



GLOBALIZATION OF TERRORISM

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Abstract:

The word terrorism has not defined but it rather interpreted time to time by different socio-political scholars, the word terrorism is considered to be one of those area which has global acknowledgement and the thinkers of International law has explained it periodically but failed to defined the term in a series of words in a single sentence i.e. definition of Terrorism. Despite the concept of terrorism has global acceptance and many jurists has given plethora definition by their own understanding of the subject matter but nobody can claim any of such definition as profile or encyclopedia of terrorism. Likewise, the definition of terrorism it is not evident that when and who coined the word terrorism as the existence of this word was not 'per se' there in society, but it is right to say that the word gained its popularity in 20th century. There are many jurists who explained terrorism as a word with no definition but unanimously addresses Terrorism as a violent and politically aided act which whether comes out of sudden aggression or a result of an organized crime. There are few scholars who has tried to give specific definition of the Terrorism i.e. Cronin who has defined the word Terrorism in the year 2003, Hoffman (2006) Rogers (2008) Schmid (2011) etc. As the word terrorism remains the most contemporary and controversial topic to be discuss from last couple of decades, especially when the world witnessed its rapid growth and association with particular religion. This article analyzes that how globalization effected terrorism and vice versa and also tried to understand that how the word terrorism in India is different from global terrorism.

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Introduction

At the outset it is pertinent to be deliberate that how globalization and terrorism are two interrelated topics and how these two affecting each other. There are presently great amount of disagreements among jurists about what considered to be as act of terror; aerial high-jacking, and related activities represent the only area in which international consensus has been established². The word terrorism and its understanding popularly acknowledged by the International forums and its members in the 20th century, but it is not right to say that before that there was no existence of terrorism or its related acts. Possibly those acts which is now considered to be a terrorist act was simply symbolized as a crime before 20th century i.e. Genocide, War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity, Crime of Aggression etc. Cronin explained the concept of terrorism in a wider picture, as he defined terrorism in relation with Globalization and has not confined its definition within certain geographical boundaries, though while explaining impact of Globalization on terrorism and 'vice versa' Cronin mentioned the crisis between Arab region and America that it is coincident between the evolution of Globalization, Inherent weakness of Arab region and inadequate response of America onus that the terrorism will continue to threat America and western interest. His definition reflects that evolution of Globalization onus a great impact on growth of terrorism and dominancy of empowered countries over underdeveloped and developing countries becomes the root cause and primary factor that emerged terrorism. Unlike ancient or medieval era where rulers/ emperors conquer other dynasties through war, in this modern age dominancy of superpower countries over weak countries conquer through political vendetta. There are two main superpower countries along with their alliance countries which are responsible for illegal expansion of their boundaries through political vendetta i.e. United States of America and Russia. These two superpower countries globalised terrorism and colored the terrorism with a particular religion. So, it is right to say that terrorism is geographically widespread, politically selected and ideologically accepted. As far International securities is concern with regards to America, Cronin believe it become relevant after US faced terror attack of 9/11, which impliedly means before 9/11 attack United States has not considerably acknowledged Global terrorism, Cronin further stated that 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 facilitate by it; the US response to this

² R A Friedlander, Terrorism and the Law - What Price Safety ? Volume 5, NCJ-77151, 1979
<https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/terrorism-and-law-what-price-safety-clandestine-tactics-and>

reality has been reactive and anachronistic³. Cronin (2003) says terrorism is characterized by political goals and objectives, from the sudden use of violent activity (suicide attacks are very widespread) against unknown and innocent individuals (civilians)⁴. In this definition of terrorism Cronin on the one hand mentioned that terrorism is a characteristic of political goals and objectives which mean that it needs years of preparation to structure terrorism by the political establishment to achieve political Vendetta as any terror act needs years to preparation towards reaching its end result but on the other hand Cronin stated that actions of terrorists are sudden, these two things are totally opposite to each other. Any grave or sudden act is considered to be crime but not specifically we can denote such act as a terror act, anything in which political and ideological vendetta involved such act becomes organized crime not similar to the definition of organized crime given under Maharashtra Control of Organized Crime Act, 1999 (MCOCA) because here the act is first backed by political gain and second to target a particular section of society specially religious dominance. Jurists like Zimmermann and Goodman interlinked terrorism with globalization and stated that it is the technology and internet which widespread terrorism globally, but on the other hand Zimmermann also stated that it is the technology which reduced the risk of illegal finance. This explanation support the argument that how the globalization spread and curb the terrorism at the mean time. “Globalization is often associated with the western culture, enabling one culture of Country to be implementing in other nations. This can make that some individuals who do not share the same thoughts or traditions with this culture to oppose it (Zimmermann, 2011). Further, globalization involves the rapid growth of consumerism and market capitalism, seen as an attack on less privileged populations of conservative cultures, because they are interrupted by the major changes brought about by the forces of Globalization or is unhappy with the unequal distribution of benefits (Cronin, 2003)”⁵. This above mentioned definition given by Zimmermann and Cronin very much indicates the situation of Afghanistan unrest situation. In the recent time if we analyze the definition of terrorism given under official website of Federal Bureau of investigation (FBI) i.e. Great amount of violence, a criminal activity committed by individuals or groups of these individuals who are inspired by, or associated with, designated foreign

³ Audrey Kruth Cronin, Behind the Curve- Globalization and International Terrorism, Vol.27, issue3, 2003

⁴ Genc Mekaj & Kreshnik Aliaj, Globalization as a Facilitator of Terrorism, Pg- 7.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326323992_Globalisation_as_a_facilitator_of_terrorism

⁵ Genc Mekaj & Kreshnik Aliaj, Globalization as a Facilitator of Terrorism, Pg- 11.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326323992_Globalisation_as_a_facilitator_of_terrorism

terrorist organizations or nations (state-sponsored)⁶. This definition given by the agency not elaborate the scope of terrorism directly in relations to the economic growth, funding or mentioned the characteristics of it with regards to globalization, but the definition given by the agency is indirectly quite similar to the Cronin definition of terrorism which stated that it is a sudden violence supported by political groups.

Globalization

Globalizations become popular term in the mid-1990s, not only in the social sciences but also amongst the general public. Economic reforms and open market is one of the core reasons behind emergence of globalization. According to distinguished jurists, globalization takes various definitions, some relating it with imperialism, some with liberalism and others with universalism⁷. But mainly globalization defined as exchange of trade and culture between two different geographical areas, where one conservative country get influenced from the liberalization of western country in exchange of its culture and tourism. Analyzing such exchange of deliverables results progress of International actors in general sense but also reflects adverse effects like terrorism. Globalization has affected to both trade and terrorism. Production, trade and exchange of information within and between terrorist groups have also been affected by technological advancement, trade openness and foreign market changes. While terrorists get facilitated by globalization in the form of higher effectiveness, Damage to attack, firms face higher risks and speeds by increasing the cost of prevention⁸. This globalization of technological advancement facilitated terrorism, as agencies failed to perform in the grey area of cyber terrorism where no country can claim its jurisdiction and the international law remains helpless.

Indian Aspect

India always being one of those nations which never encouraged war or any kind of violence neither supported boundary expansion policies, even than India faced continuous terrorist attacks. India loses its two Prime Ministers in terrorist attack and such acts were backed by religion and region politics. Indian aspect of understanding terrorism is different from the International aspect; Indian Law defines Terrorism or Terrorist Act under Section 15 of The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 as Whoever does any

⁶ FBI, Terrorism definition,

<https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism>

⁷ Genc Mekaj & Kreshnik Aliaj, Globalization as a Facilitator of Terrorism, Pg- 3.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326323992_Globalisation_as_a_facilitator_of_terrorism

⁸ Genc Mekaj & Kreshnik Aliaj, Globalization as a Facilitator of Terrorism, Pg- 3.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326323992_Globalisation_as_a_facilitator_of_terrorism

act with intent to threaten or likely to threaten the unity, integrity, security 5 (economic security) or sovereignty of India or with intent to strike terror or likely to strike terror in the people or any section of the people in India or in any foreign country⁹. The second part this definition laid down under the Indian law, clarifies that only those act which strike terror against a particular section of people considered to be terrorist act differentiate the Indian aspect from International aspect. International Law not consider “terrorism” as an act of crime in the sense of a *delicta juris gentium* and terrorism as such is neither a war crime nor a crime against humanity. The only reason for this fact is that there is as yet, no general international agreement on a definition of terrorism¹⁰. International law generalizes the definition of terrorism by simply showcasing the features such act. As Gilbert Guillaume observed “the notion of terrorism is obviously related to that of terror. In the most general sense, that term denotes an extreme fear and usually stemming from a vaguely perceived, relatively unknown and largely unforeseeable threat. In this same understanding terror can be caused by the action of human but also by natural disasters and event of uncertainty such as volcanic eruptions or earthquakes”¹¹. The definition of terrorism under International law is similar to the definition of any organized crime but under Indian law Terrorism is specifically defined an violent act against a particular section of people whether such terror act is on the basis of religion, region, caste etc, this definition given under Indian law differentiate terrorist act from organized crime. India always remains the advocate to combat terrorism, as Prime Minister Modi a year after when he become Prime Minister of the Republic of India while addressing public speech in California said “The UN is celebrating its 70th anniversary but till now it has not been able to arrive at a definition for terrorism. If defining it takes so much time, how many years will it take to tackle terrorism?”¹²



⁹ Section 15, the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967

<https://www.mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/A1967-37.pdf>

¹⁰ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Vienna, Frequently Asked Questions on International Law Aspects of Countering Terrorism, pg. 41, 2009

<https://www.unodc.org/documents/terrorism/Publications/FAQ/English.pdf>

¹¹ Gilbert Guillaume, terrorism and international law, Vol. 53, No. 3, pg. 537, 2004

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3663289>

¹² Nandagopal Rajan, UN must define terrorism: PM Modi in San Jose, 25, 2015

<https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/this-is-no-brain-drain-this-is-brain-gain-pm-modi-tells-indian-diaspora-at-san-jose/#sthash.PkVxKdWo.dpuf>

Afghanistan Crisis

Afghanistan is the most important case study to understand how super power nations along with their alliances responsible for global terrorism. While United States of America claimed that they invaded Afghanistan after 9/11 attacks against war on terror¹³, but the actual involvement of US was bit early. United States used Afghanistan as a platform to counter Soviet Union and to increase its strategic partners, on the one hand soviet already build its dominancy over Afghanistan, by ruling the country through its puppet government and on the other side America aided and funded the young indigenous groups (Kabilas) to protest against the ruling government and against soviets in the name of Religion and preservation of cultural rights. America and its intelligence agencies manipulated minds of those young indigenous groups up to such extend that it becomes global terrorists. Steve Coll in his book described how America and its agencies built Al Qaeda as a global terrorist organization. The story is written in 3 parts. The very first part of the same covers the anti-Soviet protest (Jihad) of 10 years from 1979 to 1989, a time when the United States collaborated with Pakistani and Saudi Arabia intelligences to aid the Afghan Mujahideen (local terror group) battling combat against Soviet occupying forces. In the second part of his book, he covered events took place from 1989 with the Soviet pullout and goes through late 1997, early 1998. Here he recollected incidences of the "United States retreat from Afghanistan and the rise of the Taliban dominance, the growth of full radicalization of Bin Laden, the maturation of Al Qaeda into a global terrorist organization, and the beginning of the tie up between agencies CIA, ISI (Pakistani), and Saudi intelligence." The third and last part of this story begins in the spring of 1998 and runs right up to Sept 10, 2001. Here steve coll focuses on the return of CIA covert action to Afghanistan and the Clinton Administration's mandate to capture, disrupt, or kill Bin Laden, and his militants¹⁴. It is not that United States only polluted the peace and harmony of Afghanistan and its neighboring countries through its political intervention and by aiding local terrorist group of Afghanistan but also wasted billions of money of the taxpayers of United States. United States formed SIGAR (Special Inspector General for Afghanistan) to presents its report in congress on wastage of US funds in Afghanistan. Since 2001, the United States has spent an estimated

¹³ Leoni Connah, US intervention in Afghanistan: justifying the justifiable?, Sage journals, Vol 41, issue 1, 2021
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0262728020964609>

¹⁴ Steve Coll, Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001, 2004
<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/ghost-wars-the-secret-history-the-cia-afghanistan-and-bin-laden-the-soviet-invasion-to>

\$132 billion on development assistance. One hundred and thirty two billion SIGAR has found that much of this money was wasted, stolen, or failed to address the problems it was meant to fix¹⁵. America shown its dual standards on terrorism in Asia, United States stand on terrorism before 9/11 attack was liberal towards Asian terrorist groups. US consider these terrorist in the category of good terrorism, and even funded these groups but the attack of 9/11 shown true color of terrorism to United States. Prime Minister of India in 2015 addresses during a reception by the Indian community at the SAP Center in San Jose, California “Humanist forces in the world will have to put pressure so that it is decided in black and white what is terrorism. Since there is no definition, talk about good terrorism and bad terrorism is going on. We cannot protect humanity with this good and bad terrorism.”¹⁶ So the story of United States in Afghanistan in nutshell is that United States sacrificed billions of dollars, tenure of more than three presidents, thousands of soldiers, millions of arms and armories in Afghanistan to replace Rule of Taliban from Rule of Taliban. “Those who use terrorism as a political tool have to understand that terrorism is an equally big threat for them”¹⁷.

Critical Analysis of Cronin Definition on Terrorism:

‘*actus non facit reum nisi mens sit rea*’, means an act does not render a man guilty of a crime unless his mind is equally guilty, similarly no definition is subject to criticism per se, It is the intent of a jurist which is subject to criticism. As definition given by jurist on any subject matter is not matter of facts but opinion of an individual so one cannot take point of order on opinion, not just the opinion but time also matters that under what situation such definition has been given by a jurist. The best way to critically analyze not to compare definition of two jurist but pertinently by observing own definition of the jurist, Cronin provided more than one definition of terrorism but the popular one is where he explained terrorism as a sudden and politically backed activity which is partially correct but on the wider aspect this is very confined and narrow approach to this global issue and even this definition itself mention two different aspects of the subject matter, as anything which is governed by political vendetta can never be sudden as it needs years of plan

¹⁵ELIOT L. ENGEL, New York, Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,2020

<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-116hrg38915/html/CHRG-116hrg38915.htm>

¹⁶ Nandagopal Rajan, UN must define terrorism: PM Modi in San Jose, 25, 2015

<https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/this-is-no-brain-drain-this-is-brain-gain-pm-modi-tells-indian-diaspora-at-san-jose/#sthash.PkVxKdWo.dpuf>

¹⁷ Kadambini Sharma, Edited by Debanish Achom "Those Using Terrorism As Political Tool...": PM's Dig At Pak In UN Speech Updated: September 25, 2021 8:06 pm IST

<https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/pms-dig-at-pakistan-in-un-speech-those-using-terrorism-as-political-tool-must-know-it-is-as-big-a-danger-for-them-2553544>

and preparation to execute any terrorist activity. Cronin also said that the act of terrorism do not comes as a result of domestic factors, but rather as a result of foreign factors¹⁸, this definition again read in contravention to his previous definition because foreign factors needs years of political intervention and strategy to facilitate terrorism from example US intervention in Afghanistan and Pakistan intervention in Kashmir and such acts cannot be considered as sudden. It is not that Cronin definition on terrorism is subject to criticism but no definition can define Global terrorism until or unless United Nations will give comprehensively a single definition on terrorism irrespective of terror groups. As PM Modi said we should put aside our differences and mount a concerted international effort to combat terrorism and extremism. As a symbol of this effort, I urge you to adopt the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism¹⁹.

CONCLUSION:

While concluding this research article it is pertinent to mention that the word terrorism is one of the most contemporary and explored area of research, which means many jurist or organization, has given their own understanding to the word terrorism. But ironically despite of having so many distinct views and literature on the topic globalization and terrorism, we don't have one constructive and comprehensive definition of Terrorism. As it is one of the debatable topic to discuss, many jurists have given definition of terrorism according to their understanding as per the domestic or international aspect of this subject matter, most of the western ignore to recognizes the violent activities of terrorist if such act or organization not hampered there geographical area, even if we skip definition as per political ideology of countries belongs to western continent, Cronin definition of terrorism in comparison to the other jurists indicates that there may be more than one definition of terrorism and no definition can considered to be profiled or comprehensive definition of the subject matter but some ingredients in all these definition are common, that Terrorism is a violent act which supported by individual or group of individual weather such groups are political, religious, social etc. and such act done by these organization is to threat those nations which are progressive and from whom these groups can never confront, and even one thing is pertinent to understand that terrorism is not the outcome of any sudden act it is a result of years of planning and preparation as anything which is governed by political vendetta can never be sudden. This is the basic difference between unlawful assembly

¹⁸ Genc Mekaj & Kreshnik Aliaj, Globalization as a Facilitator of Terrorism, Pg- 9.

¹⁹ Statement by H.E. Narendra Modi, Prime Minister of India, general debate of the 69th session of United Nations General Assembly New York September 97, 2014

https://www.un.org/en/ga/69/meetings/gadebate/pdf/IN_en.pdf

and a terrorist activity. In this 21st century terrorism all becomes a religious vengeful practice which was earlier started with an idea of expansion of boundaries. This terrorist organization further split into small extremist groups run by Islamic fundamentalist to establish their religious supremacy over others. World is not actually suffering due to these terrorist groups but due to countries like Pakistan which becomes strategic partners of these organization by providing them aid and shelter, and these countries are responsible for spreading terrorism throughout the globe which results into globalization of terrorism.

