THREAT POSED BY TERRORISM: INDIAN AND GLOBAL ASPECTS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CYBER ATTACKS

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Introduction

The intensification of terrorism activities in the past few decades has made terrorism one of the most disturbing present day problems. Today, among the issues directly affecting people and the government throughout the world, terrorism is the priority of all the state government, international bodies and political thinkers and jurists. For last three decades terrorists are playing important role in making and unmaking the international relations on the world scenario. These groups of terrorist are engaged in numerous kinds of acts which attract the attention of the public towards their causes, their involvement in assassination, kidnapping of diplomats, politicians and their near relatives, bombing at crowded places, embassies, business houses and place of worships, hijacking and piracy and threat of nuclear terrorism has created greatest problem to the world peace, security and order.

"The country has been in the firm grip of spiraling terrorist violence and is caught between deadly pangs of disruptive activities. Apart from many skirmishes in various parts of the country, there were countless serious and horrendous events engulfing many cities with blood-bath, firing, looting, mad killing even without sparing women and children and reducing those areas into a graveyard, which brutal atrocities have rocked and shocked the whole nation. Deplorably, determined youths lured by hard-core criminals and underground extremists and attracted by the ideology of terrorism are indulging in committing serious crimes against the humanity."

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The history of terrorism is a history of well-known and historically significant individuals, entities, and incidents associated, whether rightly or wrongly, with terrorism. Scholars agree that terrorism is a disputed term, and very few of those labeled terrorists describe themselves as such. It is common for opponents in a violent conflict to describe the other side as terrorists or as practicing terrorism.

Early Terrorism

Depending on how broadly the term is defined, the roots and practice of terrorism can be traced at least to the 1st-century AD Sicarii Zealots, though some dispute whether the group, which assassinated collaborators with Roman rule in the province of Judea, was in fact terrorist. The **first use in English of the term 'terrorism' occurred during the** French Revolution**'s** *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française***to describe** Reign of Terror, when the Jacobins, who ruled the revolutionary state, employed violence, including mass executions by guillotine, to compel obedience to the state and intimidate regime enemies.

Terror in Antiquity: 1st – 14th Century AD

The earliest known organization that exhibited aspects of a modern terrorist organization was the Zealots of Judea. Known to the Romans as sicarii, or dagger-men, they carried on an underground campaign of assassination of Roman occupation forces, as well as any Jews they felt had collaborated with the Romans. Their motive was an uncompromising belief that they could not remain faithful to the dictates of Judaism

while living as Roman subjects. Eventually, the Zealot revolt became open, and they were finally besieged and committed mass suicide at the fortification of Masada.

The Assassins were the next group to show recognizable characteristics of terrorism, as we know it today. A breakaway faction of Shia Islam called the Nizari Ismalis adopted the tactic of assassination of enemy leaders because the cult's limited manpower prevented open combat. Their leader, Hassam-I Sabbah, based the cult in the mountains of Northern Iran. Their tactic of sending a lone assassin to successfully kill a key enemy leader at the certain sacrifice of his own life (the killers waited next to their victims to be killed or captured) inspired fearful awe in their enemies.

Even though both the Zealots and the Assassins operated in antiquity, they are relevant today: First as forerunners of modern terrorists in aspects of motivation, organization, targeting, and goals. Secondly, although both were ultimate failures, the fact that they are remembered hundreds of years later, demonstrates the deep psychological impact they caused.

Early Origins of Terrorism: 14th – 18th Century

From the time of the Assassins (late 13th century) to the 1700s, terror and barbarism were widely used in warfare and conflict, but key ingredients for terrorism were lacking. Until the rise of the modern nation state after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the sort of central authority and cohesive society that terrorism attempts to influence barely existed. Communications were inadequate and controlled, and the causes that might inspire terrorism (religious schism, insurrection, ethnic strife) typically led to open warfare. By the time kingdoms and principalities became nations, they had sufficient means to enforce their authority and suppress activities such as terrorism.

The French Revolution provided the first uses of the words "Terrorist" and "Terrorism". Use of the word "terrorism" began in 1795 in reference to the Reign of Terror initiated by the Revolutionary government. The agents of the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention that enforced the policies of "The Terror" were referred to as 'Terrorists'. The French Revolution provided an example to future states in oppressing their populations. It also inspired a reaction by royalists and other opponents of the Revolution who employed terrorist tactics such as assassination and intimidation in resistance to the Revolutionary agents. The Parisian mobs played a critical role at key points before, during, and after the Revolution. Such extra-legal activities as killing prominent officials and aristocrats in gruesome spectacles started long before the guillotine was first used.

Entering the Modern Era: The 19th Century

During the late 19th century, radical political theories and improvements in weapons technology spurred the formation of small groups of revolutionaries who effectively attacked nation-states. Anarchists espousing belief in the "propaganda of the deed" produced some striking successes, assassinating heads of state from Russia, France, Spain, Italy, and the United States. However, their lack of organization and refusal to cooperate with other social movements in political efforts rendered anarchists ineffective as a political movement. In contrast, Communism's role as an ideological basis for political terrorism was just beginning, and would become much more significant in the 20th century.

Another trend in the late 19th century was the increasing tide of nationalism throughout the world, in which the nation (the identity of a people) and the political state were combined. As states began to emphasize national identities, peoples that had been conquered or colonized could, like the Jews at the times of the Zealots, opt for assimilation or struggle. The best-known nationalist conflict from this time is still unresolved - the multi-century struggle of Irish nationalism. Nationalism, like communism, became a much greater ideological force in the 20th century.

The terrorist group from this period that serves as a model in many ways for what was to come was the Russian Narodnya Volya (Peoples Will).[1] They differed in some ways from modern terrorists, especially in that they would sometimes call off attacks that might endanger individuals other than their intended target. Other than this quirk, we see many of the traits of terrorism here for the first time; clandestine, cellular organization; impatience and inability for the task of organizing the constituents they claim to represent; and a tendency to increase the level of violence as pressures on the group mount.

Terrorism in the 20th and 21st Century

The Early 20th Century

The first half of the 20th century saw two events that influenced the nature of conflict to the present day. The effects of two World Wars inflamed passions and hopes of nationalists throughout the world, and severely damaged the legitimacy of the international order and governments.

Nationalism on the Rise

Nationalism intensified during the early 20th century throughout the world. It became an especially powerful force in the subject peoples of various colonial empires. Although dissent and resistance were common in many colonial possessions, and sometimes resulted in open warfare, nationalist identities became a focal point for these actions.

Gradually, as nations became closely tied to concepts of race and ethnicity, international political developments began to support such concepts. Members of ethnic groups whose states had been absorbed by others or had ceased to exist as separate nations saw opportunities to realize nationalist ambitions. Several of these groups chose terror as a method to conduct their struggle and make their situation known to world powers they hoped would be sympathetic. In Europe, both the Irish and the Macedonians had existing terrorist campaigns as part of their ongoing struggle for independence, but had to initiate bloody uprisings to further their cause. The Irish were partially successful, the Macedonians failed.

Damaged Legitimacy

The "total war" practices of all combatants of WWII provided further justification for the "everybody does it" view of the use of terror and violations of the law of war. The desensitization of people and communities to violence that started in World War I accelerated during World War II. The intensity of the conflict between starkly opposed ideologies led to excesses on the part of all participants. New weapons and strategies that targeted the enemies' civilian population to destroy their economic capacity for conflict exposed virtually every civilian to the hazards of combatants. The major powers' support of partisan and resistance organizations using terrorist tactics was viewed as an acceptance of their legitimacy. It seemed that civilians had become legitimate targets, despite any rules forbidding it.

Cold War Developments

The bi-polar world of the Cold War changed perception of conflicts the world over. Relatively minor confrontations took on significance as arenas where the superpowers could compete without risking escalation to full nuclear war. Warfare between the East and the West took place on the peripheries, and was limited in scope to prevent escalation. During the immediate postwar period, terrorism was more of a tactical choice by leaders of nationalist insurgencies and revolutions. Successful campaigns for independence from colonial rule occurred throughout the world, and many employed terrorism as a supporting tactic. When terrorism was used, it was used within the framework of larger movements, and coordinated with political, social, and military action. Even when terrorism came to dominate the other aspects of a nationalist struggle, such as the Palestinian campaign against Israel, it was (and is) combined with other activities.

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[1] http://www.terrorism-research.com/history/early.php

Throughout the Cold War, the Soviet Union provided direct and indirect assistance to revolutionary movements around the world. Many anti-colonial movements found the revolutionary extremism of communism attractive. Leaders of these "wars of national liberation" saw the advantage of free weapons and training. They also realized that the assistance and patronage of the Eastern Bloc meant increased international legitimacy. Many of these organizations and individuals utilized terrorism in support of their political and military objectives. The policy of the Soviet Union to support revolutionary struggles everywhere, and to export revolution to non-communist countries, provided extremists willing to employ violence and terror as the means to realize their ambitions.

The Internationalization of Terror

The age of modern terrorism might be said to have begun in 1968 when the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked an El Al airliner en route from Tel Aviv to Rome. While hijackings of airliners had occurred before, this was the first time that the nationality of the carrier (Israeli) and its symbolic value was a specific operational aim. Also a first was the deliberate use of the passengers as hostages for demands made publicly against the Israeli government. The combination of these unique events, added to the international scope of the operation, gained significant media attention. The founder of PFLP, Dr. George Habash observed that the level of coverage was tremendously greater than battles with Israeli soldiers in their previous area of operations. "At least the world is talking about us now."

Another aspect of this internationalization is the cooperation between extremist organizations in conducting terrorist operations. Cooperative training between Palestinian groups and European radicals started as early as 1970, and joint operations between the PFLP and the Japanese Red Army (JRA) began in 1974. Since then international terrorist cooperation in training, operations, and support has continued to grow, and continues to this day. Motives range from the ideological, such as the 1980s alliance of the Western European Marxist-oriented groups, to financial, as when the IRA exported its expertise in bomb making as far afield as Colombia

CURRENT STATE OF TERRORISM

The largest act of international terrorism occured on September 11, 2001 in a set of co-ordinated attacks on the United States of America, where Islamic terrorists hijacked civilian airliners and used them to attack the World Trade Center towers in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, DC. Other major terrorist attacks have also occured in New Delhi (Indian Parliament attacked); Bali car bomb attack; London subway bombings; Madrid train bombings and the most recent attacks in Mumbai (hotels, train station and a Jewish outreach center). The operational and strategic epicenter of Islamic terrorism is mostly centered in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Major events after the September 11 attacks in 2001 include the Moscow Theatre Siege, the 2003 Istanbul bombings, the Madrid train bombings, the Beslan school hostage crisis, the 2005 London bombings, the October 2005 New Delhi bombings, the 2008 Mumbai Hotel Siege, and the 2011 Norway attacks.

India is facing multifarious challenges in the management of its internal security. There is an upsurge of terrorist activities, intensification of cross border terrorist activities and insurgent groups in different parts of the country. Terrorism has now acquired global dimensions and has become the challenge for the whole world. The reach and methods adopted by terrorist groups and organization take advantage of modern means of communication and technology using high tech facilities available in the form of communication system, transport, sophisticated arms and various other means. This has enabled them to strike and create terror among people at will. The criminal justice system was not designed to deal with such type of heinous crimes. In terms of our sovereignty, unity and integrity and our feeling of nationalism, terrorism strikes at each one of them. This is the enormity of the problem that we are addressing. But it is also said that our criminal law systems have broken down; it seems to be a sad fact to accept. In view of this situation it was felt necessary to enact legislation for the prevention of and for dealing with terrorist activities. Indian legislature has enacted several

laws to curb terrorist and separatist activities, terrorism resembling cancer is likely to spread through the body politic and destroy the democracy.

India has been the victim of insurgencies and terrorism of various hues since it became independent in 1947.Over the years the magnitude of attacks and the impact caused has only increased. Under the circumstances there is an urgent need to include certain provisions to deal effectively and strongly with this menace in and the other major legislations namely the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 and the Indian Evidence Act, 1872. Incorporation of a separate legislation which defines terrorism and other related offences can be a great step forward. It should also prescribe stringent and deterrent punishments for such offences.

"He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from repression and the violation of human rights." Terrorism has been most succinctly defined as "the intentional use of, or threat to use violence against civilians or against civilian targets, in order to attain political aims." During the past 35 years, the world has witnessed nearly 20,000 terrorist incidents, ranging from the hostage takeover during the 1972 Munich Olympics to the 2002 and2005 tourist bombings. Terrorist incidents worldwide during this time period have resulted in more than 90,000 casualties or injuries. Although the basic objectives of terrorism have remained largely unchanged over the years, technological progress has allowed terrorists to employ more sophisticated and, at times, devastating tactics. This, along with the increasingly global scope of terrorism, has raised important questions about its impacts in countries around the world.

INCIDENTS OF TERRORISM IN INDIA

First in Varanasi then in Delhi then in Mumbai local trains and there is even no need to mention the continuing terrorist's barbaric activities in Kashmir. The bomb blasts have outraged every patriotic Indian. No civilized nation can allow this kind of barbaric inhumanity to be partly or fully supported or sponsored by any neighbor or domestic insurgents. The only way we can combat it is to minimize, if not eliminate, such occurrences. Prevention is crucial; and laws like Pota can prevent such occurrences. Acquittals even in a case like Parliament attack occurred because of poor prosecution rather then because of Pota.

After the 9/11 attacks on the world trade center the world's outlook towards the terrorist and terrorist organization has changed the laws have become much more stringent to curb such activities. The Indian outlook also changed specially after the 13 December attack on the Indian parliament which is seen as a symbol of our democracy then it became necessary to enforce a law which would be more stringent so that the terrorist can not go Scot free because after the lapse of TADA in 1995 following the wide spread complaint that it was being abused there was no law which could be used as a weapon against the rising terrorist activities in India.

In 2002 March session of the Indian parliament the Prevention Of Terrorist Activities Act was introduced and it had widespread opposition not even in the Indian parliament but throughout India especially with the human rights organization because they thought that the act violated most of the fundamental rights provided in the Indian constitution. The protagonists of the Act have, however, hailed the legislation on the ground that it has been effective in ensuring the speedy trial of those accused of indulging in or abetting terrorism. POTA is useful in stemming "state-sponsored cross-border terrorism", as envisaged by the then Home Minister L.K. Advani. The Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2002 (POTA), was seen as a controversial piece of legislation ever since it was conceived as a weapon against terrorism.

On 26.11.2008, India witnessed the most deadliest and brazen terrorist attack ever in its history. The terrorist attack consisted of more than ten coordinated shooting and bombing attacks across Mumbai, India's financial capital and largest city. The attack which drew widespread condemnation from across the world, began on 26th November 2008 and ended on 29th November. It left 173 people dead and injured at least 320 and was later confirmed to have been carried out by terrorists from Pakistan. **Ajmal Kasab,** the only attacker who was captured alive has already been granted death sentence by the Special Trial Court in Mumbai. There has been an upsurge in terrorist activities by Islamic groups mainly operating from Pakistan and Bangladesh and insurgent groups in different parts of the country. Terrorism has now acquired global dimensions and has become a challenge to the entire world.

In this regard the National Investigative Agency(NIA) Act,2008 and the Prevention of Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Ammendment Act,2008 are two effective legislations. However it is very doubtful to what extend it will lead to prevention of terrorist acts. One way of achieving this can be by reorganising the entire Indian intelligence set up along the lines that the United States has done in the wake of the September 11 terror attacks.

The Government on its part should ensure the effective implementation of our anti terror legislations. Why a terrorist like Afzal Guru has not been executed when the Supreme Court of India has ruled him to be a prime culprit in the Parliament attack case and sentenced him to death? We don't want another Indian Airlines plane to be hijacked to free dreaded terrorists like him. Indian politicians should refrain from indulging in vote bank politics for the purpose of protecting their vested interests and personal political careers. Mere slogans and promises alone would not suffice, appropriate action is required to be taken.

Anti-terrorism laws in India have always been a subject of much controversy. One of the arguments is that these laws stand in the way of fundamental rights of citizens guaranteed by Part III of the Constitution. The anti-terrorist laws have been enacted before by the legislature and upheld by the judiciary though not without reluctance. The intention was to enact these statutes and bring them in force till the situation improves. The intention was not to make these drastic measures a permanent feature of law of the land. But because of continuing terrorist activities, the statutes have been reintroduced with requisite modifications.

Terrorism has been a part of this human civilization since its inception and is not a concept of the new economic world but the means, ways and methods of terrorizing has become more gruesome, destructive and lethal in due course of time. Terrorism is not a passing phase, and is destined to continue. Anti terrorism laws are an absolute necessity for society and it should not be treated as political issues even if the implementation is questioned on the grounds of human rights violations.

India has always believed that the only effective way to ensure a safer tomorrow for nations is to look at terrorism from global perspective and lock arms in fight against it. Moreover it is believed that terrorism is an extra legal phenomenon, and law has a limited role to play; but even this limited role is indispensable. Thus, India wounded deeply several times by terrorist strikes, has enacted some anti-terrorism laws, which have always been subject of much controversy.

In the backdrop of such atrocious incidents of exploitation of the previous legislations, it is difficult rather impossible to even dream a fair and just implementation of the existing laws. The NIA Act, 2008 and the UAP Amendment Act, 2008, combined together, are more draconian than both TADA and POTA.

This problem however, is not India specific. The detention of people in the United Kingdom, the terrorist laws in Spain and of course the measures of the United States are examples where developed legal systems are compromising civil liberties and rights in interests of national security. There is an unequivocal settlement that national interests are of primary importance. Alan Dershowitz once emphasized that the Government loses credibility when it cannot tackle issues along due process concerns and resort to other means of prosecuting people.

CAUSES OF TERRORISM

Terrorism is a criminal act that influences an audience beyond the immediate victim. The strategy of terrorists is to commit acts of violence that draws the attention of the local populace, the government, and the world to their cause. The terrorists plan their attack to obtain the greatest publicity, choosing targets that symbolize what they oppose. The effectiveness of the terrorist act lies not in the act itself, but in the public's or government's reaction to the act. For example, in 1972 at the Munich Olympics, the Black September Organization killed 11 Israelis. The Israelis were the immediate victims. But the true target was the estimated 1 billion people watching the televised event**. Those billion** people watching **were to be introduced to fear - which is terrorism's ultimate goal.** The introduction of this fear can be from the threat of physical harm/a grizzly death, financial terrorism from the fear of losing money or negative effects on the economy, cyber terrorism harming the critical technological infrastructures of society and psychological terrorism designed to influence people's behavior.

In November 2004, a United Nations Secretary General report described terrorism as any act "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act".[2]

In the international community, terrorism has no legally binding, criminal law definition.[3] Common definitions of terrorism refer only to those violent acts that are intended to create fear (terror); are perpetrated for a religious, political, or ideological goal; and deliberately target or disregard the safety of non-combatants (e.g., neutral military personnel or civilians). Some definitions now include acts of unlawful violence and war. The use of similar tactics by criminal organizations for protection rackets or to enforce a code of silence is usually not labeled terrorism, though these same actions may be labeled terrorism when done by a politically motivated group. Usage of the term has also been criticized for its frequent undue equating with *Islamism* or *jihadism*, while ignoring non-Islamic organizations or individuals.[4]

The word "terrorism" is politically loaded and emotionally charged,[5] and this greatly compounds the difficulty of providing a precise definition. Studies have found over 100 definitions of "terrorism".[6] In some cases, the

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[2] "UN Reform". United Nations. 2005-03-21

[3] Angus Martyn, The Right of Self-Defence under International Law-the Response to the Terrorist Attacks of 11 September"UN Reform". United Nations. 2005-03-21

[4] African Politics: Beyond the Third Wave of Democratisation, Joelien Pretorius - 2008, page 7

[5] Spring Fever: The Illusion of Islamic Democracy, Andrew C. McCarthy – 2013

[6] Hoffman, Bruce (1998). *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press. p. 32

same group may be described as "freedom fighters" by its supporters and considered to be terrorists by its opponents.[7]

The concept of terrorism may be controversial as it is often used by state authorities (and individuals with access to state support) to delegitimize political or other opponents, and potentially legitimize the state's own use of armed force against opponents (such use of force may be described as "terror" by opponents of the state). At the same time, the reverse may also take place when states perpetrate or are accused of perpetrating state terrorism. The usage of the term has a controversial history, with individuals such as ANC leader Nelson Mandela at one point also branded a terrorist.

Terrorism has been practiced by a broad array of political organizations to further their objectives. It has been practiced by both right-wing and left-wing political parties, nationalistic groups, religious groups, revolutionaries, and ruling governments.[13] An abiding characteristic is the indiscriminate use of violence against non-combatants for the purpose of gaining publicity for a group, cause, or individual. The symbolism of terrorism can exploit human fear to help achieve these goals.

This chapter investigates the causes of terrorism. Many explanations have been given for terrorism, and scholars and other experts have devoted a great deal of effort to explaining terrorist behavior. This has not been a simple task. Explanatory models consider many factors, including political history, government policy, contemporary politics, cultural tensions, ideological trends, economic trends, individual idiosyncrasies, and other variables.

Ethno-nationalism

The desire of a population to break away from a government or ruling power and create a state of their own can cause the formation of terrorist groups. In the 20th century this was seen often times with regions or states attempting to gain independence from their colonial era masters. However, as Bruce Hoffman points out in Inside Terrorism, ethno-nationalist terrorism had been around decades before even the First World War. Perhaps the most notable of these groups, formed before and after WWII and inspired by the weakening of imperial powers, was the Jewish Irgun Avai Le'umi who fought British rule in Palestine so as to attain the creation of a Jewish state.[8]

Today Hamas is one of the most active ethno-nationalist[9] driven groups carrying out suicide bombings and attacks against the state of Israel with the goal of creating a Palestinian state.

Within many countries around the globe minority groups exist wishing to garner some form of independence, if not their own state altogether. Therefore ethno-nationalism will continue to be a significant source of terrorism. It is important to recognize this and counter it with more politically inclusive processes that can

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7   Thalif Deen. "Politics: U.N. Member States Struggle to Define Terrorism", Inter Press Service, 25 July 2005.

8 http://handofreason.com/2011/featured/causes-of-terrorism

9 http://www.sagepub.in/upm-data/33558_3.pdf

mitigate the grievances of minority groups, though some will inevitably continue to employ terrorism until they achieve their desired independent nation.

Alienation /Discrimination

Several authors on terrorism have pointed to a sense of alienation felt by diasporas, particularly those living in Europe as a driver of terrorism. Many times these groups face discrimination in the countries they reside, leading to further feelings of isolation. They commonly move from poorer countries, particularly Muslim states in the case of Europe, to wealthier ones to go to school or find work. As Marc Sageman discusses in his book Understanding Terror Networks, once in these countries they begin to feel alienated. The new host nation is substantially different than their own culture, and is usually much less community oriented. This causes alienated individuals to seek out communities with cultures like their home countries or others like themselves. These groups may become jaded towards society around them as they don't fit in and feel excluded. Growing sentiments of discrimination can lead groups to look to more conservative, and eventually, extremist ideologies.[10]

The Hamburg Cell, consisting of two of the pilots in the 9/11 terrorist attacks, is a perfect example of this. The cell included a number of expatriate Muslims studying in Germany who sought out other conservative Muslims to band together when they felt homesick in a Western society that was alien to them. This started them down the trail of radicalization as they became more jaded with the world around them.

The problem here, particularly in the case of Europe, is that many of these expatriates who become radicalized due to alienation from being in a foreign society also hold European passports and thus can travel within Europe with increased ease, as well as enter the U.S. much easier than non-Europeans. Therefore they pose not only a threat to Europe, but also to the United States.

Religion

Perhaps the most commonly held belief today is that terrorism is caused by religion. Though it is not the main cause for terrorism, religion does play a significant role in driving some forms of it. As Hoffman points out in Inside Terrorism, from the Thugs of ancient India that killed to terrorize in the name of the god Kali to the Jewish Zealots who cut the throats of Romans in public to combat their occupation of Israel, religion (in conjunction with political/ethno-nationalist drivers) has long been a factor of terrorism.

Today religion as a part of terrorism has been mainly attributed to Islamic fundamentalism (though other examples, such as the Aum Shinrikyo cult that carried out the 1995 sarin gas attacks in Tokyo, also exist). As Sageman describes: "The global Salafi jihad is a world wide religious revivalist movement with the goal of reestablishing past Muslim glory in a great Islamist state stretching from Morocco to the Philippines, eliminating present national boundaries."

As a driver of terrorism, the true danger that religious doctrine poses is its encouragement of attacks that are more violent in nature than other types of terrorism. By being promised rewards in the afterlife, terrorists are more likely to carry out suicide bombings and other such "all in" tactics that are harder to defend against.

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[10] Schmid, Alex, and Jongman, Albert. *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data bases, Theories and Literature*, Amsterdam ; New York : North-Holland ; New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1988.

Socio-Economic Status

Terrorists may also be driven by a sense of relative depravation and lack of upward mobility within society. Globalization and the modern media have given the 'have nots' an acute awareness of their situation compared to the 'haves'. As Omer Taspinar states in Fighting Radicalism, Not "Terrorism,*"* "Globalization creates an acute awareness about opportunities available elsewhere. This leads to frustration, victimization, and humiliation among growing cohorts of urbanized, undereducated, and unemployed Muslim youth who are able to make comparisons across countries." Seeing the economic differences between themselves and the Western world can infuriate some in underdeveloped countries, increasing tension and hostilities. This allows terrorist organizations to gain attention and entry to societies that have felt wronged by these perceived social injustices.

Unfortunately the only real way to mitigate this is through economic development of the community, country, and region, but that takes time. For the foreseeable future there will always be those that are disgruntled by the comparison of living standards of the wealthy around the world versus their own, opening the doors to frustration and anger. Thus, this driver is remarkably hard to combat as globalization allows for more mechanisms of comparison between varying global socio-economic levels.

Political Grievances

A lack of political inclusiveness in states or grievances against a certain political order may cause individuals to join or create terrorist groups. Left and right wing terrorists often seek to a political system. As well, many in nations with authoritarian regimes lack avenues for dissent. Frustrated expressions of political will can turn to violence as an alternative to exclusive political systems. While somewhat similar to ethno-nationalist/separatist causes, these political grievances are not born from the desire to create a new state but to change the order within the current one.

In his piece, Taspinar describes this as a political dimension to relative depravation. In this light he sees political Islam as a reaction to such oppressive governments and its Western supporters. With the knowledge that other people around the world live in representative governments, the anger only grows among those who live without such political representation, leading disillusioned individuals into the arms of terrorism.

The implication here is that Western governments, in their support of repressive authoritarian regimes for their own national interest, have essentially made themselves targets of terrorism of an angered populace within these regimes, acting out violently as the only alternative to political expression.

Poverty And Ecomonic Problems Due To Globalisation

A more important factor may be the social stratification Williams is referring to and inequalities in the distribution of scarce resources. Problems usually identified were notions on the lack of exactly defined economic factors influencing the decision to resort to political conflict and the "tolerance for inequality". Say, one dismisses the inconclusive research results and assumes that it is a (major) cause fuelling terrorism - proof by contradiction: roughly 15% of the population consumes 85% of the resources; UN statistics show that citizens in the Third World are worse off now than 30 years ago, while a small faction in those countries enriched themselves.[11] If either one of them is true, the West ought to be continuously subject to terrorist acts

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[11] http://www2.hci.edu.sg/y08hci0118/DtoD/terrorism_causes/index.html

by (a small group representing) people from these Third World countries. But there is no huge mass uprising of the vast majority of the world population against the few in Western states, nor continuous terrorist attacks carried out by Third World citizens against the West. In fact, the amount of terrorist incidents declined in the 1990s. Proving injustice being done by structural violence is considerably more difficult than an overt assault on a country or discrimination of a target group, and even if one succeeds in convincing one's own group, they will likely stumble upon resorting to terrorist methods, not possessing sufficient assets to purchase and develop so-called 'weapons of mass destruction'. Exploration of Globalization, Inequality and the Third World from another direction and explores the possible links between economic affluence and a stable liberal democracy, thereby assuming that it would reduce incidence of terrorism.

However, at the same time asserting the fact that liberal democracy "has proved little more successful than other forms of political systems in overcoming the relative weakness of the state in many Third World societies" and that economic development is a more important factor to maintain law and order.

Anti-Democracy

The factor of democracy as an instigator or facilitator for terrorism deserves further exploration. A democratic government is supposed to represent the people and provide political means to voice grievances, hence essentially providing a sphere where terrorism has no place. Arguably, based on claims, one can say it is exactly absence of a 'correct' implementation of democratic ideals and not democracy sic.

However, a characteristic of democracies is their openness. Some consider this openness a major weakness of the system, and therefore a 'cause'. Openness in itself cannot be a cause, only maybe easing terrorists in their preparations and facilitating publicity in the relative absence of censorship, but not the 'change of mindset' to resort to terrorism as a tool. Likewise the non-cause of the claims of the increase in ease of mobility and technology put forward by. It is conceivable to contend that Western states are as close to the democratic ideology as possible, but it is generally assumed the case. Why then, have Western states not been free from internal terrorism? What might be a cause, is the so-called 'terror of the majority': the minority is represented and allowed to voice their grievances, but this is consistently not translated into desired policies because there are not sufficient votes to pass desired legislation.

Dehumanisation

Opposite the concept of disaffected intelligentsia is the assertion that it is not intelligentsia, but simpleminded people who are easy to indoctrinate that are perceived to be 'the cause' prevalent in more recent popular literature. They, and others, are essentially trying to dehumanise terrorists, thereby confirming terrorist's core reasons they are fighting for: being heard, recognised and treated as equal human beings. In this context, some people has put forward an interesting explanation for the increased levels of dehumanisation: "a continuation of the frozen, abstract hatreds made possible by the cold war... this suspending of normal human relations is supposed to be just a temporary expedient ... The corrupt thing about the Cold War idea was that it legitimised acceptance of this evil as a normal, permanent condition of life. It domesticated tribal hatred." Thus obfuscating the distinction between literal and metaphorical wars, where the negative mindset of people caused by the Cold War continues to live on, and feed, terrorism and the violent responses on terrorism, made possible by disregarding the idea that an opponent is a human being too. However, a closer examination of this argument reveals that the implied cause of the violence is within us, having internalised dehumanisation, not the 'illiterate stupid other'.

The Accidental Guerrilla

Finally, there is the theory put forth about the "accidental guerrilla" by David Kilcullen. Kilcullen describes it as such: A terrorist organization moves into an area with poor government or that is conflict ridden (he uses

Al Qaeda specifically), then uses this safe haven to spread their ideologies to other areas and as a base to carry out violent acts.[12]

When outside forces then intervene to deal with the threat posed to them by this group, this causes the local population to reject the 'foreign invaders' and ally with the terrorist group, thus creating more terrorists and popular support for terrorist movements. The cases of U.S. intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq to counter Al Qaeda are the obvious examples here.[13]

This theory poses strong questions about the viability of direct intervention in pursuit of terrorist groups by Western countries, and whether it causes more harm than good.

Counter terrorism measures
Gathering Intelligence

This is perhaps the most important in thwarting terrorist activities. The importance of good intelligence, the knowledge of enemy's intention is pivotal in warfare. As terrorism can be considered a type of warfare good intelligence is also important for counter terrorism. Traditional forms of intelligence gathering consisted of infiltrating groups with informers, reading correspondence of terrorist sympathizers, surveillance of suspects and offering rewards and other incentives to members of terrorist organizations in exchange for information.

Analyzing Intelligence

The raw intelligence collected has to be analyzed in order to be useful and actionable. The analysis consists of sifting though correspondence, phone records, recorded conversation, and surveillance videos. This has to be cross linked with known terrorist groups and their sympathizers and a determination needs to be made whether the material is worth pursuing or is useless.

Covert Actions

Covert actions consist of illegal kidnappings, torture and interrogation of terror suspects or terror sympathizers. These actions are taken outside the normal legal system. Another form of covert action is deception which is used to discredit the enemy. The British have employed covert action in Northern Ireland where they made it look like the IRA was responsible for certain violent activity. An important aspect of certain covert actions is plausible deniability. The government agency that carried out the covert action should make sure that the covert operation is not attributable to it.

2.12 CONCLUSION

Thus cyber terrorism as a part of terrorism is the evil child of technology. Despite the many attempts by governments and individuals to limit the terrorists' use of the media and information technologies, terrorists' messages continue to be conveyed to their audiences with increasing influences over the years. "The growing use and manipulation of modern communications by terrorist organizations led governments and several media organizations to consider certain steps in response. These included limiting terrorists' access to the media, reducing and censoring news coverage of terrorist acts and their perpetrators, and minimizing the terrorists' capacity for manipulating the media"

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[12] http://www2.hci.edu.sg/y08hci0118/DtoD/terrorism_causes/index.html

[13] . http://handofreason.com/2011/featured/causes-of-terrorism