Chapter V

Summary and Conclusions
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In this research examined that unlike the past, access to weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear, biological, chemical weapons (NBC) is an easy and readily available for public and private agents. If such weapons were used against populated areas, surely it would be catastrophic. Now due to the growth of information and communication technologies, knowledge of production of these weapons are available free of charge via the Internet or in books, are available. So now it can be said that all state and non-state agents have skills and technical competencies (in medium level) and can produce chemical and biological weapons. For instance, it is possible to produce these weapons in a small lab or the kitchen or basement. So today many of such weapons are available for some governments and even non-state groups and networks, such as Abdul Qadir Khan, Aum Shinriku and al-Qaida.

On the other hand, the new information technologies have led to a change power relations; so that today the conflicts equations generally have transformed. Unlike the past, in such a world, the strong (holders of mechanical power and deadly force) cannot destroy the weak. Therefore, the final winner is someone who understands the present time and its place. In the real virtual world, the strong is someone who has more ability to obtain knowledge and information and also producing and
processing them and have higher speed in applying new technologies. In fact, power in present world is the concept of information and processing it. Any other definition of power (if it is present) only has real meaning in the light of information’s existence.

Accordingly, the developed countries and countries that are considered traditionally superpower (like the U.S.) are now vulnerable to terrorist networks which have obtained the technologies of weapons of mass destruction and have followed methods of asymmetrical warfare. The vulnerability rate of these countries is to the extent that has encountered them with the important question of being or not being important. The new situation has have caused even superpower countries alone are not able to provide their own security and without doubt they need other cooperation and collaboration of countries.

Although human history is full of terrorist acts, but current era (the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries) is called the Age of Terrorism. But what are the globalization factors of terrorism phenomenon?

**Findings of the present research are trying to answer:**

The outcome of the present study brings out that the globalization of Terrorism phenomenon is the result of many factors. Some of these factors are:

**A - Globalization and New World Order:**

Project or process of globalization and also new world order (in light of the new technologies of information and communication) are the first causes of globalization of terrorism. This issue should be explained by considering US long-term and strategic policy and its traditional allies specifically. Because globalization and new world order provide US strategic interests.
Although this strategy has many benefits for the U.S., but also has negative consequences for this country; as former US President, Bill Clinton has said: "Globalization process has become us vulnerable against some of the oldest problems; terrorism, drug traffickers and organized criminals in the twenty-first century, has encountered us with new security challenges".

B. Inclusive Asymmetrical Wars:
Terrorism in parallel with the development of information technology, communications, science, education and the economy, has grown. The increasing development of new technologies and especially "information revolution" and "media revolution" facilitate flexible organization, and surprise action of terrorism at the international level. Modern technologies, makes terrorist targeting easier and deal with it more difficult. Current age is the age of intense and short-term conflicts. Now we have come to an age where the war is not done by classic armies and in fact "terrorism" has become "a new form of war". Thus, in the present age (the age of terrorism) criminal gangs, militias, terrorist organizations, and even individuals will become engaged in postmodern asymmetrical wars which determine the war with their own ontology¹ and epistemology².

Formal and symmetrical wars also have been changed; so that they can be called knowledge-based wars. This means that the microelectronics, accurate ammunition, invisible and hiding technology, sensing capacity and C4I (command, control, communications, control, computers, intelligence, information) system. 

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¹ This book with title of "terrorism; new form of war" was published by Sakhtgostar publications and translated by Ahmad Vahedian Ghafari.
² It is a series of relationships that in a particular period.
communications, computers and intelligence) in a more advanced form can be applied to solve the historical problem of the invisibility of battlefields and made them accessible for commanders who their goals are to promote reaction capabilities to battlefield changes.

"In any case, now there is a general consensus that the method of war has gone beyond industrial war, and also what Paul Bracken has called "future army", will be organized on the basis of means, ideas and institutions, which are completely different with conditions of the Second World War.

As Clausewitz said, "type of war has its own limiting conditions and special assumptions."

**C - Asymmetric International relations:**

Other factors of globalization of terrorism are removing asymmetric and order of international relations after collapse of the Soviet Union. One of the effects of this phenomenon (which created the asymmetry of military, economic, political, cultural and international level) is systematic asymmetric-making of tools, tactics and strategies by terrorist organizations’ violence.

**D - End of Government Monopoly Control Technologies:**

In the industrial age, the government organizations due to having monopoly of advanced industrial equipments, such as eavesdropping equipments, surveillance cameras, communication tools and information devices and ... (Because of cost) had industrial supremacy over their non-state challengers. The facilities were used for the survival of the states. But in the era of globalization, communication, science,

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technology and economy have made possible public access including terrorists to these achievements and made the out of governments' monopoly. Therefore, the power is transferring; in a way that some experts argue that today, unlike the past, non-state challengers have become superior to the state agents.
Jessica T. Mathews in explaining this issue pointed out that this technology is accessible to the public, has finished states’ monopoly on the collection and management of massive amounts of data and has deprived states of their previous respect, status, position and grandeur.

Also Thomas Friedman writes that "when globalization happens, and the intertwined waves of scientific, computing, smallization and communications disperse and small groups and individuals, no matter of their location, can have rapid and inexpensive accessibility to the furthest parts of the world. This situation enables people of good will to create their favorable world and participate in the global economy more that before; but meanwhile enables people who hate the United States to attack it more than before and with greater intensity.

**E- New Terrorism; War of Images**

Another important feature of the global terrorism is relating deadly violence relating with media and role of media in broadcasting its news. Strategy of new international terrorism is that without the use of mass media, damaging economic infrastructures will have little impact. They use of violence as the raw material of mass media. Thereafter, all communications and public or private media throughout the world will discuss about it.

Newspapers, radios, TVs, internet, sites and news agencies broadcast news of dreadful terrorist attacks throughout the world; in a way that has put our routine life in
an atmosphere of information and signs containing fears of state or non-state terrorist attacks.

In fact, terrorism through the mass media, especially television, attacks and penetrates to darkest parts of our minds and dominates horror and fear on us.

**F- Network War:**

Accordingly, Arquilla and Renfeldt in their common book entitled "The Emergence of Network War" write:

"the transferring power is in hands of those who have necessary skills to create and develop communication networks and activity in the world of networks; today non-state combatants (ranging from combatants to criminals, especially those who have a range of transnational activities) have outstripped the government forces in performing and having the capability to use this kind of organization (network organization) and its related principles and strategies.\(^4\)

The sequence of power transferring faced us with a new form of terrorism that the whole relations of power, actions and reactions of terrorism and counter-terrorism have been transformed into the form that has no instance and example in conventional wars.

**G- Asymmetric Terrorism**

One of the other causes of globalization of terrorism is selecting very developed industrial societies (postindustrial) as a terrorist target. Selecting these countries as a target is determining, because citizens of these countries live in prosperity and security due to new industrial technologies. These citizens are willing to pay a heavy price for their safety and comfort and try to change weak and inefficient government

\(^4\) John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, Research “The Advent of Netwar”, Institute, Rand, 1996), P. 43.
through legal institutions. Definitely administrations of such communities due to
can be public pressure and NGOs are forced to protect the life, safety and welfare of their
citizens by paying money or giving political concessions. Obviously, these
communities are incapable and vulnerable to suicide attacks, because although their
enemy is very weak in terms of war tools and weapons, but this enemy by risking its
life has become an unconquerable force.

In fact, selecting of such a strategy change the power relations, because in this
game, the weak is often the winner; it means that the vacuum of balance of power
(especially after the collapse of Soviet Union) is removed and therefore the weak is
become practically invincible and more powerful. Terrorists use this weakness of rich
countries. Recent measures, from Somalia to Lebanon, from September 11 to the
London bombings and spreading anthrax bacteria in United States and some
European countries are all proving selection of strategy by terrorists.

**H- New Terrorism; Rejection of Morals**

Until recently, most researchers and commentators argue that terrorists prefer
politically and tactically to use dynamite and light weapons to nuclear, chemical,
biological weapons. But viewpoints changed very quickly. When terrorists gave up
hijacking and decided to destroy them, viewpoints changed and led to draw the
world’s attention to terrorist operations. The tipping point of plane bombing was
December 1988 in Pan American plane over Lockerby which more than two hundred
and fifty people lost their lives.

Since then success of the operation, rather than as moral considerations but also on
the basis of the damages, number of casualties and in particular volume of mass
media reports, was assessed. Since then, formula of damages, destruction and
massacre were considered as success and moral considerations were forgotten completely. Attack of Aum Shinriku in Japan, bombing in municipal building of Oklahoma City (US) and September 11 attacks and spreading anthrax bacteria through mails are all evidence to support these claims that terrorism in the Information age has changed its strategic essentially.

I- Global Terrorism and New Threats:

Today terrorists are more organized, professional, and flexible and equipped than their counterparts in history. Scientific, technological, communicational and economic development and growth have given new potentialities to terrorists who have the ability to change their local or even national targets to trans-national and international. New phenomenon of terrorism can perform nuclear, biological, chemical (NBC) violence or anything that has the potential to become a weapon of mass destruction (as in September 11 event, we saw the conversion of passenger aircraft to weapons of mass destruction) in order to achieve their goals at all levels. This is a serious threat to all states, whether at local, national and international levels; so that the scope of this threat even has extended to countries that are far from the center of the issue.

This study recommends the future studies on relation of globalization and terrorism, to focus not only on the present situation of global international relation between countries as the traditional international actors but also on the rule of non-state actors in the context of international relations.

Also as a study on new terrorism the researches should work on the new form of terrorism witch in this case the rule of individual terrorist who is inspired from the
spiritual leaders and act individually in favor of the leader’s ideology is the most important element.

This study suggests continuing work on the global terrorism which is always changing and converting from one shape to the other. Therefore, similarly the knowledge on this phenomenon should also keep going to be updated.

**Conclusion**

Rapid growth of communication and information technologies, science, and economy and their development have created a single and integrated world and made knowledge and technologies universal. This issue resulted in a series of fundamental changes in the concept of security in individual, national and global levels.

In the current situation which is known as end of geography’s period, geographical regions have become close to each other and events of one part have impact on of the other parts’ events and vice versa. In global era, the world is small and compressed and people are informed about events of the entire world. Global networks of internet, email and worldwide radio and TV networks and international social movements are the most obvious manifestation of globalization. In this age even risks have been globalized; so that personal and national security without global security is not definable; risks such as AIDS, pollution, the rupture of ozone layer and terrorism, because the fate of the nation-states is under influence of events and factors which are out of control and their territory. In the modern situation, the old order has been destroyed and the power has been widely distributed among individual and collective actors.
Globalization of communication put an end to governments’ traditional monopoly on the communication structures and made them limited to some rules. Driving force of these developments in information and communication is competition and innovation that by its rapid growth have changed face of the world completely. Also emergence of the Internet and global networks has changed the performance of international relations and pave the path for globalization. Electronic information networks provide necessary facilities for production, trade and distribution in global, regional, national and local levels. Commerce and electronic banking have strong potential for economic activities, production, distribution and sailing. In parallel with electronic commerce, we see parallel changes in industry of the financial services. New computer and electronic networks not only have made possible diversity and new custom-made products, but they promote the speed of immediate transactions. The countries which want to benefit from the advantages of electronic commerce are necessarily forced to make their financial system as a network and connect to the global network (global information Infrastructure).

These changes cause deterritorialization, restriction of sovereignties, and emergence of postmodern paradigm and single global society. A society that McLuhan called it “global village” and others entitled it "global hut" or "global panel".

Revolution in communications and information resulted in revolution in weapons and wars. The wars which are known as information war (network war and cyber war) and asymmetrical wars. With the development of science and technology of information and industry, power of hidden controlling (latent violence) of governments has increased.
This issue causes domestic and international enemies of governments have no choice but to do unconventional and asymmetrical attacks. Terrorist groups’ increasing access to the knowledge of producing weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, biological, chemical) through the internet in the shortest time, have changed nature of non-state actors’ violence totally. Modern terrorism using these technologies has been able to operate globally and encounter the world with serious dangers in all fields.

One other hand, new information technologies such as the internet have changed the power relations totally. So that today the war equations and conflicts (where lethal force is used to defeat the enemy (the government or any other political entity) have been completely altered.

In present world, a strong person is one who has more ability in gaining knowledge, information, production and processing them speed, rapid using of new technologies and have more flexibility in adapting himself with evolution of new technologies. In fact, in present world, power has no meaning but information and its processing.

In modern conditions, the power is in the hands of those who have necessary skills. Terrorist groups with using the new facilities such as easy communication, flexible organization, benefited from surprise action in global level; in a way that they created a kind of terrorism, which benefits from rapid mass destruction in global level. Because in globalization process i.e. in parallel with development and growth of new technologies and especially "information revolution" and "media, science and economy revolution", control technologies and imposing lethal force have been out governments’ monopoly and become available for everyone, including terrorists.
In fact, new terrorism and asymmetric war have become a new form of war and due to it, today’s era is called terrorism era. As some experts have argued that today, unlike the past, non-state challengers have become superior over state actors.

September 11 terrorist attacks were symbol and crystallization of postmodern terrorism. Al Qaeda as a small organization showed that it can preserve its traditional beliefs and with little change in it, thinks and acts globally. This event showed that how a small organization can have impact on global economy by benefiting from new and advanced technologies and also weapons of mass destruction. And in contrary to favorite order of US and its traditional allies, it changes political, military, and even cultural orders of the world and imposes a new order on the world. Al Qaeda showed that terrorist groups with having necessary skills can create large-scale insecurity throughout the world.

Al-Qaeda’s global network showed that globalization makes it possible for everyone, especially for terrorist organizations to operate as a global, flexible, asymmetrical and horizontal network. While it maintains, strengthen and spread its traditional beliefs throughout the world.

Therefore, on one hand globalization has provided so many changes and many facilities which the terrorism can use them to improve and developed their own action and make them more effective. Today terrorists also use the positive points of globalization for their actions. For example, they can easily spread the fear around the world through media. They use globalization of transformation, communication, information, technology and finance. Global terror as well as other risks requires transnational cooperation, because the states cannot deal with these threats through sovereign means. The new threats cannot be conducted by old measures, generally
what is known as neo-realist premises. The old state-centric approaches that place main emphasis on military in order to have national security have become insufficient. Though states remain as important agents of security, they have to cooperate in the post-sovereign globalized world. The traditional security is not irrelevant but has to expand. Therefor based on the research findings the main thesis hypothesis (Globalization has provided some effective Economic facilities to terrorist groups, it has substantially enhanced new communication facilities, thus many powerful equipment are ready to make widespread, faster and safer relation between members of international terrorist groups all over the world. It also provides so many public technological and scientific achievements which terrorist groups and also sympathetic individual terrorists can achieve and equipped themselves by these kinds of tools and facilities) has been accepted.

On the other hand, international counter-terrorism actions also can use the same things to prevent growing tendency on terrorism and reduce the effects of such actions. Nevertheless, the international community has so many problems toward being united against terrorism. The international community has no practical agreement on definition of terrorism therefore, it cannot make decision on what groups or actions are really terroristic. In addition, most of the powerful governments are steel having double standard on this matter. It means that in some situation these governments can call an action as terrorism action and in some other cases that can be like freedom fighter and should be helped. Palestine Israeli issue and Syria are the best existing example of this statement.

In this integrated world, every individual can be a source of threat or security. Imposition of Afghanistan and Iraq wars and occupation of these the two countries by the U.S. government, were the important policies of US and its traditional allies
against global terrorism. Although these policies created problems and obstacles for terrorists, but have been able to eradicate their roots and it seems that it is an unobtainable goal in future. Way of eradication of this global challenge is changing the unilateral and cruel relations in different local, national, and international levels. As long as there are unjust economic, cultural and social systems in national and international level, we can expect that this evil phenomenon can be eradicated. In fact, these elements are factors of formation of political terrorism. It seems that without elimination of tyranny, exploitation, discrimination, unfair distribution of wealth and power, elimination of the political terrorism is close to zero.