

EASTERN

TERRORISM

& Terrorist Groups
of North East India



Pear Ali Ahmed

*Terrorism and Terrorist Groups of
North-East India*

TERRORISM AND TERRORIST GROUPS OF NORTH-EAST INDIA

Pear Ali Ahmed



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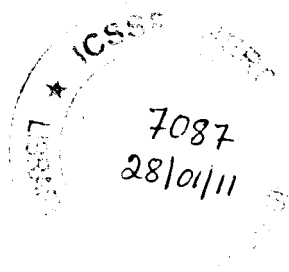
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Dedicated to the memory of my teachers
Minhaz Uddis Ahmed
Sri Boloram Talukdar
Sri Arobinda Nath

-Pear Ali Ahmed.

PREFACE

Terrorism is more an isolated problem of a nation. Most of the developed countries in different parts of the world are facing it. Some countries which are accused of sponsoring terrorism from their land are also a victim of it.

'Terrorism' is the biggest issue of our country these days. Frequently occurring incidents bear ample testimony to it. The recently occurred 26/11 attack on Mumbai was the worst attack we have witnessed in the living memory and psyche. India has experienced the scourge of terrorism since its independence in 1947, when the Nagas refused to join the union. They were followed by the Mizos in the 1960's. Then it was the turn of the ULFA in Assam. After the North-east, Jammu and Kashmir became its victim in 1980's, followed by the terrorism in Punjab.

Now-a-days, several dozens of the terrorist groups are active in the North-east India. Today, the region is labelled the title 'hot bed of extremism'. The extortion drive initially was directed against the outsiders – 'Plain manu' (people from plains of mainland India) in Nagaland or 'Mayangs' (outsiders) in Manipur. The initial 'anti-foreigner' agitation in Assam against influx of Bangladeshis got embroiled into 'Bongali Kheda' (chase out Bengali) campaign and by as late as 2004 it turned against Biharis. The 'Bangla Kheda' (chase out Bengali) slogan was also often heard in Tripura by fifties. Gradually a 'peace loving abode' 'Meghalaya' went into the lap of insurgency.

In Nagaland and Manipur after years of staying together, the Kukis and the Nagas found each other turn blood thirsty against one another.

The native continues to believe that he is to be exploited by outsiders. Hence, there is a legitimacy to chase out the 'foreigners or aliens'. They could be the Naga in Manipur, Bengali in Tripura, Marwaris, Bengali and Hindi speaking people in Assam or even Assamese in a Naga border town.

Almost all the states of North-east India are badly affected by terrorism, except Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim. Mizoram is comparatively peaceful now. But at one time it was badly affected by terrorism. In Meghalaya also, two extremist organizations of the Khasis and Garos are active. Tripura is also badly affected by terrorism. The worst effected state now is Manipur. Nagaland is slowly coming back to peace, but some extremist organizations are still alive. In Assam, United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) are active. In hill districts UPDS and DHD are active.

The book aims at spreading the awareness among the civil society about the serious danger posed to the Indian nation and its polity by the rampaging terrorism.

The book tries to make penetrating inroads into the social, economic and political philosophy of the people. There are many factors responsible for the complex situation in the North-east India.

This book is written with the hope that bloodshed and tears that have been the story in the North-east India will finally find a political solution.

I am indebted to eminent authors and commentators for the invaluable assistance I have derived from their writings in preparation of this book.

Special thanks are due to my wife Suraiya Siddika and my younger brother Hannan Ali for their help in preparing the manuscript of the book. Some useful suggestions made by Mehtab Hussain, Secretary, Assam Urban Development have also received due attention. I am thankful to him for these suggestions, which have added to the quality

of the material. I am thankful to Noorjaman Ahmed, Advocate, Gauhati High Court, Mahinioor Ahmed, A.R. Sikdar, Advocate, Gauhati High Court, J. Ahmed, Advocate, Gauhati High Court, Rahmat Ali, Advocate, Gauhati High Court, Abdus Sabur Akand, Advocate, Gauhati High Court for their valuable suggestions.

I will fail in my duty if I do not make mention Majibar Rahman Saikia and Parashmoni Rahman Saikia who encouraged me giving valuable suggestions.

I am thankful to Mr. J.P. Sharma, proprietor, E.B.H. Publishers (India), Panbazar, Guwahati, for his keen interest in publishing the book in the present form.

Suggestions for betterment are always welcome.

Bagodi, Barpeta
10th June, 2010.

Pear Ali Ahmed

FOREWORD

Terrorism has become an incurable disease and the international community has not able to develop a successful anti-biotic. Terrorism today threatens peace and stability of different countries of the world. The Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Jews people have become victims of terrorism. The impact of terrorism is felt in every nook and corner of the globe.

I have read with great interest the manuscript copy of Pear Ali Ahmed's "Terrorism and Terrorist Groups of North-East India". In this present work Pear Ali Ahmed has highlighted the definitions and cause of terms, kinds of terrorism. He has also discussed the formation causes and terrorist activities of terrorist groups of North-east India. He has also forwarded some suggestions to prevent terrorism.

Finally, I believe that the work will prove to be a subject of extreme benefit to the serious scholars, researchers including interested laymen. My very best wished to Pear.

11-07-2010
Sijubari, Hatigaon
Guwahati-38

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-Contents-

Preface	vii
Foreword	xi
1. Terrorism	1
2. Causes of terrorism	25
3. Terrorism – problem and solution	35
4. North-east of india : At a glance	...	...	45
5. Foreign hands in the north-east insurgency	...	...	205
6. Major terrorist groups of the world	...	...	213
Index	...	...	225

1

TERRORISM

INTRODUCTION

Terrorism means use of violence and threats of violence, especially for political purposes. A person who supports or participates in terrorism is a terrorist.

Terrorism is the systematic use of terror, especially as a means of coercion. At present, there is no internationally agreed definition of terrorism. Common definitions of terrorism refer only to those acts which are intended to create fear (terror), are perpetrated for an ideological goal (as opposed to a lone attack), and deliberately target or disregard the safety of non-combatants.

CONCEPT OF TERRORISM

Some definitions also include act of unlawful violence and war. The history of terrorist organizations suggests they do not select terrorism for its political effectiveness. Individual terrorists tend to be motivated more by a desire for social solidarity with other members of their organization than by political platforms or strategic objectives, which are often murky and undefined.

The word 'terrorism' is politically and emotionally charged, and this greatly compounds the difficulty of providing a precise definition. A 1988 study by the United States Army found that over 100 definitions of the word 'terrorism' have been used. The

concept of terrorism is itself controversial because it is often used by states to delegitimize political or foreign opponents and potentially legitimize the states, own use of terror against them. A less politically and emotionally charged term (used not only for terrorists), allowing for more accurate analyses, is violent non-state actor.

Terrorism has been practised by a broad array of political organizations for furthering their objectives. It has been practised by both right-wing and left-wing political parties, nationalistic groups, religious groups, revolutionaries and ruling governments.

ORIGIN OF TERRORISM

'Terror' comes from a Latin word meaning 'to frighten'. The terror cimbricus was a panic and state of emergency in Rome in response to the approach of warriors of the Cimbri tribe in 105 BC. The term 'terrorism' was originally used to describe the actions of the Jacobin Club during the 'Reign of Terror' in the French Revolution. 'Terror is nothing other than justice, prompt, severe, inflexible', said Jacobin leader Maximilien Robespierre. In 1795, Edmund Burke denounced the Jacobins for letting 'thousands of those hell hounds called terrorists' loose upon the people of France.

In January 1858, Italian patriot Felice Orsini threw three bombs in an attempt to assassinate French Emperor Napoleon III. Eight bystanders were killed and 142 injured. The incident played a crucial role as an inspiration for the development of the early Russian terrorist groups. Russian Sergey Nechayev, who founded People's Retribution in 1869, described himself as a 'terrorist', an early example the term being employed in its modern meaning. Nechayev's story is told in fictionalized form by Fyodor Dostoevsky in the novel 'The Possessed'. German anarchist writer Johann Most dispensed 'advice for terrorists' in the 1880s.

DEFINITION OF TERRORISM

In order to make law about terrorism, one needs a legal definition. Here is the one used by the United States government.

The term 'terrorism' means pre-meditated politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.

The term 'international terrorism' means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country.

The term 'terrorist group' means any group practising or that has significant sub-groups that practice, international terrorism.

The key parts of this definition are that the violence is motivated by political considerations, that it targets non-combatants (not soldiers engaged in military action), that its perpetrators are not themselves part of a government.

Political analyst, Security Counselor and White House adviser Brian Jenkins gives a somewhat expanded version of this definition of terrorism noting that – 'All terrorist acts are crimes. Many acts would also be violations of the rules of war, if a state of war existed. All involve violence or the threat of violence often coupled with specific demands. The targets are mainly civilians. The motives are political. The actions generally are designed to achieve maximum publicity. The perpetrators are usually members of an organized group and unlike other criminals; they often claim credit for the act. (this is a true hallmark of terrorism. And, finally, it is intrinsic to a terrorist psychological effect for beyond the immediate physical damage. One person's terrorist is everyone's terrorist.'

Linguist and activist Noam Chomsky defines terrorism, noting that – 'The term terrorism has come to be applied mainly

to retail terrorism by individuals or groups. Where the term once applied to emperors who molest their own subjects and the world, now it is restricted to thieves who molest the powerful. Extricating ourselves from the system of indoctrination we will use the term 'terrorism' to refer to the threat or use of violence to intimidate or coerce (generally for political ends), whether it is the wholesale terrorism of the emperor or the retail terrorism of the thief.'

The discussion of terrorism, then, must encompass not only political violence initiated by groups fighting against governments, but also terroristic actions taken by governments themselves. That is because while the focus of this or most books on terrorism is on the acts of terrorist groups, the context for understanding these acts must include the response of the target government and in term, the effects of that response on the political climate of the society.

WHO IS THE TERRORIST

No one is born corrupt. Even corrupt people begin life as innocent little children. Then, circumstances lead them gradually into paths that offer them easy money. They cannot resist temptation and soon they are trapped into a life of corruption from which they cannot escape. They try to rationalize their ignoble mode of existence, forcing them to remain blind to the misery and unhappiness of many people who live in dire poverty because of the greed of the corrupt. A person who supports or participates in terrorism is a terrorist.

As David Rapoport notes, the terrorist is someone who has made decisions about issues that trouble us and confronts us with more than just the fact of violence – 'The terrorist acts in an environment where the society has a good deal of ambivalence about the cause the terrorists is concerned with society is unwilling to come to grips with the cause, the terrorist is proposing, but will ignore the cause unless finds it cannot do so, what the terrorist

does indicate that he is willing to die or sacrifice himself for the cause One problem with contemporary definitions of terrorism because they focus on the killing is that they really can't see why somebody like the IRA, for example, would engage in hunger strikes; how that really performs the same functions and over performs it better than killing does sometimes whether the violence is inflicted on oneself or on others, it's the striking character of the act which, first of all, calls attention and secondly galvanizes latent emotions.'

Most people who are not pure pacifists can visualize some conditions under which they would use force to resist or change what they consider to be intolerable conditions. As Douglas Pike has concluded – 'What seems more to the point is not language but thought pattern, would view, philosophy of politics what are the limits of force, irrational violence, terror, in that ascending order, in bringing about social change? All of us fall somewhere along this force–violence-terror continuum. Towards one end are those who believe that less rather than more is justified, toward the other are those who advocate more on grounds of imperative need or as principle.....'

However, where terrorists have chosen to place themselves on the continuum of violence is a producer of personality and psychology as well as commitment to ideology.

According to political sociologist I.L. Horowitz's study of the biographies of terrorists, one can draw some general conclusions about the attitudes of people who engage in terrorism, the beliefs or expectations they have about the results of their actions –

1. A terrorist is a person engaged in politics who makes little if any distinction between strategy and tactics on one hand, and principles on the other...
2. A terrorist is a person prepared to surrender his own life for a cause considered transcendent in value ...

3. A terrorist is a person who possesses both a self-fulfilling prophetic element and a self-destructive element.
4. A terrorist is a person for whom all events are volatile and none are determined ...
5. A terrorist is a person who is (a) young; (b) most often of middle class family background; (c) usually male; and (d) economically marginal ...
6. A terrorist performs his duties as an avocation.
7. The terrorist distinguishes himself from the casual homicide in several crucial respects, he murders systematically rather than at random, he is symbolic rather than passionate and his actions are usually well planned rather than spontaneous. Terrorism is thus primarily a sociological phenomenon; whereas homicide can be more easily interpreted in symbolical terms ...
8. The terrorist by definition is a person who does not distinguish between coercion and terrorism because he lacks access to the coercive mechanisms of the state.
9. A terrorist is a person who, through the act of violence, advertises and dramatizes a wider discontent ...
10. A terrorist believes that the act of violence will encourage the uncommitted public to withdraw support from a regime or institution, and hence make wider revolutionary acts possible by weakening the resolve of the opposition.
11. A terrorist may direct his activities against the leadership of the opposition by assassinating presidents and power holders Other terrorists may direct their activities against the symbols of establishment and agencies ...
12. A terrorist does not have a particularly well-defined ideological persuasion.

An important part of a terrorist's psychology is the attitude toward the group. As it is well known, being in a group can add a dimension of intensity to any activity. In speaking of revolutionary groups, Arthur Koestler makes an observation that is equally applicable to terrorists – 'The total identification of the individual with the group makes him unselfish in more than one sense It makes him perform comradely, altruistic, heroic actions – to the point of self-sacrifice – and at the same time behave with ruthless cruelty toward the enemy or victim of the group. In other words, the self-assertive behaviour of the group is based on the self-transcending behaviour of its members, which often entails sacrifice of personal interests and even of life in the interest of the group. To put it simply – the egotism of the group feeds on the altruism of its members.'

KEY CRITERIA OF TERRORISM

Official definitions determine counter terrorism policy and are often developed to serve it. Most government definitions outline the following key criteria, target, objective, motive, perpetrator and legitimacy or legality of the act. Terrorism is also often recognizable by the following statement from the perpetrators.

Violence : According to Walter Laqueur of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 'the only general characteristic of terrorism generally agreed upon is that terrorism involves violence and the threat of violence.' However, the criterion of violence alone does not produce a useful definition, as it includes many acts not usually considered terrorism; war, riot, organized crime or even a simple assault. Property destruction that does not endanger life is not usually considered a violent crime, but some have described property destruction by the Earth Liberation Front and Animal Liberation Front as violence and terrorism.

Psychological Impact and Fear : The attack was carried out in such a way as to maximize the severity and length of the

psychological impact. Each act of terrorism as a 'performance' devised to have an impact on many large audiences. Terrorists also attack national symbols, to show power and to attempt to shake the foundation of the country or society they are opposed to. They may negatively affect a government, while increasing the prestige of the given terrorist organization and/or ideology behind a terrorist act.

Perpetrated for a Political Goal : Something that many acts of terrorism have in common is a political purpose. Terrorism is a political tactic, like letter-writing or protesting, which is used by activists when they believe that no other means will effect the kind of change they desire. The change is desired so badly that failure to achieve change is seen as worse outcome than the deaths of civilians. This is often where the inter-relationship between terrorism and religions occurs. When a political struggle is integrated in to the framework of a religious or 'cosmic' struggle, such as over the control of an ancestral homeland or holy site such as Israel and Jerusalem, failing in the political goal (nationalism) becomes equated with spiritual failure, which, for the highly committed, is worse than their own death or the death of innocent civilians. One definition that combines the key elements was developed at the George C. Marshall Center for European Security Studies by Carsten Bockstette; "Terrorism is defined as political violence in an asymmetrical conflict that is designed to induce terror and psychic fear (sometimes indiscriminate) through the violent victimization and destruction of non-combatant targets (sometimes iconic symbols), such acts are meant to send a message from an illicit clandestine organization.' The purpose of terrorism is to exploit the media in order to achieve maximum attainable publicity as an amplifying force multiplier in order to influence the targeted audiences, in order to reach short and mid-term political goals and/or desired long-term end states.

Deliberate Targeting of Non-combatants : It is commonly held that the distinctive nature of terrorism lies in its international and specific selection of civilians as direct targets. Specifically, the criminal intent is shown when babies, children, mothers and the elderly are murdered, or injured and put in harm's way. Much of the time, the victims of terrorism are targeted not because they are threats, but because they are specific 'symbols, tools, animals or corrupt beings' that tie into a specific view of the world that the terrorists possess. Their suffering accomplishes the terrorists' goals of instilling fear, getting their message out to an audience or otherwise satisfying the demands of their often radical religious and political agendas.

Unlawfulness or Illegitimacy : Some official (notably government) definitions of terrorism add a criterion of illegitimacy or unlawfulness to distinguish between actions authorized by a government (and thus 'lawful') and those of other actors, including individuals and small groups. Using this criterion, actions that would otherwise qualify as terrorism would not be considered terrorism if they bombed a city, which is designed to affect civilian support for cause, would not be considered terrorism if it were authorized by a government. This criterion is inherently problematic and is not universally accepted, because it denies the existence of state terrorism, the same act may or may not be classed as terrorism depending on whether its sponsorship is traced to a 'legitimate' government, 'legitimacy' and 'lawfulness' are subjective, depending on the perspective of one government or another and it diverges from the historically accepted meaning and origin of the term. For these reasons, this criterion is not universally accepted, most dictionary definitions of the term do not include this criterion.

Pejorative use of Terrorism and Terrorist : The terms 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' are often used as political labels to

condemn violence or the threat of violence by certain actors as immortal, indiscriminate or to condemn an entire segment of a population. Those labelled 'terrorists' by their opponents rarely identify themselves as such and typically use other terms or terms specific to their situation, such as separatist, freedom fighter, liberator, revolutionary, vigilante, militant, paramilitary, guerrilla, rebel or any similar meaning word in other languages and cultures. Jihadi, mujahideen and fedayeen are similar Arabic words which have entered the English lexicon. It is common for both parties to a conflict to describe each other as terrorists.

In his book 'Inside Terrorism' Bruce Hoftman wrote in Chapter One : Defining Terrorism that "On one point, at least, everyone agrees; terrorism is a pejorative term. It is a word with intrinsically negative connotations that is generally applied to one's enemies and opponents or to those with whom one disagrees and would otherwise prefer to ignore.' 'What is called terrorism', Brian Jenkins has written, 'thus seems to depend on one's point of view, use of the term implies a moral judgment; and if one party can successfully attach the label terrorist to its opponent, then it has indirectly persuaded others to adopt its moral viewpoint. Hence the decision to call someone or label some organization 'terrorist' becomes almost unavoidably subjective depending largely on whether one sympathizes with the victim of the violence, for example, then the act is terrorism. If, however, one identifies with the perpetrator, the violent act is regarded in a more sympathetic, if not positive (or, at the worst, an ambivalent) light and it is not terrorism'.

The pejorative connotations of the word can be summed up in the aphorism, 'One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter'. This exemplified when a group using irregular military methods is an ally of a state against a mutual enemy, but later falls out with the state and starts to use those methods against its former ally. During World War II, the Malayan People's Anti-

Japanese Army was allied with the British but during the Malayan Emergency, members of its successor (The Malayan Races Liberation Army), were branded 'terrorists' by the British. More recently, Ronald Reagan and others in the American administration frequently called the Afghan mujahideen 'freedom fighters' during their war against the Soviet Union, yet twenty years later, when a new generation of Afghan men are fighting against what they perceive to be a regime installed by foreign powers, their attacks are labelled 'terrorism' by George W. Bush. Groups accused of terrorism understandably prefer terms reflecting legitimate military or ideological action. Leading terrorism researcher Professor Martin Rudner, Director of the Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies at Ottawa's Carleton University, defines 'terrorist acts' as attacks against civilians for political or other ideological goals and goes on to say, "There is the famous statement : 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter'. But that is grossly misleading. It assesses the validity of the cause when terrorism is an act. One can have a perfectly beautiful cause and yet if one commits terrorist acts, it is terrorism regardless."

Some groups, when involved in a 'liberation' struggle, have been called 'terrorists' by the western governments or media. Later, these same persons, as leaders of the liberated nations, are called 'statesman' by similar organizations. Two examples of this phenomenon are the Nobel Peace Prize laureates Menachem Begin and Nelson Mandela.

Sometimes states which are close allies, for reasons of history, culture and politics, can disagree over whether or not members of a certain organization are terrorists. For instance, for many years, some branches of the United States government refused to label members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) as terrorists while the IRA was using methods against one of the United States' closest allies (Britain), which Britain branded as terrorism. This was highlighted by the Quinn V. Robinson case.

For these and other reasons media outlets wishing to preserve a reputation for impartiality are extremely careful in their use of the term.

CLASSIFICATION OF TERRORISM

Terrorism can be classified into two categories, i.e. (i) ideological terrorism and (ii) criminal terrorism.

The ideological terrorism can be political or religious or can be both, whereas criminal terrorism can be commercial terrorism, narco-terrorism and purely criminal terrorism. Thus, commercial terrorism intends to take commercial advantage, however narco-terrorism is the way to sustain and establish narcotic traffic. The mafias and terrorist organizations run parallel governments to support their terrorist activities. These groups have extortion rackets. The people indulged in such activities are called terrorists. They do not have any concern or respect for human rights. In fact, they are just wild beasts preying upon the civilized society. Though, the reality is known to them, many human right groups criticize the police action against the terrorists. Some of them have taken the human rights to such deplorable state that renowned cartoonist Sudhir Dhar had drawn a cartoon exhibiting the policeman welcoming a terrorist with a garland, just to keep himself clean of being accused of violating any human rights of the terrorists, such a ridicule situation has lowered the moral of the police forces. Even the paramilitary forces engaged in anti-terrorist acts are disheartened.

In the spring of 1975, the Law Enforcement Assistant Administration in the United States formed the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. One of the five volumes that the committee was entitled Disorders and Terrorism, produced by the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism under the direction of H.H.A. Cooper, Director of the Task Force Staff. The Task Force classified into six categories.

1. **Civil Disorders** : A form of collective violence interfering with the peace, security and normal functioning of the community.
2. **Political Terrorism** : Violent criminal behaviour designed primarily to generate fear in the community or substantial segment of it, for political purposes.
3. **Non-political Terrorism** : Terrorism that is not aimed at political purposes but which exhibits 'conscious design to create and maintain high degree of fear for coercive purposes, but the end is individual or collective gain rather than the achievement of a political objective'.
4. **Quasi-Terrorism** : The activities incidental to the commission of crimes of violence that are similar in form and method to genuine terrorism but which nevertheless lack its essential ingredient. It is not the main purpose of the quasi-terrorists to induce terror in the immediate victim as in the case of genuine terrorism, but the quasi-terrorists use the modalities and techniques of the genuine terrorists and produces similar consequences and reaction. For example, the fleeing felon who takes hostages is a quasi terrorist, whose methods are similar to those of the genuine terrorist but whose purposes are quite different.
5. **Limited Political Terrorism** : Genuine political terrorism is characterized by a revolutionary approach, limited political terrorism, refers to acts of terrorism which are committed for ideological or political motives but which are not part of a concerted campaign to capture control of the state.
6. **Official or State Terrorism** : 'Referring to nations whose rule is based upon fear and oppression that reach similar to terrorism or such proportions'. It may also be referred to as structural terrorism defined broadly as terrorist acts carried out by governments in pursuit of political objectives, often as part of their foreign policy.

In an analysis prepared for U.S. Intelligence four typologies are mentioned.

1. Nationalist – Separatist
2. Religious Fundamentalist
3. New Religious
4. Social Revolutionary

Democracy and Domestic Terrorism

The relationship between domestic terrorism and democracy is very complex. Such terrorism is most common in nations with intermediate political freedom and that the nations with the least terrorism are the most democratic nations. However, one study suggests that suicide terrorism may be an exception to this general rule. Evidence regarding this particular method of terrorism reveals that every modern suicide campaign has targeted a democracy – a state with a considerable degree of political freedom. The study suggests that concessions awarded to the terrorists during the 1980s and 1990s for suicide attacks increased their frequency.

Some examples of ‘terrorism’ in non-democracies include ETA in Spain under Francisco Franco, the Shining Path in Peru under Alberto Fujimori, the Kurdistan Workers Party when Trukey was ruled by military leaders and the ANC in South Africa. Democracies, such as the United States, Israel and Philippines, also have experienced domestic terrorism.

While a democratic nation espousing civil liberties may claim a sense of higher moral ground than other regimes, an act of terrorism within such a state may cause a perceived dilemma; whether to maintain its civil liberties and thus risk being perceived as ineffective in dealing with the problem, or alternatively to restrict its civil liberties and thus risk delegitimizing its claim of

supporting civil liberties. This dilemma, some social theorists would conclude, may very well play into the initial plans of the acting terrorists, namely to delegitimize the state.

Religious Terrorism

Religious terrorism is terrorism performed by groups or individuals, the motivation of which is typically rooted in the faith based tenets. Terrorist acts throughout the centuries have been performed on religious grounds with the hope to either spread or enforce a system of belief, view-point or opinion. Religious terrorism does not in itself necessarily define a specific religious stand-point or view, but instead usually defines an individual or a group view or interpretation of that belief system's teachings.

State-sponsored Terrorism

A state can sponsor terrorism by funding or harboring a terrorist organization. Opinions as to which acts of violence by states consist of state-sponsored terrorism or not vary widely. When states provide funding for groups considered by some to be terrorist, they rarely acknowledge them as such.

Nationalist or Separatist

In most other (previously) colonized states, 'nationalism movements commonly turned to terrorism', it being, 'the resort of an extremist faction of this broader movement' within an ethnic minority (Genshaw, 1981:383). The nationalism movement can be considered as resistance against an (external) oppressor. Williams (1994) provides an overview on the relation between ethnic minorities and the likelihood of conflict, for example to establish or assert language rights, religious beliefs and symbols (1994 : 59), but also includes factors like 'civil and political rights and privileges, regional ethnic parity in the economy what the general perceptions of unfairness is competition/rivalry when an ethnicity is subordinated or disadvantaged in economic

opportunity, social status, political voice and rights, or cultural expressions' (Williams, 1994:59).

State Terrorism

State terrorism is based on a clearly defined and widely accepted yet often unarticulated hierarchy, violence done by those higher on the hierarchy to those lower is nearly always invisible, that is, unnoticed. When it is noticed, it is fully rationalized, violence done by those lower on the hierarchy to those higher is unthinkable and when it does occur is regarded with shock, horror and the fetishization of the victims". – Derrick Jensen.

Governments themselves have often used terrorist-style tactics against their opponents, including killing, torture or kidnapping followed by 'disappearance'. The most devastating state terror comes when an ideological faction controls a totalitarian state and targets its political enemies for virtual extermination. For example, the Chinese Cultural Revolution under Mao Ze Dong beginning in the mid – 1960s and the regime of Cambodian dictator Pol Pot starting in the mid – 1970s represented radical attempts to reshape society by any means necessary. Millions of real or suspected political enemies were killed, re-educated, or dispossessed. Eventually such movements end because they destroy the ability of society to sustain itself or provoke reactions such as the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1979.

State terrorism can be more subtle when it is part of an on going struggle between a regime and insurgent forces. It is frequently a 'chicken-and-egg' question whether state terrorism is a response to provocation by insurgent terrorists or guerrillas or a basic policy that itself creates the conditions for insurgency. The state terrorism of the 20th century, from Hitler, Stalin and Mao to the death squads of Argentina and Guatemala, has killed many more people than non-governmental terrorist groups have.

As the 'terrorism', the concept of state terrorism is controversial. The chairman of the United Nations Counter-terrorism Committee has stated that the committee was conscious of the 12 international conventions on the subject and none of them referred to state terrorism, which was not an international legal concept. If states abused their power, they should be judged against international conventions dealing with war crimes, International Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law. Former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan has said that it is 'time to set aside debates on so-called 'state terrorism''. The use of force by states is already thoroughly regulated under international law. However, he also made clear that, '... regardless of the differences between governments on the question of definition of terrorism, what is clear and what we call all agree on is any deliberate attack on innocent civilians, regardless of one's cause, is unacceptable and fits into the definition of terrorism.

State terrorism has been used to refer to terrorist acts by government agents or forces. This involves the use of state resources employed by a state's foreign policies, such as using its military to directly perform acts of terrorism. Professor of Political Science, Michael Stohl cites the examples that include Germany's bombing of London and the U.S. atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II. He argues that 'the use of terror tactics is common in international relations and the state has been and remains a more likely employer of terrorism within the international system than insurgents'. They also cite the First strike option as an example of the 'terror of coercive diplomacy' as a form of this, which holds the world hostage with the implied threat of using nuclear weapons in 'crisis management'. They argue that the institutionalized form of terrorism has occurred as a result of changes that took place following World War II. In this analysis, state terrorism exhibited as a form of foreign policy was shaped by the presence and use of weapons of mass destruction, and

that the legitimizing of such violent behaviour led to an increasingly accepted form of this state behaviour. (Michael Stohl, 'The Superpowers and International Terror' paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, March 27-April 1, 1988; 'Terrible beyond Endurance? The Foreign Policy of State Terrorism' 1988; the State as Terrorist; the Dynamics of Governmental Violence and Repression, 1984 p. 49)

State terrorism has also been used to describe peace time actions by governmental agents or forces, such as bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 flight. Charles, Stewart Parnell described William Gladstone's Irish Coercion Act as terrorism in his 'no-Rent manifesto' in 1881, during the Irish Land War. The concept is also used to describe political repressions by governments against their own civilian population with the purpose to incite fear. For example, taking and executing civilian hostages or extra-judicial elimination campaigns are commonly considered 'terror' or terrorism, for example, during Red Terror or Great Terror, such actions are often also described as democide which has been agreed to be equivalent to state terrorism. Empirical studies on this have found that democracies have little democide.

Cyber Terrorism

Cyber terrorism has been used to refer to terrorist attack by targeting information system. Computer users have become familiar in recent years with computer viruses such as Melissa and the Love Bug that can spread like wildfire through networks and hamper computer operations or even destroy data. The Internet has also proven to be vulnerable not only to hackers or crackers who can steal sensitive financial or other information, but to a simple brute force approach called a 'denial of service attack'. In February 2000, major commercial websites such as Amazon.com, Yahoo, and e Bay were bombarded by a flood of information

requests that had been launched from programs that had been spread earlier via a virus. The information flood made it difficult or impossible for users to buy things on the web, and thus cost the online merchants at least some short-term cash flow.

While not being able to buy a product online is only an inconvenience, attacks on the computers that control critical functions such as power and air traffic control could cause more direct economic damage and even loss of life. On the other hand, these critical computers tend to be more closely guarded and isolated from direct access via the internet.

A variety of computer security measures have been proposed and are being implemented to varying degrees :

- (i) Improving national monitoring centers that give early warning of attacks.
- (ii) Increasing the number of highly trained computer security experts and investigators.
- (iii) Training system administrators and users in how to recognize hacker attacks and the 'Social engineering' techniques hackers often use to trick people into revealing their passwords.
- (iv) Possibly creating software that can act as a cyber 'immune system', automatically adapting to, targeting and neutralizing viruses.

Another aspect of cyber terrorism is the use of computer systems and the internet by terrorists themselves. Many of the groups certified as terrorists by the U.S. Department of State have their own websites, which they use to spread their message.

Chemical and Biological Terrorism

The new terrorism of fanatics poses difficult problems for counter terrorism. The problem is the potential availability of

weapons of mass destruction – chemical, biological or even nuclear. With such weapons any terrorist attack can be an unprecedented disaster.

Chemical weapons are clearly available to terrorist groups, either through 'homebrew' means or rogue states. In Japan, Aum Shinri Kyo deliberately focused on recruiting people with the necessary technical skills for its 1995 poison gas attack on the Tokyo subway and it explored a range of chemical, biological and even radiological options. It is reported that Heezbollah terrorists are compiling information on how to produce chemical agents as well as stockpiling protective gear. In 1995, Larry Wayne Harris, a white supremacist, was convicted of having obtained three vials of bubonic plague bacteria using a fake letterhead. (He claimed to have been doing counter terrorism research to forestall an attack of 'super germ-carrying rats' from Iraq). Later, four militia members in Minnesota were convicted of planning to use a biological toxin to assassinate federal agents.

The number of incidents involving chemical, biological or (occasionally) radio-active materials seems to be rising. In 1997, the FBI opened 74 investigations of such terrorism and in 1998 it opened 181.

Compared to a traditional bomb, a chemical or biological weapon (CBW) may be potentially more deadly, but it can also be more dangerous to the user and less reliable.

Nuclear Terrorism

Nuclear terrorism remains the biggest nightmare for many people. A nuclear explosion, after all, would fulfill the new terrorist's apocalyptic desires in the most visible possible way. But nuclear weapons are even more difficult for terrorists to handle. The possible obtaining of a readymade warhead (perhaps from the former Soviet arsenal) through purchase or theft is a nightmare to any security agency, but warheads have complex safety interlocks and it has been proposed that the weapons be fitted with devices that would allow them to be remotely destroyed or disposable if terrorists obtain them.

Building a nuclear weapon from stolen fissionable material would require considerable training. Refining the fissionable material from uranium is possible, given the resources of a rogue state such as Iran or North Korea.

Nuclear weapons are less likely to be of interest to traditional political terrorists, except perhaps as a deterrent to attack by government forces. With a nuclear weapon, it is essentially all or nothing – the terrorists cannot try to use varying degrees of force in negotiations as with the killing of passengers on hijacked jet.

Counter Terrorism

Counter terrorism means the attempt to prevent terrorism or at least reduce its frequency and severity. Understanding the terrorists' psychology, motivations and goals are important parts of this effort. Another part is the use of intelligence, including surveillance, eavesdropping, informers and devices to detect bombs and weapons, such as those in airports.

The counter terrorists must face the fact that our modern society provides the terrorist with both new methods of operation and new vulnerabilities to exploit.

TACTICS OF TERRORISM

Terrorism is a form of asymmetric warfare, and is more common when direct conventional warfare either cannot be (due to differentials in available forces) or is not being used to resolve the underlying conflict.

The context in which terrorist tactics are used is often a large-scale, unresolved political conflict. The type of conflict varies widely; historical examples include :

- (i) Secession of a territory to form a new sovereign state.

- (ii) Dominance of territory or resources by various ethnic groups.
- (iii) Imposition of a particular form of government.
- (iv) Economic deprivation of a population.
- (v) Opposition to a domestic government or occupying army.

Terrorist attacks are often targeted to maximize fear and publicity, usually using explosives or poison. There is concern about terrorist attacks employing weapons of mass destruction. Terrorist organizations usually methodically plan attacks in advance and may train participants, plant 'undercover' agents and raise money from supporters or through organized crime. Communication may occur through modern telecommunication or through old-fashioned methods such as couriers.

RESPONSES TO TERRORISM

Responses to terrorism are broad in scope. They can include re-alignments of the political spectrum and reassessments of fundamental value. The term counter terrorism has a narrower connotation, implying that it is directed at terrorist actors.

Specific types of responses include :

- (i) Targeted laws, criminal procedures, deportations and enhanced police powers.
- (ii) Target hardening, such as locking doors or adding traffic barriers.
- (iii) Pre-emptive or reactive military action.
- (iv) Increased intelligence and surveillance activities.
- (v) Pre-emptive humanitarian activities.
- (vi) More permissive interrogation and deletion policies.
- (vii) Official acceptance of torture as valid tool.

MASS MEDIA

Media exposure may be a primary goal of these carrying out terrorism, to expose issues that would otherwise be ignored by the media. Some consider this to be manipulation and exploitation of the media. Others consider terrorism itself to be symptom of a highly controlled mass media, which does not otherwise give voice to alternative view points, a view expressed by Paul Watson, who has stated that controlled media is responsible for terrorism, because 'you cannot get your information across any other way'. Paul Watson's organization Sea Shepherd as itself been branded 'eco-terrorist', although it claims to have not caused any casualties.

The internet has created a new channel for groups to spread their messages. This has created a cycle of measures and counter measures by groups in support of and in opposition to terrorist movements. In fact, the United Nations has created its own online counter-terrorism resource.

The mass media will often censor organizations involved in terrorism (through self restraint or regulation) to discourage further terrorism. However, this may encourage organizations to perform more extreme acts of terrorism to be shown in mass media.

There is always a point at which the terrorist ceases to manipulate the media gestalt. A point at which, the violence may well escalate, but beyond which the terrorist has become symptomatic of the media gestalt itself. 'Terrorism as we ordinarily understand is innately media related.' –Novelist William Gibson.

TERRORISM

& Terrorist Groups of North East India

Pear Ali Ahmed



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