

An Introduction to Terrorism and its Dimensions

Introduction

The topic of Global or International Terrorism is a special form of political violence. Terrorism more specifically international and transnational terrorism is an extremely complex phenomenon and current global trends show an escalation of terrorism that has gripped national as well as global politics. Almost weekly a terrorist incident takes place in any given country in the world. From 1945 to 1992 about 30,000 terrorist incidents have taken place not only in states defined as "weak and failed States" but also the strong states some more often defined as super powers. However, little is known about terrorism and terrorist organizations and it is an unresolved issue of modern national and international problems.

The main objective of this presentation is to examine the origin, development, nature and patterns of political terrorism in general and specifically international and transnational terrorism. Therefore, the presentation is divided into six major sections. The first section deals with the origin, development and current trends of political terrorism. Section two examines the definition, characteristics, and goals of terrorism. The third section deals with roots and factors of political terrorism in general. The ideologies and organizations are examined in the fourth section while the fifth deals with the nature and patterns of international terrorism. The final section contains the conclusion.

Origin, Development and Current Trends

In the modern world, terrorism and international terrorism have virtually become interchangeable terms.

Therefore, it is opportune to examine the origin, development and current trends of terrorism before analysing international terrorism. Terrorism either as a weapon or as a strategy of gaining power is not of recent origin and has been used throughout human history. Even Kautilya the Indian political thinker referred to terrorism in his book the Arthashastra. The ancient Greek historian Xenophon (B.C. 430-349) wrote of the effectiveness of psychological warfare against enemy populations. Roman emperors such as Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) and Caligula (A.D. 37-41) used terror tactics to discourage opposition to their rule. In the first century the Jewish Sicarii and Zealots movement, employed terrorism as tactics against the Romans. The Assassins sect of the eleventh and twelfth centuries employed terrorism against the Muslims.

The word "terrorism" is closely associated with the origin of modern democracy. Terrorism is originally a French word that became a part of the English political language after the French Revolution during the "Reign of Terror". By then, terrorism meant a system of terror and referred to the activities of a government. Thus, it meant a government by intimidation. Terrorism was a common feature during the period of the American Revolution and the Ku Klux Klan used terror tactics after the Civil war in the 1880s.

Since the late 19th century the development of terrorism could be divided into four major phases. The first phase of terrorism began in the 1880s and moved to the First World War in 1915. The second period began after the First World War and ended with the Second World War. The third period of terrorism began in the late

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1960s and lasted until the early 1970s. The fourth period began from the 1970s and continues to date.

By the 1880s a terrorist was a rebel who attempted to destroy a system by assassinating its major office holders. During these period followers of anarchism in Western Europe, Russia and the United States adopted terrorism. They killed many kings, presidents, prime ministers and other government officials during the period. Since the 1930s with the rise of totalitarian states terrorism was a part of the practices of the states. Following the Second World War terrorism was widely used by various nationalists and anti colonial groups within Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, which opposed European colonial rule. Countries such as Israel, Kenya, Cyprus and Algeria owe their independence to national struggles that depended heavily on terrorism as a means of over throwing colonialism. The term freedom fighters came in to use afterwards. By the 1950s terrorism was identified with rebellion but state terrorism too came to be recognized.

During the late 1960s and 1970s terrorism continued to be viewed within a revolutionary context. This usage now expands to include ethnic separatist groups. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Euskadita Askatasuna or Freedom for the Basque Homeland (ETA) adopted terrorism to win international sympathy and support.

A major trend during the 1980s and 1990s has been an upsurge in the number of ethnic and ethno-religious conflict in which the use of terrorism against the designated enemy population escalated. This form of conflict not only permeated to historical ethnic rivalries and hatreds but also to the structure of the post-cold war international system. This tendency is discernable from the countries of the Balkans to South Asia and Central Africa.

A second significant trend common to both internal and international terrorism is the emergence and consolidation of terrorist groups motivated by religious fanaticism. In the late 1970s all active international terrorist groups had secular ideologies but by the end of the 1990s the more active international terrorist groups were religiously motivated. They are more prone to use suicide terrorist attacks. However, some secular nationalist terrorist groups such as the liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam are also responsible for carrying out suicide bombings.

The classification of all Islamic Groups as religious fundamentalists is erroneous. Despite Osama Bin Ladan's notorious Fatwa, there is a very strong political agenda underlying their campaigns: the Armed Islamic Group GIA demands an Islamic Republic to be established in Algeria, Hezbollah wants an Islamic Republic in Lebanon, Hamas wants an Islamic Republic in Palestine. The striking feature of this trend in the evolution of terrorism is that unlike in the 19th century anarchist movement; modern terrorist groups are reluctant to use the term terrorist to identify their organizations. They call themselves either freedom fighters or urban guerrillas. The national liberation Front, The Popular Front for the liberation of Palestine, Freedom for the Basque Homeland are all examples of groups that resort to terrorism but identify themselves as freedom fighters.

According to Paul Wilkinson there are five other major recent general trends at work among domestic terrorist groups in many countries. They are as follows: first the trend towards huge bomb attacks on city centres, second the trend towards mass-lethality attacks, third the trend towards attacks designed to inflict massive damage on national economies, fourth there has been a major escalation in hostage-taking for the purpose of extortion from families, companies and governments, and the fifth is the more extensive and close collaboration between political terrorist groups and international organised crime¹.

In this context it is evident that terrorism has evolved over a period of over 100 years changing in nature and scope according to the changes in global politics and concentration of power blocks.

Definitions, Characteristics and Goals

There is no accurate and agreed definition on terrorism. Most people have a vague idea of what terrorism is but lack a precise definition of the term. According to Alex Schmidt, there have been over hundred definitions of political terrorism. As a result, terrorism means different things to different people. For instance "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". Although, there is a universal agreement that terrorism is a problem there is no agreement on what terrorism means in the modern context. Walter Laqueur says terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective by targeting innocent people². Brian Jenkins defines terrorism as the use or threat to use force designed to bring about a political change³. According to Netanyahu's Jonathan Institute. Terrorism is the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends⁴.

The term terrorist is most usefully limited to organizations whose

principal methods of warfare are terrorist, and they employ bombings, murder and ambushes as their tactics and whose victims are frequently civilians. This definition is the most comprehensive and covers such groups as the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Armenian terrorists, the West German Red Army Faction (RAF), the Red Brigade in Italy, Action Directe in France and the Japanese Red Army. The term is limited to groups acting independently of governments, though they may be financed, armed or encouraged by governments and includes assassins sent abroad illegally by government organizations for terrorist acts.

In the absence of an agreed definition on the subject, it is necessary to examine the major elements of terrorism. The first common element of terrorism is the use or threat of violence. The second element of terrorism is the intention of creating fear. The political use of violence to provoke fear as a tactic has been used by many organizations. The third aspect to understanding the use of terrorism is the importance of the terrorist's use of surprise. Thus, threat, fear and surprise are key main elements used by terrorist. Therefore it could be broadly defined "as the threat of violence and use of fear to coerce, persuade, and gain public attention". Within the scope of such a definition terrorism becomes a form of armed propaganda or propaganda of deeds.

In defining the characteristics of terrorism Paul Wilkinson has defined five major characteristics as follows: First it is premeditated and aims to create a climate of extreme fear or terror. Second, it is directed at a wider audience or target than the immediate victims of the violence. Third it inherently involves attacks on random and symbolic targets including civilians. Fourth, the act of violence committed is seen by the society, in which they occur as extra-normal, in the literal sense that they breach the social norms, thus causing a sense of

outrage. Fifth terrorism is generally used to try to influence political behaviour in some way⁵. Besides, a study by Stephen E. Atkins lists seven specific characteristics of the political use of terror. They are as follows:

1. The systematic use of murder, injury or threats to realize a political objective such as revolution or repression.
2. An atmosphere of fear, coercion and intimidation.
3. *The inherent indiscriminateness*: indiscriminate attacks are made on non-combatants — no one in particular is the target; no one is safe.
4. *Its unpredictability*: the individual is unable to avoid injury or death.
5. Its denial of all rules or conventions of war.
6. The savage methods of destruction used such as car bombs, mail bombs, double bombs, and mass murder.
7. The moral justification for acts of terrorism, found in the group's political philosophy⁶.

Although, characteristics of terrorist organizations are all the same, the goals are organization specific especially in the case of left-wing terrorism they differ markedly. Most left-wing terrorist organizations subscribe to the following goals:

1. To provoke government overreaction, especially indiscriminate reaction.
2. To overthrow oppressive regimes.
3. To cause isolation and demoralization of individuals creating an atmosphere of anxiety and insecurity.
4. To release prisoners and publish manifestos.
5. To mobilize security forces.
6. To obtain financial resources in order to purchase weapons and explosives.

Thereby terrorism can be defined as the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or threat of violence in the pursuit of political change.

The most famous example of the type of organizations that employ these tactics is the Red Brigade in Italy, the Red Army Faction in Germany, and the Action Directe in France.

Right wing terrorist groups have a different orientation from the left-wing groups. Sometimes members of military and police either form or join these right-wing terrorist organizations against the left-wing groups. This has been the case in several terrorist groups in France, Italy and Spain. The following four conditions are necessary for the success of terrorism.

1. The society is already disrupted by economic crisis or war.
2. Fellow members of some ethnic, religious or national groups support the activists.
3. The activists' aims are limited to destabilization of the regime in power or opposition organizations.
4. Their opponents lack the finances, the will, or the political strength to conduct an extended counter terrorist campaign.

According to Paul Wilkinson, there is a general recognition that terrorism is a specific method of struggle rather than a synonym for guerrilla warfare. Although terrorism is used in guerrilla warfare there are fundamental differences between them. Guerrilla is a larger group of armed individuals. It operate as a military unit, control territory with some sovereignty. Terrorists do not function, as armed units and do not hold a territory. Terrorism significantly differs from ordinary criminals too. Terrorist are imbued with the following characteristics:

1. ineluctably political in aims and motives;
2. Violent or the use of threatens violence;
3. Designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target;
4. Conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial cell structure and
5. Perpetrated by a sub national group or non-state entity⁷.

Terrorism is a fundamentally political phenomenon and it is about political power. Thus, it becomes violence or threat of violence used for in pursuit of a political aim. One reason for difficulty of defining terrorism is that the meaning of the term has changed so frequently over the past two hundred years.

Political Terrorism can and has been employed by many actors such as governments, political groups, religious groups cults and criminal gangs. It is not the monopoly of any particular ideology, political philosophy or religion. There are five major participants in the process of terror: the activists of violence, the immediate victims, the wider targets groups or society which the terrorists seek to intimidate, the neutral bystanders within the society experiencing the terrorism and international opinion⁸.

Root Causes

To examine political terrorism, it is necessary to understand the root causes of terrorism. Just as much as terrorism eludes definition the socio-economic and political factors that cause terrorism are complex. The following factors may be said to have contributed to the origin and development of global terrorism. First, historical injustices or grievances have become a factor for modern political terrorism. A social movement develops to redress these grievances and to gain either

equal rights or a separate state. The historical suppression of Jews under the rule of Hitler in Germany, Stalin in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR), and medieval Arab Muslim rulers unleashed Jewish terror in the form of the state of Israel. Thus, the bitter memory of the Holocaust led some Israeli Jews to reject any appearance of passivity and struggle to overcome a self-image as a helpless victim. Personal or remembered experiences in refugee camps or in prisons or in detention centres are also instigating factors. Palestinians and the IRA are examples of terrorism fuelled by torture and negative experiences in detention and prison camps.

Second, colonialism and neo-colonialism are factors that have given rise to modern day national as well as international terrorism. The terrorist activities under the African National Congress (ANU) in South Africa are an example of colonialism fuelling terrorism while the PLO in Palestine is a case in point of neo-colonialism at the hands of Israel giving rise to terrorist activity. The PLO was responsible for carrying out many terrorist activities against Israel and the United States of America (USA) in many states. It also destabilized the Middle East and gave rise to new factions and groups that resorted to terrorism in other Arab countries.

Another general factor, which has contributed to the origin of terrorism, is the exposure to ideologies that justify violence. Of these, anarchism and nihilism, third world revolutionaries and new left ideologies are noteworthy. These ideologies owe much to the experience of national liberation movements in the post-war world and the shift in revolutionary theory from rural guerrilla to urban guerrilla war, which has become a factor conducive for terrorism.

According to Paul Wilkinson a high level of absolute poverty or deprivation is a cause for political terrorism in many countries in the

world. However, in West Germany, Japan and Italy terrorism has been a chosen method of the middle class. Many terrorists today are well-educated and young students who are disillusioned with the existing system. Most terrorists have grown out of student unrest as evidenced in Italy, the USA, Japan and Uruguay.

Social facilitation is an important factor for the development of political terrorism. This concept refers to social habits and historical traditions that sanction the use of violence against the government. Social myths, traditions and habits permit the development of terrorism as established political customs. Northern Ireland is the example of such tradition.

The lack of opportunity for political participation is a major cause of political terrorism. Governments that deny access to power and persecute dissenters create conditions in favour of terrorism. Disenfranchised or exiled nationalist groups based on minorities such as the PLO and the ETA adopted terrorism to achieve political objectives. The PLO is aiming at establishment of a Palestine State while the ETA hoping to independent state based on Basque province in Spain.

Patterns of Terrorism

There has been a variety of forms or patterns of terrorism. One basic distinction is between state and factional terror. Another important division is internal and international terrorism. Internal terrorism is systematic violence located in a nation state or specific area within a state. International or global terrorism are terrorist attacks carried out across international frontiers, or against a foreign target in the terrorist's state of origin. It is very hard to find a pure case of internal terrorism. The Provisional IRA in Northern Ireland is an example. International terrorism could be divided into more typologies as follows:

1. Nationalist terrorist.
2. Ideological terrorist.
3. Religious fanatics.
4. Single-issue fanatics.
5. State sponsored international terrorism.

A distinction drawn between terrorism before the Second World War and modern day terrorism is insightful. It is referred to as old terrorism and new terrorism. The old terrorism was tied to the anarchist ideology while new terrorism is quite different in its effectiveness. Several factors have been identified that separate new terrorism from old terrorism. The first is the news media. The new terrorism reaches more people than it did in the past. The second is the communications. News of terrorists would not spread quickly were it not for instantaneous global communication links. Third modern terrorist weapons are sophisticated and deadly. Finally modern terrorists have increased their striking power through mobile command, support and communication networks. According to Walter Laqueur modern terrorists are more ruthless than old ones. Modern terrorists engage in the sensationalized murder of innocents.

Ideologies and Organizations

To understand political terrorism, it is necessary to examine ideologies and organizations, which encourage terrorist activities. There are three major contemporary strands in terrorist ideology. They are as follows:

1. Classical anarchist and nihilism;
2. Third world revolutionism; and
3. New left ideologies

Since Karl Marx (1818-1883) did not condone terrorism, Marxism does not encourage and nurture terrorism. Marx referred to revolutionary change but he did not advocate political bombings and assassination. Marx publicly condemned terrorism. Neither Leninism nor Maoism encourages terrorist tactics. They believe that the

revolution cannot be made by the subjective act or will of revolutionaries; it must await the correct objective socio-economic conditions. Moreover, they regard individual revolutionary terrorism as being counter-productive.

The anarchist and nihilist strands in terrorist ideology are vividly displayed in the propaganda of the Action Directe in France and Revolutionary Cells in the Federal Republic of Germany. The third world revolutionist ideology has been most influential in shaping belief modern terrorist groups. The most prominent thinkers are Che Guevara, Debray and Marighela.

In analysing a typology of terrorist organizations it is evident that there are four types of terrorist organizations. They are as follows: separatist, national revolutionaries, international revolutionaries and right wing vigilantes. Each type of organization attracts a different kind of terrorist.

Separatist type terrorist organizations seek to break away from an existing state and create an independent state. They are generally an ethnic group with a historical claim on a specific geographical area. The IRA, ETA, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PELP) and PLO are examples. These are some of the most violent terrorist groups using any available means to advance their separatist objective.

National revolutionaries are driven by the desire to bring about a social revolution in a single state. They attack the institutions of the state, especially the police and the judiciary, in an effort to discredit the institutions and to provoke a hostile response. The Tupamaros of Uruguay and the Argentine People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) are a case in point.

International revolutionaries use terrorism to advance the cause of world

revolution. They rationalize their violence as follows:

1. Society is sick and cannot be cured by half measures of reform.
2. The state is itself violent and can be countered and overcome only by violence.
3. The truth of the terrorist cause justifies any action that supports it. While some terrorist recognizes no moral law, other has his or her own higher morality⁹.

The European Red Brigade, Red Army Faction and Action Directe are examples of revolutionary terrorist organizations. The vigilante terrorism attracts conservative and right wing groups that use terrorism to destroy the threat to the established order. Brazil's Death squad and Argentina's Triple A are examples of vigilante terrorism.

International Terrorism

International terrorism is the threat or use of violence for political purposes when such action is intended to influence the attitude and behaviour of a target group wider than its immediate victims and its ramifications transcend national boundaries¹⁰. However, there is no divide of a -great wall- between political terrorism and international terrorism.

According to Paul Wilkinson, political terrorism becomes international terrorism when it is directed at foreigners or foreign targets; concerted by the governments or factions of more than one state; or aimed at influencing the policies of a foreign government. The objective of international terrorism is national liberation, secession or seizure of power over a specific political regime. The Popular Front for the liberation of Palestine is an example of international terrorism.

Furthermore, international terrorism could be further classified as transnational terrorism. However, there is no agreement on the definitions of transnational terrorism. According

to Paul Wilkinson, international terrorism becomes transnational when it involves individuals of different nationalities. Besides, those terrorists, who operate internationally with the express long-term aim of global revolution practice transnational terrorism. According to this definition transnational terrorist groups constitute a small minority of international terrorists. The Japanese Red Army is an example of this category of terrorism.

Form of Terrorism

Contemporary terrorist action includes traditional assassinations, bombing, arson, hostage taking, hijacking, seizure and occupation of a building, attacks on facilities and sabotage. The main objectives are to gain national or international attention, collect resources, eliminate threats or demonstrate capabilities. To understand forms of international terrorism, it is necessary to focus on countries that face terrorism and states, which maintain close relations with terrorist organizations. After the end of the Second World War, terrorism has taken place in the Middle East, Asia, Latin America and Europe and even the USA and Japan.

In the Middle East the first nationalist-separatist terrorism took place with the objective of establishing a separate state of Israel against the British and secondly against the French government by the National Liberation Front of Algeria (FLN) from 1954 to 1962. Later after the emergence of radical Muslim elements, particularly with the emergence of Palestine issue terrorism became more rampant. In Palestine terrorism grew out of the war of 1967 against Israel. The PLO opted for terrorism through Black September and other ad hoc groups. They were responsible for the killing of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympic Games in 1972 and the blown up of several jumbo jets at Dawson Field in Jordan in September 1970 and hijacking of planes.

Currently, the South Asia is the most vulnerable region to the menace of terrorism in the world. Terrorism in South Asia has developed from embryonic political dissent and has transformed into secessionist and insurgent terrorism with transnational links¹¹. Of these countries in South Asia, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka has been acutely affected by the problem of terrorism. Terrorism in many countries in the region is driven by factors of religion and ethnicity. The first insurgency in the North-Eastern states of India can be cited as an example of insurgent terrorism. The second is external aid in the form of sanctuaries, training, money and weapons to fuel local grievances. The aim of external aid to local terrorists is to keep rival nations under constant stress. Besides, religion and ethnicity has become a major source behind terrorism in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The Hizbul Mujahideen which stands for the integration of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka are a case in point. The Hizbul Mujahideen organization said to be backed by Pakistan's official intelligence agency ISI. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) is supported by the Tamil Diaspora who lives in Great Britain, USA, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Netherlands, Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland's, Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland¹². Although, Sri Lanka has militarily defeated LTTE terrorism the international arena continues to be proactive in propagating and supporting separatist terrorism within Sri Lanka through International Agencies, the media, lobbying and aid control. Sri Lanka's current challenge is to find a political solution to address the challenges posed by the so called Tamil Diaspora.

In Latin America there was a recurrence of left-wing terrorism in the late 1960s. The Tupamaros of Uruguay was the model of left-wing terrorism. The campaign of Tupamaros caused the end of democracy and rise of military dictatorship in the country. Terrorism

in Argentina comprised of two groups: the Montenegro's and the People's Revolutionary Army ERP. The security forces of the government crushed it.

A new wave of left-wing terrorism appeared in Europe, in Germany and Italy in the late 1960s by the German Red Army and the Italian Red Brigade. The Red Brigade was responsible for more than 14,000 terrorist attacks including the murder of Aldo Mora. By 1980 it ceased to exist. With the disintegration of terrorism in Italy, terrorism emerged in Northern Ireland and captured world attention. It has come to an end due to political negotiations with the British government from 1993. However, the terrorism of Basque ETA has no end in sight.

The Weather Men — a left-wing group initiated political terrorism in the USA. The group was more attractive to the young Blacks due to higher levels of unemployment among blacks as against the unemployment rate of the white Americans. The Japanese trend in terrorism was confined to the Japanese Red Army. It was of much less evil and strength than the Japanese sectarian terrorists of the 1990s.

International terrorism had come of age. Terrorist groups around the world forged links with one another and governments who support their cause. Links were developed with groups such as the Japanese Red Army, and the Red Brigade in Germany, when the PLO moved to attack on Israeli targets in Europe. A foreign country supports most of the terrorist groups. The USA financed the Contras¹³, to fight the Sandinista Government of Nicaragua and the former USSR, Iran¹⁴, Syria, Libiya, Sudan, Lebanon and Iraq support terrorist groups¹⁵.

Conclusion

Political Terrorism in the form of National or International has drawn significant attention in academic literature. Although, the systemic study of the subject is of recent origin,

the origin, of the phenomenon goes back to Greek civilization in the 4th century B.C. However, there is no commonly agreed definition of terrorism. Therefore, scholars pay more attention to the root causes and patterns of terrorisms. Of these factors, historical injustices, colonialism and neo-colonialism, political ideologies, poverty and lack of opportunity for political participation have been recognized as critical factors. Currently ethnic or religious grievances have contributed to the original development of terrorism. Therefore, ethnic-nationalism has become an ideology of terrorism than new leftism or anarchism. Currently terrorism takes place either in the Middle East or Asia than any other region in the World.

Footnotes:

¹ Paul Wilkinson, *The Strategic Implications of Terrorism, in Terrorism and Political Violence*, (ed) M L Sondhi, Har-Anand Publications, 2000, p.28

² Walter Laqueur, 1987

³ Brian Jenkins, 1984

⁴ The Institute was set up in 1976 and is concerned with the study of terrorism. It is named after Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Netanyahu who was killed during the Entebbe rescue

⁵ Paul Wilkinson, "The Strategic Implication of Terrorism", in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, (ed) M L Sondhi, har-Anand, 2002, p. 19

⁶ Stephen E Atkins, *Terrorism*, Santa Barbara, California, 1992, p. 4

⁷ David J. Whittaker, *op-cit*, p. 9

⁸ Paul Wilkinson and A M Stewart, *Contemporary Research on Terrorism*, Aberdeen University Press UK 1987, p. xi

⁹ Stephen E Atkins, *op-cit*, p. 11

¹⁰ David J Whittaker, *op-cit*, p. 9

¹¹ Bhashyam Kasturi, *Especial Section: Terrorism in South Asia in Historical Dictionary of Terrorism* (eds) Seank Anderson and Stephen Sloan Vision Book, USA 2002 - Pp 587

¹² David J Whittaker, *The Terrorism Reader*, Rutledge, London 2002, Pp 90-92

¹³ The 'contras' short name for counterrevolutionaries were the armed groups fought against the Sandinista regime that seized power in Nicaragua in 1979

¹⁴ David J. Whittaker, *op-cit* Pp 38

¹⁵ Sean K Anderson and Stephen Sloan, *Historical Dictionary of Terrorism Vision Books*, USA, 2002, Pp 119-120