

# **The Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism and the Security of the Indian State**

## **Shri EN Rammohan, IPS (Retd)\***

### **Introduction**

The story goes back several thousand years to the days before Islam was born in the desert wastes of Arabia. The Arabs, were born in a harsh land of sand and scrub interspersed with small water holes called oasis. The land was hot with searing winds in summer and it bred a harsh wild people, the Arabs. The principal sources of livelihood were herding, trading and raiding. Besides keeping herds of camels and goats and later horses, the Arabs also became intrepid sailors. Their main vessel for sailing was the dhow, a large boat, with which the adventurous Arabs sailed west along the coast of Africa, and east along the coast of Arabia, and then south along the west coast of India, till they rounded Cape Comorin, from where they set out across the Bay of Bengal and reached the coast of what is now Indonesia, Malaya and further east the Spice Islands and the Philippines. Their religion reflected their tribal nature. Gods and Goddesses served as protectors of individual tribes. Mecca, the leading trade centre came to be situated at the crossroads of the trade of merchandise from the east to be ferried to the west. It possessed a central shrine of the Gods and Goddesses called the Kaaba, a cube shaped building that housed 360 idols of tribal patron deities and was the site of a great annual pilgrimage and fair.<sup>1</sup> The main trade was in spices for which there was great demand from the European countries. Spices purchased from as far away as the west coast of India from what is now Kerala were brought by dhows to Jeddah, a bustling port on the southern tip of Arabia. From here caravans carried the precious spices across Arabia to the Levant and the Mediterranean coast and thence to Italy.

**Early Days.** Into this world of might and strength was born Muhammad ibn Abdullah into a poor family. He grew up to be a man of reflective nature. He worked as a steward for a fairly rich Arab woman who owned a caravan that used to carry spices and other cargo from Jeddah, the port where these goods were landed from dhows. The caravan from Jeddah would move to Mecca where Muhammad's wife Khadija lived and go beyond to the north from where the precious cargo was transshipped to other caravans. In Mecca, the Umayyad clan of Arabs controlled the Kaaba and the annual pilgrimage, where thousands of Arabs from all over Arabia would gather for a month of rituals and worship at the Kaaba. This annual pilgrimage was a source of wealth for the Umayyad clan that controlled the Kaaba. Muhammad after some years began to become more and more reflective and finally started meditating in isolation at a nearby hill. There were some Arabs who believed that there was only one God. They did not express their opinion for fear of getting the wrath of the Umayyad clan in Mecca. It is believed that the hours spent in meditation by Muhammad led to a revelation from an angel that there was only one God. Muhammad then began to preach about his revelation and collected a small group of followers. Meanwhile this attracted the wrath of the Umayyad clan leaders, for their income from the annual pilgrimage to the Kaaba was great and they attacked Muhammad and his small band of followers. Muhammad had to flee for his life to Medina. From there he continued to preach and slowly began to get a larger following. He took the help of the Jews and Christians who lived there and finally organised an army and challenged and defeated the Umayyad clan and cleansed the Kaaba of all idols. The year Muhammad fled to Medina is considered the date of the foundation of Islam. Muhammad then began to consolidate his new religious following and by the year 632 AD when he died all Arabia was consolidated under the banner of Islam. Muhammad during the short period of his rule was the military, political, administrative and religious head of his land and of the new religion of Islam. This was a very important factor, for this is often quoted by the religious revival movements in Islam like the Wahabi and the Ahle Hadith movement that came about later.

The death of Muhammad brought about the first major change in Islam. Two groups formed after the death of Muhammad. The first said that the successor of Muhammad, later to be called the Caliph, must be selected from the best available leaders. The second disagreed and said that the successor must be from the descendants of the Prophet. The first group came to be called the Sunni and the second the Shii. The first four Caliphs were not from the Prophet's family. The fifth was Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet. His son, Hussain revolted against the fourth Caliph, Uthman in 680 AD. He was killed by the Umayyads at Karbala. Ali and his other son Hassan were also killed and this provided the martyrdom of suffering and protest that has guided Shii Islam. Sunni Islam came to place final religious authority for interpreting Islam in the consensus of the community. In Shii Islam, the Imam was the direct descendent of the Prophet and was both the political and religious leader.

The Sunni Shia split led to the Umayyad and Abbasid empires from 662 to 1258 AD. A vast empire was created during this period with capitals in Medina, Kufa, Damascus and Baghdad. Stunning political successes were complemented by a cultural florescence in theology, law, philosophy, literature, medicine, mathematics and art. It is important to note that the Dhimmis or non Muslims were third in the social order, but were never made slaves in early Islam.<sup>2</sup> The Umayyad conquered the whole of Persia and the Byzantine Empire and moved the capital to Damascus. Then they captured the Maghreb, Spain and Portugal and marched across Europe until they were stopped in France in the Battle of Tours in 732 AD. It is interesting to note here of an extremist offshoot of the Arabs that originated at the time of the Caliphs, Uthman and Ali-the Kharijites. They were pious believers who interpreted the Quran of the Sunna of the Prophet literally and absolutely. Acts were either good or bad, permitted or forbidden, believers and non-believers, Muslim followers of God and non-Muslim enemies of God. They were the forerunners of the Wahabi sect from Saudi Arabia, the fanatical Taliban and the Al Qaeda. By the Eighth century, the Abbasid Empire had by excessive wealth and corruption led to a life of luxury and easy living. This resulted in the growth of two Islamic movements - the Ulema, religious scholars and the Sufis, religious mystics. By the Eighth century, the Umayyad Empire fell and Abu al Abbas was proclaimed the Caliph. The Abbasids came to power under the banner of Islam and became the patrons of the emerging religious class, the Ulema. The development of Islamic law, the Sharia was their great contribution. By the eighth century, the Ulema had become a professional elite - the jurists and theologians in Muslim society and guardians of Islamic law. The strict and rigid interpretation of Islamic law by the Ulema led to a reaction with an expansion of the Sufi way of life. Conflicts arose between the Ulema and the Sufis that have continued till the present day. The vision of Muslim life as the observance of God's law did not coincide comfortably with the Sufi emphasis on the interior path of contemplation.

**Islam and the West.** Despite their common monotheistic roots the history of Christianity and Islam has been marked

by confrontation. For the Christian west, Islam is a religion of the sword. Muslim armies overran the Christian states of Spain and the Mediterranean from Sicily to Anatolia. Islam rejected the doctrine of Christ's divinity. The reaction of Christianity was hostile. Muhammad was identified as an Anti Christ. Islam was dismissed as a religion of the sword led by an infidel, driven by a lust for power and women. By the 11th century, Christendom's response took two forms – reconquering Spain (756-1492), Italy and Sicily (1061) and the Holy Wars – Crusades (1095-1453). When the Christian armies captured Jerusalem, they butchered the Muslim civilians – men, women and children, forgetting that when the Arab armies captured Jerusalem in 638 AD, churches and the Christian civilians were left unmolested. The contrast between the behaviour of the Christian and Muslim armies in the first Crusade has been deeply etched in the collective memory of the Muslims. In 1099, when the Crusaders stormed Jerusalem, they did not leave any Muslim survivors. Women and children were massacred. In 1187, Salah-al-Din recaptured Jerusalem. Again it was the Muslim army that was magnanimous. Civilians were spared and Churches and Shrines were left untouched.

By the 13th century, the Abbasid Empire was a sprawling, fragmented, deteriorating Commonwealth of semi autonomous states. Then Baghdad was conquered by an emerging power, the Mongols. Pouring out of Central Asia, the armies of Genghis Khan subjugated much of Central Asia, China and Russia. In 1258, the Mongol army under Hulagu pillaged Baghdad, slaughtered its Muslim inhabitants and executed the Caliph. But by the 15th century, the Mongols had been absorbed in Islam and Muslim fortunes were reversed. Muslim power again peaked. By the 16th century three major Muslim empires emerged – the Ottoman Turkish Empire in Istanbul, the Persian Safavid Empire ruled from Isfahan and the Mughal Empire in Delhi.<sup>3</sup> This was the final peak of the Muslim world. After this it was a continuous slide downhill and this brought about a revolutionary line of thought that give Islam its diabolical twist.

This is again rooted in the past. From the earliest time Islam possessed a tradition of revival and reform. Islam was quick to react to any compromise of faith and practice. The reaction to Sufism, the development of the Ulama and Islamic law are based on the concept of renewal (tajdid) and reform (islah) that is in turn rooted in the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet. One of the first reformers, who harked back to the period of the Prophet as the purest form of Islam was Ibn Taimiyya (1328). Then came Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahab (1703-92). They were both appalled by the veneration of the tombs and their Saints. They reacted against Sufi practice. The purpose of ijtihad of Abdul Wahab was a return to a purified Islam.

### **The Rise of the Islamists and the Concept of *jihad***

The descent of Muslim fortunes started with the West's penetration into the hub of Islam, the area between Morocco and Indonesia. The process started with the arrival of Napoleon in Egypt in 1789. Then came the Russian wars with Turkey and the conquest of Central Asia in the 19th century, followed by the collapse of the Turkish Empire and occupation by Britain and the ensuing redrawing of the Middle East by the Imperialist powers, motivated by their quest for oil. This experience has been a trauma from which the Muslim world has yet to recover. It is this that has led to the primacy of redefining jihad in the Muslim lexicon. In the aftermath of World War I and the Russian Revolution, the Western powers carved up the Muslim world into new State like entities that had nothing to do with the character and aspirations of the indigenous people, but also imposed new and ruling elites – whether Royal families, propped by the Western colonial or Communist elites propped up by the Soviets. In the aftermath of World War II the various Muslim States experimented with the ideologies and legitimisation strategies borrowed from the east and west – all of which led to the establishment of oppressive military dictatorships that abused their countries and oppressed their peoples in the name of the quest for glory, modernisation and military might. The biggest shock was the creation of Israel as a homeland for the Jews, dispossessing thousands of Palestinian Arabs condemning them to refugee camps for decades. The Islamist leaders were fully aware of the disparity in power between their nascent movements and the groups pitted against them, ranging from the Arab military dictatorships to the enemies of the Arabs, such as Israel and the Western States. As a result leading Islamist theorists sought alternative methods for waging jihad.<sup>4</sup>

The first of these theorists was Hassan al Banna (1906-49), who established the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928. He rejected Nationalism and European inspired legal codes. He regarded these as un-Islamic and a threat to Islamic identity and called instead for an Islamic State to be governed by the Sharia. He blamed Western Imperialism for the ills of Muslim society and said that it was incumbent for all Muslim societies to repel invaders of Muslim lands. Another theorist who came to similar conclusions was Maulana Maudoodi who founded the Jamaat-e-Islami in Punjab of undivided India in 1941. Maudoodi initially refused to accept the creation of Pakistan, believing in the universality of the Umma. He felt that the decline of the Muslim rule in South Asia and the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire were the product of British and French colonialism. When Pakistan became a reality, he moved to Pakistan.

Three schools developed in India that had a parallel thinking. The first was the Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind (JUH), founded at Deoband in Uttar Pradesh at the beginning of the century. When Pakistan was founded, a branch went there as the Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), that later spawned the Taliban. The second fundamentalist group was the Tablighi Jamaat (TJ) founded in Nizamuddin, Delhi in 1927. The third and the most rigid was the Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadith (JAH), also founded in Delhi in 1912. Its branch in Pakistan inspired the most virulent jihadi group in the Islamic world-the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LET). It's headquarter located at Muridke near Lahore is called the Markaz-e-Dawa-wal-Irshad. Incidentally this complex was financed by Abdullah Azam and Osama bin Laden, who later formed the Al Qaeda.

Yet another reformer was Syed Qutub who from within the Islamic Brotherhood gave an intolerant twist earning him the title of being the godfather and master of Islamic radicalism. He had modern education, but on a visit to the west was appalled by materialism, sexual promiscuity and racism of the west. He returned and joined the Muslim Brotherhood. He equated the pre-Islamic Arabian society Jahilliyah with modern western society. He felt that jihad was the only way to implement the new Islamic order. In October 1968 Sheikh Muhammad Abu Zahra of the Cairo Al Azhar University defined the essence of jihad under contemporary conditions. Jihad is not confined to the summons of troops and the establishment of huge forces. From all the territories of Islam there should arise a group of people, reinforced with faith, well equipped with means and methods and set out to attack the usurpers? Jihad will never end. It will last to the day of judgement. The definition of a perpetual jihad against superior forces constitutes a tenet of contemporary Islamic terrorism.<sup>5</sup> The crisis reached its first boiling point in the mid-seventies when the Muslim world empowered by the new petro dollar wealth was exposed to western civilisation as never before – graduate studies in the west, leisure

travel and television. The shock was immense. Leading intellectuals who had studied in the west concluded that the personal liberties and materialism that they had experienced in the west constituted a mortal threat to traditional Islamic society that is regimented and bound by strict codes of behaviour. The Islam of Ibn Taimiyya and Muhammad Ibn Abd al Wahab stipulated that the Sharia, the law governing mankind was of divine origin and was to be interpreted only by the learned and the pious, who rule the believers as spiritual leaders and guides. In contrast the essence of western democracy lies in the citizenry who elect a few of their own to legislate for them and govern them in accordance with humanly exacted laws.

The Islamists are convinced that this deviation of western society from the Islamic divine order of authority is the root cause of its social malaise. The Islamists' criticism of the American way of life has been scathing. Majid Anaraki who lived for several years in California described the United States (US) as a collection of casinos, supermarkets and whore houses linked together by endless highways passing through nowhere, all dominated and motivated by the lust for money. The Islamists were determined to ensure that this malaise would not penetrate and destroy the Muslim world. All means including the use of violence and terrorism were justified to prevent such corruption. The Muslims, however, could not separate their world, the hub of Islam from the west. The development of their oil reserves required western technology. Muslims drove cars made in the west, used western telephones and ate western imported food, while watching western television. Meanwhile their leaders protected their dictatorial governments using arms purchased from the west. This stark contradiction first burst into the open as a strategic political development in Khomeini's Islamic revolution in Iran.<sup>6</sup>

Fully aware of the might and accelerating spread of western powers, the Islamists sought an indirect form of confrontation with the west. They defined a form of total war in which the Muslim world's inferiority in technology and military power would not affect the outcome of jihad. Brigadier SK Malik of the Pakistan Army formulated this strategy in his country in 1979 in 'The Quranic Concept of War'. The Quranic way of war, is infinitely supreme, because in Islam war is fought for the cause of Allah and, therefore, all means and forms are justified and righteous. Terrorism is the quintessence of the Islamic concept of war.

Two developments set the framework for the growth and fruition of Islamic fundamentalism - the Islamic revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran and the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. The revolution of Ayatollah Khomeini led to the first wave of suicide bombers by the Hizbollah in Lebanon. The invasion of Afghanistan led to the creation of the jihad against the Russian Army by the soldiers of Islam, selected from the hub of Islam, extending from Morocco to the Philippines, directed by the Pakistan Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) and by a quirk of chance financed and masterminded by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the US. The Afghan jihad led to the creation of the Al Qaeda and a series of bombings against western targets mainly of the US that culminated in the suicide bombing of the World Trade Centre's twin towers.

The crux of the crusade of the Islamists is what Ayatollah Khomeini never tired of repeating, that the Prophet Muhammad was the spiritual, political and military head of the Muslims when the religion was established and all Arabia came under his control. It is this idea that is behind the establishment of Islamic Governments in the Muslim countries. For the Islamists, the concept of a secular Muslim state is impossible. The division of the world into two mutually exclusive camps - the city of war, Dar al Harb and the city of faith Dar al-Iman lie at the heart of Islam's traditional view of existence. Places where Islam rules supreme and its laws are strictly obeyed are known as the Dar al-Iman. The rest of the world is signified as the Dar al Harb.<sup>7</sup>

There are five kinds of terrorist movements. The first is national. The Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Basque Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) and the various Kurdish insurgent groups fall into this category. In the second category are a whole group of urban guerilla groups, like the Red Brigades in Italy, the Baader Meinhof gang in Germany, who unable to appeal to any important sections of society are drawn into a form of political gang warfare with the Police. The third are groups like the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. They are old style guerillas, influenced by Marxism-Leninism, but deeply nationalistic. The fourth type is publicity seeking, aimed at focussing on particular attention on particular grievances or causes. The series of hijackings without causing harm to the hostages by the Peoples Front for the Liberation of Palestine is an example of this. The fifth form, Islamic Terrorism has deep roots. Its object is to create an universal Islamic State. The world as it is today is how the infidels shaped it, wrote the late Ayatollah Baqer al Sadr. We have two choices - accept it, that means letting Islam die or to destroy it so that we can construct the world as Islam requires. Another leading theoretician of fundamentalism, Mustafa Chamran wrote, "To us the East is like the West, both are enemies. Communism is as much an enemy as is liberalism, socialism and democracy. We are fighting within the rules of the world as it exists today. We reject all these rules."<sup>8</sup>

For a while Khomeini's revolution in Iran and the coup in Sudan that led to the establishment of a fundamentalist regime there directed by Hassan al Turabi were triumphs for the Islamists. So was the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan and the later collapse of the Soviet Union and the reestablishment of the six Central Asian States. Then came the 1991 Gulf war against Iraq. The west once again demonstrated its immense technological supremacy. The most humiliating occurrence however was the Saudi Royal family, custodian of Islam's holiest shrine in Mecca inviting forces of the US and other western countries to their desert kingdom to fight a sister Arab nation -Iraq. It was a humiliation that still haunts the Muslim and Arab world. Osama bin Laden, a Saudi citizen had voluntarily gone to Afghanistan when the Soviet troops entered that country to help organise the jihad against the Russian army. He turned against his own country, when his pleas not to allow garrisoning of troops from the US were not heeded by his government. By now the direction of Islamic jihad had become clear. On the one side was the US and the European countries, technologically superior and exploiting the Middle Eastern Arab Muslim countries for their oil. On the other side were countries like India where the Muslims had ruled for several hundred years but were now under non-Muslim rule. The Afghan jihad had seen volunteers from the hub of Islam extending from Morocco to Indonesia and the Philippines sending their holy warriors for training to Afghanistan.

The Pakistan ISI who masterminded the training diverted the Islamic fighters to Kashmir, after the withdrawal of the Soviet Union. The Government of India played into the hands of Pakistan by years of misrule in Kashmir that led to an insurgency by Kashmiri separatists in 1987-89. The young men of Kashmir who crossed the border into Pakistan

in droves were welcomed by the Pakistan Army, who equipped them with arms and trained them in guerilla warfare and re-infiltrated them into Kashmir. Pakistan soon realised that the Kashmiris who were mainly Sufis did not have the mettle to fight an insurgency. So they sent the battle hardened jihadis of the Hizb-e-Islami, a terrorist group of the Jamiat-e-Islami into the Kashmir valley in 1992. This gave an entirely new face to the insurgency in Kashmir. The Hizb-e-Islami were soon followed by the tanzim of the Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI)-the Harkat-e-Jihad-e-Islami (HUJI), who had also fought in Afghanistan. The third group to join the jihad in Kashmir was the tanzim of the Ahle Hadith, the Lashkar-e-Taiba, the most extreme of the jihadis, patterned on the line of the Kharijites, who killed Ali, the fifth Caliph. They are totally non-compromising and believe firmly that Islam has no international borders and Islam will rule the world. Their objective is to see that two new Pakistans are established one in North India and the other in South India.

At this point a note must be made about how the Muslims lost their Caliphate in India. After Islam was established in the Middle East, it expanded to the north, west and the east. Islam came to India in the Eighth century with the sword. The invading Muslim armies easily defeated the Hindu kings by dividing them and established their rule all over North India. Initially the rulers were Afghans, followed by the Turks. The Afghan rulers were pushed east by the Turkish kings. It was the Afghan kings who converted the people of Bengal to Islam. The Muslim rulers did not penetrate far into South India or into Assam. The trouble rose for the Islamic rulers when the British came trading into India in the 17th century.

The British came first as the East India Company. They soon set-up an administration in the states that they controlled like Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the Northeast of India. Meanwhile in North India and in the other states where Muslim rulers ruled, like for instance in the Deccan in Hyderabad, the language of administration was in a language called Urdu, a hybrid of Arabic and Hindi. In 1857, the Hindu and Muslim soldiers of the British rulers mutinied. The Sikhs and Gurkha soldiers of the British Army sided with the British and the mutiny was quelled. After the situation was brought under control, the British Government took over the administration from the East India Company and shifted the Capital from Calcutta to Delhi. They also changed the language of administration from Urdu to English. This was a death knell for the Muslim population, who never picked up the new language of administration and who were increasingly replaced by Hindus and some Christians. From this point the condition of the Muslim people steadily declined, while the fortunes of the Hindus rose. This is why the Islamists always talk of the three Caliphates, one in Baghdad – Sunni, one in Isfahan – Shia and the third in Delhi – Sunni. This is why the Muslims of undivided India said that India should not be divided into Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan and this is why the Lashkar-e-Taiba speaks of re-establishing the third Caliphate in India.

A wave of fundamentalism swept the world after Khomeini's revolution and the Afghan jihad swept across the Islamic world. South East Asian countries with Muslim populations-Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and Bangladesh were affected. Muslim migrants settled in Germany, France, the United Kingdom, the USA and Canada were also affected. One country that did a lot of damage in this connection was Saudi Arabia, which had adopted the teachings of Abdul Wahab. Saudi Arabia exported the Wahabi teachings along with financial aid to a number of South East Asian countries.

### **The Islamist's Threat to India's Security**

What does all this mean to India's security? Pakistan's Army and the ISI may be focussed on Kashmir, but the Islamist's view goes much beyond. We have a Muslim population more than the population of Pakistan and our politicians have not handled them correctly. Firstly, many of our political parties have wooed the Indian Muslims for the sake of their votes and acquiesced with many demands of their fundamentalist teachers. This has seriously damaged/undermined the security situation. One of the most serious situations created by the party in power in Delhi in 1972 was to tamper with the cut-off date that had been enshrined in the Indian Citizenship Act, illegally as a result of which more than fifty lakhs of illegal Bangladeshi settlers were given citizenship in the Northeast of India.

Subsequent to this two serious incidents, the demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992 and the Gujarat communal riots of 2001 have seriously damaged the confidence of the Muslim population in India. Both incidents could have been prevented by firm action on the part of the Government. One must also not put the blame only on the political leadership. The weak bureaucracy has to take a major share of the blame for both the transactions. The sequel to both these incidents, particularly the pogrom of Gujarat has led to serious repercussions by the Islamists. Hundreds of young Muslim boys from Gujarat have gone to Pakistan via Dubai. They have been trained by fundamentalist groups there and returned to India. Bombs have been set off in different places in India in revengeful actions. Several fundamentalist groups have sprung up like the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) and the Popular Front of India, a militant group in Kerala. Today a large section of the Muslims in India are rebellious and resentful because of the two major incidents mentioned above.

The growth of Islamists in India has manifested in the form of numerous 'escape attacks', and not through suicide bombings. This predilection for martyrdom is inbuilt in the psyche of Islam. While operating in Kashmir in 1993-95, during several operations cadres of the Harkat-e-Jihad-e-Islami (HUJI) or the Harkat-ul-Ansar (HUA) were cornered in houses during cordon and search operations. On every such occasion, the trapped cadres refused to surrender, when called on the loud hailer to do so. They would shout back that they will die as martyrs. On rare occasions, when HUJI and HUA cadres were either caught, or when they were injured in encounters and escorted by their cadres without arms for treatment to hospitals; during interrogation, they would invariably reply that their mullahs had briefed them that if they died as martyrs, 72 houris (angels) would be awaiting them in jannat (paradise)! In fact in Shii theology it has been mentioned that all people who die have to appear for an inquisition before two angels-Monkir and Nakir to answer for their sins. However, those who die as martyrs in the fight to safeguard Islam are exempted from the inquisition and are taken to paradise directly!

From 1999, the Lashkar-e-Taiba started a series of 'no escape' attacks in Kashmir. Later, in Rajouri and Jammu they inflicted dozens of casualties on the Security Forces. Between 1999 and 2004, there were almost a hundred such attacks. The Jaish-e-Muhammad (JEM) executed a few such 'no escape' attacks outside Kashmir. There were three such attacks; on the Red Fort and Parliament House in Delhi, and the Akshardam Temple in Ahmedabad.

The worst 'no escape' attack of the Lashkar-e-Taiba was the attack on 26/11 in Mumbai, when a ISI trained suicide squad penetrated the coastal defence, entered Mumbai city and killed more than a hundred people brutally and mercilessly before being eliminated. It was sheer luck that one of the group (Kasab) was arrested and he narrated the whole plan, which was later substantiated by other sources also.

With the war in Afghanistan, the situation in Pakistan has deteriorated further. During the jihad against the Russians in Afghanistan, more than 3 million refugees in Afghanistan (most of them Pashtuns from South and East Afghanistan) sought shelter in Pakistan. While the adults were kept in refugee camps, the children were admitted to madrassas run by the Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI). By the time the Russians left Afghanistan, the talibs in the JUI madrassas had grown up to be young men. They had been imbued with the extremist philosophy of the JUI and also trained in guerilla warfare in the madrassas. After the Russians left, Afghanistan was divided among the different war lords and soon lapsed into anarchy. It was then that the talibs from the JUI madrassas were organised as the Taliban by Pashtun leaders ably guided by Pakistan's ISI, under the active guidance of the Pakistan Army. Soon, thereafter, under the leadership of a Pashtun leader called Mullah Omar the Taliban were organised into a mobile army by the ISI and captured different regions of Afghanistan. The advance of the Pashtun Taliban to Kabul was stopped by Masud, a Tadjhik Afghan who along with Burhanuddin Rabbani also a Tadjhik, but from the Jammata-e-Islami. The internecine war continued till the Taliban won over some allies of Masud and his forces had to retreat to the Central Asian States.

The Afghan war also spawned an extremist organisation called the Al Qaeda. It was started by an Yemeni Arab from Saudi Arabia, called Osama bin Laden, who along with Abdullah Azam, an Egyptian from the Muslim Brotherhood, had set up camps for all the volunteers who fought the jihad against the Russians in Afghanistan. The Al Qaeda organised a group that planned and executed the diabolical suicide attack on the World Trade Centre in New York on 9 November 2001 by two passenger planes that were hijacked by them. In retaliation, the US attacked Afghanistan which was being held by the Taliban and was reportedly sheltering Osama bin Laden. The initial attack by the US was purely from the air. The Taliban were simply bombed out from Afghanistan. At that time each Taliban unit was supported by an element of Pakistan ISI. While many such units crossed over from Afghanistan into Baluchistan through the Bolan pass along with Taliban groups, many others crossed over into the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and yet others into the North West Frontier Province. General Musharraf, the Pakistan President, even arranged a special airlift from Kunduz airport in northern Afghanistan, when the US troops were closing in on them. The ISI permitted Mullah Omar and the Taliban to reorganize and rearm in Quetta, Baluchistan. Then they were reinfiltred into Afghanistan to fight a guerilla war against the US forces. This war has continued till date, with the US forces being joined by the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) established by the UN Security Council Resolution 1386 of 20 December 2001.

In the process of sheltering the Taliban and reequipping them to fight again in Afghanistan, the Pakistan Army and the ISI have been deeply embroiled. As a byproduct several new Islamist groups have been formed like the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi, who have been fighting with their own Army, thereby, converting Pakistan into a highly volatile state. The prolonged use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) by the US forces has naturally exacerbated the situation on the ground. Each missile fired by an UAV also inflicts civilian casualties, which the US refers to as collateral damage - implying thereby that the casualties have to be borne by the enemy as an offshoot of the conflict. This has only resulted in hardening the Taliban; and the US is now in an inexplicable situation from which they are not sure how to extricate themselves. The consequences for the World from the battle hardened Taliban and other extremist fundamentalist groups, is unimaginable.

The Islamists in Pakistan have chosen to remain India's enemy forever. The concept of the third Caliphate with its capital at Delhi is imprinted indelibly in their minds. They will therefore continue to try and destabilise India again and again. To combat this, three clear actions are required from the Indian establishment. They are:-

- (a)** All political parties must ensure that they do not treat the Indian Muslims as a vote bank.
- (b)** All Indians must be treated equally.
- (c)** The State should take strong action against all fundamentalist religious elements without discrimination.

This is a tall order, but this has to be carried out with single minded determination.

We also have a serious problem in Bangladesh. It must be remembered that it was in Dacca, in what is now Bangladesh, that the Indian Muslim League was born in 1906. With the spread of fundamentalism in Pakistan, it took root in East Pakistan too. When the Afghan jihad against the Russians commenced, the Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh sent its cadres to join the jihad against the Russians. Branches of the Harkat-e-jihad-e-Islami were set-up in Bangladesh. With money coming in from Saudi Arabia, fundamentalist groups like the Jamaatul Mujahideen (JUM), Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB), Shadat al Hikma (SH) and the Ahle Hadith Andolan Bangladesh were set-up. There is continual migration of Bengali Muslims from Bangladesh into India, who have tied up with different terrorist groups from Pakistan. They come into India to commit terrorist acts via Bangladesh. Bangladesh is also used as a base for committing terrorist acts in India. We have to be far stricter in sealing the border between India and Bangladesh. At present it is totally porous.

The Awami League the main political party of East Pakistan was not allowed to form the Government in Pakistan after they won a majority in the national elections of 1970, the Pakistan Army organised a crackdown in which the Jamaat-e-Islami party sided with the Pakistan Army. Several thousand Bengali intellectuals were brutally killed by the Pakistan Army aided and abetted by the JEI. Hundreds of Bengali Hindu and Muslim girls were raped, brutally killed and buried in mass graves. When Bangladesh was liberated after the Pakistan Army was defeated and surrendered to the Indian Army and the Awami League formed the Government the JEI leaders fled to Pakistan to escape punishment. Then in 1975, the Bangladesh President Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was killed in a coup by some Army officers. After some instability, General Ziaur Rehman took over as the Martial Law Administrator, and later as the President of Bangladesh. He was a freedom fighter and had crossed over immediately after the Pakistan Army started their crackdown. As

President, however he recalled all the Jamaat leaders who had sided with the Pakistan Army in January 1971. Later the JEI even joined the Government of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP).

It is only now in 2011 that the Awami League, who won the elections in 2009, have started the trial of all the people of Bangladesh who collaborated with the Pakistan Army. There is a strong group of Islamic fundamentalists in Bangladesh. They are fanatically against Sheikh Hasina, daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, head of the Awami League and the present Prime Minister. We have to wait and watch if Sheikh Hasina succeeds in her mission of keeping Bangladesh as a moderate Islamic country. If she fails, India will again be a target of Islamic fundamentalists from Bangladesh. The Harkat-e-Jihad-ul-Islami (HUJI) Bangladesh has a strength of 15,000 headed by Shaukat Usman and Sheikh Farid. They used to refer themselves as the Bangladesh Taliban. The Islamists in Bangladesh had sponsored the formation of several Islamic groups in Assam.

## Conclusion

With the history of Kashmir behind us, India has to forever live with the machinations of Pakistan. We will in any case face hostility from the leaders of the Islamists in Saudi Arabia, Iran and major Muslim countries. With a sizeable Muslim population, we can expect problems from Islamist leaders in Iran, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan of course; and maybe Bangladesh if the moderates lose out there. We hope that our Governments will pay heed to the three suggestions suggested above to keep the Muslims moderate and contributing citizens of this country.

As for Pakistan, it is of interest that when General Musharraf had declared an unilateral ceasefire in 2004, infiltration from across the Line of Control had trickled down and completely stopped. It is of interest that after the last elections in Pakistan, the Prime Minister Mr Gilani made a statement that they were very much with the people of Kashmir. Within a week of this statement, the first infiltration in five years took place. Since then infiltration has continued in a trickle. The prognosis for the summer of 2011 is that the trickle will steadily build-up and we can expect quite a bit of trouble in Kashmir. It is going to be a very warm summer for the Security forces.

Our policy on the borders of Bangladesh is very wrong. We must see that all the villages that are located right on the border are resited and the fencing constructed 100 metres behind the zero line as on the western border. This will curb routine smuggling and relieve a lot of tension on the eastern borders. With the border fence a clear 100 metres behind the international border and no habitation between the border fence and the international border and only the BSF patrolling this band of a 100 metres, smuggling will dry up on this porous border. This will also put a stop to infiltration of Bangladeshi people, which is a continuous stream at present. This will also insulate us from the fundamentalist groups like the Jamaat-e-Islami, the HUJI Bangladesh, the Shadat-e-Hikma and the Ahle Hadith Andolan. We should also hope that Sheikh Hasina will be able to complete the trials of all the accomplices of the Pakistan Army's carnage during the freedom struggle in 1971-72. Also, that the Supreme Court will be able to pass a favourable judgement on the issue of whether the Mullahs will retain the power to punish rural women through fatwas and the rural system of Salish.

**\*Shri EN Rammohan, IPS (Retd)** is a 1965 Batch Assam Cadre IPS Officer. He retired as Director General of the BSF in Nov 2000. Post retirement he was Adviser to the Governor of Manipur. Presently, he is an elected Member of USI Council.

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