

Terrorism in the Age of Globalization: A Critical Perspective

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Abstract

This paper analyses the concept of terrorism in the age of globalization. Terrorism has been motivated by ideological, religious and national reasons and this has added to its concern issues like inequality, injustice, dissatisfaction and antiglobalist movements, due to development of industry and technology in the world. In order to clarify this shift in the policy, the concepts of terrorism and globalization are first explained as distinct issues. Terrorism has been globalized because of modernization, developments in technology, communication and the ease in transportation. Thus, globalization has started to serve terrorism, while with its positive effects it became helpful in the fight against terrorism. The connection of globalization to terrorism has been explained in this respect. As the previous tools of diplomacy and military measures started to lose their validity, international cooperation and law have emerged as the tool to fight against terrorism. Since terrorism is a phenomenon that cannot be totally abolished, the best way to minimize terrorism is the use of international law, with necessary organizations established to form a cooperation at the international level.

Keywords:- Terrorism Nationstate, Globalization, Cooperation, Law Security, Justice, Peace.

Introduction:-

Terrorism is essentially a contested concept resulting from the failure of scholars of terrorism studies to establish a commonly accepted definition because of their self and group centeredness or limited perspectives. Despite the fact that scholars of terrorism studies agree that terrorism primarily involves lethal violence mainly on civilians in order to influence an audience, they do not agree on identifying the agencies of all forms of terrorism. Referring to the case of contemporary sub-state terrorism, for instance, Omar Lizardo provides a minimal definition: "Modern terrorism refers to a type of violent interaction initiated by a non-state actor, which is not formally recognized as a legitimate wielder of the means of violence or a valid initiator of violent interactions, directed against the representatives (human, material or symbolic) of a formally recognized state actor in the international system, which does not follow the institutionalized rules and conventions of military engagement."¹ Of course, this definition does not deal with all forms of terrorism since it only focuses on the bottom-up terrorism. Some scholars also define terrorism as premeditated or intentional violence by non-state actors that impose fear on a target population in order to achieve certain political objectives.² A great number of experts define terrorism without identifying whether states or non-state actors commit it.³ Explaining the challenges of conceptualizing terrorism, Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pendahzur and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler define terrorism as "Terrorism is a politically motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role."⁴ Although many states engage in terrorist activities, they do not, as some experts state, publicize their illegal activities due to the fear of their implications in the international system. There are scholars who acknowledge that state terrorism begets non-state terrorism: "When terrorism is theoretically examined as a form of social control, fundamental controlling apparatuses of the state may be viewed as terroristic. Organizations, groups, and individuals who legitimate the use of violence to achieve their goals may be viewed as products of, extensions of, or models of the essential structure of a state when its purpose is to regulate behavior via various forms of repression, domination and terror."⁵ Scholars such as Eqbal Ahmad also recognize that "state terror very often breeds collective terror."⁶ Today's terrorism is a multifaceted phenomenon consisting of a diverse array of factors, motivations and tactics that evolves over time.

The possible motivations for individuals engaging in terrorism are diverse. They include such possibilities as psychological and social-psychological factors, ideologies, and political, social and economic grievances. Professor Hardman had tried to define terrorism as the method (or the theory behind the method), which an organized group or party sought to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through the systematic use of violence.⁷ International terrorism has often been described as warfare without territory, waged without armies. It is warfare that is not limited territorially, sporadic battles may take place worldwide. It is warfare without neutrals, and with few or no civilian bystanders. International terrorism covers the categories of terrorist outfits outside the country of their origin or where they are active. It is also said to comprise those incidents of terrorism that have clear international consequences: incidents in which terrorists go abroad to strike targets, select victims or targets, because of their connections to a foreign state

(diplomats, executives or foreign corporation), attack airlines on international flights, or force airlines to fly to another country.⁸

Security, violence and the Terrorists:-

Physical security is at the heart of social life. Life is hard to endure if there is a constant fear of death, pain or destruction. Hence the preservation or creation of security is at the heart of what many social scientists in all branches study. Human beings invented tools at an early stage and tools have enabled us to live the life we do, unfortunately the military tool is the weapon. Thus human beings find it comparatively easy to kill each other and they have done so with throughout recorded history. This does not seem to be diminishing and violent conflict is widespread in the world today. Security studies is the study of the security of people against violence, sometimes it is more broadly construed to mean defence against all forms of insecurity including economic insecurity, environmental insecurity and so on. Violence is divided into somatic violence and structural violence. Somatic violence is the deliberate attempt to hurt or will some one, whether at the individual level of murder or the group level of war. Structural violence happens when people die because of the activities of other human beings even though they did not kill them as such. Thus death or debility because of unnecessary poverty is regarded as structural violence. Violence on these two counts constitutes the negative aspect of international relations. Wars are an important class of deadly quarrel and interstate wars are an important subclass of all wars, revolutions, civil wars and so on are also significant. Traditionally war has been thought to be inevitable. Since 1945, the whole military and violence scene has been dominated by the existence of weapons of mass destruction. There are forms of weapons, such as nuclear weapons, that can cause unparalleled destruction and wholly eliminate societies in a way which has not been possible before. Nuclear weapons, biological and chemical weapons are used on a large scale and create similar sorts of destruction. Fortunately, nuclear weapons have not been used since the end of the second world war. Armed conflict has been carried out with so-called conventional weapons, which in practice means weapons which are not nuclear. The threat of nuclear extermination by the terrorists have profoundly affected many people and became a dominant political factor in international scenario.

Terrorism has become a widespread feature of the modern world. A terrorist conflict can be defined as an armed conflict in which one set of active participants are not members of any army in the standard sense. The direct military power of the terrorists is small in comparison with the powers of their opponents. They cannot engage the opposing army or police authorities in direct combat. Instead terrorists seek out 'soft' targets and attack them, often with the primary aim of destroying property. They might also assassinate, by bombing or shooting, people perceived to be part of the governing structure, such as soldiers, police or members of the judiciary, or prominent people within some opposing group. In some cases they may be careful about whether they also kill people who are unconnected with the struggle. In other cases they may be less so. In more extreme cases they might kill people deliberately even if they are not relevant targets with the explicit aim of inculcating fear in a particular population. The death tool is often small compared to conventional warfare but the publicity is frequently vivid, as the killing and damage normally take place in an otherwise peaceful situation. This is what causes the terror that gives terrorists their name. It is also what makes them appear particularly horrific to many people.

International Conventions and Laws:-

There have been several International conventions which some way or the other aimed at combating terrorist kinds of activities prior to 9/11/2001, when terrorism reached its climax. Some prominent among them are the Tokyo convention on Offences and certain Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, 1963, the Hague Convention on Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, 1970, the International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training Mercenaries adopted by the General Assembly in 1989 and others. Some other conventions adopted by the UN are Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 14 December 1973, International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 17 December 1979, International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 15 December 1997, International Convention for the Suppression of Financing of Terrorism on 9 December 1999, International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism New York, 13 April 2005. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 attacks passed the Resolution 1373 under chapter VII of the United Nations on 28 September 2001. This resolution imposed several obligations on the member states including efforts to prevent and suppress financing of terrorist acts, to criminalize the willful provision or collection, by any means, of funds, by their nationals or in their territories, to freeze without delay the funds, financial assets and economic resources of persons committing or participating in the commission or facilitat-

ing commission of terrorist acts.⁹ Despite several attempts to tackle the menace of terrorism, it is on the rise. A word of caution rings all over the globe that states now have to counter invisible forces with might equivalent to a state, operating transnationally, involved in smuggling, narco-terrorism, running a risk of chemical and biological weapons and nuclear terrorism.¹⁰ Terrorism is a different kind of war where enemies are not organized into battalions, or commanded by governments. They hide in shadowy networks and retreat after they strike.

Trends in Terrorist Activities:-

International Relations is a dramatically changing discipline and will continue to change, probably rapidly. There are three basic reasons for this. First, the world we live in is changing, perhaps fundamentally. Secondly, a number of issues, such as gender, war, regionalism, terrorism, International law, cooperation, which were neglected earlier are now widely recognized as important. Third, we know a little more about international behaviour than we used to and we have the methods of discovering more. Sometimes it is hard to deny that the world is altering. The Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States have ended and at least for the moment the nuclear threat seems to have diminished. The world is still not peaceful though the pattern of violence seems to be changing. Ideologies, which at one time seemed to the optimistic liberal to be dying such as nationalism and fundamentalist religion of all sorts, are now vibrant. Many people nowadays hold views that their grandparents thought had passed into the dustbin of history. Other ideologies, which were once vibrant, like communism, now seem to be obsolete, at least in the ways in which they were recently expressed. The process of globalization is making the world a different place.

It may be reducing the powers of governments and the role of the state both internally and externally, particularly over economic matters. Whether this is good or bad is open to argument. Indeed the significance of globalization itself is open to dispute. The range of topics considered as international relations have broadened, in part because of a broader view of what is important and in part because our explanations under the narrower view proved inadequate. The discipline of international relations has developed and not just changed because of the broadening of theoretical perspectives. Today the study of international relations is concerned more with international crises, about some of the factors that are linked to the causes of war, interstate war, fundamentalism, terrorist activities. The relationship between democracy and peace is still contested. The broadening of the intellectual horizons resulting in the growth of new theoretical positions is partly because of the factual inadequacies of the older views. An international system is a collection of random occurrences with systematic patterns of behaviour. These patterns may alter overtime and thus, such changes as the process of globalization alter things in ways we can analyze and discover. International relations is an empirical discipline and here we try to analyze every process and incidents in a sensitive and realist way.

Terrorism and Terrorist activities around the world has become a major problem in international relations and poses a great threat to the security and development of a nation state. Terrorism is the unlawful use or threatened use of violence against civilians, often to achieve political, religious or similar objectives. International terrorism involves, the territory or the citizens of more than one country. Terrorism is nothing new, it has probably existed ever since human societies began to regulate the use of violence. It was of unusual scale and intensity due to the 11 September 2001 attacks in New York and Washington and later attacks in Ankara, Madrid, London and elsewhere. This has put the issue of international terrorism high on the agenda. Terrorism is an issue that concerns International Relations for obvious reasons as because International relations is not just about national and international security. Most terrorism is national. It is related to political struggles most often in weak states where democratic politics is weak or absent and incumbent leaders are considered illegitimate, such as Colombia, Nepal, Sri Lanka or Indonesia. In the weakest states most of which are in sub-saharan Africa, terrorism takes place in a context of more or less permanent civil war.

But more consolidated states have also had severe problems with terrorism, including Britain, India, Spain, Argentina. Such terrorism is national because the enemy is national and often groups can fight as guerrillas, getting support from local sympathizers. An upsurge in international terrorism, in the form of aircraft hijackings, took place from the late 1960s. Improved security measures helped in reducing hijacking, but international terrorism did not disappear. During the 1980s, there was an increased incidence of radical Muslim groups attacking American targets in Lebanon, Iran, Somalia, and elsewhere. Such attacks continued after the end of the Cold War. International terrorism has become a phenomenon primarily connected with radical Muslim groups. Almost all of the international terrorist groups on the US Department of State List belong to that category. The best known of these groups or networks is al-Qaeda. At the same time, just as there can be organized crime, there can be organized terrorism. The Al-Qaeda network is a case in point and 11 September 2001 attack on World Trade Centre in New York was of unusual magnitude during the entire twentieth century. On this view it appears highly that terrorism as represented by Al-Qaeda will grow into

a large scale threat to western societies.

While there are a great number of terrorist groups scattered around the world, especially in weak states, their ambitions remain national, not international, only very few move to become international terrorists. International terrorism is specifically connected to a radical fundamentalist version of Islam which is not representative of Islam as such. Other cultural religions belief systems (eg. Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity) do not exhibit a similar kind of embittered anti-Westernism. The threat of international terrorism is very serious. First of all, open, complex societies are necessarily vulnerable. There are limited possibilities for surveillance and control, suicide terrorists carry forceful low-tech bombs which cannot be easily stopped. The al-Qaeda network is specifically connected to marginalized Muslim groups of Mujahedin (fighting for Allah's cause) who joined together to fight against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and were able to use that country as a safe haven. These groups are not very large and they no longer have easy access to countries where they can set up bases. The recent London bomb attacks (2005) demonstrated that Muslims with a relatively 'normal' background as citizens of the UK had been recruited for the assaults.

This could be taken to mean that the potential recruiting base for terrorist actions is very large indeed; it is not merely confined to ex-Afghani Mujahedins; it also comprises self-selected members of local Muslim societies in the UK and other Western countries. Furthermore the US-led war in Iraq leads to 'blow back terrorism' meaning that the war tends to increase, rather than decrease, the recruitment potential to international terrorism. Finally there is danger of international terrorists gaining access to and using weapons of mass destruction (WMD), that is, chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. It is clear that terrorist groups have incentives to use WMD, they would be able to create massive destruction and fear, and that would possibly elevate the groups to a new power position vis-à-vis their adversaries. If policymakers take immediate countermeasures, such an attack is preventable.

New Patterns of war and peace: Changes in statehood:-

Armed conflict today increasingly takes place within states that are weak in the sense that they are unable or unwilling to provide security and order, not to mention freedom, justice, and welfare for the population. At the same time, among advanced states, especially among the liberal democracies, there is peace, cooperation and no risk of interstate war. These developments are connected to changes in statehood. In order to trace how states have changed it is necessary to identify the basic features of the concept of the modern state as it existed in the mind-twentieth century. That creates a 'baseline mode' against which recent developments can be characterized. The substance of the modern state can be analysed in three different dimensions: the government, the nation and the economy. With regard to the first dimension i.e. government, it can be said that every modern state tries to create a centralized system of democratic rule, based on administrative, policing and military organizations, sanctioned by a legal order, claiming a monopoly of the legitimate use of force, within a defined territory. With regard to the second dimension, it can be said, that a deep sense of nationhood is created, meaning a people within a territory making up a community of citizens (with political, social and economic rights) and a community of sentiment (based on linguistic, cultural and historical bonds). Nationhood involves a high level of cohesion that binds nation and state together. With regard to the third dimension, a modern state tries to create such an economy which is a segregated and self-sustained national economy that comprises the necessary sectors for its reproduction and growth. The major part of economic activity takes place within independent countries.

The modern state actually provides for the good life for its citizens. States are historical institutions: they are open to change. The modern state emerged from a very long process of development that took place between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. It came to full maturity in the developed world around the mid-twentieth century. Since then, it has not stood still, of course. Changes in statehood continued to take place. Terrorism and violent conflict is connected to weak post-colonial states. The advanced states choose to cooperate to an extent that has created a very high level of integration among them: economic integration, political integration and social integration. In the context of European Union, United Nations Organization, World Trade Organization, the development of supranational authority and free movement across borders sets a new context where countries may continue to be formally independent, but at the same time deeply integrated in cross-border community. Such forms of supranational cooperation are beginning to emerge to counter international crisis.

Increasingly, governance is changing away from its confinement to the context of national governments towards multilevel governance in several interlocked areas overlapping each other. Postmodern states disclose security dilemmas that are markedly different from the classical security dilemma of modern statehood. So in order to understand the most important security challenges facing states, analysis of their external relations is not enough. It is also necessary to look inside states, at their domestic developments. 'Domestic' and 'international' are tied closely to-

gether and each significantly affects the other. In order to understand the most important security challenges in the present international system, the transformation of statehood will have to be incorporated in the analysis. In today's world, collective efforts by the states are the primary means by which people achieve security, economic welfare and a common identity.

Notes :

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