Quantities Are Needed At Present". We know generally the frequency of it. Its coming. We generally know the place where it is being flashed, who is intercepting this. So that you can localise the area. This is the area of activities. It says "Following Quantities Required. Gliserin 15 Litres Etc. Acid, 5 Litres Of Other Chemicals, Urea, Potasium, Charcoal".

When this message is being intercepted, one knows that there is a shop which is selling these items. Somebody who is looking for these items and the end result will be they are manufacturing a plant or explosive somewhere in that area is required. So you can take the measures to counteract. The same thing is going on in other parts of the country also.

The point of the issue again is left to the people who are dealing with it, unless it can be in place. We keep our eyes and years open. The target can be Poona Railway Station. Are we aware? It can be any place. One just does not know. Therefore there is a requirement of the other machineries also and the armed forces when they start doing this sort of thing, and then they are accused that we are transgressing into somebody else's field. Human rights and so on and so forth.

I did an analysis of this sort of things. One is the type of explosions taking place in Kashmir. The type of explosives being used. The explosive that was planted in the United States. The bombing in USA, the World Trade Centre and the other one. The methodology is the same. The chemical contents are the same. The type of actions or the activities that take place before explosion and the explosive device is almost the same. That gives an indication that there is a systematic system which is functioning. The targets are selected well in time. Training is given. It can be one year hence, two years hence. And these things are going on. But when you share this with somebody, he says, no, no, no, why are you so worried about this part. The point is who is present at that time.

The next problem is how to overcome this problem of money. By chance we came to know. We got this intercept from a particular place Sopore and the transmission that was going on was - "My Account No. in State Bank of India is so and so, has been exposed". Has been exposed means somebody has come to know. This is their version of English and I do not want to change that. In so and so bank his account was exposed because of so and so person and therefore there is no money now available to the terrorists and hence please pay. So we knew that there is a bank. There is a person. His account has been operated. The money is drawn from here and is distributed.

So we had to be ruthless, tough with the gentleman who is operating this account. On whose name the account was. There we questioned the bank manager. Please do not operate this account. Do not please, do not pay the money. But he is not obliged to listen to us. Because rules are different. The banking system is different. But the point is there will be hundreds of banks in our own country where the money comes in and goes out.

There is another threat for the society. Society should be made aware of what all goes into this game plan. The problems of the armed forces who are dealing with the militancy or the terrorism are firstly the fundamental rights. I will give you the message. You go and close somebody's bank account. My question, the bank account, you are violating the fundamental right. Very rightly because you have no reason to ask me whether it is coming from Hawala, whether it is coming from drugs. It is all legal transaction.

The next is the legal system, judiciary. I cannot talk about this. I will be playing one of the cassettes publicly. So these are the constraints under which the armed forces have to operate. You violate one of these or you are on the wrong side of the thing. The entire thing can be questioned to you and you will be held to pay for it. You had to tell these people. Therefore how do you operate. One of the forms was to tell these people, give up your arms, don't die for a cause which is not convincing. You will reach nowhere.

So, the process of surrender was started. Now surrender is not officially allowed in the philosophy of fundamentalism. It is "Shahadat Ya Fatah Bahonki" of somebody. We told them you have no qualification to become "Shaheed" because "Shaheed" is a big man. You are nowhere close to it. "Victory Fatah" you can't get it. There is no question of victory. There is no part of India that can be won. There is no question. Nobody can do that.

But then you have the third option and the option is, give up this garb of violence, come back to your family, be with your parents, be with your wife, be with your children. That message went across well. Then the test case we started and we started the process. We never use the word surrender, but when we started to get the intercepts coming from across the border, we were just aware that this is making an impact on the people and sure enough it started.

We got the intercept - "Militants mass surrender or in panic in Pakistan". They thought the game plan is over. So when one is operating as armed forces one has to keep the eyes and ears open and keep reading the pulses of the people. It is applicable to all the agencies which are operating, not necessarily the armed forces, the police, CRPF, BSF or anybody.

The next problem comes based on the communication which takes place. See the type of communication that goes on and you can come to know. I am just giving you an insight into militancy rather than a research document. The message is coming from across the border. You can give interview to BBC. You will speak ABCD. You ring up so and so telephone number. Mr. so and so and party will respond to you and you will speak ABCDE. But you are forewarned, that this is likely to happen. You can always take preventive measures.

So we encourage the people to go and take phone of these people who are hiding in Charare Sheriff. So we knew that he is going to speak ABCDE. Why we are interested is we can at least warn our people that for God's sake do not believe in this version when it is reported from media. This is what he is going to speak. The point is, the person is operating here and instructions are coming from across the border or wherever it is. And he is being picked up by BBC, Voice of America, CNN and what not and they will report and generally the perceptions are that BBC does not speak lies unless they are forced to. Of late, they have started doing that. I do not know why.

Therefore what do we do. You hang on at the communications network of these people. Then, we pick up the transmission : ring up so and so telephone number, so and so press correspondent, BBC's number is this, and claim that we have done this blast. We have kept this bomb. Now if you go to that correspondent, he says, hell to it. He is an innocent fellow. He is doing his job. But the problem is how does he know that he is going to reproduce the thing for himself.

A third rate criminal becomes a hero of the people. Thanks to the people, it says, there is a bit of war in Charare Sheriff. And this gentleman must go where all these people used to go and meet him, take his interview. We have to face lot of difference of opinion. Why are you doing this. We said, No let people know there is a person. He looks like this. He is from Pakistan. Let him claim what he wants to. Let him meet the BBC. Let him meet anybody, whom he wants to meet. Let him give the interview. Let him and thereafter it remains for the other agencies as to what is to be done.

There are other agencies also involved in countering this game but the response of the armed forces or the army has to be that one should

not get unduly worried on such reports. Perhaps this is a signal. A third rate criminal who ran away from Pakistan was saying, he became a major overnight. So I used to tell them, I used to say, look, we take almost about 13 years to become a Major from the Second Lieutenant. When I was in Punjab, Mr. Pandit was a Company Commander. If you recall that every terrorist in Punjab was known as Lt.Gen. So and So. I said, how do you become a Lt.Gen. When I interrogated some of these people what is your qualification to become a Lt.Gen and in our army there are very few persons who can become a Lt.Gen. But what takes to become a Lt.Gen. within three days, four days.

“Ye To Sidhi Baat Hai. Teen Hathiyar Le Lo, Do Ko Mar Do and you become a Lt.Gen”. I never knew it is all that simple. So all right, you would like to become a Lt.Gen. with the help of some people and there is a good job thereafter. You find any number of , Lt. Generals you won't find a Major, or a Captain or a Lt. Col. or a Colonel. Everybody was a Lt.Gen. fighting for their own system and who makes them? Those who are reporting or those who are recognising them. Then the thing came. He had these weapons. Bigger machine guns, communication system. Everything. The point is how did he manage to reach, where does he get the wherewithal, who is giving him, who supplies him food, who supplies him ration, where does he get batteries from. Who gave them ration. It couldn't be coming from across the border. But that is not believable. So there are other people also involved.

The other problem is how to convert this fellow from here to normalcy. It takes long time. And you will be pleased to know he is in jail. He is in the jail of the same country which has sent him here. Because when he went back, he became too big for his boots and he started speaking against the same lady whom you heard a short while back. So he was picked up at Karachi, flown to Lahore and he was put in an underground jail. He does not know what is happening elsewhere. It takes long time. But one of the challenges is how do you use these people. How do you convert these people?

The next is to be seen that some of these people proclaim themselves as leaders. No delegation which comes from Kashmir or anywhere else will feel happy unless it has gone and prayed in the embassy of Pakistan itself. It can be Mr. Riyal Poker who is here. It can be his next successor,

anybody. They must go and pay their homage. Why is it so? Is it a matter of co-incidence or there is something more to it. But this is a point to be taken note of.

The other thing which is taking place is their connections with the other people. And this is a reality on the ground. What the Chairman said, people are aggrieved. They feel hurt and there is somebody to cash in on their sentiments. It can be a dangerous thing. Because the philosophy says that we are in no hurry and we have no dead lines to meet. Our objective is to impress in India and elsewhere political and national will, demoralise and exhaust their forces and bring them to desperation. They create a situation for you where you are forced to act the way you act and then we will be branded as a violator of human rights, you will be branded as a ruthless force and you will be branded as peoples' enemy number one. Now this is another challenge to the armed forces that we have to look.

The next point is that they will always hit those targets in whom the public has faith. The DIG, the Cop killed in Punjab encounter, Health Director shot dead. They will pick up these targets. They will not go for small people. It must make a sensational news. The police itself becomes a target. I wish Mr. Ribeiro was here and he would have explained things better. Then the peoples' faith starts getting eroded in that very agency which is the force to protect the people. If that very agency is killed, then who is secure. So when they fish the target, they are very careful on this. The families of these people will be made targets.

I used to be in Punjab. Some people used to derive sarcastic pleasure when they said, no, no, it is not all this. Then I said, why. The husband may be in Police, but not the children. No, then safety. How it can be. His father is not. But they cash on the sentiments of the people here also. You take anywhere in the naxalites area. The naxalites may be in Andhra Pradesh. It makes big news. This is a challenge faced by the people who are controlling this. It can be Bihar, it can be anywhere. So when these things start, then people start losing faith in the system. Therefore this is another challenge faced by all those agencies which are dealing with this problem.

The next is, another philosophy. I am giving you official document. We also learnt from these campaigns that no amount of physical or

psychological pressure can work for converting their thought. They cannot be defeated. "Number Two Kar". Therefore a systematic propaganda goes on across the border. I will just show you a clipping. Some very popular play known as GABAK in Pakistan TV, and you will find the Eighteenth Mountain Division which I commanded and my Brigade Commander is talking to his Major. It does not happen in life, but how convincingly they put across these concepts.

The theme is here a Brigade Commander is ridiculing his Company Commander that you are incapable of doing anything. That you are incapable of performing your task. Mujahidins are doing a wonderful job. This is the version being played from the Indian Army's Brigadier giving sermon to his officer, made on Pakistan TV. One of the most popular serials going on Pakistan TV. Some of these soft drink people are sponsoring the same. But the point is a challenge to the people is that our own people see this coming on the TV. They start getting convinced. That is the problem.

There is nothing to counter this propaganda. And they will put across in such a convincing manner that they tend to believe. My own colleagues used to telephone me, Sir, you saw this TV, what shall we do. People tend to believe Pakistan TV. LAGATA HAI. What do you do. Sorry, it is your problem. Why do you see wrong things. Our own people start believing it unfortunately.

I had the honour to meet the Chairman when he was a Home Secretary and sometimes he used to go and discuss with the Chief that let us start psychological warfare, psychological campaign and I used to see the same people. It pains sometimes but some people who are responsible put a news article. I said this is your concept of psychological warfare. The moment we start on something, they are putting on our concept. Psychologically we must work out the system, a theme, a medium, pick up the targets, not only across the border, but within the country to convince our own people.

Because unfortunately what is happening over the years, people are getting disillusioned. They feel, everybody, it is a vulnerable society, frustrating things like that. I am just coming to the end because we have to sell them the idea that don't believe in the alliance of money and

machine guns because their children will inherit not the money, but the machine gun. That is what is happening to day unfortunately. A child is not born as a terrorist. No child is ever born as a terrorist. He is a normal human being. No father or mother takes pride in the fact that his child is a terrorist. What are the circumstances which convert a normal human being, an innocent child into a terrorist? Have we ever given a thought as a society, as a people, as an intelligentia?

Another problem is, we deal with the terrorists, but we ignore the terrorism. We deal with the militants, but we are not trying to remove the militancy. Because militancy is a state of mind. It is a psychological factor. By killing a few odd terrorists, you are not going to remove the cause. The cause should be checked, the motivation of the people who are supporting, and all these things will go with it.

It is not left to only armed forces. There are others also who have to play the part. But unfortunately, for some reason, whatever reason is there, the most disturbing trend in India in the recent years has been loss of faith in India itself. That is a sad comment to make. You talk to anybody, you talk to a small boy or girl. Bete what are you going to do. He says, uncle I do not see any future in India. That is his starting point. You go to some official, what about you. I see no future in India. He is going to draw the pension in future only, but he sees no future for this country. You go to a scientist. He says there is no future for this country. You go to somebody else, he says there is no future for this country.

Now we are all living in this country, in a futureless society. That is our perception. When such perceptions are there, everybody is looking to America or somewhere else. When such are the convictions of the people, terrorism is going to prosper here or militancy, or insurgency. I think that it is not only the armed forces who are responsible for this. Today the tendency is the moment you see anybody who is doing better, you press the button and you ask for employment. I think the reason is important. My request to the audience will be we will have to take on the root cause.

I was just, last Wednesday, doing analysis in the perspective planning directorate on the disaster management and I was writing a fiction. It appears to be a fiction at the moment. It became a reality on

the ground. Suppose somebody spreads a rumour tomorrow in Bombay that our atomic plants are unsafe, there is a possibility of a leak. This will start somewhere, some scientist will report it. It will be reported on the media here. Indian nuclear plants are unsafe. It will continue for some time, six months, one year. People start believing and one day there is a rumour in Bombay that there will be a leak at Bhabha Atomic Centre. Thousands and thousands of people will die on the road, street, because there are 76 lakh people travelling every day from North Bombay to South Bombay in the morning and the same number goes back in the evening upto Thane, Kalyan, upto Badlapur and what not. One rumour can create problems, just one rumour.

There can be a stupid fellow, there can be a foolish person who can cash on this sort of thing. But when you go and talk to some people, they say, no, no, it is a far fetched story. They had to close down one of the power plant because there was an oil leak in the plant.

My request to you people, since your voice is heard, is, there is a need to give a little deliberation to the practicability of the problem, and there is no point just blaming somebody. I think we all have to be careful. It is a matter of shame that our own young energetic Prime minister gets killed. Our own Chief gets killed here in Poona. I think we have to be serious about it. Our own safety and security and the security of our children, next generation and young generation is at stake. We have to be serious about it.

Thank you Sir, thank you very much.

SESSION II

CHALLENGE OF TERRORISM :

THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

Chairman : Dr. Madhav Godbole

Main Speaker : Prof. Narsimha Rao

PAPER PRESENTED BY PROFESSOR A. NARSIMHA RAO

Air Marshal Kulkarni, Chairman Mr. Godbole, my fellow panelists, Ladies & Gentlemen.

General Shekatkar observed terrorism from close quarters and gave a presentation. I have not observed terrorism from any quarter. I have been as far far away from terrorists as perhaps politicians are from principles. But then you cannot, there is a definition which has been mentioned earlier, for one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. So long as that definition stands, terrorism will be there in the world. There is nothing that can be done if countries and people look upon the people who indulge in insurgency or militancy or terrorism, depending upon who you are and how you look at them, terrorism is bound to continue.

But then how is it, whatever we have been exposed to during the last one hour with that kind of terrorist activity with the best of civil service, with the highest forms of education in this country, with the enormous amount of elite, high sense of industrialisation, education, number of universities, press, journals and researchers why is it that this country is not able to tackle terrorism?

I think there is something wrong or there is something which is incomprehensible about terrorism. We continue to ruminate and then we are unable to comprehend what it is all about. I will give you example so that we will see what happens. I come from a State where

approximately 30 to 50 per cent of land mass resources and population are not controlled by the Government and they say that the area which is not controlled by the Government is more efficient. There is summary justice though there are murders and other things take place, the guns are looted, Central Government property is bombed. I think all of you know, I am referring to PWG.

During the last 10 to 15 years PWG has spread to ten States in India. Either we did not succeed in quelling PWG or we succeeded in exporting PWG. Now what happened. During the last two months they discovered that there is a nexus between mass centre in Bihar, Nepal and then PWG. There were reports that LTTE had nexus with PWG. Today most of us hinted that politics is responsible for anything that goes wrong in this country.. There is no second opinion about it. Neither the police, nor the army, nor the civil service, nor the educated people can do anything about it because if you do anything positive, politicians will be wanting instantly to undo that.

I will give you two solid examples. We had a Chief Minister. I will not name him because all of you are distinguished in knowing this information. He banned this organisation saying this organisation is indulging in non peaceful methods of achieving grievances, which means they are against democracy. They are not participating in the elections winning and trying to change the Government not through peaceful means. They are indulging in violence which is not acceptable according to the present constitution and the methods and procedures which we are following in this country. Therefore that should be banned. It was banned.

When once it was banned, implementing the ban and arresting them or holding them on or containing them was the responsibility of the police. I mean that is what police is meant to be. Now this organisation was indulging in excesses. I mean excesses is a highly debatable word. If you blast a train or if you blast a railway station without anybody injured then it is not an excess. If hundred people die, then it is an excess. If a policeman kills somebody in an encounter with a dreaded terrorist, then it is not an excess. If two three innocent people die because of the sheer panic of the situation, where you cannot do anything, then it is an excess.

So excess is debatable and excess is the price we have to pay for the situation we have created. Why would there be an excess if there would not have been a PWG. Now this particular Chief Minister, after four five years, not even five years, in four years he was defeated and another Chief Minister came. Said these are all our brothers. We must embrace them, though not all of them used to take a bath every day. It is an unhygienic embrace. But still these "people said they are all our brothers. They made a mistake. Therefore they must be brought into the main stream of the civil and political life so that we will alter the situation.

What happened, when this ban was lifted. They used the interval to increase the number of their dals. Now we have got 15 to 20 dals in Andhra Pradesh. By sheer providence, not by the design, either by Government of Andhra Pradesh or the Government of India, there began splits in the dals. This is a universal phenomenon. Palestine Liberation Organisation is split. It has been split into fourteen groups, out of the famous groups being Hamas, Hejbullah, in addition to the umbrella organisation of the PLO.

When once these groups began, the infighting was responsible for a small reduction in the number of violence not because of the successful governance by the party in power. So then, what happened. This can be interpreted as my success in containing the thing. Now we will extend this.

We were shown the Pakistani terrorist activity, insurgency. I will look at it from the other point of view. Though I agree completely that Pakistan is doing it. If Pakistan does not do it, we will do it. An adversary is supposed to be a country which you should undermine. That is the principle. It is for you to take counter measures and take action. If you say that Jamate Sherif has done it, Jamate Islami has done it, three fellows have done it here. It is for you to prevent that to happen. It is the avowed responsibility of Pakistan to indulge in terrorism and counter terrorism. Libya does it, Chad does it, Iran does it, Iraq does it, Spain does it, IRA does it. They do it. So identification of a problem is independent of interpreting and trying to probably attain a solution, because there is no solution. There he was mentioning about the World Trade bombing. When the New York World Trade Center building was

constructed, they anticipated the probability of a terrorist attack. So just exactly adjacent to this twin towers, they built a wonderful modern scientific complex with surveillance monitoring equipment, a first class specially trained police force 24 hours. What we know about bombing is that New York Trade Centre was bombed. What later came to light was that these people bombed the police surveillance counter terrorist building which was constructed to protect the world trade building was first bombed and then they bombed the New York Trade Centre with the result that they were made helpless. That means a terrorist or a militant is always one up against you.

I will give you another example. The State from which I come from. It has many firsts to its credit, is similar to Punjab in having what we call special security forces. Special security forces are located in a particular building which does not have a name. The entry is restricted. Since entry is restricted in many buildings nowadays, no one can identify what that particular building is. Then you will have the civilian force, police or what you call the greyhound rounding there. And over a time, special security forces are paid double salary because they are supposed to take care of Naxalites, who cannot be taken care of.

In this situation, one day two of the extremists were caught in one jungle. They were caught with some possessions and they were brought into it and among their possessions were photographs of this building, every nook and corner of the special security forces building. Some of the people who worked in the special security forces building do not know the contours of the building. Because it is so huge. But they had it.

Now they interpret it. Either there is an insider like your commerce bill insider trading, or the militants had an access to the kind of intelligence activities that are going on. Then over a period of five years our police have accumulated certain kind of statistics. They say these are the areas, these are the intelligence reports. The intelligence reports have been passed on to some people, local police have been told, local district administration has been told that there is a likelihood of the post office being bombed or a railway station being bombed. You know there is a certain technique. They will find agencies like Scotland Yard. Intelligence agencies can discover a pattern by a five to ten percent approximately regression ratio, you can predict.

By and large, every prediction, surprisingly 70 to 80% of the predictions came true. When the predictions came true, the militants began to attack intelligence agencies not Central Government property. So, the intelligence agencies had to give wrong information. They are likely to attack this building, when they are not likely to attack this building, so as to build confidence into people, to give confidence to PWG that intelligence fellows are idiots, so that they can perform their functions. So there seems to be some kind of a sea-saw game which is outside the perview of an exactly straight jacketed analysis of what this terrorism could be.

Three other instances, Palestine Liberation Organisation kills people amongst themselves. Some of the Hamas people kill extremists, some of the Hijbulla people kill Hamas. There are many people who do not like Arafat coming into terms with Israel. International terrorists statistics which are normally published by "The Global Trends in Terrorism", by United States of America. They take out the statistics of internecine terrorism. So if Hamas kill Hijbulla, or Hijabulla kill Hamas, or even an Israeli Mosad kills somebody, or even if in a highly terrorist activity, an innocent man is killed, that is not taken in the statistics.

It is said that terrorist activity implies activity by one particular group of one country against non-combatants of another country which is one of those mysterious definitions. Or if one group of people kill another group of people of another country and plan subversion and insurgency, it comes to fit into it and of course the famous Jimi Carter's definition of terrorism; "Wherever we think there is terrorism, we will strike it and the definition of terrorism is decided by us".

So one day they will decide that Narasimha Rao addressing in Wadia College is a terrorist. Therefore I am out. Certain kinds of terrorist activities have been kept out, kept so much out that any probable action or international views to consider, contemplate what actions could be taken is not possible because of lack of statistics.

There are different kinds of terrorists organisations, Mr. Shekatkar already mentioned. Religious, we come into tremendously dangerous zone. If I say this particular organisation believes in violence, I am given a label. If I say this organisation is so and so, constituted by

so and so people, I am given another label, if I say this. I will give you a general example. Suppose I say Mchmohan line is questionable, I become a Chinese agent. If I say why should Pakistan keep quiet, why shouldn't it indulge in terrorism because it treats you as an enemy, I become an ISI agent. If I say there is, that is Islamic fundamentalist organisation, then I become a VHP.

You see at the societal level, the levels at which they have made this complex. How do you want police and military to deal with this? And they were brought to you about the human rights organisation. Let me give you an example of Andhra Pradesh. When three IAS officers were abducted by the militant groups and they were taken into the jungle, Government used civil liberties people to go and negotiate with them and bring them back. I am not interested in what they have done and what they have not done. My interest is that there are people outside the extremism, outside the government who are dealing with the terrorists, who know their whereabouts, just like Nakirin of Tamil Nadu and Virappan,

So, there are areas where the governments are unable to function by shere virtue of the comprehension that might result in sudden exposure of an activity. Actually, we have a theory. Suppose there is a terrorist activity today and you instantly react to it. Now is terrorism an instantly reactable activity. Suppose you instantly react to it, is long term policy likely to conflict with such a policy? Debatable!!

I will give you another example. Have you ever seen or heard a Russian being caught anywhere in the world and then threatened? Americans can be thratened any where, even in Poona. We have not seen, even in the height of cold war sixteen right wing organisations, I am not talking about left wing. Right Wing in correspondence Right Mosad or anything of that kind. Not a single Soviet citizen has ever been touched because they have a built up, in international relations that ideological terror that Soviet Union is something, Communists are something. If you touch, you don't know what happens.

There is only one instance in Nagaland, wherein we caught hold of one Russian more by mistake. He must not have looked like a Russian and therefore we caught him and when he identified himself,

we released him instantly. There was another occasion in Egypt. He was caught, but then he was released immediately because Americans wanted him to be released, because they did not want alert No.3 to go.

What is the nexus at the level at which this international terrorism operates? Where does the money come from? I will give you one small example. If you see the everyday newspapers almost all of you must have seen. Once a month, once in two months we find in a newspaper so much of gold biscuits have been caught off the coast of Bombay or perhaps near the coast of Goa. For another two months you will not see the news item. Am I to believe that all the smugglers are in love with India that they smuggle only once a month. Or if they are smuggling for more than a month, what is happening to that gold?

We tried to discuss this with the Trade Secretary, we tried to discuss this with one of my colleagues in Osmania University, who became Trade Secretary, Government of India. Then you know every one has their own reason to say and we have got blanket order in the name of security information cannot be given. A very very neurotic act. So, no, no you should not put the questions because we will not give the answer. It is a lie. They do not know the answer.

Tamil Nadu and LTTE. It is a porous border. Any number of times Indian Navy has caught people, handed over the fellows to the State Government. State Government released them. I mean, I am talking from the official records, not the newspaper ones, with the result that one Commander in Chief had to confess what we can do.

So then, what happened. Police and then these services were to have a coordination committee. We suggested let it be in Andhra Pradesh because it will help us to co-ordinate with Tamil Nadu and others, because it is easier for people to come. Now some of the members of LTTE were not interested in coming to Andhra border because in spite of the ban, they can get into Tamilnadu.

The recent ethnic solidarity which is a damn thing that is going on in Kosovo World, Bosnia ethnic terror. So we are going into a field where the world is getting closer into some kind of a violent activity. So we pulled out during the last 4, 5 years. Something very very strange

is happening in this country. Liberalisation, privatisation, globalisation. This is the Mantram that is going on. During the last five years, I will give you the statistics :

In the terrorist instances all over the world, after 1991, out of the 120 terrorist acts, 91 people who were bombed or kidnapped were businessmen. Now business is supposed to be the market economy. It is the business which is supposed to be liberalised. It is the business which is supposed to be globalised. Number of Government people who were either kidnapped or bombed were only five. Number of diplomats who were either kidnapped or bombed were two.

I do not believe in this statistics. But if you give some statistics, you can work out that business is the most targetted. Someone brought out economic disparities in terms of an ideological connotation to understanding of the disadvantaged groups in this country, if that can push certain fringe elements into taking to arms, taking to terror, for that there is no solution because the system is not altering and then Soviet Union cheated all of us by collapsing.

What is remaining is, in this kind they have discovered, is the symbiotic relationship between mafia, democracy and terrorism. Is it possible that market economy allows the people who cannot earn money easily. This is happening in Andhra Pradesh. This is happening. Naxalites is one thing. PWG is another. In the name of PWG, now you have other fellows who are extorting money. Society unfortunately is being divided and being trained into unethical activities just because one particular group of extremists, because of their territorial, or because of their ideological or because of their being misguided according to the Government, are indulging in activities of a State that is being copied by other sections of society, who are unable to get employment, or who are unable to get education, are resorting to extortion.

Now we are unable to find out who is a bloody fake naxalite and who is a real naxalite and this is spreading to terrorism and this extortion, now today Bombay has not yet become, it is becoming a Lebanon. Colombo has become Beirut. Why is this happening. Is there any possibility of an international collaboration which can be done?

As I told you, my first definition. With that definition it cannot be done. Number one. Number two. There was a move about five months back. Efforts were going on during the last two years to establish an international criminal court. Though the Government of India has suggested that terrorism should be included as one of the target areas for the operation of international criminal court, let me tell you something. The original objections to the creation of the international criminal court came from the following five countries : United States, Libya, China, India. Now look at the bed fellows. Why are these countries opposing establishment of International Criminal Court. America understandable because they are everywhere. If they are caught, they don't want to be tried elsewhere. Libya understandable. Why are we opposing it.

Now this brings us to the next theoretical question. Terrorism or insurgency or militancy anywhere in the world, should it be understood only from the anti-Indian point of view. Is it right for an analyst to say that this is what is being done by China, this is what should happen to India. This is to LTTE, that everything is angelic about this country.

Now this brings us to another theoretical concept. There is an excellent misnomer in this country that loving the country is equated to loving the Government. Loving the country is not loving the Government. Sometimes you love the country and you dislike the Government. I mean, this is a fundamental theory. I mean loving your rivers and loving your plants and loving everything, traditions of this country is not loving the Government.

What happens in international arena. Any opposition to a Government action is treated as that you are anti patriotic. Why should not there be a terror for a terror? Why should not there be a counter terrorist organisation? Why should not there be a man who opposes A or B as putting on some label. I will read out to you a quotation. You will see the problem. "Those who are against killing have no place in Islam. Survival of faith requires shedding of blood".

This is the official document released by an Algerian organisation. If I quote this I could be VHP. I could be Ashok Singhal. I could be anybody. Suppose I say that Indians also believe in Dharmayudhdha,

I mean the fight for justice or the fight for a right cause. Then Pakistan would accuse me bloody these fellows are war mongering Hindus. He is quoting from Kurukshetra. He is quoting from Arjuna and Krishna.

The Canon Laws which is the most fundamental law from the Christian faith, if you say, then I suddenly become anti-Christian. Fundamentalism is prevalent almost everywhere. Actually fundamentalism is not Islamic. It is actually Christian. It has come from the Canon Law. If you have seen the power of the Crusades and if you had seen Martin Luther King's original writings, you would have seen terror was more religious in the world and the statistics of murders in the world will demonstrate to you, inter-faith murders having been more than the terrorist murders in the world. As a matter of fact, the Middle East statistics will tell us that inter-Arab killings have been more than Israeli-Arab killings.

At this stage, at this level, if you have a man who supports a celebrity, creates a terror. If a man whom you are opposed to by virtue of your political party, creates a terror. If your group creates a terror, if inter-city, inter-country groups who fight for something because they cannot achieve anything except through the means of violence, create a terror. How do you bracket it in one brush and say, well, this is terrorism. This is something which we can tackle. It just cannot be done.

I will just give you an example of the number of fellows who are involved in terrorism in the world. Terrorism of course in the broad groups and they are surviving by highly dubious means. Can you imagine Irish Liberation Army IRA Republican Army is funded by Libya and America. Libya and America do not like each other. Now one of the causes which the revolutionary leader of Libya has said while giving donation to IRA in Britain is to fight Northern Ireland War. Any stone is good enough to hit waste. So fine! You hit it. So a terrorist cause is over simplified.

The Irish immigrants in America who are reasonably rich, particularly in the Massachusetts and the Eastern Sea Bases. They are fighting for their ancestral blood relations against their Anglo Saxon brethren and England.

I was shocked to know that Switzerland funds terrorist organisations. Every peace conference is held in Switzerland. International Red Cross is in Switzerland. Disarmament Conferences are held in Switzerland. Most of the small arms are sent through Switzerland. Once upon a time we thought they were very famous for watches and of course we knew the other part of it, namely the love of the film stars for the banks in Switzerland. But beyond this, we have also come to know, it has become a conduit. Now how have the conduits begun.

Because of privatisation, terrorism will increase in the world. I am not commenting on the advantages or disadvantages of privatisation, liberalisation, because now the Governments over the movement of arms, would change. I will just give you in brief, the kind of arms that have been moving during the last three years after privatisation. The spurt has been 30%. Here are the arms. AK-47, auto pistols, mines, stringers, kalashnikovs, grenades, bombs and snipers have increased 30% after 1991.

I am only trying to corroborate after 1991, the world has become market economy. I am only trying to link it. I do not find any other reason because previously the government could control, the government's permission is required. Lloyds Register of Shipping have to show and then there has to be a register maintained for arms, explosives movement. But now it is not necessary. It is there in theory, but then they can move. We will bring in our own country. Your navy and Coast Guards will tell you how effective they are, how many ships they have and what is their service which they can stock.

Shariat organisation has been revived last year, with a membership of one and a half million. Seven important groups that they say they will not die. Now there is a body-guard for Yasar Arafat who has been trained. Actually his name is called 417. He is not supposed only to protect him. He is supposed to kill anybody whom any one of the guards suspects to be against him. It is something like maintenance of internal security and in India during 1975-76, because you are not even supposed to show the cause to the judge. I mean, if you say that the prosecuting lawyer has a paper saying that so and so is accused of this, this, this, the judge could not even ask whether he is reading from

the actual paper or not. My neighbour might complain "Is Kamareme Band Ho", but then that fellow could be put into the jail.

Would terror result in counter terror by the State. I will not go by the American definition of Libya, Sudan, Somalia, Taliban. "But I will go by another definition. All of you know that in Brazil police kills students on the roads, the street children, unable to manage their vibrancy and put them in jail and take action or they kill them. Killing them is one of the solutions.

What happens. In Brazil came an organisation which has become anti-police terrorist organisation. Bound to come. You are not supposed to keep quiet. In Argentina they have coined a very lovely word, extra judicial disappearance. Judicial disappearance itself is questionable. Now extra judicial disappearance means that even judiciary cannot ask where they have gone. Argentina military is going through a tremendous kind of a legal crisis in Argentina. Actually they coined a joke. Either you are born a lucky man or you are born in Argentina. That is, the most unlucky people are the people who are born there and to boot Argentina was a part of South Atlantic Organisation and International Agency, long long ago.

"There is an organisation today, unable to find its destination through the normal religious routes. Some of the terrorists have taken to cults. Asahi, you know in Japan they take over some kind of a nerve gas. Leftist organisations in the world have been saying, using carpet bombing in the Second World War, is it not terror. After all Dresden has not been fighting England. Dresden has not been fighting America. You have killed so many citizens. Even using napalm in Vietnam, is it a terror. Should terror or terrorist be labelled only to the people who are fighting the State. Can State use the same methods which terrorists use to suppress them. Is it right then?

What are the moral choices. Are the moral choices that costly to make a philosophical debate unnecessary and use terror to counter terror? Debatable points. We don't know. Americans say, we are compelled to use it. Otherwise our soldiers would die. Is your soldier's death so important as to throw out the moral principles. Can you gas the people? We do not know. Debatable. Highly debatable.

Every year International Atomic Agency gives us a list of the fissionable materials available with many countries in the World. International Atomic Agency is not a body which is sovereign. So it takes the information only from the countries which give information. If we give information, they take. Otherwise they do not take. Each country has its own inventory. Say American Atomic Regulatory Commission in America. They discovered in 1993 that approximately 35 tonnes of fissionable material is missing in America, whereas newspapers say it is Russians who are losing nuclear weapons and nuclear material. That there is a terror all over the world by virtue of the Russian scientists moving away. Russian nuclear plants, nuclear energy, nuclear technology is being spread all over the world and there should be a nuclear terror. Therefore America has to have a nuclear weapon to stop a nuclear terrorist.

What will America do with the nuclear weapon against a terrorist whose address is not known? That is one fellow who does not have an address. They thought that Osama Bin Laden has an address. He is alive but the address was not known. A terrorist's address is never known for two reasons. He is cleverer and he operates with a dedication. Two, a part of the State agencies are in collusion with him. Otherwise do you think such huge countries like America, England, India are unable to tackle this at their level, unless if this is going to be an on going historical fight between disadvantageous groups and the neighbours who have, for example if 5% of the world population controls 86% of the world's trade, would there not be some people who would resort to terror? That they should resort to terror is questionable, but that they will do it, you cannot do anything about it. We cannot stop them.

In 1975, immediately after the emergency, I am telling you openly, some of my students in the University came and told me "Sab Anti Congress Ko Panch Panch Vote Diye Ham". These fellows voted, each student voted himself five times against the Congress. "Phir Bhi Congress Aaya". Now which means, the candidates and their fellows were cleverer than these fellows. Now this is the thing. Initially some of the people said this is no way Sir, we are going to fight them, we join them. We will fight.

By and large, our information shows, as of now it is not disputable throughout the world. This is how international terrorism operates. The

age groups are always between 18 and 25. In Andhra Pradesh, sometimes it is between 18 and 30, but throughout the world, by and large, an active core of a terrorist organisation is between 18 and 25. Because they are the people who can run and fight, they are the people who can move, they are the people who can be guided, they are the people who are in formative stage where they can be brain washed. They do not become sufficiently moulded to become senile. They are not too young to fight because they are not small. This is the right age, by and large, we have found out ISI, Black September, IRE, Khmer Rouge, Japanese Red Army, LTTE, PWG, all have them approximately 18 to 25. The next round are the people who plan the strategy. By strategy we mean, if you see after 1992, there are no more kidnappings. Kidnappings have become very less in the world by terrorists.

Kidnapping requires a tremendous amount of logistics support. You have to take care of that fellow. You have to bring food to that fellow, you have to take care of who are all coming on to the road, who is surrounding you. Then you have to have alert people. You have to have messengers to tell you what State agencies are doing, what government agencies are doing. It is a bloody nuisance. So terrorists organisations shifted from kidnapping to bombing, which is easy, safe, convenient target and lovely, newspapers put it next week. So there is no problem of logistics, there is no problem of inconvenience.

So you see how the techniques are improving without any change in the purpose of fighting an enemy. The fight with the enemy continues. Only techniques are changing throughout. They have adopted. During the last four five years, you cannot stop arms. There is a place called Gladiegal in Scotland. It is a lovely place. Most of the foreign ministers, defence ministers, whenever they meet, they always meet in lovely places. So these fellows went and they found out what is it we should do, now that there is peace in the world. Russia and America are not fighting. Nobody is fighting and we are only fighting insurgency groups. Insurgency groups and terrorists cannot use tanks, cannot use B51, they cannot use all these things. They require small arms. How to see that small arms reach them, because 30% of the European industry is military oriented industry.

So what is it that they have done. They said instead of dismantling our arms industry, why not we supply these things to all those people

who are supposed to want it, suppose the Governments do not want. Now the idea was if nobody wants arms, create a situation in which there will be conflicts where they will want it.

So you encourage LTTE, you encourage Nagaland, you encourage ULFA, Therebal, Jamate Islami. You encourage Hamas. You encourage Druce. You encourage Libya, Angolan Movement, Mozambik, you encourage Turks, you encourage Kurds. There are enough number of people who are willing to receive arms, so that their fight will take on better turn, because they were unable to fight before because they did not have arms.

They called it as a peace dividend. Look at the surprising word. The Peace Dividend was after the peace has come, after the collapse of Soviet Union and Salt I, Salt II, all the arms are available only for peace. They will be distributed to the people who do not have peace. Europeans would have peace. Russians would have peace. North America would have peace.

So with the result what happens. Did the terrorist organisation know this? They took terror right upto America. It is right from 1989. Before, America was protected from terror. Now America has become an hinterland of terror. Because if this is what you are doing at higher level and they are interpreting it, this is morally and materially a decadent society. Therefore it should be armed, since we cannot harm at a level which can match because we are neither in majority nor we are powerful militarily since we are small, since we are inferior. Therefore we can only fight that through terrorism. No solution, there is no way. So it is at this level. If terrorism has to be understood, we can easily understand the international ramification. We cannot be allowed to be without terror. If not here, by somebody else or the other.

There is a strong research going on right now in the world. How the small arms are moving, to whom they are moving, who are the people who check them, taking bribes, how are the arms coming around. In Andhra Pradesh, the arms are looted from the police station. It is very easy. Why purchase them when these fellows can open the magazines and give them.

So now what is happening is if you do not isolate terrorism as a phenomenon only confined to South Asia, it will be easier for our conscience to understand the ramifications, even if we can't solve it. Because this is the level at which it goes on. What is the relationship between terrorism and the governments other legal policies. There have been three attempts in the world only at hijacking, only at bank robberies. There have been some conventions. There have been conventions in military, like under sea mining, or nuclear explosions. They have some on all other aspects. On terrorism there is no international understanding yet.

I will just give a last example of a bank scam and then close. Because this is the range which I think the terrorism should be addressed. Recently, we had series of bank scams in this country beginning with the Indian Bank. You go and show the gun and ask the fellow to surrender the money. So the cartoon was, why are you showing the gun and taking the money. Join the bank and take the money I say.

Thank you very much.

COMMENTS ON INTELLIGENCE ASPECTS OF TERRORISM

V.G.VAIDYA

Thank you, Dr.Godbole. After two speakers, who have given extremely illuminating exposures about the menace of terrorism, I think there is not much left for me to say, except certain very cut and dry comments on this phenomenon, which we are bound to confront in the next millenium.

Efforts are made to define terrorism. Efforts are made to define international terrorism. Mr. Narasimha Rao has just concluded by saying that there cannot be an international understanding on combating terrorism for the simple reason that what is terrorism for one, is perhaps patriotism for another and as long as the world cannot come to terms with itself in a peaceful co-existence, this phenomenon will continue and continue I think for ever. It is unfortunate, but inevitable.

I confine myself to our country alone. Now we have been witnessing the campaign against terrorism being conducted by a multiplicity of forces. The defence services, the civil and para-military forces. The degree of success that we have achieved is not negligible, but still debatable. At the very outset, my personal view is that by their very training and philosophy, the defence services are not meant for fighting insurgency. We have been unfairly burdening the army with this task in various theatres around the country and in doing so, we are only sapping their energy and morale and subjecting it to a lot of avoidable strain and in the long run debilitating it and its fighting fitness.

This is one fact which will have to be accepted. The reality of the situation today is, take for instance Kashmir, which has been really our main problem. After the nuclear explosion, a sort of balance of power has been achieved between India and Pakistan, with the result that Pakistan will now feel much more emboldened to create problems in Kashmir because its design to bring Kashmir, which had subsided from the international fora, has been achieved and the longer it keeps the pot boiling, the better it is for them. So we should not expect that we will have peace in Kashmir.

We have contained terrorism in Kashmir etc., I think is an ostrich like feeling. We have therefore in the next millenium to be prepared for a continuing era of terrorism and insurgency in Kashmir. Simultaneously, our experience in the past few years shows that there are sustained efforts in de-stabilising the country by various means. It is not only Kashmir, we face de-stabilising efforts in almost every part of the country. So this is another and these destabilising efforts have terrorism, violence, as a nucleus. The blasts in Bombay, the blasts in Coimbatore, what is going on in the North East are all manifestations of these very designs.

And all this sums up to a scenario of the new millenium which poses greater challenges for our internal security system which is compounded by several other debilitating factors like : The first is the political instability, which, there are no signs of receding. Then other various factors like communal, linguistic, inter-state tensions, violent sub-national agitations like the Bodo agitation and so on and so forth. There will be several.

Now, these are therefore the challenges which have in their womb the birth of new and different varieties of terrorism which we will have to confront. I therefore feel that the responsibility to tackle this problem has to be handled squarely by the civil and para military forces alone, so that the defence services are left totally free to combat any external aggression, any external operations and which are bound to come if we remain complacent.

How are the civil and para military forces going to tackle this? First, of course, will have to be through an upgradation in equipment, modernisation, training, and thirdly, and most importantly, is reducing the various other external burdens under which these forces are cracking today.

If you really make an analysis of the jobs which the police and para military forces are doing today, you will find that at least fifty per cent of its manpower and brain power is wasted on utterly dispensable jobs. VIP security, the first I will point out, and several other ones. Why cannot we be a little more realistic, and re-organise ourselves to face these challenges which are eating into the vitals of our internal security. Experience shows that all the activities, deceptive activities within our

country are not necessarily indigenous. In fact, the external content among them is growing by leaps and bounds.

And here I must make a mention about the activities of external intelligence agencies. The ISI is the foremost. There might be others. But then, today our first problem is that. How do we handle that? We have therefore to beef up our intelligence gathering system, the intelligence machinery. Much can be said about this. But an open gathering is definitely not a forum where these matters can be discussed threadbare. But still a brief outline can be made.

Where we are lacking in this field is basically in the field of co-ordination, which has been low. It has been my unfortunate experience that co-ordination between the intelligence outfits at the centre and the states is not at a level where it should be. True, efforts have been made to establish a greater communicability between them, I would say. But still it is definitely not functioning at its peak and there is tremendous scope for improvement and a continuous re-appraisal of this.

Another ill which confronts us is the professional rivalry which exists between the intelligence outfits, say between the States or at the Centre itself. Very few will openly air this predicament, but it is a fact, with the result that very valuable inputs go abegging, and operations which would yield extremely good results, they go abegging. This is one thing which has to be tackled post-haste, if I may say so.

There was a mention about setting up of National Security Council. This issue has been pending for last several years. I have my own doubts whether the National Security Council will emerge in the near future, in the absence of a government which has a will to act, in the absence of a government which has a national consensus to resolve all various issues. Whether this will come up is a mute point.

Personally I feel that our democratic systems, our power structure system is not yet mature enough to handle this expert concept. It will only become another opaque partition between the various agencies, the cutting edges of the government and the highest policy making bodies themselves. May be my voice is a voice of solitary dissent, but then it is a voice coming out of several years of experience, seeing how the government and the various bodies are functioning.

Ladies & Gentlemen, I should not be guilty of wasting too much of our time, but I must say that terrorism is a warfare of the future. We are not going to see the end of it for quite some time and therefore have to learn to live with it.

Secondly, terrorism has to be fought by the people because as General Shekatkar has mentioned, giving you statistical details from the beginning of the century till the end, the casualty content of the civilians has increased by leaps and bounds. So if the innocent civilians are the targets of terrorism, it follows by implication that it is a war against the people and it is the people who have to fight terrorism. The only way is through a greater enlightenment, proper appreciation and greater collaboration with the internal security agencies who are fighting this menace.

Thank you.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

DR. MADHAV GODBOLE

Gen Shekatkar's, was a very illuminating talk which took us in a sense to the front line, in terms of understanding what the issues are, or the problems are and what the practical difficulties on the ground are. Prof. Narsimha Rao's presentation gave us a very interesting exposure to the challenge of terrorism across the country and the account of limitations in dealing with the problem. Shri VG Vaidya had headed the Intelligence Bureau in the Government of India, which is in a sense a nerve centre to all intelligence activity in the entire country. It seems intelligence has a major connotation of terrorism and has a large implication in terms of how it functions. His insight as revealed in his comments has been of particular help to us in understanding the problem. We had very interesting sessions on various connotations of terrorism. A few things emerged, I think out of these discussions.

First is the fact that this is a slow debilitating war which we will have to put up with for a long long time to come. Issues also came up on whether there is going to be any systemic change to deal with this problem or whether we take it that there are no answers to this problem. There was a view that this is a world wide phenomenon and therefore it is not easy to find answers.

But at the same time I think what is at stake is the very survival of India as a country and the terrorism therefore will have to be addressed as a major problem, at the political level, at the administrative level, at the level of social thinkers, academics and others. A number of these problems also have been created by the manner in which our political system has functioned, as evident over the last fifty years.

For example, take the case of North East. In fact what went wrong with the North East was the creation of very small States, not even equivalent to half a district anywhere in the country. They were not based on any cultural homogeneous population in that area, but they were created basically because of political compulsions and to appease the local opinion. As a result we now have a situation where the civil systems

have now become ungovernable. The earlier intention of having one common governor has also been given up because each State, Nagaland or Meghalaya is equivalent to Tamil Nadu or Gujarat or Maharashtra in a scheme of things in a federal polity like ours. Therefore dealing with the problems of the area have also led to creation of a permanent problem of insurgency.

Kashmir is another example. In fact the manner in which Kashmir has been dealt with by the Government of India all these years, you can trace clearly the insurgency movement or the terrorists movement in Kashmir to the handling of Kashmir by the Government of India. In fact reference was made is there an answer? Perhaps, yes, there is an answer. To accept some time or the other that Kashmir will have to be divided along the line of actual control. This is something which no political party today wants to speak about.

Unfortunately, Kashmir issue for the last fifty years has been dealt with as an ad-hoc issue. Whatever is the fire fighting kind of thing to be done. You call a meeting of the Cabinet, or you call a meeting of the Political Committee of the Cabinet and deal with that issue. Not a long term issue which affected the future of Kashmir. Similarly on the question of future of Kashmir, there has been no discussion amongst any political parties with any amount of seriousness whatsoever and if you have to deal with the problems of insurgency, as I said in my initial comments, we will have to deal with them on a case by case basis. It is not possible to generalise it beyond a point.

Why is it that Naxalite movement is continuing in Bihar or in Orissa or in Madhya Pradesh or in Andhra Pradesh? That is because those problems of that area, the tribal area, have been neglected repeatedly. Several committees have been set up in the Planning Commission by the Government of India, by the State Governments, but no follow-up action has been taken. Special plans were evolved for these areas, so that larger allocation of funds will be done to take care of the concerns of the tribal area. That has fallen by way side. Therefore merely to deal with terrorism as a law and order problem is something which is a very short sighted view of the situation.

Take the case of Bodo problem for example. We find short term solutions to these long term problems. For example five years ago

Government of India took credit for having solved the Bodo problem. Six years ago, the Government of India took the credit for having solved the Assam problem. Because few sections of ULFA surrendered at that time, we entered into an agreement with Bodos without any sufficient ground work being done. As a result, even before the ink of that agreement was dry, all the agreements were disowned by all the parties, all the factions within the Bodo polity.

This is no way to address the issues. If you see the history of North East, you will find most of the agreements which were entered into by Government of India with various factions or various groups, very few of them were implemented in practice. It has led to a feeling of distrust between the Government of India and the State on the one side and the people on the other side. Therefore if you have to make sure that people do not get alienated, you will also have to see that whatever commitments you make to people are adhered to in practice.

For example there is very large amount of corruption in the whole of North East. Huge amount of money is flowing into the North East. Per capita outlays of North East are perhaps the highest in the whole country, where is this money going? No questions have been asked, we have been continuing with an old system which is alien to that particular part of the country. We have foisted a Westernised democratic system in an area which traditionally did not believe in this system. It has not taken roots in that system. That is why, for example, Manipur is often called Money Pool because after every election there is exchange of money, by candidates, by the MLAs from one party or another party.

The other issue which again was referred to, which also requires thought is the question of human rights and I think we have to deal with this issue, grapple with this issue seriously because today there is a divide between those who are human rights activists and those who are trying to grapple with the problem of insurgency and each one finds that the other one's point of view is totally unacceptable and that is why there is a divide between these two groups.

And you find one section always talking in the press about the excesses of the governmental agencies and the other group talking about the difficult task they have to do. But there is an outstanding example of

what happens in the Press also. For example you might remember the case of Kunal Poshpara. About ten years ago, there was a complaint made, allegation made that the army, several army Jawans raped twenty or thirty young girls in Jammu & Kashmir and the army that time took a very unusual step of entrusting this enquiry to the Press Council of India.

The Press Council made an enquiry and came to a conclusion in their report that this report was totally false and that this was a made up complaint. The girls were coached, tutored to make a complaint that they were raped. But by the time this report came out, this had already become a world news. It had figured in United States Congress, figured in the British Parliament. It had figured all over the European press and in a sense Government of India had lost a media war.

That is why a reference was made in the presentation to the need for tackling this problem somewhat differently than the traditional. This is not a traditional warfare. This has new diverse elements of warfare which have to be dealt with seriously. That is a question was asked why are we not doing to Pakistanis what they are doing to us. Obviously in a seminar like this that question cannot be answered by anybody. But it is a fact that if we are doing anything at all, we are not doing enough. But these are the kinds of connotations of the psychological warfare.

Psychological warfare, for example, is an issue on which we have lost and it has to be accepted. For example, in terms of getting continuous broadcast from Pakistanis into the entire valley, Kashmir valley. We have lost this battle. We may have won one battle here and there, but we have not won the war. Because this is going to be a long drawn out war and perhaps fighting a war with Pakistan for three days or five days is easier. But this is a long debilitating war which will have to be fought for months and years together and we will require not only political commitment but also social commitment, and today unfortunately both are wanting.

But we cannot just blame the society because we have also failed in carrying to people the problems in terms of insurgency and the difficult task which are at hand. For example, even though we are saddled with this big problem, there is no political statement as yet by Government of India on dealing with insurgency and terrorism in a harsh manner. There is no political consensus on this subject. We have never made an effort

to take all political parties into confidence and to arrive at consensus at least on some basic issues which are of national concern, like national defence, like national security like terrorism like communalism, place of religion in society.

These are the issues which we have deliberately pushed under the carpet. Now the fact that there is no political consensus on this matter is sufficiently evident from the fact that there is today no legal instrument to deal with this matter. TADA has been buried, done away with. There is no replacements of TADA. With the kind of terrorist connotations, you have not only all over the country but also having ramifications internationally, it is necessary to have an All-India legislation for this purpose. But Government of India is dragging its feet because there is a minority vote bank to take care of and because of perceptions that if you deal with this problem, you will burn your fingers.

Therefore the Government of India is not touching this subject, neither are the State Governments touching it. Tamil Nadu made an effort. That Act has never come into force. Maharashtra Government made noises about it two years ago that we will introduce a bill to deal with organised crime or introduce a bill more or less similar to TADA. That was said about two years ago. Nothing has happened. Now another announcement has come a fortnight or two weeks ago.

One does not know to what extent the government is serious in these matters. Therefore you are leaving the security agencies, the police, without any instrument to deal with this and it is to be understood that a terrorist cannot be handled like a common criminal. And this is a point on which education of all categories of people in society is necessary. It is also necessary to educate the media, media does not necessarily know everything, media does not necessarily check the facts before they publish them and as a result in several cases, for example in North East, or in Kashmir or in Punjab, the security forces or the BSF, CRPS have been demoralised, have been put in a box where they ought not have been put. To some extent the fault also lies with us. So effectively this is an area which will call for major national effort and also international effort.

Mention was made about United Nations speeches. Now that is yet another coffee shop. You go and make a speech and come back home.

It hardly ever gets translated into practice and at least same thing has happened about speeches on terrorism in the United Nations. There has been hardly any major collaboration. In fact why talk about major aspects of international collaboration. Even with countries in our neighbourhood we have not been able to enter into extradition treaties for all these years.

For the first time a treaty with United Kingdom was entered into five years ago and after that one or two countries with which we have signed extradition treaties. But all of the Middle East from which most of our crime lords attack, there is no extradition treaty with any one of them. What has stopped us from dealing with these countries bilaterally and entering into extradition treaties with them?

The international connotations of this problems have not been handled at all in the Government of India. Then on the other side, you have the problem where the State Governments have no time for this work, neither the time nor the money. Even the Government of India funds which are given they are not utilised. They are often surrendered.

For example reference was made to para-military forces and rightly Mr. Vaidya referred to the question of what should be the duties of armed forces versus the para military forces. Should the armed forces be involved in dealing with insurgency? No they should not be. But you already have half a million, five lac, Central Para Military Forces today. There are limits up to which these forces can be expanded. There are practical problems in terms of handling a large all India force of this kind.

Therefore what is necessary is for the States to create more armed forces. Therefore the scheme of India Reserve Battalion was introduced five years ago. But the response of the States has been minimal. Therefore what is wanting is the political will at the State Government level and Government of India level, at the societal level, everywhere. We as a country are not prepared as yet to deal with this problem, and if this policy of drift continues, I think we will have to hold yet another seminar on this subject after another decade.

Thank you very much.

CLOSING REMARKS

AIR MARSHAL KULKARNI

Ladies & Gentlemen, I would like to thank Dr. Madhav Godbole, former Home Secretary, for agreeing to Chair the Seminar and giving us insights into some of the challenges that we not only face today, but we are going to continue to face in the next millenium.

I would like to thank Dr. Narasimha Rao who has come from Secunderabad, as also Lt. General Shekatkar, who has come from Mhow to participate in this Seminar. They have given us wealth of information. a lot of their insights into how they view the challenge of terrorism.

I would also like to thank Shri V.G. Vaidya. Frankly speaking I only requested him just about 24 hours back, yesterday afternoon after we got the news from Mr. Ribeiro that he would not be able to come. I requested if he could come and give us some insights from his experience of having dealt with intelligence organisations as a Director. He readily agreed to it. I am happy that Gen. Shekatkar and Shri V.G. Vaidya, both are our members of the Centre and they have readily responded to our request to take part in this seminar.

My special thanks go to the hard work put in by Prof. Mrs. Menon of the Wadia College in making available this auditorium to us for holding this seminar and then last but not the least, I would like to thank you all for sparing some of your valuable time and being here this morning to participate so actively in the seminar and making it a success.

Thank you very much.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

Terrorism specially with cross border linkages is posing serious problems and causing serious concern to all thinkers. The presentations made by the main speakers gave a deeper insight into the problem and carried a stamp of authenticity because of their long practical experience in this field.

The seminar was timely. It generated animated response from the participants. At the end, consensus emerged on the following lines :-

- The challenge of Terrorism has been a permanent subject on the agenda of all Governments for the last 15 to 20 years, but unfortunately it has received very little attention at the political level in addressing the issues.
- Terrorism cannot be treated merely as a law and order problem. It has much larger socio-economic, political, religious connotations.
- Feeling of injustice, unattended grievances of landless people, people from neglected sections of society, of tribals are the root causes of movements like Naxalism.
- Terrorism takes root when governance fails or non performs resulting in alienation of people from administration. It symbolises failure of the political system.
- To effectively tackle terrorism the nexus between bureaucrats, criminals and the police is an issue which cannot be relegated to the background.
- Doing away with TADA under political compulsions has resulted in a situation where police have no instrument to deal with terrorism at all.
- The National Police Commission had recommended reforms in police administration. Without these, the police are severely handicapped in tackling terrorism. The political establishment has

been sitting over these for many years. These reforms need to be implemented on high priority.

- The drug smugglers in the garb of terrorists create panic in that particular belt which is supposed to be the trade route of the narcotic people.
- Scientific advance has elevated terrorism to techno-terrorism, easy to perpetrate but difficult to detect in time.
- With advancement in science and technology, terrorists are making use of sophisticated techniques. Delay fuse devices, instant communication, latest explosives have now brought in techno terrorism. The core terrorist sitting thousands of miles away is in a position to carry out terrorist acts and psychological warfare at any place and time of his choice. This has made the task of security agencies very difficult.
- Present situation in Kashmir is a direct byproduct of Pakistan's national security policy and its giant step. Pakistan considers that insurgency and terrorism in Kashmir is a direct part of religious fervour.
- Innocent civilians suffer maximum on account of terrorism.
- Human rights activists give preponderating weightage and importance to the human rights of the terrorists and ignore those of the victims/potential victims of these terrorists.
- Terrorists in J&K operate bank accounts in the country with funds, often from hawala, drug smuggling, arms smuggling, and act on cross border coded instructions. The existing legal system, bank rules, fundamental rights of the terrorists do not permit the law and order machinery, the investigative and detecting agencies like the police, CRP, BSF, army units even to freeze such bank accounts. This is a big handicap and a serious problem faced by the law enforcing agency.
- In dealing with terrorism and militancy, it is not enough to deal with only the terrorists and the militants. We need to tackle the factors which motivate them.

- The great challenge for the country is the gradual erosion of faith in the country in the public mind.
- As long as the phenomenon of one man's terrorist being another man's freedom fighter remains, terrorism is bound to continue.
- Politics has become the bane of the society and is the root cause of the wrongs in the society. Neither the police, nor the army, nor the civil service, nor the educated people can do any thing about it because politicians instantly undo anything positive done by these agencies.
- Privatisation and liberalisation has given a big boost to traffic and trade in drugs, small arms and thus to terrorism.
- The defence services by their training are not meant to fight terrorism and insurgency. Unfairly burdening the army with this task in various theatres around the country, results in sapping its energy, affecting its primary task of combat effectiveness.
- The euphoric feeling of having contained terrorism in Kashmir is misguided. In the next millenium, the country has to be prepared for a continuing era of terrorism and insurgency in Kashmir.
- There are sustained efforts in almost every part of the country to destabilise it through terrorism and violence.
- The responsibility to tackle the problem of terrorism should be handled squarely by the civil and para military forces alone so that the defence forces are left totally free to combat any external aggression.
- The civil and para military forces need to modernise, upgrade equipment and training and need to be relieved from the various external dispensable burdens thrust on them and under which they are cracking, to be able to effectively tackle the problems of terrorism.
- The intelligence gathering system needs to be beefed up. Co-ordination between the intelligence outfits at the Centre and the States is very unsatisfactory at present and needs to be improved. For want of timely and efficient communication, very valuable

intelligence inputs go abegging. This shortcoming needs to be removed on highest priority.

- Reneging on agreements with various factions or groups by the Centre and their non implementation over a period of time and neglect of the problems of the tribal areas for long has resulted in mistrust of the Central Government. This creates an environment ripe for terrorism and insurgency. These agreements were only short term solutions to long term problems.
- The very small states in the North East were created basically because of political compulsions to appease the local opinion. They are not based on any cultural homogeneity. The civil systems therefore have become ungovernable creating a permanent problem of insurgency.
- There is very large amount of corruption in the whole of North East. We have foisted a Westernised democratic system in an area which traditionally did not believe in this system.
- Psychological warfare is an issue on which we have lost. It is a long debilitating war which will have to be fought for months and years together. This calls for political as well as social commitment both of which are wanting at present.
- There is no political consensus in dealing with terrorism and insurgency. Consequently there is no legal instrument to deal with this matter, no replacement for TADA rendering the internal security forces impotent.
- With terrorist connotations all over the country and also having international ramifications, it is necessary to have an All India legislation to deal with terrorists and insurgents.
- Terrorism has to be fought by the people, for it is a war against the people. This calls for people's greater collaboration with the internal security agencies fighting this menace.
- Terrorism is the warfare of the future. Its end is not yet in sight. The country will have to learn to live with it.

**SEMINAR "THE CHALLENGE OF TERRORISM"
(29th October, 1998)**

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|------------|
| 1. | Shri RD Sathe | - CASS |
| 2. | Air Mshl (Retd) S. Kulkarni | - CASS |
| 3. | Gp Capt (Retd) SG Chitnis | - CASS |
| 4. | Lt Gen DB Shekatkar | - CASS |
| 5. | Brig (Retd) RK Vij | - CASS |
| 6. | Shri BG Joshi | - CASS |
| 7. | Lt Gen (Retd) Ashok Joshi | - CASS |
| 8. | Lt Gen (Retd) NS Cheema | - CASS |
| 9. | Shri JR Kirloskar | - CASS |
| 10. | Shri VG Vaidya | - CASS |
| 11. | Brig DA Paranjape | - CASS |
| 12. | Shri VL Date | - CASS |
| 13. | Shri Pramod A Paranjpe | - CASS |
| 14. | Shri Arun Rao | - CASS |
| 15. | Air Mshl (Retd) Pratap Rao | - CASS |
| 16. | Air Chief Mshl (Retd) H. Moolgavkar | - CASS |
| 17. | Dr. KV Menon | - CASS |
| 18. | Capt Anil Chandel | - CASS/NDA |
| 19. | Capt Lewellyn Nett | - CASS/NDA |
| 20. | Capt R Srivastava | - CASS/NDA |
| 21. | Capt Arjun Segan | - CASS/NDA |
| 22. | Capt Praveen Chhasla | - CASS/NDA |
| 23. | Capt Rajesh Sethi | - CASS/NDA |
| 24. | Lt Col R Bassi | - CASS/CME |
| 25. | Shri Mukund Bhvte | |
| 26. | Vice Admiral S. Mookerjee | |
| 27. | Mrs Arundhati Joshi | |
| 28. | Maj Gen (Retd) HK Kapoor | |
| 29. | Maj Gen PK Joglekar | |
| 30. | Mrs. Shaila Sathe | |
| 31. | Mrs. Prabha Malse | |
| 32. | Principal SB Tardalkar | |

33. Brig (Retd) AN Shastri
34. Brig JS Bhonsale
35. Shri M.N. Poonawalla
36. Commodore L.S. Mehta
37. Mrs. N.L. Mehta
38. Mrs. Bharati B. Karpe
39. Cmde B.S. Karpe
40. Colonel (Retd) A.F. Fernandes
41. Shri SH Honawar
42. Mrs. Usha Rao
43. Mrs. Sulbha A Rao
44. Lt Col (Retd) D.R. Vaze
45. Wg Cdr (Retd) A.T. Thakur
46. Capt K Chakraborty
47. Prof K.S. Lagoo
48. Ms. Rupali B. Shinde
49. Ms. Shital K. Yadav
50. Ms. Sujata B. Thorat
51. Ms. Usha L Waghile
52. Ms. Shubhangi V. Bhagwat
53. Ms. Kavita P Galande
54. Ms. Mangal B. Chaudhari
55. Ms. Beena B. Handore
56. Ms. Madhuri S Kedari
57. Ms. Usha Janardhan Bhore
58. Ms. Pradnya N Shinde
59. Ms. Vaushali S. Kamble
60. Ms. Shital M. Joshi
61. Ms. Swati P. Joshi
62. Ms. Mulani Laila Rashid
63. Ms. Madhavi P. Parande
64. Ms. Vanita G. Gore
65. Ms. Reshma S. Kadam
66. Ms. Vidhya D. Khade
67. Shri S.V. Hajare
68. Ms. Malti B. Chavan
69. Ms. Anita B Doduse
70. Ms. Maya A. Punjabi
71. Ms. Jyoti Pawar

72. Shri Pradeep B. Sawant
73. Shri Rathish Ramakrishnan
74. Shri Vinod Kumar Vishwambhavan
75. Shri Rohan Sachdeo
76. Shri Sanjay R. Suryawanshi
77. Shri Sunil Matkar
78. Shri Mitesh Bhosale
79. Shri Pream Mane
80. Shri Bhadale Rohidas
81. Shri Pankaj Landge
82. Shri Hemant Jamadade
83. Ms. Suvarna R. Gaikwad
84. Ms. Rekha F. Jagtap
85. Ms. Gauri Temgire
86. Ms. Rupali Barbote
87. Ms. Madhuri Jadhav
88. Ms. Mangal S Diwate
89. Ms. TV Shinde
90. Ms. Seema V. Hande
91. Ms. Reshma Shaikh
92. Ms Sindhu Theurkar
93. Ms. Geeta Satav
94. Shri Sunil Bhaska
95. Shri Ganesh Tambe
96. Shri Rajendra Jagdale
97. Shri Vijay J Memane
98. Ms. Anjali Londhe
99. Shri Harish Naidu
100. Ms. Anita Vetal
101. Ms. Nasrin Maulavi
102. Ms. Varsha Kedari
103. Ms. Suvarna Kavade
104. Ms. Anita P. Kamble
105. Shri Sachin S Sarvgod
106. Ms. Farzaneh M Rabbani
107. Ms. Kanchan A C Cruze
108. Shri Bemdher Singh
109. Ms. Rebecca S Chandorikar
110. Ms. Nirmala A Chinchkar

111. Ms. Archana S Daphal
112. Ms. Suvarna D Jagtap
113. Ms. Sadhana G Shende
114. Ms. Surekha C Dake
115. Ms. Shubhangi B Jadhav
116. Ms. Divya B. Kavasseri
117. Ms. Rachana J Motwani
118. Ms. Prarthana S Zutshi
119. Shri Nandkumar Lavangare
120. Shri Sangram Sawant
121. Shri Madan Deshmukh
122. Shri Anil M. Kulkarni
123. Shri Anilkumar P Mahajan
124. Shri Jaywant B Ghatge
125. Shri K S Giri
126. Shri Lazarus Torne
127. Shri Sebale Dhonusigal
128. Shri Sukhmindar Singh Gill
129. Shri Rabinder Singh Bhatti
130. Shri Inderjeet Singh
131. Shri Yogesh Ghoudhary
132. Shri Kailas Kawale
133. Shri Hemant Raut
134. Shri Gopal Singh Birdi
135. Shri Amit S Londhe
136. Shri Noor Mohammad
137. Shri Kiran R Darade
138. Shri Ramashetty Bahupha S
139. Shri Sunil A Gosavi
140. Shri Dattatray B Kale
141. Shri Suresh M Newase
142. Shri Tushar B Ghorpade
143. Shri Sarang P Upasani
144. Shri Rajvi I Shah

CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES

The Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies (CASS), Pune was registered on 21st September 1992 under the Society's Registration Act, 1860, and as a Charitable Public Trust on 28th October, 1992, under the Bombay Charitable Public Trust Act of 1950. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Ministry of Science and Technology, Government of India have accorded recognition to CASS as a Scientific and Industrial Research Institution. CASS has been granted exemption under section 80G of the IT Act, 1961 till 31st March 2000. Government has approved extension of IT exemption U/S 10(23C) (iv) till AY 2000-2001. Formal letter is expected soon. Government of India letter extending IT exemption U/S 35(1) (iii) till 31st March, 2000 is expected to be issued soon. This gives hundred percent exemption for income of the CASS, and to the donating institutions/organisations, and fifty percent to donating /subscribing individuals.

The Centre aims at undertaking research and analysis of subjects relating to national and international security and development through seminars, discussions, publications at periodical intervals and close interaction with the faculty members and research students in allied disciplines in the Universities/Institutions and the Armed Forces. It also awards research fellowships. It aims to generate and promote interest among the academicians and public in these subjects with a view to making them alive to national security concerns. It has received very valuable support from the University of Pune in all its activities, specially from the Department of Defence and Strategic Studies. It has held a number of seminars and group discussions. The proceedings of the major seminars are widely distributed.

ADDRESS :

Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies

MMDW Potdar Complex,

Pune University Campus,

Pune - 411 007

Tel. : 357516 (Off.)

CASS PUBLICATIONS

SEMINAR PROCEEDINGS

	Date of Seminar
1. "Defence and Industry"	17 May 93.
2. "Use of Force in Internal Peace Keeping"	04 Dec. 93.
3. "The Emergence of China : Political, Economic and Military Implications for India"	22-23 Nov.94.
4. "Human Rights : Law and Order in India"	30 Sep. 95.
5. "The Emerging Security Environment in South East Asia with Special Reference to Myanmar : Political, Economic and Military Implication for India"	2-3 Dec.95.
6. "Challenges to India's National Security And India's Defence Preparedness"	20-21 Apr. 96
7. "Challenges of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Implications for India"	28 Aug. 96.
8. "Preparing to Meet Challenges to National Security In the 21st Century - The Organisational Dimension."	30 Jan. 97.
9. "Regional Security Environment To The North- West of India With Special Reference To Afghanistan."	21-22 Mar. 97
10. "Information Warfare"	24 Sep. 97
11. "Laws of War"	09 Jan. 98
12. "Indian Ocean - The Challenges Ahead"	06-07 Mar.98
13. "Pokhran II and its Implications"	01 Sep. 98
14. "Nuclear India and the World"	08 Sep. 98
15. "The Challenge of Terrorism"	29 Oct. 98

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

	Date of Publication
1. "The First SLK Memorial Lecture" by Shri P. Chidambaram, Union Minister for Commerce.	Jun. 95.
2. "India 2020 : An Agenda for the Nation" by Maj Gen (Retd) KS Pendse.	Feb. 96.
3. "India : The Nuclear Challenge" by Lt Gen (Retd) EA Vas, Maj Gen (Retd) KS Pendse, Dr. Col (Retd) AA Athale.	Mar. 96.
4. "Second SLK Memorial Lecture" by Dr. P.C. Alexander, Governor of Maharashtra "Citizens Rights and Indian Democracy"	Jul. 96.
5. "Third SLK Memorial Lecture" by Justice A.M. Ahmadi, Former Chief Justice of India "Changing Scenario of The Constitutional Values"	Aug. 97.
6. "Fourth SLK Memorial Lecture" by Dr. Abid Hussain, Vice Chairman, RGICS Rajiv Gandhi Institute of Contemporary Studies "The Changing Pattern of India's Relations with America"	Jul. 98.