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1. INTRODUCTION

India's internal security problems are a manifestation of internal weaknesses and external attempts at waging a proxy war. Inadequate socio-economic development, apathy towards the genuine grievances of the people, political brinkmanship amongst other reasons, has created internal contradictions, which have led to decades of internal strife. Similarly, a number of internal security challenges faced today are fueled and controlled from Pakistan. The presence of hostile neighbours allows the internal conflicts to get external support, which includes money, arms and sanctuaries. The vested interests exploit these conditions to pursue their own schema.

Given the large population, diversity of groups and identities and shrinking share of resources, conflicts are bound to rise in the society. When the democratic institutions and the state structure fails to fully resolve these conflicts in a peaceful manner, violence erupts. The hostile external forces, taking advantage of this situation through subversive propaganda, further highlight these conflicts. They give material and political support to worsen this sense of grievance to such an extent that a small minority are willing to become tools in their hands to undermine the stability and security of the nation.

According to some experts, India does not face an external threat in the conventional sense, but only internal security threats from external sources. These external sources, consist of both state and non-state actors, combined with those anti-state forces within India, have made the situation more intricate. All over the world, few countries are placed in an unfavourable, troubled and uncertain security environment as India is. External sources of threats to India's internal security spring from almost all countries of its neighbourhood.
Historically, China has provided financial support, arms and sanctuaries to Naga, Mizo and Meitei extremists to fuel instability in India’s internal security.
1.2 Challenges posed by Non-State actors

**Drug Trafficking**: Proximity to the largest producers of heroin and hashish—the *Golden Triangle* and *Golden Crescent* (Afghanistan-Pakistan-Iran) has made India's border vulnerable to drug trafficking. Trafficking of drugs takes place overwhelmingly through land borders followed by sea and air routes.

**Human Trafficking**: Human trafficking in India, although illegal under Indian law, remains a significant problem. People are frequently illegally trafficked through India for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation and forced/bonded labour. Although no reliable study of forced and bonded labour has been completed, NGOs estimate this problem affects 20 to 65 million Indians.

**Left-Wing Extremism**: It is one of the major security threats faced by the nation, which prevents developmental processes in the least developed regions of the country and misguide the people through its propaganda.

**Insurgency in the Northeast**: Inter-tribal conflicts, unemployed youth, illegal migration from across the border has provided a breeding ground for non-state actors to run insurgency like an industry in the region.

**Terrorism**: South Asia Terrorism Portal has listed 180 terrorist groups that have operated within India over the last 20 years, many of them co-listed as transnational terror networks operating in or from the neighboring South-Asian countries such as Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan.

**Civil Society Organisations**: Serious charges of misuse and misappropriation of funds received as grants-in-aid from governments, foreign donors and their involvement in riling up discontentment in the local communities against developmental projects has raised questions on these organisations working as foreign policy tool of foreign governments.

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Note: The challenges associated with Insurgency in North-East and Jammu & Kashmir, Left Wing Extremism, drug and human trafficking have been discussed in detail in separate Security documents. This particular document delves into the details of Terrorism and the role played by State and Non-State actors in it.
2. TERRORISM

Although there is no current agreement regarding a universal legal definition of the term, there has been some debate about the possible existence of an, at least partial, customary definition of terrorism. Along with terror and intimidation, there are many factors often considered crucial to delineating when actions taken by a group or an individual constitute terrorism or not. These factors include but are not limited to violence, harm, and threats; randomness or indiscriminate violence; political motivation; the targeting of civilians, non-combatants and so-called innocents; and deliberate attempts to publicize the acts of terror.

The difficulty in defining “terrorism" is in agreeing on a basis for determining when the use of violence (directed at whom, by whom, for what ends) is legitimate; therefore, the modern definition of terrorism is inherently controversial. The use of violence for the achievement of political ends is common to state and non-state groups. The majority of definitions in use has been written by agencies directly associated with government, and is systematically biased to exclude governments from the definition.

Critics accuse the United States of terrorism for backing not only the Israeli occupation, but other repressive regimes willing to terrorize their own citizens to maintain power. Palestinian militants call Israel terrorist, Kurdish militants call Turkey terrorist and the nation-states call the militants who oppose their regimes “terrorists”. Like “beauty", “terrorism" is in the eye of the beholder: One man’s freedom fighter is another man's terrorist. Hence, the difficulty in defining Terrorism.

The UN General Assembly Resolution 49/60 titled "Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism," contains a provision describing terrorism as: “Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.”

2.1 Framework for defining Terrorism

While the consensus on a universal definition of terrorism is difficult to bring about, there is an agreement on some of its features. Terrorism is a violent phenomenon:

- That develops incrementally deriving from contextual factors, i.e. exogenous and endogenous stimuli as well as reactions by the state and society. These stimuli and reactions by various sources produce contexts which provide the motivation and rational justification for its perpetuation.

- Which at its root is essentially a reactive communicative act that transitions into an offensive tactic when equipped with an evolved doctrine;

- Which is composed of heterogeneous set of expressions and behaviors: (i) emotional (anger, hatred, fear), (ii) cultural and moral (revenge, self- righteousness), (iii) instrumental politics (coercion, power projection, competition, exclusion of unfriendly section of the society and elites), (iv) religious (exclusiveness, exclusion through apostatization and othering), (v) ideological (revolutionary jihad, deviance, defiance), (vi) criminal (organized crime);

- Which by following a protean targeting philosophy entailing civilians, law enforcement personnel and combatants alike, that operationalizes in a performative manner through variable means or methods;

- Eventually seeks to acquire unchallenged social control and capture political power by imposing a discrete governance order.
2.2 Classification of Terrorism

Terrorism in India, according to the Home Ministry, poses a significant threat to the state. Terrorism in India are of basically two types i.e. sponsored by external agencies and domestic (internal). External terrorism emerge from neighboring countries and Internal terrorism emulates from religious or communal violence and Naxalites–Maoist insurgency.

Terror activities involve either Indian or foreign citizens. In fact, most of the domestic terrorism today has linkages with foreign agencies. Transnational Jihadis Terrorism, sponsored by external agencies and other countries to achieve their geo-national objectives, currently poses the major threat to the country.

2.2.1 State terrorism

Defined as acts of terrorism conducted by governments or terrorism carried out directly by, or encouraged and funded by, an established government of a state (country) or terrorism practiced by a government against its own people or in support of international terrorism. Examples include the recent killing of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul allegedly by Saudi government agents; an ex-Russian spy and his daughter poisoned with a nerve agent in Salisbury, apparently by Russian intelligence agents, etc.

“State terrorism” is as controversial a concept as that of terrorism itself. Terrorism is often, though not always, defined in terms of four characteristics: (1) the threat or use of violence; (2) a political objective; the desire to change the status quo; (3) the intention to spread fear by committing spectacular public acts; (4) the intentional targeting of civilians. This last element—targeting innocent civilians—is problematic when one tries to distinguish state terrorism from other forms of state violence.
2.2.2 State sponsored terrorism:
In this type of terrorism, the government supports army which is engaged in violence activities. Based on the general degree of government support and attitude towards terrorists, they can be categorised into:

- Intimidated governments
- Ideologically supportive regimes
- Generally facilitative supporters
- Direct Support in incidents by governments
- Official Participation

Pakistan appears to be in the general facilitative stage. It usually involves governments permitting terrorists to establish safe houses and train on their soil, general government training of umbrella guerilla bands which have terrorist appendages, large financial contributions to these bands, and arms provision to or lax supervision of third party arms transfer to these groups.

In the contemporary period, the states that support terrorism and insurgent groups are now primarily motivated by geopolitics rather than ideology, ethnic affinity or religious sentiment.

2.2.3 Violent Non-State Terrorism
It is carried out by non-state armed actors or non-state armed groups (NSAGs), that are wholly or partly independent of state governments and which threaten or use violence to achieve their goals.

Violent Non-State Actors (VNSAs) vary widely in their goals, size, and methods. They may include narcotics cartels, popular liberation movements, religious and ideological organizations, corporations (e.g. private military contractors), self-defence militia, and paramilitary groups established by state governments to further their interests.

While some VNSAs oppose governments, others are allied to them. Some VNSAs are organized as paramilitary groups, adopting methods and structure similar to those of state armed forces. Others may be informally structured and use violence in other ways, such as kidnapping, using improvised explosive devices, or hacking into computer systems.

Types of support provided by a state to terrorist groups:

- IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT
  Where terrorist organizations act as convenient instruments to spread the ideology of the State

- FINANCIAL SUPPORT
  To operate and grow in their territory. For instance, in the case of Iran and Pakistan.

- MILITARY SUPPORT
  The state supplies the terrorist organization with weapons, provides military training, organizes courses for them, etc.

Based on the different strategies used by the terrorist to achieve their goals, terrorism can also be classified into the following types:

**Cyber-Terrorism**

Unlawful attacks and threats of attacks against computers, networks, and the information stored therein when done to intimidate or coerce a government or its people in furtherance of political or social objectives. It is an unconventional method of terrorism.

In cyber terrorism, by using information technology would radically interrupt the services which are connected with internet. For example, cyber terrorists can hack into networks housing for getting critical financial information or disable networked emergency systems.
Ethno-Nationalist Terrorism

They focus either on the creation of a separate State or on the elevation of the status of one ethnic group over others. Tamil Nationalist groups in Sri Lanka and insurgent groups in North East India are examples.

Nuclear Terrorism

Nuclear terrorism means different type of use of nuclear material by the terrorists. It includes attacking nuclear facilities, preparing nuclear weapons or purchasing nuclear weapons, or finding ways to scatter radioactive materials.

A terrorist assault on a nuclear research centre or nuclear power plant can be cause of the release of nuclear material. The consequences of an attack on a nuclear research centre or nuclear power plant could equal or exceed the effects of the 1986 Chernobyl disaster in USSR.

Ideology Oriented Terrorism (Right and Left Wing Terrorism)

The aim of Right wing terrorists to overthrow government and to establish a nationalist or fascist government. The persons include in this type of terrorism are fascist skinheads, hooligans, youth sympathizers and intellectuals who deem that the government must send foreigners, out of country, for protecting its original citizens.

Left-wing extremists, universally known as Maoists and Naxalites, want to remove the capitalist government and to establish communist or socialist based government. They want to attack the established system in order to remove class distinction.

Narco-Terrorism

The attempt by narcotics traffickers to influence the policies of the Government by systematic threat or use by violence.

Bio-Terrorism

Biological toxins are used to hurt and frighten innocent citizens, in the name of a political or other cause. The U.S. Center for Disease Control has categorized the viruses, bacteria and toxins that could be used in an attack. They are:

- Anthrax
- Botulism
- The Plague
- Smallpox
- Tularemia
2.3 History of Terrorism in India

2.3.1 Jammu & Kashmir

The roots of insurgency in Jammu & Kashmir can be traced to the later part of the 1940s when Pakistan attacked India with a view to capture Jammu & Kashmir. Ever since there has been a section of population which believes in secession from India. These groups aided and abetted from across the border have often indulged in terrorist activities. The rise of Islamist fundamentalism and emergence of Al-Qaeda has added another dimension to the insurgency in Jammu & Kashmir.

2.3.2 Punjab

The quest for a separate Sikh identity manifested itself, after Partition, in their demand for a separate State in India. Even after the formation of a separate State of Punjab, some related issues remained unresolved such as demand for Chandigarh as the State capital, sharing of river waters etc. The situation was further aggravated when terrorist elements demanded secession in the form of 'Khalistan'.

2.3.3 Growth of Hinterland Terrorism in India

1970-80

- After failing in two conventional wars, Pakistan adopted the path of sub-conventional/proxy war with the motto of 'bleeding India with a thousand cuts'.

1980-90

- The seeds of present terrorism were sown in the Khalistan movement in the 1980s, which aimed at creating a buffer sovereign state between India and Jammu & Kashmir.

- After Punjab, Pakistan targeted Kashmir in the late 1980s, by tapping into the anti-India sentiment of the separatist sections of the Kashmiri population. Terrorism in Kashmir is basically operated by PoK based terrorist organisations created, trained, inspired and directed by the ISI.

- Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) was formed with the motive to liberate Indian Muslims from the Western influence and make them follow the path of Islam. They adopted a very radical posture and were subsequently banned under Unlawful Activities Prevention Act in 2001.

1990-2000

- After the Ayodhya incident in 1992, there was a subsequent rise in reactionary activities all over the country, providing a ripe opportunity for the ISI to further its objective of spreading terrorism and communalism in India.

2000 onwards

- Indian Mujahideen was formed to project to the world that terrorism in India is purely an indigenous development, borne out of the ill-treatment meted out to the Muslims. This was to refute India's position that terrorism in India sponsored from across the border.

- There have been constant efforts by the ISI to exploit the communal fault lines in our society and ensure that the Muslim community remains vulnerable to mobilisation, recruitment and radicalisation.

- Rise in the reactionary right wing extremist activities in the form of bomb blasts in Malegaon, Ajmer Sharif Dargah, Samjhauta Express etc. and the subsequent alleged implication of innocent Muslim youth gave another boost to the radicalisation of Muslim youth by the terror outfits.
2.4 Key Issues

2.4.1 Terrorism in the Age of Technology

The modern terrorism is instantaneous and unpredictable, a global threat that hits its targets, but at the same time hits a wide audience due to use of technology. Terrorists have been using cyberspace to find resources, make propaganda activities and from which it is possible to launch the attacks against enemies everywhere in the world.

Social media is an essential element of modern terrorism; these powerful platforms allow terrorists to communicate, to make propaganda and recruit new sympathizers at the same time maintaining anonymity to the user.

How technology is being used in propagating extremism?

- **Propaganda:** It generally takes the form of multimedia communications providing ideological or practical instruction, explanations, justifications or promotion of terrorist activities. It is being used for promotion of violence, recruitment, incitement and radicalization.

- **Financing:** Online payment facilities offered through dedicated websites or communications platforms make it easy to transfer funds electronically between parties. Financial support provided to seemingly legitimate organizations, such as charities, may also be diverted for illicit purposes.

- **Training:** Instructional material are being made available with use of technology which imparts training and facilitate online counter-intelligence and hacking activities.

- **Planning:** Technology also facilitates the preparation of terror activities thorough communication channels, both within and between the terror outfits located in different geographies.

- **Execution:** Internet communications may also be used as a means to coordinate the execution of physical acts of terrorism.

- **Cyber-attacks:** These attacks are typically intended to disrupt the proper functioning of targets, such as computer systems, servers or underlying infrastructure.

2.4.2 Terror Financing

Terrorist activities in most cases require substantial financial support. In fact, Terrorism finance (TF) can be termed as the life blood of terrorism, one of the most important factors sustaining its continuing threat, both from within and without. They use the following methods to raise funding for terrorists’ activities:
Terrorists get funds by involving in illegal operations.

Funding could also be sourced even from the proceeds of lawful activities. Supporters of a militant ideology could well make financial contributions to terrorist organizations from their known sources of income. Such contributions could also be made to some non-profit or charitable institutions acting as a front for terrorist organizations, knowingly or unknowingly.

By resorting to or working in concert with cartels involved in drug trafficking, narcotics trade etc. without having to resort to money-laundering per se.

Funding could also involve counterfeiting of currency, currency smuggling etc.

International organized crime makes use of a wide range of methods and networking to transfer funds with a view to launder the proceeds of crime.

Terrorist organizations also take recourse to bulk cash smuggling and use of informal channels of transfer of money (like hawala).

Defrauding financial institutions and the public at large.

Figure 1: Funding: Sources/Methods/Access

2.4.3 Urban Terrorism

Urban terrorism is the use of terrorism in cities and other urban areas, targeting the urban populace. Urban terrorism in South Asia is a relatively new phenomenon. In recent years, terrorists are visibly moving away from activities near the borders to the cities and towns.
2.4.4 Lone-Wolf Attacks

A "lone wolf" is a person who prepares and commits violent acts alone, outside of any command structure and without material assistance from any group.

It is an efficient way of spreading terror in hard-to-access places for organised terrorist groups. Prominent recent examples across the globe include Boston marathon bombing of 2013, Sydney hostage crisis of 2014, recent attacks in New York and London where vehicles were used to run over and kill a number of people.

Volatile neighborhood of India acting as terror hotbeds, fast growing population especially youth with access to mass media and social media, heavy concentration of people in public areas with limited security and inadequate capacities of local police increase India’s vulnerability to lone wolf attacks.
However various other factors tend to pose challenges in growth of lone wolf attacks in India:

- Unlike in the US where sophisticated weapons can be easily bought by ordinary citizens, gaining access to such weaponry in India is difficult.
- Indians have not displayed the psychological willingness to undertake high risk attacks.
- The absence of past examples of lone wolf attacks in India inculcates the fear of the unknown in the minds of potential volunteers.

### 2.4.5 Use of Terror as a foreign policy instrument by External States

**Deep State** is a body of people, typically influential members of government agencies or the military, believed to be involved in the secret manipulation or control of government policy. Deep State in Pakistan has nurtured Islamic Radical Groups (Mujahideens) as strategic assets to be used against its adversaries.

This strategy was increasingly adopted after the success of US-funded Mujahideens in Afghanistan against USSR. There are primarily three types of such groups

- **Ones who act against India** - e.g. Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed
- **Ones who act against Afghanistan** - e.g. Al-Qaeda and Taliban
- **The Pakistani Taliban (Tehreek-e-Taliban-Pakistan)** - this group has become rogue and fighting against the Pakistani establishment itself.

#### Change in Indian Approach to Pakistan based terror groups

- The links to this attack were again traced to Pakistan based terror group Jaish-e-Mohammed.
- On 26th February, the Indian Airforce hit a training camp of the group in Balakot, Pakistan.
- This marked a change in Indian response, as it was a pre-emptive strike on non-military, non-civilian target to fight terror.
- It was a mature decision to achieve the target, as well as, prevent any escalation towards war.

Pakistan has largely remained in denial mode and has taken sham actions on terrorist assets in order to avoid international pressure. Some scholars believe that these groups have grown so powerful now that the Pakistani State lacks the capacity to deal with them militarily.
Issues in dealing with Pakistan's terror infrastructure

- It has been difficult to completely isolate Pakistan in the international community for long time, because it has:
  - Large population
  - Nuclear Capabilities
  - Islamic nations backing Pakistan

- The organs of Pakistani state, be it the Executive or the Judiciary or the Civil Society- have been overshadowed by its deep state. Whenever in the past, any of the other organs tried to stand, they have been crippled by the deep state.

- The illness of its Deep State run so deep, that it has become incurable. If nuclear weapons come in the hands of Terror groups, it may become a danger for international peace.

2.4.6 The challenge of IS and Al-Qaeda in India

Islamic state previously known as the Islamic state of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), is a terror group which envisages to establish an “Islamic state based on Sharia law or Islamic Caliphate”. IS’s Amaq News Agency has announced its new province in India, that it called “Wilayah of Hind”, but did not elaborate on the branch’s geographical remit.

In the past, IS had vowed to convert India into Khurasan State, a historic name for a region that covers Afghanistan, Pakistan, parts of India, and other surrounding countries.

Why Islamic State is a challenge for India?

- Involvement of other state actors- such as Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), which can provide a well-established intelligence and logistic network, in a symbiotic relationship. The NIA reported in 2014, the recruitment of more than 300 Indian youths by Pakistan-based Tehreek-e-Taliban (TTP), which had joined hands with ISIS.

- IS losing territorial ground in other areas- such as Middle East to US-led forces, now IS is seeking to strengthening its global affiliations. Such a strategy was highlighted by ISIS chief Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in the past. At the same time, ISIS views India as a potential hotbed for radicalization due to the demographic structure.

- Efforts of radicalization- The IS have published recruiting materials in Hindi, Urdu, Tamil and other languages spoken in India. In 2015, it released an e-book to spread its propaganda and making direct reference to Indian Prime Minister accusing him of spreading communal disharmony. So far (as of 2019), India has had some 82 active cases of investigations on individuals suspected of engaging in pro-ISIS activities.

Al Qaeda released maiden video on Kashmir

Even though Al Qaeda- has been active in the Indian subcontinent (Al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS) was founded in 2014), it has largely been unable to carry out large-scale attacks and struggled to attract support outside of Pakistan.

Reasons for the new-found interest of Al Qaida in India:

- The aging leadership of Al Qaeda is struggling to compete with the IS for young radicalized recruits. As IS remain majorly involved in West Asia, it suits to the Al Qaeda’s strategy to “invest” in the East.

- Another reason is due to the fact that India has substantially increased its engagement with Afghanistan since the fall of the Taliban government. So, India’s growing influence may deter Al Qaeda’s reemergence to power in Afghanistan.
2.5 India's Counter Terrorism Strategy

A strategy for fighting terror in India has to be evolved in the overall context of a national security strategy. To tackle the menace of terrorism, a multi-pronged approach is needed.

- **Socio-economic development** is a priority so that vulnerable sections of society do not fall prey to the propaganda of terrorists promising them wealth and equity.

- **Administration** need to be responsive to the legitimate grievances of people so that these are redressed promptly and cannot be exploited by terrorist groups.

- **Strong measures** are required to deal with criminal elements but with respect for human rights.

- **International Cooperation** becomes crucial as terrorism is a global threat and cannot be handled by nations acting in silos. Active participation in bilateral, regional and multilateral forums forms a crucial part of India’s strategy against terrorism.

Dealing with the menace of terrorism would require a comprehensive strategy with involvement of different stakeholders – the Government, political parties, security agencies, civil society and media. The necessary elements of such a strategy are listed below:

- **Political consensus:** Union Government should have intensive interactions with the States and Union Territories while drawing up the national strategy, the latter would be required to do their part in close consultation with the nodal ministry of the Government of India.

- **Good governance and socioeconomic development:** This would necessitate high priority being given to development work and its actual implementation on the ground for which a clean, corruption-free and accountable administration at all levels is an imperative necessity.

- **Respect for rule of law:** Governmental agencies must not be allowed to transgress law even in dealing with critical situations caused by insurgency or terrorism. If an extraordinary situation cannot be dealt with by the existing laws, new laws may be enacted so that law enforcement agencies do not resort to extra-legal or illegal methods.

- **Countering the subversive activities of terrorists:** Government must give priority to defeating political subversions (e.g. by terrorists and Maoists). The emphasis should be on civil as opposed to military measures to counter terrorism and insurgency.

- **Providing the appropriate legal framework:** The ordinary laws of the land may not be adequate to book a terrorist. This may require special laws and effective enforcement mechanisms, but with sufficient safeguards to prevent its misuse.

- **Building capacity:** The capacity building exercise should extend to the intelligence gathering machinery, security agencies, civil administration and the society at large.
2.5.1 India's preparedness against terrorism

The status of India’s preparedness in performing key roles in countering terrorism activities is as follows:

- **Intelligence gathering**
  - Presently, the task is undertaken by the state police and the Central government agencies.
  - NATGRID and Multi-Agency Center (MAC) have been set up after 26/11.
  - However, vital inputs and information regarding various government departments and NGOs has to be streamlined.

- **Training and Operations**
  - Resource crunch at the level of the State police acts as a bottleneck in upgrading their training capability.
  - As of now, for operations, IB plays the role of the coordinator with the police of different states, but if operations need to be carried out simultaneously in many states, there is no unified command.

- **Investigation**
  - The NIA Act was enacted in the aftermath of the Mumbai terrorist attacks of 2008. A decade later, the Act was amended with the objective of speedy investigation and prosecution of certain offences, including those committed outside India.
  - Widening the ambit of the act and strengthening the role of NIA would make terrorist investigations in the country more efficient and would help in creating a good data bank of the various terrorist network operating inside and outside the country.
  - The remains a major scope of improvement in the investigating capabilities of the state police.

- **Prosecution**
  - Rampant delays due to procedural aspects in the criminal justice system acts as a bottleneck on the pace of the trial.
  - The 2019 NIA amendment allowed the central government to designate Sessions Courts as Special Courts for the trial of scheduled offences under the Act.
**2.6 Steps taken by the government**

### 2.6.1 Enabling a strong legislation framework.

- **NIA Act, 2019:** The NIA is now empowered to investigate offences related to “(i) human trafficking, (ii) offences related to counterfeit currency or bank notes, (iii) manufacture or sale of prohibited arms, (iv) cyber-terrorism, and (v) offences under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908”.

- **UAPA Act, 2019:** Parliament cleared the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment Act, 2019 to designate in individuals as terrorists on certain grounds provided in the Act.
  - The Act empowers the Director General of National Investigation Agency (NIA) to grant approval of seizure or attachment of property when the case is investigated by the said agency.
  - The Act empowers the officers of the NIA, of the rank of Inspector or above, to investigate cases of terrorism in addition to those conducted by the DSP or ACP or above rank officer in the state.

### 2.6.2 Institutional framework to tackle terrorism

- **NATGRID:** It seeks to become the one-stop destination for security and intelligence agencies to access database related to immigration entry and exit, banking and telephone details of a suspect on a “secured platform”.
  - (NATGRID) has signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) to access the centralised online database on FIRs and stolen vehicles.
  - The MoU, signed in March, will give NATGRID access to the Crime and Criminal Tracking Network and Systems (CCTNS) database, a platform that links around 14,000 police stations.

- **National Cyber Coordination Centre (NCCC)** has been established as a cyber security and e-surveillance agency in India.

### 2.6.3 Combating Terror Finance

Government has taken various steps to combat terror financing in the country, which inter alia, include:

- **Strengthening the provisions in the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967** to combat terror financing by criminalizing the production or smuggling or circulation of high quality counterfeit Indian currency as a terrorist act and enlarge the scope of proceeds of terrorism to include any property intended to be used for terrorism.

- **A Terror Funding and Fake Currency (TFFC) Cell** has been constituted in National Investigation Agency (NIA) to conduct focused investigation of terror funding and fake currency cases.

- An advisory on terror financing has been issued in April 2018 to States/Union Territories. Guidelines have also been issued in March, 2019 to States/Union Territories for investigation of cases of high quality counterfeit Indian currency notes.
Training programs are regularly conducted for the State Police personnel on issues relating to combating terrorist financing.

Fake Indian Currency Notes (FICN) network is one of the channels of terror financing in India. FICN Coordination Group (FCORD) has been formed by the Ministry of Home Affairs to share intelligence/information among the security agencies of the states/center to counter the problem of circulation of fake currency notes.

Intelligence and security agencies of Centre and States work in tandem to keep a close watch on the elements involved in terror funding activities and take action as per law.

2.6.4 India's Involvement at the UN

India has prioritised the adoption of an intergovernmental framework to combat terrorism. India introduced the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism (CCIT) in 1996 that defined terrorism and enhanced “normative processes for the prosecution and extradition of terrorists.”

Active participation in several counter-terrorism discussions, such as

- Drafting a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in the General Assembly in 2006,
- Serving as a founding members of the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum (GCTF),
- Supporting counter-terrorism mechanisms established by UN Security Council Resolutions, such as Resolution 1373 establishing the Counter-Terrorism Committee, and Resolution 1540 addressing the non-proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction to terrorist organisations.

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2.7 Various Global Actions for countering Terrorism

United Nations oversees various conventions that target different aspects of terrorism, including terrorist financing, hijacking, acquiring weapons of mass destruction, and hostage taking, to name a few.

- **UN General Assembly** unanimously adopted in 2006 the Global Counterterrorism Strategy (GCT).

- **Counter-terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF)** - a partnership of bodies created by UN in 2005, which now includes more than thirty UN entities plus INTERPOL, to streamline and coordinate counter terrorism efforts within the UN. o UNSC established the Counter terrorism Committee (CTC).

- The RATS (Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure) aims to promote better coordination among members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) on terrorism. India considers RATS as an important and effective organisation in fight against terrorism as it possesses data on 2,500 suicide bombers and 69 terrorist organizations.

- **Terrorist Travel Initiative** was launched under auspices of Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF).

  - It will bring together national and local governments, law enforcement and border screening practitioners, and international organizations to share expertise on how to develop and implement effective counter terrorism watch listing and screening tools.
  
  - The initiative will develop a set of good practices which will reinforce countries and organizations to use border security tools prescribed in UNSC Resolution 2396 to stop terrorist travel.
  
  - **Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and the Group of Eight (G8) Counter terrorism Action Group (CTAG)**
  
  - **European Union’s the EU judicial cooperation unit, EUROJUST and the EU’s police force, EUROPOL**
  
  - **Christchurch Call To Action:** It outlines collective, voluntary commitments from governments and online service providers intended to address the issue of violent extremist content online and to prevent abuse of the internet, while maintaining international human right laws.

- **Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism (GIFCT)** is an industry led initiative, working in close partnership with the UN Counter Terrorism Executive Directorate (UNCTED) to substantially disrupt terrorists’ ability to promote terrorism, disseminate violent extremist propaganda.

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**FATF puts Pakistan on its “Grey List”**

- The FATF maintains two lists – a blacklist and a grey list. Countries on its blacklist are those that the watchdog deems non-cooperative in the global effort to curb money laundering and terror-financing.

- The Grey list, on the other hand, officially referred to as ‘Jurisdictions Under Increased Monitoring,’ constitute those nations that present significant risks of money laundering and terror-financing but which have committed to working closely with the FATF in the development and implementation of action plans that address their deficiencies.

- The FATF placed Pakistan on the grey list in 2018 and asked it to implement a plan of action to curb money laundering and terror financing by the end of 2019, but the deadline was extended due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

(Also discussed in the topic of money laundering)
2.8 What more needs to be done

2.8.1 Strengthening the technology framework to deal with extremism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role of Online service providers</th>
<th>Role of Government and civil society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Terms of Use:</strong> Upgrading terms of use, community standards, codes of conduct, and acceptable use policies to expressly prohibit the distribution of terrorist and violent extremist content.</td>
<td><strong>Shared Technology Development:</strong> Sharing technology with other industries, governments, and NGOs, such as data sets and open source content AI detection tools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>User Reporting of Terrorist and Violent Extremist Content:</strong> Providing easy to use methods within online platforms and services for users to report or flag inappropriate content.</td>
<td><strong>Crisis Protocols:</strong> Creating a crisis protocol for responding to emerging or active events, on an urgent basis, so relevant information can be quickly and efficiently shared, processed, and acted upon by all stakeholders with minimal delay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Enhancing Technology:</strong> Prevent the upload &amp; dissemination of terrorist and violent extremist content, with a mechanism for automatic identification and immediate &amp; permanent removal.</td>
<td><strong>Combating Hate &amp; Bigotry:</strong> Supporting research and academic efforts to better understand and attack root causes of extremism and supporting capability and capacity of NGOs to promote pluralism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transparency Reports:</strong> Publishing on a regular basis transparency reports regarding detection and removal of terrorist or violent extremist content on online platform</td>
<td><strong>Education:</strong> Collaborate with industry, governments, educational institutions, and NGOs to help educate the public about terrorist and extremist violent content online &amp; how to report it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.8.2 A 360-degree approach

It is necessary for India to effect changes in its internal security architecture and further empower its intelligence and investigation agencies for enhanced preparedness, along with some diplomatic measures to counter terrorism in the whole of the sub-continent.

- Cross platform recruitment of specialists dealing with social media, big data analysis, terrorism finance and technical intelligence.

- Developing a well-operated online intelligence network for intelligence sharing, joint online operations and database convergence to keep a check on ISIS’s influence on the internet.
2.8.3 Early prevention and De-Radicalisation

A comprehensive strategy of early prevention, targeted repression and intervention and involves government and non-governmental actors.

Increasingly, Minority Religious leaders should be roped in to appeal to youth against radical propaganda, especially those coming through social media and other internet platforms.

The government should work with social groups, NGOs and student bodies, which can reach out easily to the population at large, as compared to state institutions.

2.8.4 Strengthening the role of the police force

Enhancing their training capabilities and providing them with modern equipment for surveillance, investigation and operations is the need of the hour.
3. Vision IAS Mains Previous Years' Questions

1. Highlighting the key changes made by the National Investigation Agency (Amendment) Act, 2019, discuss the objections that have been raised against these.

Approach:

✧ Give a brief account on the NIA Act.

✧ Enumerate the amendments made in the Act.

✧ Discuss the objections that have been raised against the amendments.

✧ Conclude on the basis of the above points.

Answer:

National Investigation Agency (NIA) is a central agency to combat terrorism in India, established under the National Investigation Act, 2008. It has wide powers such as, to take suo motu cognisance of terror activities in any part of India and register a case, to enter any state without permission from the state government, and to investigate and arrest people.

The NIA (Amendment) Bill, 2019 was passed by the Parliament amending the original Act of 2008. Following are the amendments made:

✧ It expanded the type of offences that the NIA could investigate and prosecute. It can now investigate offences related to human trafficking, counterfeit currency, manufacture or sale of prohibited arms, cyber-terrorism, and offences under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908.

✧ The NIA will have the power to investigate scheduled offences committed outside India, subject to international treaties and domestic laws of other countries. A special court will preside over such cases.

✧ The amendment enables the central government to designate session courts as special courts for NIA trials under Section 11 and 22 of the NIA Act 2008.

However, the following objections have been raised against the recent amendments:

✧ The new amendment has diluted the nature and operation of the Act, which was enacted to prosecute offences affecting national security, by incorporating offences such as trafficking of minors for sexual exploitation etc., which may not be related to terrorism.

✧ The expanded scope of scheduled offences may be prone to misuse by government, which can categorize them as acts of terrorism. This is especially dangerous when the terms/ phrases like 'terrorism', 'affecting the interest of India' have not been defined under the Act, which may be interpreted to curb dissent.

✧ The expanded jurisdiction covers matters (such as offences under the Explosives Act) which are also in the domain of the state governments leading to possible encroachment on their jurisdiction.
The provision to designate the existing Sessions Courts as Special Courts will dilute the exclusivity of the NIA Act. These sessions courts would run on similar lines as they do under other Central Acts, thus eroding the special character of this Act. Also, these courts are already overburdened with pending cases and this move will further increase their burden.

The power to investigate cases outside India would not be useful without any cooperation and extradition treaties with other countries.

The amendments have been brought to strengthen the National Investigation Agency. However, the aforementioned concerns need to be addressed so that there is a coordinated effort for the fight against terrorism.

2. Bring out the importance of international cooperation in fighting terrorism. In this context, throw light on UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

Approach:

Briefly write an introduction about terrorism as a global threat.

Bring out the importance/need for international cooperation in fighting terrorism.

Throw light on UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

Answer:

In the modern world, terrorism has evolved from local to a truly international threat. According to Global Terrorism Index, 67 countries experienced at least one death from terrorism in 2017. Although, the total number of deaths by terrorism fell by 27 per cent between 2016 and 2017, the number of terrorist incidents increased especially in Europe. Consequently, there is a need for international cooperation around fighting terrorism because of the following factors:

- **Incapacity of Individual state to control terrorist threats:** Multilateral initiatives bolster state capacity to build institutions and programs that strengthen a range of activities, from policing to counter radicalization programs.

- **Effective criminal justice cooperation among states is necessary to deny safe havens and bring to justice those who commit or attempt to commit terrorist crimes.**

- **Enormous efforts:** Given the number of players involved, the enormity of the task and the limited resources available, effective coordination is crucial.

- **Cross border linkages:** Terrorist groups can operate from every corner of the globe by taking advantage of porous borders and interconnected international systems—finance, communications, and transit as well as using social media and emerging technologies.

- **Changing and evolving nature of terrorism:** Its associated motivations, methods of attack and choice of targets are often evolving. International cooperation can ensure effective vigilance against it as well as deny misuse of any emerging technology such as artificial intelligence, drones etc.
Recognizing this need for international cooperation to combat terrorism, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in 2006. Its objective is to enhance national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism. The General Assembly reviews the Strategy every two years, according to member states’ counter-terrorism priorities. The Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy is composed of 4 pillars:

- Addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism.
- Preventing and combating terrorism.
- Building states’ capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and strengthening the role of the United Nations system in this regard.
- Ensuring respect for human rights for all and rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism.

Most recently, a series of actions have been taken by the UN to increase effectiveness in tackling the challenges of terrorism and violent extremism, such as:

- Establishing the UN Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT), which has been a major reform in the UN counter-terrorism architecture.
- UN Global Counter-Terrorism Coordination Compact was signed in 2018 by 36 UN entities, INTERPOL, and the World Customs Organization. It is aimed at ensuring that the United Nations system provides coordinated capacity-building support to Member States in implementing the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and other relevant resolutions at their request.

However, deep divisions still remain between member states on issues such as the utility of the prevention approach to violent extremism, the identification of the conditions and drivers to radicalization, the important role of civil society in ensuring an effective global strategy. Furthermore, concerns about failure to adequately address the human rights abuses being committed and the increasing erosion of international humanitarian law in the name of combatting terrorism need to be addressed urgently.

3. The use of Internet creates both challenges and opportunities in the fight against terrorism. Discuss.

Approach:

- Briefly write about the use of internet by terrorists.
- Bring out the challenges and opportunities presented by internet.
- Conclude on the basis of the above points on a positive note.

Answer:

Internet has brought about a revolution in the way people share information and collaborate – quickly, effectively, across borders, to an almost limitless audience. Internet, however, is also being exploited by the terrorist organizations to create a new brand of ‘internet-enabled’ terrorism.
The multivariate use of Internet for propagating terrorism poses corresponding challenges for security agencies worldwide:

- **Disseminating Propaganda**: Use of internet by terrorist organizations to facilitate recruitment, promote radicalization, and incite violence through videos, games, and online chat rooms has enhanced their reach, which is becoming increasingly difficult to moderate.

- **Transnational Operations**: It is being facilitated by internet which helps them evade national jurisdiction and prosecution.

- **Illicit Fund Raising**: It is almost getting impossible to identify the funds received through shell companies or a complex web of online transactions.

  **Lending Anonymity**: Use of internet has decentralized terrorist operations such as training, planning and execution of attacks (like lone wolf attacks) which lends anonymity to perpetrators and leaves behind no trace.

  **Procuring weapons**: It is emerging as a source of procuring sophisticated weapons easily and anonymously at the click of a button via dark web, which are difficult to trace.

  **Cyber-Terrorism**: Use of digital platforms by terrorists can threaten critical infrastructures like power, banking, transport and communications which can destabilize an entire nation.

The use of internet by terrorist organizations, also presents opportunities to governments and security agencies to counter them:

- **Intelligence gathering**: It can help governments and security agencies to pre-empt attacks by analysing the online communications and activities of the terrorists. Big Data Analytics can also be employed to proactively identify and deter such attacks.

- **Counter Propaganda**: Internet can be helpful to disseminate sound counter-narratives to a wide-audience (in multiple languages with ease) as well as the targeted groups who are likely to be radicalized.

- **Evidence collection**: Internet can be used to gather evidences which can be used for prosecution.

- **Effective Transnational Co-operation** between intelligence/security agencies in real-time can amplify the global effort to counter terrorism.

The internet is a prime example of how technological advancement can prove to be a double-edged sword. A united, global response is the only hope for the international community to defeat ‘internet-enabled’ terrorism. India recently joining the Christchurch Call to counter terrorism and radicalization online including social media is a step in the right direction. India should look to build upon such initiatives.

### 4. Urban terrorism has been on the rise in recent times. Identify the factors that make urban centres susceptible to terrorist attacks. What lessons can be learnt from the past attacks to put in place effective measures to combat it?

**Approach:**

- Give a brief background about the increased incidence of urban terror attacks in India and their consequence.
Exploring different dimensions, account for reasons as to why urban environments offer better choice to terrorists.

Mention some effective measures in order to counter the menace of growing urban terrorism in India.

Answer:

In recent times, cities such as Mumbai, New York, Paris and London have faced the brunt of terrorism. This indicates towards a trend of rise in urban terrorism. Following factors can be attributed for this phenomenon:

- Urban centres have become a target because they are centres and symbols of political, economic and cultural power.

- Population is not only high in cities, but also diverse, dense and concentrated in certain geographical pockets.

- Unlike rural areas, urban areas offer more scope for anonymity which enables the 'terrorist fish to swim in urban waters easily'.

- Logistical support like arms, medicines, food, and lodging are readily available in an average urban area.

- Maneuverability of terrorists is guaranteed by the presence of public and private transport.

- Terrorist groups generally find it easier to recruit prospective terrorists in a predictable manner.

- Urban areas have administrative, economic, and political headquarters with critical infrastructure, where more damage can be afflicted with relative ease.

- Ready availability of print and electronic media whose wide coverage also magnifies the fear-generating capabilities of terrorist acts.

Consequences of urban terrorism

- Terror attack on cities undermines India’s booming economy and vitiating the investment climate.

- Large area suffers destruction and contamination where normal life is paralysed for several days.

- It also weakens the fabric of social cohesion.

Combating Urban Terrorism

- **Strengthening actionable intelligence:** It is imperative to strengthen local intelligence for pro-active counter-terrorist measures. This must be accompanied by community policing.

- **Target Hardening:** Terrorists usually choose high-profile soft targets like markets, railway stations etc. Target hardening through blast walls, attack-resistant bollards and shatter-proof glass is one way to deal with this. Also, surveillance cameras, metal and explosive vapour detectors and X-ray scanning machines should be installed at key access points.
Trained manpower: Security personnel should be sensitised to spotting and segregating suspicious objects that are left behind besides training them in rescue and relief operations. City planners can also introduce strategies to undermine radicalization by strengthening social bonds between different urban communities.

Counter-terrorist operations: National Security Guard (NSG) must be equipped with state-of-the-art technology and equipment to enable the commandos to enhance their operational performance and minimise their own casualties. Every state should have a NSG-type of commando force to counter lethal terror strikes.

International cooperation: Government must enter into extensive cooperative arrangements with friendly countries to maximize the advantages of intelligence sharing, seek training assistance and acquire expertise available with countries like Israel and the United States etc.

Urban terrorism is a phenomenon that poses grave threat at a time when more and more people are moving to cities. The challenge is to safeguard cities against terrorism while ensuring their cosmopolitan, diverse and dynamic character. Thus, a multidimensional approach - involving inter-city cooperation police-community relations and intelligence, security and emergency response services - is the need of the hour.

5. In what ways does the physiography of India pose a challenge to its counter-terrorism efforts? What can be done to deal with these challenges?

Approach:

 IDENTIFY FEATURES OF PHYSIOGRAPHY OF INDIA ALONG ITS LAND AND SEA BORDERS, THAT BECOME THE ENTRY POINTS OF TERRORISTS AND THEIR HOST LOCATIONS – ONE MAY USE PHYSICAL MAP OF INDIA

RELATE THESE GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES WITH THE VULNERABILITY OF THESE BORDERS TO TERRORISM AND HAMPERING OF COUNTER-TERRORISM EFFORTS

DISCUSS STEPS THAT CAN BE TAKEN TO OVERCOME THESE BARRIERS

Answer:

The physiography of India is marked by diverse features, most prominent being its long land and maritime borders. Vast coastline, rugged terrain, specifically forests, and international borders have effectively aided terrorist groups in various parts of India. Multiple challenges to counter-terrorism efforts emanate from various geographical features and climatic variations discussed in the table as per markings given on figure:

![Figure: Frontiers of India]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Physiography</th>
<th>Challenges posed to counter-terrorism efforts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mountain ranges, rivers and streams, Passes open even during winters</td>
<td>Beyond surveillance range; provide spaces for terrorists to ingress-attack-exit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Thickly forested region – home to many ethnic communities</td>
<td>Illicit drugs, arms trade and trafficking; free movement of NE insurgents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Plains, riverine belts, hills with hardly any natural obstacles; adverse climatic conditions such as flooding</td>
<td>Heavily populated and cultivated area; land acquisition is difficult; repeated submergence of fences etc.; illegal migration/trafficking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Himalayan ranges with steep rugged slopes</td>
<td>Fake currency, open borders, shifting boundaries due to changing course of rivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Seasonal floods along Gujarat border; river crossings along Punjab border</td>
<td>Movement of drugs, illicit trade along the gaps, shifting sand dunes making fencing ineffective, terrorist infiltration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coastline</td>
<td>Patrolling requires special vehicles, boats etc. with relevantly trained personnel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schemes such as the Border Area Development Programme, following steps can be taken to deal with physiographical challenges:

- Fencing and flood lighting, with periodic maintenance, along India’s all land borders, as has been done along Punjab and Rajasthan’s international borders.
- Construction of strategic border roads and Border Out-posts for better patrolling.
- Deployment of hi-tech e-surveillance equipment like Night Vision Devices, Handheld Thermal Imagers, Unattended Ground Sensors etc. as proposed under Comprehensive Integrated Border Management System (CIBMS) and implementing it along all land borders.
- Special trainings for coastal security forces and state police personnel in maritime activities.
- UAVs can aid the border security by surveilling in inaccessible and difficult locations.

Beside these infrastructural mechanisms, updating of border agreements with all neighbouring nations, to ensure sustainable peace, is indispensable.
6. China’s move to block India’s attempts of designating certain individuals as terrorist at the UN is not purely bilateral, rather it reflects a larger trend of fragmenting global consensus on terrorism. Critical analyse.

Approach:

- In the introduction, briefly explain India’s attempt to designate individuals such as Masood Azhar as terrorist at the UN through 1267 committee.
- Identifying China’s role, delineate the factors that can be cited as the example of a lack of consensus on terrorism globally.
- Towards the end also identify how bilateral impetus cannot be denied in explaining the Chinese move. Conclude by suggesting a way forward.

Answer:

India’s attempts to designate individuals involved in planning and orchestrating acts of terror on its soil, such as Masood Azhar, as a global terrorist under UNSC Resolution 1267 have been put on technical hold by China. In this context, it has been observed by many this represents a trend of consensus on combating terrorism globally.

Fragmentation is explained by the following:

- **Economic interest:** China is building CPEC with Pakistan, therefore China is blocking any move which it sees is against Pakistan’s interests.
- **Outreach towards Taliban:** Though, 9/11 attack started as an offensive against Taliban in Afghanistan, but of late many countries (like Russia, China, US etc.) are in talk with it to stabilize the government in Afghanistan. This dilutes war against terrorism. Even USA is pushing to remove some groups from UN sanctions committee which is being opposed by Russia.
- **Tussle between US and Russia:** This difference is seen in every sphere, including fight against terrorism.
- **Emerging axis of Pakistan-China-Russia:** In a trilateral meeting in December 2016 they have decided to remove names of some Taliban leaders from UN Sanctions committee. At the BRICS summit in October and the Heart of Asia conference in December, it was the Russia-China combine that kept India’s desire for tough statements on “cross-border terrorism” from Pakistan at bay.
- **Lack of global consensus:** The delay in moving ahead with ban on the new head of Taliban or India’s proposed Convention Against Terrorism.
- **No consensus on a globally acceptable definition of “terrorism” at UN General Assembly to formulate a global framework on terrorism.
- **Good and bad terrorists:** A dichotomy is apparently developing as terrorists who are good or bad. For e.g.: while Indian and Afghanistan governments oppose any negotiation with Taliban while Russia, China and Pakistan are ready to negotiate with certain factions of Taliban.

Thus, it shows that, every country is choosing its own terms to pursue its own objectives. This dilutes the fight against terrorism, and reflects the larger narrative of fragmentation of global consensus against terrorism.

Nonetheless, the bilateral aspect in the whole development cannot be ignored either.
Chinese interests in Pakistan and its differences with India on border issues, South China Sea as well as Indian Ocean region provides ground for argument to be made for a bilateral impetus behind China’s action in the 1267 committee.

At the global stage, MasudAzhar's ban is a piece in a much larger jigsaw puzzle of terrorism. In the face of weakening global consensus, that once helped it apply pressure on Pakistan, India needs to concentrate on bilaterally engaging China while simultaneously pushing forward with its attempt at forging a global consensus on terrorism at multilateral forums by revitalizing initiatives such as the Comprehensive Convention on Terrorism.
4. UPSC Mains Previous Years' Questions

1. Indian government has recently strengthened the anti-terrorism laws by amending the unlawful activities (Prevention) act (UAPA), 1967 and the NIA Act. Analyze the changes in the context of prevailing security environment while discussing the scope and reasons for opposing the UAPA by human rights organizations. (2019)

2. The scourge of terrorism is a grave challenge to national security. What solutions do you suggest to curb this growing menace? What are the major sources of terrorist funding? (2017)

3. Terrorism is emerging as a competitive industry over the last few decades.” Analyse the above statement. (2016)
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