

not hegemony but
unilateralism of USA
is problem.

Indio-cleft country

Shashi Tharoor
Maoist strategy.

17/10/14

Global terrorism

- What is terrorism?
- Nature of terrorism as a political strategy
- Origin of terrorism
- Global terrorism
- Prominent terrorist organisations with global reach.
- Understanding Jihad
- Features of global war on terrorism
- Response of international community
- How to tackle global terrorism.

What is terrorism?

Though it is very difficult to have a global consensus on what acts constitute terrorism or in having a consensus on who

is terrorist. At a very general level, terrorism can be considered as a political strategy. It is a strategy that makes the use of violence.

The objective of terrorism is to create terror/fear & achieve political aims.

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon. In modern times the origin of terroristic methods for political objectives can be linked to inter-war period when many nationalities in Europe were fighting struggle for national self determination. Even WWII was triggered by the event when a Serbian nationalist killed the Prince of Austria.

Ireland Irish National Movement & Sinn Féin

party used terroristic (violent) methods. LTTE is also regarded as a terrorist organisation.

However at present there is a general tendency among political thinkers to associate terrorism with Islam. Presently we are witnessing another global war against terrorism.

Difference betⁿ terrorism & other forms of Organised crimes.

- Terrorism is also an organised crime. Earlier it was a local & regional phenomenon, but now it has become trans-national & global phenomenon.

The major difference is terrorist activities are justified on the basis of some "just cause".

Any other organised criminal activity may not have the ideological support like that of terrorist activities.

At present it becomes more difficult to fight because there has been a

mixup of religion & politics. Radical Islam

or Islamic fundamentalism has become a

major ideology to justify acts of terrorism.

Scholars like Samuel P. Huntington explain

the terrorist struggle through the paradigm

of clash of civilizations. According to Edward

Said, such type of theories distract us from

understanding the real nature of the problem.

It also distracts us from treating terrorism

from a neutral perspective. If we continue

with such stereotypes, it will make war

against terrorism more difficult. In the

past, there has been an attempt by the West

to generate "Islamophobia".

It can be said that both who are fighting against terrorism or those who are talking about global jihad, they are misusing a particular religion to fulfil their geo-political & geo-economic objectives.

Prominent terrorist organisations at present

- Al Qaeda (Afghanistan).
- Al Qaeda of Arabian Peninsula. (Eastern Yemen & Saudi Arabia)
Aim: to topple the govt. there.
- Al Shabab (Somalia)
- Ansar Al Sharya (Libya)
Benghazi: attack
- Jemmah Islamia (S.E. Asia)
Bali Bombblast
- Boko Haram (Nigeria)
- ISIS/ISIL/IS (N.E. Syria, N.W. Iraq)
Aim: Establish Islamic Caliphate (^{pure} Islamic state)
- Hamas, Leba (Gaza)
- Hezbollah (Lebanon)

Root causes of Terrorism

- First perspective:
Root cause is in the religion itself.
- Second perspective:
Problem is not Islam, but root cause of problems

Arab Exceptionalism

the geopolitical policies of the West.

~~For~~

Primarily Asia & Africa are the geographical spaces where these organisations are based.

We can link the origin & support to terrorism in these societies to the process of western imperialism. Presently the most affected region is Middle East.

Causes

- Western Imperialism / Colonialism

It has brought a lot of humiliation & disgrace. Colonialism destroyed traditional muslim practices. Colonial masters have created administrative boundaries in total disregard for culture, history, customs, traditions, ethnicity of the people living in the region.

- Creation of Israel.

People in the region consider Israel as an outpost of America & West. The successive defeat of Arabs in Arab-Israeli war has further hurt the Arab ego.

- Terrorism is a low intensity warfare & terrorist methods are adopted when other party is convinced that they have no chance of winning in open confrontation.

- ~~As~~ So called Arab exceptionalism.

The myth created by the West that democracy can't take root in the Arab/Muslim world.

& that Islam is incompatible with democracy. It provided justification for the continuation of monarchies & autocracies. There has been an inherent interest among the countries of the West to support such rulers. West has also made attempts to undermine the attempts to establish democracy in the region. USA has not been in a position to reconcile with Islamic Revolution in Iran which has ousted the puppet ruler of Iran.

This has created the 2 problems

1- w.r.t. understanding of Quran

Reason:

Absence of freedom of speech & expression

2- people lacked institutions to express their aspirations or for ventilation of their grievances.

These situations strengthened the position of fundamentalists & terrorist organisations

Rulers have been unconcerned with the problems of people. These organisations have also conducted lot of charitable & humanitarian activities & thus developed soft power (ex. Muslim Brotherhood).

- Cold War & American attempt to establish its sphere of influence..

In general, USA had support from the ruling class whereas Communism had support at popular level. There has been a natural compatibility betⁿ tenets of Islam & principles of socialism.

ISIS - humanitarian activities on Sunni muslims.

kill ideology not
terrorists.

responsibility of intellectual class
→ provide opportunities.

Once socialism had gone, it had been replaced
by political Islam.

Thus national frustration, cultural disjunction,
political repression & social disruption have
provided ground for the rise of jihad.

What is jihad?

Jihad is one of most misunderstood concept.

From Kest's perspective:

Jihad is an attempt to end all
progressive values of life.

Quran:

Actual meaning of jihad is spiritual
upliftment or regeneration of soul.

Later on jihad became a social movement,
we can call it a movement or "Renaissance
in Middle East". It was an attempt for
regeneration & revitalization of muslim
societies.

Present form:

It has become a political ideology,
An ideology that aims to establish the
'pure' Islamic State.

According to the present Vice President &
Prime Minister of UAE, we need an
intellectual Renaissance. Terrorism is
basically an ideology. It is an ideology of hate.

It is misinterpretation of Islam. Until & unless we are able to generate some stronger idea, a stronger ideology which can guide suicidal youth towards the right path, we will not be able to win this battle.

Terrorism is a battle of mind.

Global war on terrorism

std. Nov. 2001. with War against Al Qaeda.

Objective of Global War on terrorism was to completely dismantle all terrorist organisations.

It called for the support from int'l community.

West was able to topple Taliban within a month, but they have not been able to end terrorism. Rather their actions & lack of appropriate strategy has further increased the problem.

The biggest mistake of US was starting a preemptive war against Iraq.

Strategic mistake :

- Could not put enough attention & resources in Afghanistan & opened the 2nd front in Iraq. War in Afghanistan a protracted war.

- Terrorism is different type of war than conventional war. During the war in Afghanistan, it was realised that it is not easy to win the war against terrorists. Any such war can also have unacceptable humanitarian cost.

It may also impact the civilians. It is not easy to identify terrorists. They are not in uniform. They are not limited to battlefield. They are diffused ^{throughout} in the society itself. Hence it was unrealistic for the West to believe that hard power can defeat the terrorist organisation. Use of hard power by West has further generated anti-West sentiment, because of loss of innocent lives. It has benefited the terrorists & generated sympathy for them. They linked their struggle as anti-imperialism. They could show that West is not concerned with the loss of life. They are pursuing their geopolitical goal in Middle East at the cost of lives of civilians. Actually under George Bush, it was not possible to win war against terrorism.

USA has

USA has incorporated Pakistan as a major non-NATO ally & a frontline ~~base~~ state in their global war against terrorism.

It has also undermined credibility of Western strategy. It became overt that aim is not to fight terrorism rather to take strategic advantage & by establishing their influence in neighbourhood of Russia & near resource rich Central Asia.

War against terrorism under Obama.

Since hard power was not yielding the results, he tried to implement the soft power approach. Obama's new war

strategy was

- As expressed in Cairo speech in 2009
- he extended the hand of friendship towards the Muslim world.
- He held that USA's policies are going to be very different from that of previous administration
- He will take special efforts for promoting dialogue among civilizations and cross cultural understanding.
- Honest efforts for earliest resolution of Palestinian issue.
- w.r.t. Iraq & Afghanistan, he proposed 'surge & exit' strategy

However in practice Obama became only US President to intervene militarily in 7 Muslim states in span of 6 years.

- Afghanistan
- Iraq
- Pakistan
- Yemen
- Somalia
- Libya
- Syria

Obama's acceptance of 'good guys' & 'bad guys', 'good taliban' & 'bad taliban' further diluted the legitimacy of his war.

Obama's support for the rebellions in Syria has further added to strengthening of ISIS.

USA's policies which have resulted into destruction of political stability in states in Middle East have further strengthened the prospect of these terrorist organisations must better.

Present strategy against ISIS

Declared on 10th Sep 2014 to

Obj: - Degrade & completely destroy ISIS.

- Formation of multilateral coalition of nations.

• core countries in Obama's coalition are

UK, Saudi Arabia, U.A.E., Australia. At present,

they have been able to get support of

around 50 countries. Different countries

will contribute according to their convenience/will.

USA will stick to airstrikes against ISIS.

Airstrikes of USA in Syria without

authorisation of UNSC or even US Congress

& without invitation from govt. of Syria.

is also a violation of intⁿ law.

USA will be providing support to the

ground forces, Iraqi security agencies.

Kurdish fighters & anti-Bashar Al Assad

fighters in Syria.

Analysis of strategy:

- Too much reliance on hard force & a short sighted approach.

- Tackling the symptoms rather than treatment of the cause.

Suggestions:

Joseph Nye

World needs a broader strategy as the form of terrorism has changed. There has to be an attempt to promote stability in Middle East & take a regional perspective.

Richard Haas

- Take steps to stop potential terrorists
- Create environment in which terrorism is neither acceptable nor necessary.
- There is a need of regional stabilisation programme.
- Any overtrly political strategy may risk increasing sectarian sentiments.
- United Nations has adopted a global comprehensive strategy to combat terrorism.
- The strategy needs to be taken into consideration.
- Condemn terrorism in all of its forms & manifestations.
- Upheld the sovereign equality of all states.
- Respect territorial integrity & political independence.
- Any use of force should be strictly in accordance to principles of UN Charter.
- Resolution of disputes in a peaceful manner & in accordance to intlⁿ law.
- *- Eradicate poverty & promote sustainable development.
- Develop capacity of United Nations w.r.t. conflict prevention & conflict management.

geopolitically

dialogue, toleration,
development

- strengthen peace keeping operations
- promote culture of peace
- promote social inclusion
- address the needs of victims
- full cooperation among nations in following areas
 - information sharing
 - prosecution & extradition of criminals
 - tackling money laundering, drug trafficking, illicit arms trade & nuclear black market
 - enhancing security of arrangements of probable civilian targets

Former Secretary General Kofi Annan

5 Pillar Strategy

- Deny terrorists means to carry an attack
- Deter states from supporting terrorists
- Strengthen capacity of states to prevent terrorism & combating terrorism.
- Delegitimisation of any justification or so called 'just war'
- Promote respect for human rights and different cultural values.

Conclusion

- There has to be a clear goal of fighting terrorism.
- Increased commitment by int'l community because it can affect anyone, anywhere.
No country is immune from terrorism.
- Limited role for armed forces & bigger role for political leadership & intellectual class.
- Promotion of good governance sustainable development, multicultural perspective towards human rights, respect for int'l law

Sustainable development is the most sustainable answer to terrorism.

18/10/14

& earliest resolution of Palestinian issue
to the satisfaction of both the parties.