

CHAPTER 2

SOCIO-POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-RELIGIOUS IMPACT OF TERRORISM.

1. Socio-political Impact of Terrorism:

The concept of socio-political impact of terrorism can be understood by the studies of political ideologies, because these ideologies work as a source of terrorism in society. Any type of revolution or terrorism represents for the social change directly or indirectly. Therefore socio-political concept cannot be separated from each other. It is important to grasp the influence of ideological systems on the modern era. For this reason, several political ideologies, Anarchism, Marxism, Fascism, and the just war doctrine, are discussed below.

A. Anarchism:

Anarchism is a leftist philosophy that was an ideological by-product of the social upheavals of mid-19th-century Europe, a time when civil unrest and class conflict swept the continent, culminating in the revolutions of 1848. Anarchists were among the first antiestablishment radicals who championed what they considered to be the downtrodden peasant and working classes. They abhorred central government control and private property. Frenchman Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who published a number of articles and books on the virtues of anarchism, coined an enduring slogan among anarchist—"Property is theft!" In his 1840 publication *what Is Property? An Inquiry In to the principle of Right and of government.*

Proudhon wrote: “If I had to answer the following question, “What is slavery?” and if I should respond in one word, “It is murder,” my meaning would be understood at once. I should not need a long explanation to show that the power to deprive a man of his thought, his will, and his personality is the power of life and death. So why to his other question, “What is property?” Should I do not answer in the same way, “It is theft,” without fearing to be misunderstood”.¹

Thus, the radical undercurrent for anarchist thought began with the proposition that *property is theft*. Mikhail Bakunin and his philosophical associates Sergei Nechayev and Petr Kropotkin, all Russians, were the founders of modern anarchism. They supported destruction of the state, radical decentralization of power, atheism, and individualism. They also opposed Capitalism and Karl Marx’s revolutionary doctrine of building a socialist state. Among these early anarchists, Bakunin’s theories had a particularly international influence.

Anarchists never offered a concrete plan for replacing centralized state authority because they were not concerned about building a clearly defined vision of post-revolutionary society. Instead, early anarchists considered the destruction of the state alone to be their contribution to the future. In the *Revolutionary Catechism*, Nechayev wrote:

“The revolutionary...must have a single thought, a single goal-implacable destruction. Pursuing this goal coldly and relentlessly, he must be prepared to

perish himself and to cause to perish, with his own hands, all those who would prevent him from achieving his goal".²

Bakunin, Nechayev, and Kropotkin believed that revolutionary violence was needed to destroy capitalism and state socialism. Bakunin rejected publication of the anarchist cause through traditional media such as newspapers or leafleting. Instead, he advocated achieving propaganda victories by violently pursuing the revolution, which became known as propaganda by the deed. Terrorism was advocated as a principal means to destroy state authority. Interestingly, they argued that terrorists should organize themselves into small groups, or cells, a tactic that has been adopted by modern terrorists. Anarchists actively practiced propaganda by the deed, as evidenced by many acts of violence against prominently symbolic targets. In Russia, the Peoples' Will (Narodnaya Volya) conducted a terrorist campaign from 1878 to 1881, and other anarchist terrorist cells operated in Western Europe. Around the turn of the 20th century, anarchists assassinated the Russian Czar Alexander II, Austro-Hungarian Empress Elizabeth, Italian King Umberto I, and French President Carnot. An alleged anarchist, Leon Czolgosz, assassinated President William McKinley in the United States.

B. Marxism:

Radical Socialism, like Anarchism, is a leftist ideology that began in the turmoil of mid-19th-century Europe and the uprisings of 1848. Socialists championed the emerging industrial working class and argued that the wealth produced by these

workers should be more equitably distributed, rather than concentrated in the hands of the wealthy elite.

Karl Marx is regarded as the founder of modern Socialism. He and his associate Friedrich Engels, both Germans, argued that their approach to socialism was grounded in the scientific “discovery” that human progress and social evolution is the result of a series of historical conflicts and revolutions. Each era was based on the working group’s unequal relationship to the means of production (e.g., slaves, feudal farmers, and industrial workers) vis-à-vis the ruling group’s enjoyment of the fruits of the working group’s labour. In each era, a ruling *thesis* group maintained the status quo and a labouring *antithesis* group challenged the status quo (through agitation and revolution), resulting in a socioeconomic synthesis that created new relationships with the means of production. Thus, human society evolved in to the next era. According to Marx, the most advanced era of social evolution would be the *synthesis* Communist era, Which Marx argued would be built after the *antithesis* industrial working class overthrows the thesis capitalist system. Marx theorized that the working class would establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the Communist society and build a just and egalitarian social order.

Marx and Engels collaborated on the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, a short work completed in 1847 and published in 1848. It became one of the most widely read documents of the 20th century. In it, Marx and Engels explained the

revolutionary environment of the industrial era and how this era was an immediate precursor to the Communist era. They wrote that The communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!

Marxist socialism was pragmatic and revolutionary. It was action oriented and was adopted by many revolutionary leaders and movements throughout the 20th century. For example, Vladimir Ilich Lenin in Russia, Mao Zedong in China, Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, and Fidel Castro in Cuba all based their revolutionary doctrines on Marx's precepts. Terrorism, both state and dissident, was used during these revolutions and during the consolidations of power after victory. It is interesting to note that none of the Marxist revolutions of the century was led by the industrial working class; all occurred in preindustrial developing nations, often within the context of anticolonial warfare waged by peasants and farmers.

C. Fascism:

Fascism was a rightist ideological counterpoint to Marxism and anarchism that peaked prior to World War II. Its name is derived from the Latin word *fasces*, which was a bundle of wooden rods bound together with an axe protruding from the center; it was the roman imperial symbol of strength and power and was carried before processions of Roman officials.

Like Marxism and anarchism, fascism's popular appeal grew out of social turmoil in Europe, this time as a reaction to the 1917 Bolshevik (communist) revolution in Russia, the subsequent Bolshevik-inspired political agitation elsewhere in Europe, and the widespread unrest during the Great Depression of the 1930s. It was rooted in a brand of extreme nationalism that championed the alleged superiority of a particular national heritage or ethno-racial group. Fascism was anti-communist, anti-monarchist, antidemocratic, and anti-intellectual (although there were some fascist writers). It demanded extreme obedience to Law, order, and the state. Fascism also required cultural conservatism- often looking backward in history to link the ancient past to the modern state. Fascists created their own conceptualizations of traditional values such as military duty, the Christian church, and motherhood. Strong antidemocratic leadership was centralized in the state, usually under the guidance of a single charismatic leader who symbolically embodied the virtues of the state, the people, and the underlying fascist ideology. Italian dictator Benito Mussolini was the first to consolidate power and create a fascist state. Beginning with his March on Rome in 1922, he gradually eliminated all opposition and democratic institutions. He was a mentor for Adolf Hitler, who led the fascist National Socialist German Worker's (Nazi) party to power in Germany in 1933. Both the Italian and German fascist regimes sent troops to fight on the side of right-wing Spanish rebels led by Francisco Franco during the Spanish civil war.³ These regimes-fascist Italy, Nazi German, and Falangist

Spain-represent three strains of fascism that reflect their own cultural and national idiosyncrasies:

1. *Italian fascism* was nationalistic and expansionistic. It hearkened back to Italy's ancient past, seeking to symbolize the rise of a new Roman Empire. Mussolini sent his fascist legions on wars of conquest in Abyssinia, North Africa, the Balkans, and Greece.
2. *German fascism* was also nationalistic and expansionistic. Unlike Italian fascism, the Nazis also practiced an ideology of racial supremacy. Nazism looked back to the Germanic people of ancient past, seeking to symbolize a time of Teutonic tribal and racial glory.
3. *Spanish fascism* was also nationalistic but strongly rejected an expansionist ideology. The Franco regime successfully resisted intimidation from Adolf Hitler to enter World War II on the side of Germany and Italy. Spanish rightists looked to Spanish institutions and history to consolidate power domestically. They had a strong ideological influence in Latin America that lasted throughout the latter half of the 20th century. The power of all three regimes was rooted in a disciplined political party, a charismatic leader, glorification of the military, and an organized elite. Fascist regimes during this period also took root in Hungary (1930s), Bulgaria (1934), and Romania (1938). Only Franco's Fascist regime survived World War II, lasting until his death in 1975. Although the first fascist movement largely collapsed in 1945, right-wing groups and political parties have continued

to promote neofascist ideals. Some terrorist groups in Europe and the United States have been overtly fascist and racist. Also, dictatorships have arisen since World War II that adopted many features of prewar fascism. For example, Latin American regimes arose in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and El Salvador—to name a few- that fit the fascist pattern.

D. The Just War Doctrine:

The just war doctrine is an ideal and a moralistic philosophy rather than an ideology. The concept has been used by ideological and religious extremists to justify acts of extreme violence, throughout history, nations and individuals have gone to war with the belief that their cause was just and their opponents' cause unjust. Similarly, attempts have been made for millennia to write fair and just laws of war and rules of engagement. For example, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Hague Conventions produced at least 21 international agreements on the rules of war.⁴

This is a moral and ethical issue that raises the questions of whether one can ethically attack an opponent, how one can justifiably defend oneself with force, and what types of force are morally acceptable in their context. The just war debate also asks who can morally be defined as an enemy and what kinds of targets it is morally acceptable to attack. In this regard, there are two separate components to the concept of just war (which philosophers call the just war tradition): the rationale for initiating the war (war's ends) and the method of

warfare (war's means). Criteria for whether a war is just are divided into *jus ad bellum* (justice of war) and *jus in bello* (justice in war) criteria.⁵

Thus, *jus in Bello* is correct behaviour while waging war and *jus ad bellum* is having the correct conditions for waging war in the first place. Philosophers and theologians have debated these concepts for centuries. The early Christian philosopher Augustine concluded in the fifth century that war is justified to punish injuries inflicted by a nation that has refused to correct wrongs committed by its citizens. The Christian religious tradition, especially the Roman Catholic Church, has devoted a great deal of intellectual effort to clarifying Augustine's concept. Augustine was, of course, referring to warfare between nations and cities, and church doctrine long held that an attack against state authority was an offence against God.⁶ Likewise, the Hague Conventions dealt only with rules of conflict between nations and afforded no legal rights to spies or antistate rebels. Neither system referred to rules of engagement for nonstate or antistate conflicts.

In the modern era, both dissidents and states have adopted the just war tradition to their political environments. Antistate conflict and reprisals by states are commonplace. Dissidents always consider their cause just and their methods proportional to the force used by the agents of their oppressors. They are, in their own minds, freedom fighters waging a just war. As one Hamas fighter said, "before I start shooting, I start to concentrate on reading verses of the Koran because the Koran gives me the courage to fight the Israelis."⁷

Antiterrorist reprisals launched by states are also justified as appropriate and proportional applications of force- in this case as a means to root out bands of terrorists. For example, after three suicide bombers killed or wounded scores of people in Jerusalem and Haifa in December 2001, Israeli Prime minister Ariel Sharon justified Israeli reprisals by saying, “A war of terrorism was forced on us (by the terrorist)...if you ask what the aim of this war is, I will tell you. It is the aim of terrorists.... to exile us from here.... This will not happen.”⁸

From the perspective of terrorism and counter terrorism, both dissident and state applications of force are legitimate subjects of just war scrutiny, especially because dissidents usually attack soft civilian targets and state reprisals are usually not directed against standing armies. The following “moral checklist” was published in the American newspaper *The Christian Science Monitor* during the first phase of the war on terrorism begun after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks:

- *Is it justified to attack states and overturn regimes to get the terrorists?
- *Can the U.S.legitimately target political figures like Taliban leader Mullah Mohammad Omar?
- *what are U.S.obligations in terms of minimizing civilian casualties?
- *what type of force should be used?
- *when should U.S.forces take prisoners, rather than killing Afghan troops?
- *Is there a plan for peace?⁹

These questions are generically applicable to all state antiterrorist campaigns, as well as to antistate dissident violence. It is important to remember that rules of war and the just war tradition are the results of many motivations. Some rules and justifications are self-serving, others are pragmatic, and others are grounded in ethno-nationalist or religious traditions. Hence, the just war concept can be easily adapted to justify ethnic, racial, national, and religious extremism in the modern era.

In the earlier discussion it is cleared that experts have identified and analyzed many terrorist environments. These environments include state, dissident, religious, ideological, international, and criminal terrorism. One distinguishing feature within each model is the relationship between quality of force used by the terrorists and the characteristics of the victim of the attack. It might be pointed out here that the definitional and ethical issues are not always clearly drawn when one uses terms such as combatants, noncombatants, discriminate force, or indiscriminate force.

E. Combatants and Noncombatants:

The term *combatants* certainly refers to conventional or unconventional adversaries who engage in armed conflict as members of regular military or irregular guerilla fighting units. The term *noncombatants* obviously include civilians who have no connection to military or other security forces. There are, however, circumstances in which these definitional lines become blurred. For

example, in times of social unrest, civilians can become *combatants*. This has occurred repeatedly in societies where communal violence (e.g., civil war) breaks out between members of ethno-national, ideological, or religious groups. Similarly, *noncombatants* can include off-duty members of the military in nonwarfare environments.¹⁰ They become targets because of their symbolic status.

F. Indiscriminate and Discriminate Force:

Indiscriminate force is the application of force against a target without attempting to limit the level of force or the degree of destruction of the target. Discriminate force is a more surgical use of limited force. Indiscriminate force is considered to be acceptable when used in any nonwarfare environment regardless of the characteristics of the victim.¹¹ There are, however, many circumstances when adversaries define "warfare environment" differently. When weaker adversaries resort to unconventional methods (including terrorism), they justify these methods by defining them as being necessary during a self defined state of war. Discriminate force is considered to be a moral use of force when it is applied against specific targets with the intention to limit so-called collateral damage, or unintended destruction and casualties.

2. Sociological aspect of terrorism:

Sociological explanations generally hold that terrorism is a product of intergroup conflict that results in collective violence. The sociological approach argues that

terrorism is a group-based phenomenon that is selected as the only available strategy by a weaker group. From the perspective of an opponent group, “terrorism and other forms of collective violence are often described as ‘senseless,’ and their participants are often depicted as irrational.”¹² However, this is not an entirely complete analysis, because if “rational” means goal directed.... then most collective violence is indeed rational.... their violence is indeed directed at achieving certain, social change-oriented goals, regardless of whether we agree with those goals or with the violent means used to attain them. If ‘rational’ further means sound, wise, and logical, then available evidence indicates that collective violence is rational.... because it sometimes can help achieve their social goals.¹³

In essence, the disadvantaged group asserts its rights by selecting a methodology- in this case, terrorism- that from the group’s perspective is its only viable option. The selection process is based on the insurgent group’s perceptions and its analysis of those perceptions. To illustrate this point, the following examples describes a hypothetical groups analytical progression toward revolution:

- * The perception grows within a particular group that the government or social order is inherently brutal or unfair toward the group.
- * Because the system does not allow for meaningful social dissent by the group (in the opinion of group members), it concludes that the only recourse is to oust the existing government or order.

- * The group perceives that an opportunity for change is available at a particular point in history. To wait longer would likely mean a lost possibility for revolutionary change.
- * After analyzing the contemporary political environment, the group perceives that the government or system possesses inherent weakness or “contradictions”(to use a Marxist term).¹⁴ All that is needed is a revolutionary “push” to achieve the group’s goals.
- * An important ingredient in the group’s calculation is the perception that the people are ripe for revolution. What is required is for the group to act as a vanguard to politicize the broader masses and lead them to revolution.

The foregoing analytical progression incorporates two theoretical concepts: Structural theory and relative deprivation theory.¹⁵ These theories are summarized below.

Structural theory has been used in many policy and academic disciplines to identify social conditions (“structures”) that affect group access to services, equal rights, civil protections, freedom, or other quality-of-life measures. Examples of social structures include government policies, administrative bureaucracies, spatial (geographic) location of the group, the role of security forces, and access to social institutions. Applying this theory to the context of terrorism, we find that Structural theories of revolution emphasize that weaknesses in state structures

encourage the potential for revolution...According to this view; a government beset by problems such as economic and military crisis is vulnerable to challenges by insurgent forces.... Other governments run into trouble when their...policies alienate and even anger elites within the society.¹⁶

The state is the key actor in structural theories of revolution. Its status is the precipitating factor for popular revolutions. Popular discontent, the alienation of elites, and a pervasive crisis are the central ingredients for bringing a society to the brink of revolution. Relative deprivation theory essentially holds that "feelings of deprivation and frustration underlie individual decisions to engage in collective action."¹⁷ According to this theory, when a group's rising expectations are met by sustained repression or second-class status, the group's reaction may include political violence. Their motive for engaging in political violence is their observation that they are relatively deprived, vis-à-vis other groups, in an unfair social order. This should be contrasted with absolute deprivation, when a group has been deprived of the basic necessities for survival by a government or social order. This condition can lead to political violence.

One observation must be made about relative deprivation theory: Although it was, and still is, a popular theory among many experts, three shortcomings have been argued:

- * Psychological research suggests that aggression happens infrequently when the conditions for relative deprivation are met.
- * The theory is more likely to explain individual behaviour rather than group behaviour.
- * Empirical studies have not found an association between relative deprivation and political violence.¹⁸

International cases in point:

Examples of movements that are motivated against a government or social order include ethno- nationalist movements among Basques in Spain. Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland, Palestinians in Israel, and French Canadians in Quebec. Sociological explanations for these movements are summarized below.

Basques in Spain: The Basques region of northern Spain is home to approximately 2.5 million Basques. Nationalism in the region dates of the defeat of Spanish Republicans during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. After the war, Francisco Franco's fascist regime suppressed Basque culture, integrated the region in to Spain, and banned the Basque Language. Spanish culture and language were imposed on the Basque region. Since the late 1950s, Basques nationalist, especially Basque Fatherland and Liberty (Euskadi Ta Azkatasuna, or ETA), have fought for autonomy from Spain and the preservation of their national identity.

Irish Catholic Nationalism: Irish Catholic nationalism in Northern Ireland dates to the 16th century, when English king James I granted Scottish protestant settlers

land in Ireland, thus beginning a long process of relegating Irish Catholics to second-class status in their own country. Protestant (“Scotch-Irish”) and English domination was secured in 1690 at the battle of the Boyne. Catholic independence was finally won in 1919 and 1920, but the island was formally divided between the independent Irish Republic in the south and the British-administered six-county region of Northern Ireland. Since that time, Some Irish Republicans in the north, especially the provisional Irish Republicans in the north, especially the provisional Irish Republican Army have engaged in armed resistance against Protestant and British Political domination. They seek union with the southern republic.

Palestinian Nationalism: Palestinian nationalism dates to the formal creation of the state of Israel on May 14, 1948. The next day, the Arab League (Lebanon, Egypt, Jordan, and Syria) declared war on Israel. Israel was victorious, and in the subsequent consolidation of power, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians either left Israel or were expelled. Since that time, Palestinian nationalists, especially the Palestine liberation organization and Hamas, have fought a guerrilla and terrorist war against Israel to establish a Palestinian state.

French Canadian Nationalism: French Canadian Nationalism is centered in Quebec, where French-descended residents (Known as the Quebecois) predominate. Quebecois has always vigorously protected the French identity in Quebec against English domination. Some Quebecois are nationalist, seeking

greater autonomy or independence from English-speaking Canada. Most French Canadian nationalism has been democratic in expression and has been led by the party Quebecois. However, a separatist group founded in 1963 known as the Front du Liberation de Quebec (FLQ) engaged in a bombing campaign to promote an independent Quebec. Nationalist sentiment increased during the late 1960s when, during a visit by French President Charles de Gaulle in July 1967, he delivered a speech using the now-famous phrase “Vive le Quebec libre,” or “Long live free Quebec.”

3. Psychological Explanations of Terrorism:

Psychological approaches to explaining terrorism broadly examine the effects of internal Psychological dynamics on individual and group behaviour. This kind of analysis incorporates many of the concepts that were discussed previously in this chapter, such as moral convictions and simplified definitions of good and evil.

At the outset, it is useful to examine the presumption held by a number of people-experts, policymakers, and laymen- that terrorism is a manifestation of insanity or mental illness or that terrorism is the signature of a lunatic fringe. This presumption suggests that terrorism is a priori (fundamentally) irrational behaviour and that only deranged individuals or deranged collections of people would select terrorist violence as a strategy.

Most experts agree that this blanket presumption is incorrect. Although individuals and groups do act out of certain idiosyncratic psychological processes, their behavior is neither insane nor necessarily irrational.

Those who engage in collective violence are, in many respects, “normal” people:

How rational are the participants in collective violence? Are they sane? Do they really know what they’re doing...the available evidence favors rationality....

Although some explanations of collective violence stress psychological abnormality among its participants, studies on this issue suggest that in general they’re as psychologically normal and rational as the average person.¹⁹

A. Individual-Level explanations:

Some experts argue that the decision to engage in political violence is frequently an outcome of significant events in individual lives that give rise to antisocial feelings. They actively seek improvement in their environment or desire redress and revenge from the perceived cause of their condition. Very often psychological motivation for terrorism derives from the terrorist’s personal dissatisfaction with his life and accomplishments. He finds his raison d’être in dedicated terrorist action.... Terrorists tend to project their own antisocial motivations onto others, creating a polarized “we versus they” outlook. They attribute only evil motives to anyone outside their own group. This enables the terrorists to dehumanize their victims and removes any sense of ambiguity from their minds. The resultant

clarity of purpose appeals to those who crave for violence to relieve their constant anger.²⁰

Research has not found a pattern of psychopathology among terrorists. In comparing nonviolent and violent activists, studies reported “preliminary impressions...that the family backgrounds of their politically active counterparts.”²¹ There is evidence of some psychosocial commonalities among violent activists. For example, research on 250 West German terrorists reported “a high incidence of fragmented families; severe conflict, especially with the parents; conviction in juvenile court; and a pattern of failure both educationally and vocationally.”²²

B. Group-Level Explanations:

In a number of Social and political contexts, political violence is a familiar social and political violence is a familiar social phenomenon for some people. When this process is combined with “the pronounced need to belong to a group,”²³ individual can in the end “define their social status by group acceptance.” Thus, at the group level, another result of psychological motivation is the intensity of group dynamics among terrorists. They tend to demand unanimity and be intolerant of dissent.... (And) pressure to escalate the frequency and intensity of operations is ever present... Comprise is rejected, and terrorist groups lean towards maxi-malist position.²⁴ An important outcome of these dynamic is the development of a self-perpetuating cycle of rationalizations of political violence. This occurs because

the psychodynamics also make announced group goal nearly impossible to achieve. A group that achieves its stated purpose is no longer needed; thus, success threatens the psychological well being of its members.

C. Generalized Psychological Explanations:

Psychological explanations are fairly broad approaches to dynamic of terrorist behaviour. Both individual and group theories attempt to generalize reasons for the decision to initiate political violence and processes that perpetuate such violence.

These explanations may be summarized as follows:

*Terrorism is simply a choice among violent and less violent alternatives. It is a rational selection of one methodology over other options.

*Terrorism is a technique to maintain group cohesion and focus. Group solidarity overcomes individualism.

*Terrorism is a necessary process to build the esteem of an oppressed people. Through terrorism, power is established over others, and the weak becomes strong. Attention itself becomes self-gratifying.

*Terrorists consider themselves to be an elite vanguard. They are not content to debate

the issues, because they have found a "truth" that needs no explanation. Action is superior to debate.

*Terrorism provides a means to justify political violence. The targets are depersonalized, and symbolic labels are attached to them. Thus, symbolic

buildings become legitimate targets even when occupied by people, and individual victims become symbols of an oppressive system.

Case: The Stockholm syndrome. In August 1973, two bank robbers in Stockholm, Sweden took hostage three women and one man. The botched robbery led to a hostage crisis that lasted for six days. During the crisis, the robbers threatened to kill the four hostages if the authorities tried to rescue them. At the same time, the hostages received treatment from the robbers that they began to think of as kindness and consideration. For example, one hostage was told that he would not be killed, but rather shot in the leg if the police intervened, and that he should play dead. Another hostage, who suffered from claustrophobia, was let out of the bank vault on a rope leash. These were perceived as acts of kindness because the situation was very tense inside the bank:

The hostages were under extended siege by a horde of police seeking opportunities to shoot the robbers, depriving the group of food and necessities to force their surrender, and poking holes in walls to gas the robbers into submission. The captors often acted as the hostages' protectors against the frightening maneuvers by the police.²⁵

During the six-day episode, all of the hostages began to sympathize with the robbers and gradually came to completely identify with them. They eventually denounced the authorities' attempts to free them. After the situation was resolved, the hostages remained loyal to their former captors for months. They refused to

testify against them and raised money for their legal defense. One of the female former hostages actually became engaged to one of the robbers. This was, to say the least, surprising behaviour. The question is whether this was an isolated phenomenon or whether it is possible for it to occur in other hostage crises.

Experts are divided about whether the Stockholm syndrome is a prevalent condition. Those who contend that it can occur and has occurred in other situations argue that the syndrome sets in when a prisoner suffers a psychological shift from captive to sympathizer. In theory, the prisoner will try to keep his or her captor happy in order to stay alive whenever he or she is unable to escape, is isolated, and is threatened with death. This becomes an obsessive identification with what the captor likes and dislikes, and the prisoner eventually begins to sympathize with the captor. The psychological shift theoretically requires three or four days to see in. An example of the Stockholm syndrome during the kidnapping of newspaper heiress Patricia Hearst, When Hearst was kidnapped by the terrorist group the Symbionese Liberation Army and joined group after being psychological and physically tormented for more than 50 days.

Summing up, In essence, then, psychological explanations of terrorist behaviour use theories of individual motivations and group dynamics to explicate why people first decide to adopt strategies of political violence and why groups continue their campaigns of violence. Among violent extremists, it appears that people who are aggressive and action oriented, and who place greater than normal

reliance on the psychological mechanisms of externalization and splitting, are disproportionately represented among terrorists. Pressures to conform to the group, combined with pressures to commit acts of violence, form a powerful psychological drive to carry on in the name of the cause, even when victory is logically impossible. These pressures become so prevalent that achieving victory becomes a consideration secondary to the unity of the group. Having said this, it is inadvisable to completely generalize about psychological causes of terrorism, because “most terrorist do not demonstrate serious psychopathology,” and “there is no single personality type.”²⁶

4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TERRORISM:

Economic developments refers to a process over a long period involving increase in per capita real income accompanied by qualitative changes in all the factors influencing economic development. Socio-cultural at most fair in backward countries is an important free condition for their rapid development. Social factors have strong influence upon economic development. Since economic development needs a series of change of Institutions, structure of people’s way of living, mode of thinking etc. therefore socio-economic stabilities must be there for smooth running of the process of economic development. There is a negative correlation between economic development and terrorism. Here the author likes to discuss the socio-economic impact of terrorism with special reference to North East region of India. The northeastern state has been affected badly by terrorism involving

numbers of terrorist group! and emergence of new group intensifies the complicated problem of terrorism. Socio-cultural at most fair which is free condition for economic development has been violated due to terrorism in NER.

The problem of terrorism in NER is a threat to social stability and stands as a barrier to economic development. Insurgency creates so many Socio-Economic, political problems to the society, which pull back the process of economic development of this region. There is historical evidence that the terrorism prone countries are economically and socially backward and their rate of economic development is very slow. The NER has been suffering from this problem for a long period. The adverse affect of this problem is reflected in overall economic backwardness of this region.

A number of separatist organizations operated in the states of Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura, and Manipur and lately in Assam. While a few of these organizations in Mizoram, Tripura discarded military and joined mainstream, others in Nagaland, Manipur and Assam are still continuing this struggle. Terrorism in Nagaland has the goal to achieve an independent Nagaland comprising not only area falling within the Nagaland but also the Naga-inhabited areas of Manipur and Myanmar. Angami Zapu Phizo was the first insurgent leader of northeastern region. Later the stringent counter measures forced Phizo to Flee to London and he became a British citizen. The leaderless insurgence naturally accepted the amnesty offer of the Indian government and signed the Shillong Accord on November 11.

1975. A group of diehards refused to accept govt. offer on the view that they did not take up arms for material gains and they form the pro-communist outfit, the national socialist council of Nagaland (NSCN). The NSCN activities are such that it has been creating terror for those who advocated peaceful solution from their bases in North Myanmar under the leadership of S.S Khaplang (president), Issac Swu (chairmen), T.Muivah (General Secretary)

Mainly two groups are there in Manipur which have taken up arms for sovereign Manipur. They are the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the people's Liberation Army of Kangleipak (PREPAK). The ideology of both these two groups are almost similar. The only difference is that PREPAK has been fighting for the identity of the Meities (original inhabitants of Manipur) whereas PLA is working for liberated North Eastern region. United Nations Liberation Front, the UNLF led by the scholar revolutionary R.K. Meghen came next. Unlike the PLA and PREPAK, the UNLF has never resorted to violence because its strategy was to invade India with the military assistance of China to liberate Manipur. Recently another militant organization, Ireipakchasingee Punshi Kanba Phurub (IPKF) has emerged in Manipur. In late 1989, this group issued a press note demanding that the Manipur Govt. should publish a list of narcotic Pushers. Corrupt Politicians and bureaucrats for immediate drastic action.

One of the first terrorist out fits in Assam was the Assam people's Liberation Army (APLA) formed in Tezpur by one Arupan Bezbaruah. APLA came to notice

in November 1980. APLS'S first task was to establish contact with the PLA of Manipur, NSCN of Nagaland and MNF of Mizoram. In 1983, on the eve of the Assam State Assembly Election, the APLA committed a number of terrorist acts including the killing of police officers.

The United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) one of the major insurgency organization in North-East formally came into being in 1981 when it developed purposeful connections with the NSCN for procuring arms and obtaining training of cadres in handling them.

The declared aims of the ULFA constitutions, *inter alia*, are:

- a) To obtain Assam's sovereignty by armed revolution.
- b) To safeguard the people and interest of Assam and those of its neighboring land, that is Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh and Tripura.
- c) To have full control over the revenue resources of Assam like oil and natural gas, forest resources etc.
- d) To gain public support against Indian and non Indian exploitation.
- e) To stand against any suppression and repression of the Assamese Masses.²⁷

During the sixties, hill tribes, viz, Khasis, Garos, Jaintia, Mizo and Nagas pressed for separation from Assam and secured states. The Plains Tribes Council of Assam (PTCA) placed a similar demand in 1967 for a separate Bodoland to be called "Uddayachal" with a union territory status. The All-Bodo Students Union

(ABSU) was formed in the same year 1967 as a student's wing of PTCA. Another militant organization called United Tribal Nationalist Liberation Front UTNLF was formed under the leadership of former Indian Navy Officer, B.K. Basumatary. The ABSU and UTNLF worked together.

The harmful consequences of Terrorism on Economic development are examined as follows:

A. Lack of infrastructure for Industrial Development: Economic development needs sound infrastructure. NER lacks this important pillar of economic development. As the lion's share of revenue is spent annually on maintaining law and order, the development and social welfare activities get affected. The private sector is reluctant to invest in the region due to terrorism and law and order problems. The extortion by terrorist adversely affects the economy and development as it diverts the state's funds.

B) Administrative Efficiency: Administrative efficiency is the pre condition of economic development. This is also an essential political determinant of economic development. The problem of terrorism is standing as a barrier in maintaining administrative efficiency. For administrative efficiency the government. must be capable of maintaining law and order situation so that it can carry on the process of economic development very smoothly. But it has become a hard task on the part of the government of NER mainly of Assam, Nagaland, Manipur, and Tripura due mainly to the terrorist activities.

C) Social Stability: Social stability is one of the important factors of economic development. Social climate should be such that it can create the atmosphere of entrepreneurship for development activities. But problem of terrorism of NER creates havoc among the people of different ethnic groups and discourages them to do something new in the line of production, creative works etc.

D) Employment Opportunities: since the private sector is reluctant to invest in this region due to terrorism, the scope of opening employment avenues for huge number of unemployed youths is dampening. This adds fuel to the burning problem of unemployment. In the present global scenario, it could have been possible for NER to explore and utilize the resources available. But due to the problem of terrorism it does not happen in this region.

E) Tourism Industry: Natural beauty of NER is the gift of God. There is a vast scope of enlarging tourism industry. But people outside NER have a wrong conception that majority of the people of this region are terrorist and movement of terrorist with guns and other weapons is a part of normal life. With this view regarding NER, outside people are afraid and they are not interested to come here as tourists. Due to terrorism, tourism industry is badly affected in another way also. Infrastructural facilities for example-power, roads, bridges, housing, water supply etc. are urgently needed to gear up this sector. But since a huge amount of state fund is to be spent annually for maintenance of law and order, and the funds provided by the central government in different heads are diverted, it is not

possible on the part of the state governments of NER to provide funds for infrastructure development.

F) Political Crisis: The terrorists have created considerable crisis in the political scenario of NER mainly in Assam by manipulating voting behaviour of the people through the barrel of the gun. Besides, the terrorists are seen to extend issue based support to different political parties at different times in forming the governments as was demonstrated in the Assam Assembly Election in 2001. The disruptions of various terrorist groups and their network with other organizations that are inimical to India have caused a national security concern. The gradual involvement of Pakistan's ISI with the terrorists is a new dimension which threatens regional peace and stability.

G) Economic backwardness: Assam the gateway of NER is badly affected by the problem of terrorism. The economy of the state has been declining gradually. Huge amount of government revenue has to be spent in maintaining law and order and therefore the process of economic development of the state becomes very slow. This leads to economic backwardness of this state. Once the per capital income of Assam was well above the national average, but it has fallen far below today. The census of 2001 has shown a very pathetic picture of the poverty index. Corruption and extortion by the terrorists have become a part of life in the state that affects the state economy as well as security of the people. Due to diversion of funds, the rate of investment has fallen which causes low employment generation.

Low employment results in low demand and low saving which leads the economy to a backward direction.

H) Academic Atmosphere: Human resource is the prime factor of economic development. For human resource mobilization there should be quality education with a peaceful academic atmosphere. But due to problem of terrorism in NER, academic atmosphere has been vitiated. It results in drainage of brilliant students to outside regions. This also results in outflow of huge amount of money from this region as cost of education of the students.

I) Dranage of Skills: Due to terrorism in NER the government has to spend a huge amount in maintaining law and order and therefore they can not afford a huge sum for establishing development projects. This drives the skilled persons, viz., engineers, doctors, managers etc. outside in search of jobs and their skills are used in the development activities of other states and countries.

J) Bandh Call: Frequent bandhs called by various terrorist groups creates chaos and disorder in smooth functioning of various economic activities. Transportation sector is badly affected by these bandhs. Besides this, other sectors like Industry, Banking, Public administration, Education, Commerce, Tourism etc. are badly affected by bandh calls. Wage earners are the ultimate sufferers of this bandh calls. The people of Assam adopt this bandh call. This is very harmful for the development of the state. Recently an appreciable effort had been made by the Sibsagar District Transport Association to protest bandh-calls.

K) Surrendered Militants: Surrendered Militants create havoc in social life showing their strengths by dominating other competitor in their business fields. This makes public life miserable.

L) Money Demand by the terrorists: Forceful demand of money from different groups of people is a common feature of terrorist groups. This is a dangerous practice practiced by the terrorist groups. This leads the economy to a backward direction. The money collected from different source are used in purchasing arms and ammunition and as a result forge in countries from whom they purchase these are benefited. On the other hand, this region lacks fund for development activities.

M) Loss in Oil Sector: There is a slogan that “Oil flows, nation grows.” Oil sector is a very important sector for the development of a country. The state of Assam is endowed with natural oil and gas. IOCL, ONGC etc. are profit-making organization. But the oil and natural gas sectors have been suffering from insurgent activities as they have blasted many oil tanks, pipes etc. causing heavy loss to this sector.

N) Adverse Effect of Mobile Theatre: The most popular mobile theatre of Assam is unique in world cultural history. These theatres in one hand reflects the society and its various problems by staging dramas on various themes and on the other hand it provides jobs to many youths mainly from rural areas and contributes to solve the unemployment problem of the state to some extent. But due to the presence of terrorism these theatre groups suffer badly. People are worried about

bomb blasts in public places. For fear, they do not want to go the theatre. This leads the theatre groups to face a loss-making situation.

o) Tea Industry: Tea Industry is badly affected by the terrorist activities in Assam. The abduction of tea garden managers from time to time results in minimizing efficiency and innovative ideas regarding production and distribution of the managers.

From the above discussions on different points we can agree with the view that terrorism in NER is an impediment or hindrance to socio-economic development of this region.

5. Socio-Religious Impact of Terrorism:

Terrorism in the name of religion has become the predominant model for political violence in the modern world. This is not to suggest that it is the only model, because nationalism and ideology remain as potent catalysts for extremist behaviour. However religious extremism has become a central issue for the global community.

In the modern era, religious terrorism has increased in its frequency, scale of violence, the global reach. At the same time, a relative decline has occurred in secular-nonreligious-terrorism. The old ideologies of class conflict, anticolonial liberation, and secular nationalism have been challenged by a new and vigorous infusion of sectarian(religious) ideologies. Grassroots extremist support for religious violence has been most widespread among populations living in

repressive societies that do not permit demands for reform or other expressions of dissent. In this regard,” It is perhaps not surprising that religion should become a far more popular motivation for terrorism in the post-Cold War era as old ideologies lie discredited by the collapse of the Soviet union and communist ideology, while the promise of munificent benefits from the liberal-democratic, capitalist state...fails to materialize in many countries throughout the world.”²⁸

What is religious terrorism? What are its fundamental attributes? How is religion inspired violence rationalized? Religious terrorism is a type of political violence that is motivated by an absolute belief that an otherworldly power has sanctioned and commanded- the application of terrorist violence for the greater glory of the faith. Acts that are committed in the name of the faith will be forgiven by the otherworldly power and perhaps rewarded in an afterlife. In essence, one’s religious faith legitimizes violence so long as such violence is an expression of the will of one’s deity.

Experts present a model that compares the fundamental characteristics of religious and secular terrorism. The following discussion would review the following:

- A.** Primary and secondary motives: The Idiosyncratic Quality of Religious Terrorism.
- B.** Historical Cases in point: Fighting, Dying, and Killing in the Name of the Faith.
- C.** State-Sponsored Religious Terrorism in the Modern Era.
- D.** Dissident Religious Terrorism in the Modern Era.

A. Primary and Secondary Motives: The Idiosyncratic Quality of Religious Terrorism.

Religious terrorism is an idiosyncratic type of terrorism; it originates from countless national, cultural, and historical contexts. Unlike secular terrorism, which usually has an inherent (but fringe) rationality, religious terrorism is often an expression of unquestioned faith in a supernatural purpose. It is therefore very much contingent on trends within specific religions, the historical experiences of ethno-national groups, and the unique political environments of nations. As a basis for terrorism, religious faith has been applied in different ways, depending on the cultural and political environments of each terrorist movement. In some environments, religion is the primary motive for terrorist behaviour. In other contexts, it is a secondary motive that is part of an overseeing cultural identity for politically violent movements.

As a primary motive, religion is at the very core of an extremist group's political, social, and revolutionary agenda. Within this context, the religious belief system is the driving force behind their behaviour. Examples of these profiles are found in the Middle East and elsewhere among jihadi Islamic fundamentalists, in India among Hindu extremists, and in the United States among violent Christian anti-abortionists. In the United States, the Army of God has expressed support for, and advocated, violent attacks against abortion clinics and providers.

As a secondary motive, religion represents one aspect of an extremist group's overall identity and agenda. For many ethno-nationalist and other revolutionary movements, national independence or some other degree of autonomy forms the primary motivation for their violent behaviour. Religious affiliation can be important because it is an element of their ethnic or national identity, but their ultimate goal is grounded in their secular identity. Examples of this profile are found in Northern Ireland among Catholic and Protestant terrorists, in southern Sudan among Christians and believers in traditional faiths, and in pre-independence Palestine among Jewish terrorists. In Palestine, the Jewish terrorist group Lohmey Heruth Israel (Fighters for the freedom of Israel)- commonly known as the stern Gang- issued the following (mostly nationalistic) rationalization for the group's violence against the British occupation of Palestine:

“Now this is the law of our war. So long as there is fear in the heart of any Jew in the world, so long as there are embers burning under our feet anywhere in the world, so long there is a foreign master over our country, so long as we do not rule our own land, so long shall we be in your way. You will look around you and fear day and night.”²⁹

It should be understood that the concept of primary vis-à-vis secondary motives is exclusively an attribute of religious extremism, but also exists among secular extremist groups. For example, Marxism has been applied in different ways, depending on the political environment of each extremist movement. Ideological

groups such as Italy's Red Brigade were motivated primarily by Marxist ideals during the 1970s and 1980s, but nationalist movements such as Vietnam's Viet Cong were motivated secondarily by ideology during the 1960s and 1970s-the Viet Cong's primary motivation was their national identity.

I. Understanding Jihad as a Primary Religious Motive: An Observation and Caveat.

Keeping the Idiosyncratic quality of religious terrorism in mind, it is arguably necessary to make a sensitive observation-and caveat-about the study of religious terrorism in the modern era. The observation is that in the modern era, radical Islamist disproportionately commits the incidence of religious terrorism:

“Popular Western perception equates radical Islam with terrorism.... there is, of course, no Muslim or Arab monopoly in the field of religious fanaticism; it exists and leads to acts of violence in the United States, India, Israel, and many other countries. But the frequency of Muslim- and Arab-inspired terrorism is still striking...A discussion of religion -inspired terrorism cannot possibly confine itself to radical Islam, but it has to take into account the Muslim countries' preeminent position in this field.”³⁰

The caveat is that there is much misunderstanding in the West about the historical and cultural origins of the growth of radical interpretations of Islam. One such misunderstanding is the common belief that the concept of “holy war” is an underlying principle of the Islamic faith. Another misunderstanding is that

Muslims are united in supporting Jihad. This is simplistic and fundamentally incorrect. Although the term jihad is widely presumed in the West to refer exclusively to waging war against nonbelievers, an Islamic jihad is not the equivalent of a Christian Crusade (the Crusades are discussed further in this chapter). It is important to remember that, most Muslims, even most fundamentalists, are not terrorists. Instead, they have overwhelmingly been the victims of violent conflict. Hundreds of thousands of Muslims were killed in the war between Iran and Iraq, and the civil wars of Afghanistan and Algeria led to similarly horrific numbers of casualties. Noncombatant Muslims have suffered untold losses in the war between Chechnya and Russia, in the turmoil in Indonesia, and throughout much of Africa and the Middle East.³¹

II. A Case of Secondary Religious Motive:

The Protocols of the learned Elders of Zion.

Extremist ideologies have historically scapegoated undesirable groups. Many conspiracy theories have been invited to denigrate these groups and to implicate them in various plans to destroy an existing order. Some of these conspiracy theories possess quasi-religious elements that in effect classify the scapegoated group as being in opposition to a natural and sacred order. Among right-wing nationalists and racists, there often exists a convergence between scapegoating and mysticism. Just as it is common for rightist to assert their natural and sacred superiority, it is also common for them to demonize a scapegoated group.

essentially declaring that the entire group is inherently evil. One quasi-religious conspiracy theory is the promulgation of a document titled *The protocols of the learned Elders of Zion*.³²

The *Protocols* originated in czarist Russia and were allegedly the true proceedings of a meeting of a mysterious committee of the Jewish faith, during which a plot to rule the world was hatched—in league with the Freemasons. The *protocols* are a detailed record of this alleged conspiracy for world domination, but they were, in fact, a forgery written by the secret police (Okhrana) of Czar Nicholas II around 1895 and later published by Professor Sergyei Nilus. Many anti-Semitic groups have used this document to justify the repression of European Jews, and it was an ideological foundation for the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence in Europe, including massacres and pogroms (violent anti-Jewish campaigns in eastern Europe).

The National Socialist (Nazi) movement and Adolf Hitler used the *protocols* extensively. Modern Euro centric neo-Nazis and Middle Eastern extremists (both secular and religious) continue to publish and circulate the *protocols* as anti-Semitic propaganda. In regard, neo-Nazis and Middle Eastern extremists have found common cause in quasi-religious anti-Semitism. In 1993, a Russia court formally ruled that the *protocols* are a forgery.³³

B. Historical Cases in Point: Fighting, Dying, and Killing in the Name of the Faith:

Terrorism carried out in the name of the faith has long been a feature of human affairs. The histories of people, civilizations, nations and empires are replete with examples of extremist “true believers” who engage in violence to promote their particular belief system. Some religious terrorists are inspired by defensive motives, others seek to ensure the predominance of their faith, and others are motivated by an aggressive amalgam of these tendencies.

Why do some movements and ethno-nationalist groups link their cause to an underlying spiritual principle? Is it accurate to characterize all spiritually rooted violence as terrorist or extremist? What kind of historical cases illustrate the idiosyncratic qualities of religious violence? To begin, we may observe that faith based violence exhibits the same qualities as other terrorist environments. Religious terrorism can be communal, genocidal, nihilistic, or revolutionary. Lone wolves, clandestine cells, large dissident movements, or governments can commit it. And, depending on one’s perspective, there is often debate about whether the perpetrators should be classified as terrorists or religious freedom fighters.

The following cases are historical examples of the idiosyncratic qualities of religious violence. This is a selective survey (by no means exhaustive) that will demonstrate how some examples of faith-based violence are clearly examples of

terrorism, how others are not so clear, and how each example must be considered within its historical and cultural context.

I. Judeo Christian Antiquity:

Within the Judeo-Christian belief system, there are references in the Bible not only to assassinations and conquest but also to the complete annihilation of enemy nations in the name of the faith. One such campaign is described in the Book of Joshua.

The story of Joshua's conquest of Canaan is the story of the culmination of the ancient Hebrews' return to Canaan. To Joshua and his followers, this was the "promised Land" of the covenant between God and the chosen people. According to the Bible, the Canaanite cities were destroyed and the Canaanites themselves were attacked until "there was no one left who breathed."³⁴ Assuming that Joshua and his army put to the sword all the inhabitants of the 31 cities mentioned in the Bible, and assuming that each city averaged 10,000 people, his conquest cost 310,000 lives.³⁵

To the ancient Hebrews, the Promised Land had been occupied by enemy trespassers. To fulfill God's covenant, it was rational and necessary from their perspective to drive them from the land, exterminating them when deemed necessary.

II. Christian Crusades:

During the Middle ages, the western Christian (i.e., Roman Catholic) church launched at least nine invasions of the Islamic east, the first one in 1095. These invasions were termed Crusades because they were conducted in the name of the Cross. The purpose of the Crusades was to capture the holy lands from the disunited Muslims, whom they referred to collectively as Saracens.

Christian knights and soldiers answered the call for many reasons. Another important reason was the spiritual promise, made by Pope Urban II, that fighting and dying in the name of the Cross would ensure martyrdom and thereby guarantee a place in heaven. Liberation of the holy lands would bring eternal salvation. Thus “knights who with pious intent took the Cross would earn a remission from temporal penalties for all his sins; if he died in battle he would earn remission of his sins.”³⁶ This Religious ideology was reflected in the war cry of the early Crusades: *Deus lo volt!* (God wills it!)

During the first Crusades, Western knights-primarily Frankish soldiers- captured a broad swath of biblical lands, including Jerusalem and Bethlehem. When cities and towns were captured, most of the Muslim and Jewish inhabitants were killed outright, a practice that was common in medieval warfare. When Jerusalem was captured in July 1099, Frankish knights massacred thousands of Muslim, Jewish, and Orthodox Christian residents. An embellished Crusader letter sent to Pope

Urban II in Rome boasted that the blood of the Saracens reached the bridles of the Crusaders' horses.

Not all Christian Crusades were fought in Muslim lands. The Western Church also purged its territories of Jews and divergent religious beliefs that were denounced as heresies. The zealotry and violence of these purges became legendary. During the brutal Albigensian Crusade in southern France during the 13th century, the story was told that concerns were raised about loyal and innocent Catholics who were being killed along with targeted members of the enemy Cathar sect. The Pope's representative, Arnaud Amaury, allegedly replied, "Kill them all, God will know his own."

The Church-sanctioned invasions and atrocities were deemed to be in accordance with God's wishes and therefore perfectly acceptable. An extreme and unquestioning faith in the cause led to a series of campaigns of terror against the non-Christian (and sometimes the Orthodox Christian) residents of conquered cities and territories. In a typical and tragic irony of the time, the Greek Orthodox city of Constantinople, center of the Byzantine Empire and one of the great cities of the world, was captured and sacked by Western Crusaders in 1204 during the fourth Crusade. The Crusaders looted the city and created a short-lived Latin Empire, which lasted until 1261.

C. State-Sponsored Religious Terrorism in the Modern Era:

State sponsored terrorism is the most organized, and potentially the most far-reaching, application of terrorist violence. Governments possess an array of resources that are unavailable to sub state dissident groups, which means that the state is unmatched in its ability to commit acts of violence. Government sponsorship of terrorism is not limited for providing support for ideological or ethno-national movements. It also incorporates state sponsorship of religious revolutionary movements.

National Case: Iran

Iran became a preeminent state sponsor of religious terrorism after the overthrow of the monarchy of Shah Mauhammed Reza Pahlavi in 1979, and the creation of the theocratic Islamic Republic of Iran soon thereafter. Iran has been implicated in the sponsorship of a number of groups that are known to have engaged in terrorist violence, making it a perennial entry on the U.S. Department of State's list of state sponsors of terrorism. The Iranian **Revolutionary Guards Corps** has a unit-- the **Qods (Jerusalem) Force**-- that promotes Islamic revolution abroad and the "liberation" of Jerusalem from non-Muslims. Members of the Revolutionary Guards have appeared in Lebanon and Sudan.

Regional Case: Pakistan and India

India and Pakistan are seemingly implacable rivals. Much of this rivalry is grounded in religious animosity between the Hindu and Muslim communities of

the subcontinent, and the sponsorship of terrorist proxies have kept the region in a state of nearly constant tension.

Hindus and Muslims in Southwest Asia have engaged in sectarian violence since 1947, when British colonial rule ended. The spiritual and political architect of the movement against British rule was Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi, who led an independence movement based on nonviolence and principles of inclusive community. Unfortunately, Gandhi's deep spiritual convictions could not forestall sectarian confrontation in the new nation. During and after the British withdrawal, communal fighting and terrorism between Hindus and Muslims led to the partition of British India into mostly Muslim East Pakistan and West Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and mostly Hindu India. During the partition, Hindus and Muslims migrated across the new borders by the hundreds of thousands. Since independence, conflict has been ongoing between Pakistan and India over many issues, including Indian support for Bangladesh's war of independence from Pakistan, disputed borders, support for religious nationalist terrorist organizations, the development of nuclear arsenals and the disputed northern region of Jammu and Kashmir.

Pakistan, through its intelligence agency, the **Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)**, has a long history of supporting insurgent groups fighting against Indian interests. Religious terrorist groups in the Indian state of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir have received Pakistani aid in what has become a high-stakes

conflict between two nuclear powers that can also field large conventional armies. The Pakistan-India conflict is arguably as volatile as the Arab-Israeli rivalry but with many times the manpower and firepower. This is especially noteworthy because both countries possess nuclear arsenals.

D. Dissident Religious Terrorism in the Modern Era:

Dissident religious terrorism is a political violence conducted by groups of religious “true believers” who fervently have faith in the sacred righteousness of their cause. Any behaviour carried out in the defense of this sacred cause is considered to be not only justifiable but also blessed. As discussed previously, most major religions-- in particular, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and Hinduism-- possess extremist adherents, some of them have engaged in terrorist violence. Smaller religions and cults have similar adherents. Among the unambiguous principles found among religious extremists are their convictions that they are *defending* their faith from attack by nonbelievers, or their faith in an indisputable and universal guiding principle that must be advanced for the salvation of the faithful. These principles are manifested in various ways and to varying degrees by religious extremists, but they are usually at the core of their belief system.

Regional Case: Religious Zealotry in the Middle East.

From the perspective of religious radicals in the Middle East, violence done in the name of God is perfectly rational behaviour because God is on their side.

Many of the holy sites in the region are sacred to more than one faith, as in the case of Jerusalem, where a convergence of claims exists among Muslims, Jews, and Christians. When these convergences occur, some extremists believe that the claims of other faiths are inherently blasphemous. Because of this sort of indisputable “truth”, some extremists believe that God wishes for nonbelievers to be driven from sacred sites, or otherwise barred from legitimizing their claims. As Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the assassinated founder of the Palestinian Islamist group Hamas explained in a 1998 justification of defensive religious violence, First of all.... these are not suicide operations. [Islam forbids suicide.] We are protecting ourselves... The Jews attack and kill our civilians-- we will kill their civilians, too.... From the first drop of blood [the bomber] spills on the ground, he goes to Paradise. The Jewish victims immediately go to Hell.

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Movement Case: The International Mujahideen-- Holy Warriors for the faith.

The mujahideen, or “holy warriors.” are Islamic fighters who have sworn a vow to take up arms to defend the faith. They tend to be believers in fundamentalist interpretations of Islam who have defined their jihad, or personal struggle, to be one of fighting and dying on behalf of the faith.

The modern conceptualization of the Mujahideen began during the Soviet war in Afghanistan, which dated from the time of the Soviet invasion of the country in December 1979 to their withdrawal in February 1989. Although several Afghan

rebel groups (mostly ethnically based) fought the Soviets, they collectively referred to themselves as “Mujahaideen.” To them, their war of resistance was a holy jihad. Significantly, Muslim volunteers from around the world served alongside the Afghan mujahideen. These “**Afghan Arabs**” played an important role in spreading the modern *jihadi* ideology throughout the Muslim world.

Reasons for taking up arms as a *jihadi* vary, depending on one’s personal or national context. Some mujahideen recruits answer calls for holy war from religious scholars who might declare, for example, that the West is repressing Islam. Others respond to clear and identifiable threats to their people or country, such a Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S.-led occupation of Iraq, or the Israeli occupation of Gaza and the west bank. And others may join as mujahideen on behalf of the cause of other Muslims, such as the wars fought by Bosnian Muslims or Algerian rebels. Regardless of the precipitating event, mujahideen are characterized by their faith in several basic values.

The ideology of the modern mujahideen requires selfless sacrifice in defense of the faith. Accepting the title of mujahideen requires selfless sacrifice in defense of the faith. Accepting the title of mujahideen means that one must live, fight, and die in accordance with religious teachings. They believe in the inevitability of victory, because the cause is being waged on behalf of the faith and in the name of God; both the faith and God will prevail. During this defense of the faith, trials and ordeals should be endured without complaint, because the pain suffered in this

world will be rewarded after death in paradise. If one lives a righteous and holy life, for example by obeying the moral proscriptions of the Qur'an, one can enjoy these proscribed pleasures in the afterlife. Thus, the essence of modern mujahideen ideology is a hybrid and simplistic blend of Islamic fundamentalism. This "Islam" seeks to eradicate all forms of Islam other than its own strict literal interpretation of the Koran. It comes packaged with a set of now well-known political grievances... and justifies violence as a means of purging nations of corruption moral degradation, and spiritual torpor.³⁸

As applied by the mujahideen, the defensive ideology of jihad holds that when one defends the faith against the unfaithful, death is martyrdom, and through death paradise will be achieved. One oath of commitment made by a recruit to the anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan read:

"I... State in the presence of God that I will slaughter infidels my entire life... And with the will of God I will do these killings in the supervision and guidance with Harkut ul-Ansar.... may God give me strength in fulfilling this oath."³⁹

Organization Case: Al Qaeda's Religious Foundation

The modern era's most prominent pan-Islamic revolutionary organization is Saudi national **Osama bin Laden's** cell-based Al Qaeda (The Base), which seeks to unite Muslims throughout the world in a holy war. Al Qaeda is not a traditional hierarchical revolutionary organization, nor does it call for its followers to do much more than engage in terrorist violence in the name of the faith. Al Qaeda is

best described as a movement or loose network of like-minded Islamic revolutionaries. Compared to other movements in the postwar era, it is a different kind of network, because Al Qaeda

- * Holds no territory
- * Does not champion the aspirations of an ethno-national group
- * Has no “top-down” organizational structure
- * Has virtually nonexistent state sponsorship
- * Promulgates political demands that are vague
- * Is completely religious in its worldview

Experts do not know how many people count themselves as Al Qaeda operatives, but estimates range from 35,000 to 50,000. Of these, perhaps 5,000 received training in camps in Sudan and Afghanistan.⁴⁰ Others are new recruits from around the Muslim world and Europe, and many others are veteran Afghan Arabs who fought in the jihad against the Soviet and later against the post-September 11, 2001, American-led coalition forces in Afghanistan. With a presence in an estimated 50 to 60 countries, it is likely that new recruits will continue to join the Al Qaeda cause (or Al Qaeda-inspired causes) in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacks.

Al Qaeda’s religious orientation is a reflection of Osama bin Laden’s sectarian ideological point of view. Bin Laden’s worldview was created by his exposure to Islam-motivated armed resistance. As a boy, he inherited between \$20 million and

\$80 million from his father, with estimates ranging as high as \$300 million. When the Soviet invaded Afghanistan in 1979, bin Laden eventually joined with thousands of others non-Afghan Muslims who traveled to Peshawar, Pakistan, to prepare to wage jihad. However, his main contribution to the holy war was to solicit financial and *materiel* (military hardware) contributions from wealthy Arab sources. He apparently excelled at this. The final leg on his journey toward international Islamic terrorism occurred when he had thousands of other Afghan veterans-- the Afghan Arabs-- returned to their countries to carry on their struggle in the name of Islam. Beginning in 1986, bin Laden organized a training camp that grew in 1988 into the Al Qaeda group. While in his home country of Saudi Arabia, bin Laden “became enraged when King Fahd let American forces, with their rock music and Christian and Jewish troops, wage the Persian Gulf war from Saudi soil in 1991.”⁴¹

After the Gulf War, bin Laden and a reinvigorated Al Qaeda moved to its new home in Sudan for five years. It was there that the Al Qaeda network began to grow into a self-sustaining financial and training base for promulgating jihad. Bin laden and his followers configured the Al Qaeda network with one underlying purpose: “launching and leading a holy war against the Western infidels he could now see camped out in his homeland, near the holiest shrines in the Muslim world.”⁴² Al Qaeda has inspired Islamic fundamentalist revolutionaries and terrorists in a number of countries. It became a significant source of financing and

training for thousands of *jihadis*. The network is essentially a nonstate catalyst for transnational religious radicalism and violence.

When Al Qaeda moved to Afghanistan, its reputation as financial and training center attracted many new recruits and led to the creation of a loose network of cells and “sleepers” in dozens of countries. Significantly, aboveground radical Islamic groups with links to Al Qaeda took root in some nations and overtly challenged authority through acts of terrorism. Two of these groups-- Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines and Laskar Jihad in Indonesia.

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