The Thesis Submitted to
The Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Science
For the Award of Doctorate of Philosophy in Political Science
Osmania University, Hyderabad, India

Abstract

Globalization and international terrorism
A case study of Al-Qaeda

By Mehdi Akhlaghinia

Under Supervision of Professor V. Ravindra Sastry
Department Of Political Science, OU, Hyderabad

September, 2013
Preface

Global Terrorism is a phenomenon of the 20th Century. Today few countries can claim immunity from attacks on non-combative targets. We people of the post-cold war era have grown up with – and almost become used to the vision of acts of terrorism as tragically being part of someone's daily life. If it does not affect us directly, we see the outcome on other people on the television. When a bomb in a village market place, on an airplane, in a building, or on a bus wounds or kills innocent victims who have done the perpetrators no harm, the condemnation of the acts of terrorism is even louder and the sense of outrage even greater.

It is not a wrong statement if we call the present era as era of terrorism or even Ages of fear1. Fear is almost affected all part of our life from the mind up to our international and global environment. International relations are now not just about power politics but also about fear politics. We live in a world where power is no longer an adequate guarantee against fear. In fact, power begets fear. The more powerful a nation is, the more fearful it becomes.

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon for this era. Somehow, People throughout history were facing to this phenomenon. Nowadays with regard of globalization, developing speed and the flow of information speed are increasing. At the same time international community is

---

confronting to a new form of terrorism which is much more powerful, well organized, deeply ideological, has no care about modern community morality and with very effective operation.

Present study is trying to deal with this question which is: what are the characteristics of the new form of terrorism and how globalization Impassion terrorist to do such an action?

Present research is done through five chapters and trying to give the most relevant definitions on both globalization and international terrorism and then analyzing the relation between these two phenomena. The case study of the research is al-Qaeda which is the best example for international terrorist group in the world.

**Statement of the research Problem:**

Terrorism as a process for utilizing knowingly psychic terror and physical violence by the independent governments, people and subnational groups for achieving strategic and political goals against dominant talks is not a new subject in the history. For decades, terrorists have carried out attacks against non-combatant targets causing massive destruction by means of vicious assaults.

International terrorism is one of the leading problems in this world nowadays. Over the past Century, terrorism has evolved from random killings to massive plans for terrorist groups. There are a wide range of terrorist groups in the world today.

Transnational terrorism is one of the issues, which are increasingly viewed through the security prism. Although terrorism is not a new phenomenon, during the Cold War the study of terrorism received comparatively little attention as the bipolar East-West confrontation dominated the international security agenda. The main focus in the study of terrorism during the Cold War was on state-sponsored terrorism, and more specifically on Soviet support for revolutionary movements.
The year 2001 marked a general increase in the sense of urgency concerning terrorism in media discourse, scientific branches and political and international debates on security as a result of 9/11 and its aftermath.

After 9/11 and the terrorist attacks in Europe and other parts of the world, the broadening of the concept of security has only become more accentuated, primarily in the policy community. The transnational dimensions of terrorism have increasingly been addressed in policymaking in the countries all around the world. Whereas historically terrorism was predominantly viewed as an internal issue, in recent years transnational terrorism has come to be framed as a fundamental threat to both national and global security.

The current wave of international terrorism, characterized by unpredictable and unprecedented threats from non-state actors, not only is a reaction to globalization but is facilitated by it; As a matter of fact, today with globalization of communications, increasing development of new technologies, especially "information revolution" and "mass media revolution", science and economics has enabled all the people including terrorists to achieve new technologies so that it has facilitated communications, more and faster organization in the international level, and generally, globalization of terrorism and has caused terrorist targeting easier and at the same time, confronting with it more difficult. Scientific and technological growth and development, communications and economics have provided new abilities for terrorists so that they can change and define their goals from subnational and even national to transnational, international and global level. This has created a kind of terrorism that can emerge individually and act in the global level hiddenly and asymmetrically and can affect the whole life of individuals, communities and societies all over the world. Uniqueness and vastness of activities and effectiveness of new terrorism in the history is in a form that it is known the new phenomenon of the present era. Because of emergence of such a spreading and effective phenomenon which
can threat the general order of societies, stability of countries and international and global order, the present era is known as terrorism era.

With emergence of Al-Qaeda, during the last decade terrorism in the new form started gradually and now it has become a global problem especially in European countries, Middle East and the Islam world, and in a way that actually it has become a fixed and permanent part of contemporary life, and it had affected policies of the countries in the level of subnational, national and transnational; because it has brought various threats such as threat to the global security and welfare of ordinary people, stability of governmental system, health and speed of economic development and expansion and even survival of democracy for our era.

Al-Qaeda is a terrorist movement witch originally established gradually by some Arab resistant and also by the support of The USA and some Arab countries long time back for the reason of fighting against occupation Afghanistan by Soviet Union.

When the Soviets pulled out of Afghanistan in early 1989, leaders decided that their new organization should not dissolve. They established what they called a base (al Qaeda) as a potential general headquarters for future jihad. However, bin Laden, now the clear emir of al Qaeda, and Azzam differed on where the organization’s future objectives should lie. Azzam favored continued fighting in Afghanistan until there was a true Islamist government, while bin Laden wanted to prepare al Qaeda to fight anywhere in the world. When Azzam was killed in 1989, bin Laden assumed full charge of al Qaeda. From that moment, Al-Qaeda has become one of the most dangerous terrorist movements all around the world.

The Goal and the Significance of the Research:
The goal of this research is knowing the origin of "phenomenon of new international terrorism" and relation of this phenomenon with structures and scientific-technologic, communications, economic and social developments in the era of globalization and discussing and examining its
origin, areas and special motives in different forms of terrorism which is the product of the troubled societies and world.

One important task of this study is to apply the relations mentioned above to Al-Qaeda terrorist movement to make a better understanding of International Terrorism.

**Purpose of the study and Research Questions**: 

The purpose of the study is to apply qualitative research methodology (Case study) to the following research questions:

1: **Main Research question:** This research wants to answer this main question:

What effects increasing globalization has had on international terrorism?

**Research Question 2:** if the globalization has provided facilities to the terrorist groups, so how Al-Qaeda use theme?

**Objectives of the study:**

The aims and objectives of this study are under:

One: To study the origin and the development of new phenomenon called International Terrorism.

Two: To study reasons of increasing Terrorism through this era.

Three: To study how are changing conditions and environment of Terrorism, Ideas and terrorist groups in the era of Globalization.

Four: To study how Terrorism utilize new facilities come from so-called Globalization era.

Five: To understand the role of organization like Al-Qaeda in International Terrorism.
Main hypothesis:

With regard to globalization, we hypothesize that:

- Globalization has provided some effective Economic facilities to terrorist groups,

- Globalization 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.

- Globalization provides so many public access technological and scientific achievements which terrorist groups and also sympathetic individual terrorists as well as ordinary people can achieve and equipped themselves by these kinds of tools and facilities.

So that terrorist groups especially Al-Qaeda have some more possibility for achieving new technologies, tools, information and equipment to expand their activity all over the word and as a global network act so fast and more easily than before.

Structure:

This research includes five chapters including the summery and conclusions.

In the First Chapter, we consider general matters such as: 1- preface (defining the problem), 2- Defining the research subject, 3- The goal of the research, 4- Importance of research, 5- Research method, 6- Research limitation, 7- Main question(central theme), 8- Main hypothesis, 9- Defining concepts, alternatives and operations, 10- Scientific background, 11- Research structure.
In the Second Chapter, The study discuss definition and nature of terrorism, reason of violence, root of the word terrorism, fields of creation of terrorism and emergence of terrorist organizations during cold war and also we will discuss kinds of terrorism including: kind of non-political terrorism, kinds of political terrorism, internal governmental terrorism, international terrorism (foreign governmental) and finally difference between liberating movements and terrorism are discussed.

In the Third Chapter, globalization subject, globalization definition (history & background), features and factors of globalization such as economic globalization, cultural globalization, globalization of international law, information technology revolution and globalization of communications, appearance of information society, globalization effects on international terrorism, and might be information war are discussed and considered. In this chapter, with regard to developments made in the field of science and knowledge and information technology, communications and WMD, we try to argue that terrorism because of its access to new knowledge can start asymmetrical, network, comprehensive and hidden wars without its identity or geographical place being identified.

In the Fourth Chapter, since the subject is important, ideology and establishments of Al-Qaeda is considered. In this chapter, ideology of Al-Qaeda organization and also the reason of the creation of this global network considered, and it is shown how regional crises in terrorism era and by help of new technology become global trend. And finally, as a case study, the function of global network of Al-Qaeda is considered and shown how this network has utilized all new technology which is possible in the service of traditional & fundamental ideology and has affected the world tremendously by creating events such as Eleventh September. That is why the present era is called terrorism.
The last chapter (i.e. fifth) makes an attempt to draw a theoretical summarization of the whole study. Based on the earlier chapters the summery and conclusions were drawn.

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 with 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 word. 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.