



GKwU tRvU Mto Zj tZ mTlg ntqUj | wKŠ' 2001 Gi 13 wWtm† fvi Zix cvj t†U I A±ve†i 1 Zwi L RšyI Kvki cvj t†U mšymev`x AvµgY tmi Kg mnvbfwZ cvqvb | Gi KviY m†Z fvi Z wR-8 Gi m`m` bq | G`wU Avµg†Yi Rb`h\_vµtg Gj BwU I wRBGg`vqx etj m†`n Kiv nq | wKŠ' Gme AvµgY th ūguk Qovt`Q Zv tenk bv ntj I Aek`B mgvb fqvBK | mwZ` ej tZ MZ GK`k†Ki I tenk mgq atj fvi Z mšymev†`i wei`tx j ovB K†i Avm†Q | evsj v†`tki Ae`v Gi t†qL Lvivc | wKŠ' Avgv†`i t`tk G e`vcv†i Lp Kgb g†bvhvM t`l qv nq | t†qKwU t†† KU%bwZK wkóZv Qvov mg\_ØmPK Avi tKv†bv Avk††mi wPšB GLv†b Agj K | m†cØZK mšymx KgRv†Ūi wei`tx G`vg†bw÷ B>Uvib`vkbt†j i cØZte`†bL Lp tenk t`k†K KvZi ntZ t`Lv hvqvb | g`y`†i ej v fvi tZi wKQy K\_v Ges c†vbgšx teMg Lv†j`v wRqvi Kv†Q gvwKØ KstMŋg`vb teÁwgb wMj g`v†bi wPW Aek` Gi e`wZµg | AvšRØZK tMvõx\_tjv Lp mvgvb`B tR††Q th, (thgbwU t`wL††Qb we. tK. Rvni½xi) GKwU t`†ki RbcwiPq e`tj hv†`Q, ivR%bwZK KgRv†Ūi Dcto tdjv nt`Q Avi t`†ki BwZnm tj Lv nt`Q bZb K†i |

brix, cvj`l Ges wki mn mvaviY I wbi civa RbtMvõ†K nZ`vi wel qwU Bmj vg tKv†bv†v†eB mg\_Ø K†i bv | Zep G evsj v†`tkB atgP b††gB RNY`Zg mšym Ges ašsmj xj v mwaz nt††Q | GB evsj v†`tkB 1971 mv†j Avgiv 30 j ¶ wbi xn RbmvaviY†K nZ`vi gva`tg mšym Ges wbo†i Zvi Pig bgbv t`†LwQ | cwK`vbx mvgwi K Rvšv G nZ`v Avi ašmhÁ Pwj t††Q†jv | i†³i b`†Z øvb K†iB evsj v†`tki `†axbZv G†††Q hw`l atgP b††g AZ`vPvi, w†h†ZbKvix GKB tMvõxi gva`tg G `†axbZv evi evi B ūguk i m†šLxb nt††Q | G tMvõx Avgv†`i K\_v ej vi Avakvi, `†axbZv Avi MYZwšK gj`†eva tKto w††g Avgv†`i gvbewaKvi A`†Kvi K†i | Avgv†`i b`vh`,`Zš; I `†axb RwZmĖ†Z Awekymx tmB GKB tMvõx 1975 mv†j i 15 AvM÷ mcwi ev†i nZ`v K†i RwiZi RbK e½eUz tkL gwRej ingv††K |

aviYv Kiv hvq, Zwj evb mšymev`†`i GKwU eo`j G g††Z`evsj v†`tk i†††Q | G† i A†††Ki wei`txB AvdMvb`v†b mk`i c†K¶Y w†††Q etj Aw††hvM i†††Q | Av††wi Kv† tM††q`v ms`v (GdweAvB) wel qwU evsj v†`k mi Kvi†K Rwb†††Q Ges Zwj evb†`i we††bce KgRv†Ūi m†`†n gvwKØ t†††w>U wej wKbU††bi evsj v†`k mdi l wKQy wKQy t††† ms†††B Kiv nt††Qj |

Zwj evb ev g††j g tgšj ev`†`i Abymvix A†††KB evsj v†`tk i†††Q hvi v evsj v†`tk c†Kv†k` Zwj evbx kvmb cØZövi K\_v etj | dRj j nK Aw††g†xi t†Z††axb msMVb Bmj vgx kvmbZš; Av†`vj b Zwj evb†`i Kvq`vq evsj v†`tk l wece`Kivi K\_v c†Kv†k` t†††Yv w`†††Q | G msMV††bi w††† tkw††b nt`Q Ø Avgiv mevB Z††j evb, evsj v n†e AvdMvbØ | evsj v†`tk w††† AvdMvb PvR` `` A`v††dqvm`Rbve t†††vg t†††v††š` m†w††qvi G e³te`i cw†††††Z Ak††Rj K†† etj b, ØAvcbv†v Rv††b bv Z††v (Z††j evb†v) Avgvi t`kUv wK K†††Q | Ø evsj v†`tk mwµq Gi Kgb Av††i K†† t†††cb msMVb nt††v ni KvZj wRnv` | tek K†††Kev†B mv††eK c†††vbgšx tkL n†††b††K nZ`vc††Póvq Rw†Z`\_vKvi m†`†n t†††cb G t†††võx††i bvg G††††Q | evsj v†`tki we†††b††Rv††Mv††ZB bksm nZ`v Ges Pig l wbo†i mšy††mi NUbv N††††Q | GKwU ni Z††j i mgq tgšj ev`x GKwU`j cvj††ki GK††Rb m`m`†K g†††††i w†††Zi nZ`v K††††Q | AvµgY nt†††Q D`xP† mvs`wZK`††j i Dci, AvµgY nt†††Q evsj v beel`D`hvcb Ab†††† Ges t†††vc††j M†††i GKwU MxR††† |

WweDwUm Avμg†Yi dtj mαúβ©we†kji mf` gvb†li wivcÈv mαú†K©†KŠkj MZ Aeavi Y  
bvUKxqf†e cv†è tM†Q| GLv†b Zvr¶¶WYK c`†¶c tbl qv c†qvrB| `xN†gqv` x cwi Kí bv  
tbl qv c†qvrB| evsj v†`tk GLbl Av†iv bvUKxqZv evKx| 2001 mv†ji 30 wW†mα†  
RbK†Úi GK Kj v†g Aa`vcK tevivnbDwí b Lvb Rvrv½xi f†qi wei`†x c†Z†iva-RwíZMZ  
Ges ivR%bwZK AZ`vP†i i wei`†x c†Z†iva wélqK Kj v†g G mαú†K¶¶j †L†Qb-

### ube¶PZ D×¶Z t

Úbe¶†bi ce©††KB weGbwic Ges Gi tbZZyaxb †RvU wK K†i†Q `j wntm†e Avl qvqx j xM  
l ag¶bi†c¶¶ g†bvfve D™Z gZv`wkR ¶¶gZv avj m`vZ l mvaviY gvb†li Dci Avl qvqx j xM  
l evg`j ¶†jvi c†fve wbwōy Kivi Rb` tKvb ai†Yi ¶¶gZv `iKvi | †mB ce©cwi Kí bv  
ivó¶¶gZv `L†ji ci GLb Zviv ev`emqZ Kiv`i i" K†i†Q| weGbwic-RvgvZ †Rv†Ui ÷†¶UwR  
`¶¶| c†gU n†"Q G\_wbK wKbwms| w†ZxqU n†"Q cwj wK`v j wKbwms| GB `ß ÷†¶UwRi A\_©  
n†"Q mvi v†`tk f†qi Aven `Zwi Kiv|

G\_wbK wKbwms†qi j ¶¶" n†"Q msL`vj Ny RbmsL`v wqšb Kiv| msL`vj Ny Rbmgwó i mαúwÈ  
j yb, n`MZ Kiv l msL`vj Ny gwj v†`i Dci al¶ l wbh¶Zb K†i Zv†`i †`kZ`v†M eva`  
Kiv| dtj GLb t\_†K msL`vj Ny Rbmgwó f†qi Avetni g†a` evm Ki†e Ges Zv†`i w`†q  
RvZxqZvev`x wv`y`j MvB Kiv n†e| G c†¶qv evsj v†`tki D™†ei ci t\_†K gZv`wkR  
w† wntm†e Avl qvqx j xM l evg`j i m†½ Zv†`i gZv`wkR mαú,³ Zv ewiZj Kiv n†e| GB  
c†¶qv mdj n†j, w†Zxq avc wntm†e R†qvU B†j†v†iU e`e`v ewiZj K†i tmcv†iU  
B†j†v†iU e`e`v c†ZB Kiv n†e|

cwj wK`v j wKbwms†qi j ¶¶" n†"Q Avl qvqx j xM l evg`j ¶†jvi ag¶bi†c¶¶ g†bvfve D™Z  
gZv`wkR c†fve mvaviY gvb†li gb t\_†K bó Kiv| GB j ¶¶" nwmj Kivi Rb` t\_†K t\_†K  
AvovBnvR†i i Av\_ qvbw` M††gi g†Zv (RbKÚ 22.12.2001) Pw c†i i nvcwbqv M††gi g†Zv  
(c†g Av†j v 23.12.2001 Ges RbKÚ 24.12.2001) wewfbwRbc` avj m`vZ Kiv n†e|

GKB c†¶qv Ask wnmv†e P†EM††g nZ`v Kiv nq Aa`¶¶ tMvcj Kò g†i†K| GB c†¶qv  
c†ivc†i mdj n†j weGbwic l Rvgv†Zi †RvU evsj v†`k†K 1947-ce©mvαc† wqK HwZ†n`i  
m†½ h³ Ki†e| GKBm†½ eZ†vb-fwel`†Zi w`K t\_†K Zv†j evbx g†bvf†ei m†½ h³  
Ki†e|

msm`xq ivRbwZi w`K t\_†K Rvgv†Zi j ¶¶" mdj bv n†j Rvgv†Z tmbvevnbxi gva`†g  
ivó¶¶gZv `L†ji tPóv Ki†e| GB j ¶¶" tcŠQv†bvi Rb` g†b nq Rvgv†Z c†vmb l  
tmbvevnbxi g†a` Zv†`i K`Wvi Abc†ek Kwí†q†Q| GKwU ch¶¶q weGbwic†K Avi Zv†`i  
`iKvi co†e bv|

†`tki ag¶bi†c¶¶Zvi Av`k`eZg†b úgwKi g†L it†q†Q| evqZj tgvKvi ig gmwR†`i LwZe  
Av†gwi K†K wKóZg mšymx wntm†e AvrfwZ K†i e³e` w`†q†Qb| ag¶¶ tgšj ev`xiv  
evsj v†`k†K ifcvšwi Z K†i Av†i KwU Zv†j evbx AvdMwv`wb evb†Z P†q| mvrnx gw³†hv×v  
kvnwi qvi Kwei†K Aš†xY K†i ivLv n†q†Qj | G`vg†bw÷ B`Uvi b`vkbyj evsj v†`tki BwZnv†m

c0gevii gtZv ZvTK wCRbvi Ad KbmVBÝ wntmte AwfwnZ Kti tQ | 12 Rvbyvi x gybbxq  
nvBtKvUe tjtQb, kvnwi qvi Kwe tii AvUKvt` k A%ea I AmvsweawbK |

**VUv ht`xi mg tqi c0Z tiva gtWj**

VUv ht`xi mg tqi c0Z tiva gtWj eZgvtb axti axti Kg KvhrKi ntq cto tQ | 11  
tm tP`fti i nvgj v c0vY Kti tQ wgm vBj wWtdY wnt`g GLb Avi KvtR AvmtQ bv | wAvBG  
GtRvU Aj wWP A`wgm c0vY Kti tQb VUv ht`xi mgqKvtj i c0Z tiva gtWj wbtLZ bv ntj I  
cwi`vi Ges w0avnxb | mšymx, 3Pi Ges AšNfZ m0Kvixt` i wei`tx ht`xi welqW mgi  
bwxZtZ ht`o 3 i`Zi cvte wK-bv GUv weZtKp` welq ntZ cvti | 1998 mvtj j Utb Abj0Z  
BvUv b`vkbvj BÝwUUDU Ad 3 tUwRK 3 wWR-Gi mfvq Avgiv GKgZ ntqW th, 0eZgvtb  
GKuU t`tki tMvcbxqZv msÁwqZ Kiv KwB, Avtiv KwB GUv c0Z tiva Kiv ev wbtLavÁv  
Avtivc Kiv | mvBevi mšymx, mvBevi 3Pi Ges mvBevi AšNfZxiv VUv ht`xi mg tqi  
c0Zc` t`tk AtbK wfb0g` |

tKškj MZ A`; wntmte eZgvtb mšymtK e`envi Kiv nt`Q | mvt`bi nvmv-Avj -Zi we Ges  
I mvgv web j vt`b thš`fvte Avqvb-Avj -Rvlnwii m t½ GKtRvU ntq mviv wetk | mšymx  
tbUl qvK`mto Ztj tQ | Gt` i AvmgtYi gta` GKwU mvavi Y c`vUvY`PvtL cto |

0bvBtieve Ges ZvbRwbbqvq gwK0 `Zveftm AvmgtYi wltq I mvgv web j vt`b i RwoZ  
\_vKvi welqW AvtMB m t`n Kiv ntqWj | tm Avtgui Kv I Avtgui Kv mg\_0 Kti Ggb  
mewK0tK N`v Kti | c`vtj 3 vBtbi msM0gmn gynyj g D`šyni K\_v ej tj I Zvi j`" Gme  
wKQybq | tm GKRb `bivR`ev`x Ges mšymx | Zvi msMVb Avj Kvtq`vi m`m` t` imn Zvi  
kw`-nI qv DvPZ Ges AvBtbi Avl qZvq Avbv DvPZ | 0

**Bmj vtgi kwš-bwZi Ace`envi**

1992 mvtj t`utbi KtWfVq Dtgiv (ag`q tbZv) weÁvb welqK jvBteivi Avi  
tR`wZi`Avtbi `p`c0c` MtelYvKg`c`yotq w`tqWj | 1979 mvtj Bivtb AvqvZj w` tLvgtw  
wktw`vj q\_ tji cvVutg mstkvatbi Avt`k w`tqWtj b | hvi dtj D`Puk`vvi I  
Bmj vgxKiY ntqWj ! BDtmd tev`vbw`x Zvi 0web j vt`b u wWtKqW`l qvi Ab Avtgui Kv0  
eBtq h\_v\_0 etj tQb, 0GKuU KtVvi Ges Amr D`i`k` c0bw` Z mi Kvi AvÁvj K Ges Avš-  
R0ZK mšym `tUvtKB tKškj MZ j`" c`tYi Rb` e`envi KtZ cvti | cwiK`wb Kvktvi  
wbtq fvi tZi m t½ h`x wRBtq ti tL Ges cvim` DcmvMiq t`k\_ tji wei`tx Bivb Zvi  
c0vi Yv I Pvc Ae`vnZ ti tL welqW c0vY Kti tQ | wecj weaYsmx At`j mnRj f`Zv I  
hy3 i vt0f tK`` t`j AvNvZ nvbvi J`x`" welqW tK Avtiv fwiZKi Kti Ztj tQ |

**mšymevt` i c0Kvi t`f` : msu`f`B HwZnwmK cUfvq**

mšym tKvb Rxeb `k0 ev ivR%0wZK Avt`vj b bq | GUv Ggb GKUv A`; ev ZEj hv  
BwZnv tmi mKj mg tq tKvb tKvb iv0`ev Dc-iv0` ivR%0wZK D`i` t`k` e`envi Kti tQ |

`B aitYi mšymevt` i gta` GKwU 3 i`Zcb`Zdvr itq tQ | AvšR0ZK mšymevt` GKwaK  
ivt0f bvMwi Kiv Rwo tq cto, Avi Af`šixY mšymev` GKwU t`k ev c0` tki wbt`0 mxgvbvq



## Dcmsnvi t uekpe`vcx mšymevt` i tKškj MZ c0qvm

mšymev` bvbvičc gvbeZvi Rb` ūgwK ntq AvtQ| thgb- RvZxqZvev`. BtičWbwU÷ Ges ivó<sup>a</sup> mgw\_Ž| Gi gta` tkčliuUi m½ h× Kiv mečPčq KwWb| Aí KqRčbi čQvE` j Avgvč` i wNči memgqB \_vKčte, thgbwU wQčjv wUčgw\_ gvKfvBčqi M0c-hviv lKčjv nvgvi tdWvčij Awdm feb ašsm KčiWQčjv| wKš` l mvgv web j vč` čbi Avj Kvčq`v mšymx tbUl qvK<sup>©</sup>Ges tččcbvč` j mčte` e`envi mšymčK GKwU wečkl cččĀi gta` `v0 Kwitq w`čqčQ| tmčPčč čieZ<sup>®</sup> wek; KLčbvB Avi AvčMi gčZv nče bv| GgbwK tččcbvč` j e`envčii ngwKil GKwU tKškj MZ c0qvm itqčQ-1999 mčtji KvivMj hč× thgbwU KčiWQčjv cwk`vb| wmgjv mwU f½ Kči Zviv w bqščti Lv AwZμg KčiWQčjv Ges GB etj ūgwK w`čqčQčjv th fvi Z w bqščti Lv AwZμg Kičj Zviv tččcbvč` j e`envi Kičte| GKBFvčte l mvgv web j vč` bčK mrvv h`Kvi x` βRb cigvYyweÁvččK cwk`vb AvUK Kivq čmB mčtebv t\_čK AvčvZ gy<sup>3</sup> cvl qv mčte nčjv|

## evsj vč` k

evsj vč` čk mi Kvi l Zvi wevfbaGčRÝxi QĪQvqvq mšymxč` i c0Zcvj b` xNčgqv` x čfve we`-vi Kičte| mý ččnvi x cwi Kíbv wčq GLvčb wč0i fivčte fq Ges AvZ¼ we`vč i tP0v Pčj čQ| agčq` čZšččK cčR Kči wKQy ivR%0wZK` j evsj vč` kčK GKwU tgšj ev` x ivč0<sup>a</sup> ifcvšč KičZ Pvq| 30 j čl knč` i AvZčZ` včMi wevbgčq` včxb nl qv G t` kuUčK Zviv AvdMvčb` vb evbčZ Pvq| GgbwK Gč` kčK cwk`vb t\_čK weZw0Z Zvčj evčt` i Rb` wbi vč`` Mčntčmčte Mč0 čZvj vi cwi Kíbv l Zvč` i AvčQ|

wKš` Avk¼v AvZč¼i ifc cwi M0 Kči ZLbB hLb Avgiv BbUvib`vkbvj BÝUwUDU Ad ÷ ččUwRK ÷ wWR-Gi kxZKvj xb čKvqvUčl vj čZ w÷ čfb mvBgb l Wwčtqj tebÁwgb-Gi Mčtel Yv cčU ūmšym t\_čK AvZčl čl v0 cwo| Ggb wKQyčMv0xi KvčQ` čcvj vč` weašsmx tččcbvč` j itqčQ hvč` i j čl` kĪ`čK ččivčvi ašsm Kiv| G AĀčj` xNčgqv` kwš`-vččb mgm`wU mčteZ KvWčgvmZ| A\_0wZK l RbmsL`vi cčx` i mvgĀm`nxvZvi m½ ččš i Gj vKvq kčgi bjbZg gRyi, wekvj teKvi Zj Ges mvgwRK AeKvVčg včvM ntq Ggb GKwU Ae`v mý0 ntqčQ hvčZ cwočg wek; Lč tevk KvčRi nčZ cvitQ bv|

GKB mgčq ga`c0P`, DĒi AwčdKv Ges cwk`vb thLvčb mčteZ ččiv cwl\_exi Ačačl gýj gvčbi emevm, wek; A\_0wZ t\_čK wevQbentq čt0čQ| 2 t\_čK 5% Rbčvčii m½ A\_0wZK cčx` i mvgĀm` ivLčZ cvitQ bv| wKš` RbčvviB GKgvĪ mgm`v bq| mgvRZĒje` iv t`wLčqčQb, GLvčb Zi`Y mčc0včqi gčbvčve ntq DVčQ wč0i| wec j RbmsL`vi G t`k` čj včZ Zi`Y mgvRI tek eo| GUv tKčj gýj gvčt` i Rb`B mZ` bq| GKwU wečlč` Zi`Y mgvR 1968 mčtj hý<sup>3</sup> ivó<sup>a</sup> Ges cwočg BDčivčci Rb` l AvZč¼i Kvi Y ntq` w0čqčQčjv| čieZ<sup>®</sup> 20 e0čii gta` GKwU wečlč` Zi`Y mčc0vq wgi, Bivb, vj weqv, l gvb, cwk`vb, čmš` Avi e, mý vb, wwi qv Ges Bčqčgčb l AvNvZ nvbvi mčtebv itqčQ|

## mčxj mgvR G e`včvči Kx fvgKv ivLčZ cvči



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Steve Simon, now Assistant Director and Carol Deane Senior Fellow at IISS and formerly in US National Security Council. Daniel Benjamin is Senior Fellow at Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington DC.

## **Glossary of Acronyms:**

WTC	-	World Trade Centre
OBL	-	Osama Bin Laden
LET	-	Lashker-E-Taiba
JEM	-	Jaish-E-Mohammad
POC	-	Prisoner of Conscience
NATO	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
GIA	-	Armed Islamic Group, Algeria
HUA	-	Harakat Ul-Ansar, Pakistan
IRA	-	Irish Republican Army
LTTE	-	Liberation Tamil Tiger Elum.
PRC	-	Peoples Republic of China
FBI	-	Federal Bureau of Investigation
WMD	-	Weapons of Mass Destruction
LOC	-	Line of control
MDS	-	Missile Defense System
IISS	-	International Institute of Strategic Studies, London