AN ASSESSMENT OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY THREATS AND TRENDS SINCE SEPTEMBER 11, 2001: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IN PERSPECTIVE

BY
ABASS ALHASSAN MOHAMMED
(10169132)

THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEGON JULY 2016
DECLARATION

I thereby declare that this dissertation is as a result of my own research under the supervision of Dr. Boni Yao Gebe and that no part of it has been submitted anywhere else for any purpose. In addition, all sources of materials used for the research have been duly acknowledged.

ABASS ALHASSAN MOHAMMED  DR. BONI YAO GEBE
(STUDENT)   (SUPERVISOR)

DATE: ........................................ DATE: ........................................
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife, Salma, for her relentless support and sacrifice and my child, Ummu Sulaim. It also goes to my parents, Mohammed Alhassan and Asana Alhassan, for their unflinching contribution to my life.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“He who does not thank man, does not thank Allah.” Prophet Muhammad (peace be unto him)

My first gratuity goes to the Almighty Allah for His guidance and mercy throughout my life.

The next is to my supervisor, Dr. Boni Yao Gebe, for his fatherly care and patience throughout my studies at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), University of Ghana.

My sincere appreciation also extends to Dr. Philip Attuquayefio, Senior Research Fellow, and Dr. Ken Ahorsu, Research Fellow, both of LECIAD as well as Dr. Bossman Asare, Head of Political Science Department of the University of Ghana and Mr Irbard Ibrahim, an International Relations and Security Analyst, for the opportunity to interview them.

Finally, I wish to thank all my lecturers at LECIAD and my colleagues of the 2015/16 academic year as well as all who in diverse ways contributed to the completion of this research work.
## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQAP</td>
<td>Al-Qaeda in the Arab Peninsular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQI</td>
<td>Al-Qaeda in Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQIM</td>
<td>Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQIS</td>
<td>Al-Qaeda in the Indian Sub-continent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUC</td>
<td>United Self Armed Forces of Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBRN</td>
<td>Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHS</td>
<td>Commission on Human Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNN</td>
<td>Cable News Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETA</td>
<td>Basques Fatherland and Liberty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVD</td>
<td>Ebola Viral Disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARC</td>
<td>Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWoT</td>
<td>Global War on Terror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDR</td>
<td>Human Development Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immune Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAEA</td>
<td>International Atomic Energy Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IS</td>
<td>Islamic State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JDL</td>
<td>Jewish Defense League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRA</td>
<td>Lord’s Resistance Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MENA</td>
<td>Middle East and North Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAC</td>
<td>National Advisory Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAM</td>
<td>Non-Align Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCTC</td>
<td>National Counterterrorism Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIC</td>
<td>National Intelligence Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPT</td>
<td>Non Proliferation Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSS</td>
<td>National Security Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIC</td>
<td>Organization of Islamic Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHEIC</td>
<td>Public Health Emergency of International Concern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLO</td>
<td>Palestinian Liberation Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKK</td>
<td>Kurdish Workers Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSR</td>
<td>Physicians for Social Responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALW</td>
<td>Small Arms and Light Weapons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARS</td>
<td>Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOC</td>
<td>Transnational Organized Crimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTP</td>
<td>Tehrik-Taliban Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAIDS</td>
<td>United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDG</td>
<td>United Nations Development Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNODC</td>
<td>United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMD</td>
<td>Weapons of Mass Destruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declaration</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Background to the Statement of the Research Problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Statement of Research Problem</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Objectives of the Study</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Research Questions</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Scope of the Study</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 Rationale of the Study</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7 Hypothesis</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8 Conceptual Framework</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9 Literature Review</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10 Conceptual Definition</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11 Sources of Data</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12 Research Methodology</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.13 Ethical Considerations</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.14 Limitations</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.15 Arrangement of Chapters</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endnotes</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER TWO:
AN OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY THREATS AND
TRENDS

2.0 Introduction  - - - - - - - - -  22
2.1 Brief Historical Evolution of the Concept of International Security  -  22
2.2 Contemporary International Security Threats  - - - - -  23
   2.2.1 International Terrorism  - - - - - -  23
   2.2.2 Weapons of Mass Destruction  - - - - - -  25
   2.2.3 Transnational Organized Crimes  - - - - - -  27
   2.2.4 Conflicts  - - - - - - - -  31
   2.2.5 Socio-Economic Threats  - - - - - - -  33
2.3 Contemporary International Security Trends  - - - - -  36
   2.3.1 Political Security  - - - - - - - -  37
   2.3.2 Military Security  - - - - - - - -  38
   2.3.3 Economic Security  - - - - - - - -  39
   2.3.4 Societal Security  - - - - - - - -  40
   2.3.5 Environmental  - - - - - - - -  41
   2.3.6 Human Security  - - - - - - - -  43
2.4 Conclusion  - - - - - - - - -  44
Endnotes  - - - - - - - - -  46

CHAPTER THREE
AN ASSESSMENT OF THREATS AND TRENDS OF
INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

3.0 Introduction  - - - - - - - - -  51
3.1 International Terrorism Threats and Trends  - - - - - -  51
   3.1.1 New Terrorism  - - - - - - - -  51
   3.1.2 Suicide Terrorism  - - - - - - - -  53
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1.3</td>
<td>Technology Driven Terrorism</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.4</td>
<td>Nuclear Terrorism</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.5</td>
<td>Funding Terrorism</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Motivations of International Terror</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.1</td>
<td>Religious Factors</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2</td>
<td>Political Factors</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.3</td>
<td>Cultural Factors</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.4</td>
<td>Socio-Economic Factors</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.5</td>
<td>Psychological Factors</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Implications of the Threats and Trends of International Terrorism</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1</td>
<td>Security Implications</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2</td>
<td>Political Implications</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.3</td>
<td>Economic Implications</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.4</td>
<td>Social-Cultural Implications</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.5</td>
<td>Psychological Implications</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Assessment of the Global War on Terror</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Endnotes</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER FOUR:
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Summary of Findings</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Recommendations</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

The twenty-first century International Security landscape is inundated with a plethora of threats from state and non-state actors. This study assesses the extent of these international security threats and trends since the September 11, 2001 terror attacks on the United States. The main findings of this research are that the threats posed by international terrorism have increased significantly and are lethal due to its evolving trends. International terrorism is therefore the gravest threat to international security in the twenty first century. Hence, the position of this research is that the international system has been less safe since the events of September 11. There are several factors that drive international terrorism which include religious, political, cultural, social-economic and psychological. The implications of the threats and trends of international terrorism to international security also come in similar fashion. Efforts to counter the threats of international terrorism through the Global War on Terror (GWoT) have yielded some positive results even though, much needs to be desired. The study recommends a broad-based approach to counterterrorism in order to address the root causes of international terrorism instead of the seemingly overconcentration on the use of force.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Statement of the Research Problem

The concept of security has been of great concern to humanity since the dawn of history. Anderson, in defining international security, stated that it is “the absence of physical harm or the threat of physical harm” and the international dimension only broadens the scope to mean the absence of “threats that have inter-national, multi-national or transnational implications.”\(^1\)

Security in international relations can be categorised into three paradigms, namely: human security, national security and international security.\(^2\) These three concepts of security, even though, may differ in many perspectives are closely linked. Nonetheless, the idea of international security has been confronted by extensive debates and as a result has undergone some drastic changes due to the evolving dynamics including the threats posed by non-state actors such as terrorist organizations especially, in the twenty first century.\(^3\)

The manifestation of these threats was dramatically brought to bear in the September 11, 2001 gruesome attacks on the United States (US) orchestrated by Osama bin Laden’s Al-Qaeda terrorist group. The impact of this event to some international security analysts and practitioners has changed the international security landscape in respect of the threats and trends of international terrorism. This development in international security is attributable to the multidimensional nature of threats and the complex trends that nations and the international community as a whole have to grapple with.\(^4\)

The United Nations (UN) Security Council states *inter alia* that international terrorism constitutes one of the serious threats, if not the major threat, to international peace and security
in the twenty first century.\textsuperscript{5} Again, the 2004 UN “Report of the Secretary- General’s High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change” mentions terrorism, the proliferation weapons of mass destruction (WMD), transnational organized crimes (TOC), conflicts, poverty, infectious diseases and environmental degradation as the major international security threats in the twenty-first century.\textsuperscript{6}

Since the September 11 terrorist attacks on the US, international terrorism undoubtedly appears to be the most pervasive threat to international peace and security due to the threats and challenges it poses to international security and the difficulties in combating this global cancer. Hoffman defines terrorism as the “deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or threat of violence in pursuit of political change.”\textsuperscript{7} Terrorism firmly gained international character in the 1970s and 1980s partially due to technological advancement and the influence of the international mass media as well as state-sponsorship.\textsuperscript{8}

International security today is concerned with not only the safety of states but its citizens against threats emanating from both states and non-state actors such as international terrorist organizations.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The evolving threats and trends of international terrorism since the events of 9/11 have enormously changed and increased posing worldwide fear and panic as well as causing damages to lives and properties. The 2014 Global Terrorism Index (GTI) reported that there were a total of over 48,000 terrorist incidents from 2000 to 2013 which claimed over 107,000 human lives. The report adds that international terrorism increased dramatically with estimates
of a fivefold surge from 3,361 in 2000 to 17,958 in 2013, in 55 countries with Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and Syria in the lead.\(^9\) Again, the Research and Development (RAND) Database of Worldwide Terrorism incidents also claims the number of deaths as a result of terrorist attacks in Europe and North America drastically increased between 2000 to 2010.\(^{10}\) In addition to this, the World Bank estimated that the attacks of September 11 alone increased the number of people living in poverty by US$10 million.\(^{11}\) Moreover, the total cost of the attack to the world economy probably exceeded 80 billion dollars.\(^{12}\) According to the US Bureau of Economic Analysis, the September 11 attacks shattered $16 billion of private and government property, including structures, computer equipment and software.\(^{13}\)

It has been suggested by some international security experts that terrorism strives in places where there are state sponsored violence, weak states, conflicts, foreign occupation, political persecutions, despair, humiliation, extremism, human rights violations, poverty, and among others.\(^{14}\) Many have, therefore, described the post-September 11 as the “Age of Terrorism” because of the enormity of the threats emanating from international terrorism which is unprecedented.\(^{15}\) The daunting task for the nations and the international community is how to confront the menace of international terrorism in order to nip it in the bud if the threats posed it is to be eradicated. The essence of this study is to address very critical questions as to what has been the threats and trends in international security since September 11, 2001. What are the major factors driving the high spate of international terrorism as well as the consequences of these threats in the of global security milieu we find ourselves in post 9/11.
1.3 **Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of this study is to assess the major threats and trends in international security since the September 11 terrorist attacks. The specific objectives include:

- Discuss the threats and trends of international terrorism since September 11 till date.
- Identify the key motivations driving these threats and trends of international terrorism.
- Assess the implications of these threats and trends of international terrorism in international security.

1.4 **Research Questions**

This study intends to answer the following questions:

- What has been the nature of the threats and trends of international terrorism since September 11?
- What are the motives driving these threats and trends of international terrorism?
- How do these threats and trends of international terrorism impact on international security?

1.5 **Scope of the Study**

The study focuses on the threats and trends associated with international terrorism since the September 11m 2001 terrorist attacks in the US. It further assesses the motivations of international terrorism as well as the efficacy of the Global War on Terror (GWoT). It also examines the implications of the threats and trends of international terrorism to international security. This scope is necessary due to the fact that September 11 was a harbinger to the reality of the dangers posed by international terrorism.
1.6 Rationale of the Study

This study has become necessary as a result of the barrage of threats from international terrorism which has inflicted major tragedies on human lives and destroyed properties. The findings of this work will help to understand some of the contemporary threats and trends of international terrorism since September 11. It would also add to the existing scholarly work as well influence policy formulation on the subject matter.

1.7 Hypothesis

The threats posed by international terrorism since September 11, 2001 has made the international system insecure.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

The concept of international security has been chosen as the framework for this research. The concept is quite controversial due to the fact that there is no broad consensus about its meaning. It meaning depends on people’s ideas, culture and perceptions of reality, among other things that is perceived to have a security tag or value. The conceptual logic of international security means an interaction among three dimensions of the concept: its object, its subject and its agency. The conceptual analysis of international security makes it explicit by removing ambiguities and inconsistences in the concept. It is, therefore, neither a comparative analysis nor does it produce a new definition but it only formulates a common denominator for the understanding of the various concepts of security in general.

The conceptualization of international security gained prominence during the twentieth century in the aftermath of the First World War (1914-18) as the notion of a global institutionalised
order to provide collective security became popular. International security as a concept has its central focus on international violence and threats to the security of states in the international system. Nye and Lynne-Jones observed that international security involved territorial integrity of nations and the greatest threat to such territorial integrity was posed by wars between states, and particularly great powers. It has also been the basis on which states and the international community rely for the safety of nation-states and global peace.

Proponents of international security such as Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver and William Bain argue that the international scene is made up of conflict and cooperation. They posit that it will be practically impossible for a single nation to solely provide adequate security for itself due to the global complex and multiplicity of issues and threats in international security, especially in the twenty first century. They also postulate that states are not the only actors in providing security at the international level contrary to the realists’ view of international security with the state as the sole provider which emphasizes unilateral pursuit at reducing vulnerabilities through military defence.

On the other hand, the concept has been criticised by realists such as Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz, just to mention but a few. They claim that the tendency of sacrificing the national interest or security of a sovereign state for the supposed benefit of an anarchical international society is a permissive cause of war because it lacks an effective enforcement mechanism. For instance, Morgenthau asserts that the world is of opposing interest and of conflict among its members. Thus, the self-help international system makes nations pursue their own survival. Jean also argues against the over broadening of the concept since it is necessary to form a new conceptualization of international security that neither includes all environmental and human problems under an international security rubric. Although, the
exponents of international security admit the anarchical nature of the international scene, they believe the responsibility of providing security for the community of nations lies in the international society through cooperation and shared interest.

This concept is very significant to the study because it emphasises the need for international cooperation and mutual efforts by states and the international community in tackling threats that are transnational and multifaceted in nature. In addition to this, it lays the basis for a theoretical foundation in understanding the concept of international security in general and international terrorism in particular.

1.9 Literature Review

There exists quite a number of literature pertaining to security both at the national and the international levels. Most of these works have significantly increased in recent times because of the events of September 11. Again, the upsurge in the literature can be attributed to the complexities and multifaceted issues prevalent during this period which have been primarily dominated by the threats from international terrorism and other transnational organised crimes. This literature review predominantly focuses on published works by scholars in the field of international security and international terrorism in helping to discover relevant variables on the subject.

Daniel Benjamin and Aidan Kirby’s chapter on: “The Evolving Threat of Terrorism” (2006) in Five Years After 9/11: An Assessment of American’s War on Terror by Julian Smith and Thomas Sanderson is quite insightful. The authors discussed the current state of affairs with regards to terrorist threats from Al-Qaeda and its implication for the US and its allies.
They enumerated some of the dreadful attacks against American interests which were spearheaded by Al-Qaeda and its conspirators such as the bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzanian in August 1998, the USS Cole attack in October 2000 and the gruesome 9/11 attacks.\textsuperscript{26} In examining the US led war in Afghanistan, they make the claim that even though the invasion of Afghanistan chalked some great successes, the spill over effects have been very ominous and devastating. With regards to the successes, they pointed out that the most significant achievement of the US war in Afghanistan is the toppling of the Taliban regime which harboured Al-Qaeda and its operatives since the mid-1990s. In addition to this is the arrest of key alleged conspirators of the September 11 attacks, namely: Ramzi bin al-Shibh and Khalid Sheikh Mohammed as well as the killing of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi in Iraq. However, they bemoaned the failure of US forces to capture or kill Osama bin Laden and his key Lieutenant, Ayman al- Zawahiri domiciled in Afghanistan until 2011 which according them enhances the narrative of the al-Qaeda that they are pursuing a divine course.\textsuperscript{27} More importantly, they opined that the counterinsurgency deficiency fail to effectively tackle the ideological component of Islamic radicalism, even though there is much talk about it in the political circles.\textsuperscript{28}

This work brings to light the threat posed by terrorist groups because of the rapid gains the radicalised ideology of Al-Qaeda and the emergence of new generations of terrorist groups in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). For instance, they cited some of the atrocities carried out by these terrorists to include the Casablanca bombings of 2003;the Madrid bombing of 2004, the London twin train bombings of 2005; the murder of Dutch artist, Theo van Gogh, by a young Dutch Muslim, Mohammed Bouyeri; the three hotels bombings in Amman in 2005 and the 2006 Heathrow explosion conspiracy, among other attacks in Qatar, Kuwait and Saudi
Arabia which speak volumes about the challenges posed by this canker. It also reveals the point that the inability of the US to sustain the security of Afghanistan after the war has left behind instability in the country. Moreover, the Iraqi invasion, they claim, has also left behind a country that has become the central battlefield for new insurgent groups like the Islamic Army of Iraq and Ansar al-Sunna drawing lots of radicalised young men to the battlefield which has increased terrorist acts in the country with its disastrous consequence in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf region.28

Barry Buzan is among the scholars of international relations who have written extensively on topical issues in international security. In his book, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security in the Post-Cold War Era* (1999a), he looked at security from the micro (individuals) to macro (states) perspectives and further categorised it into three levels: individual, state and international security.29 According to Buzan, the concept of security was “too narrowly founded” and for that matter he broadened it to include regional (international), environmental and societal aspects that were neglected in the eras of the imperial wars — the First and Second World Wars— and the Cold War. He also conceived security from a social constructive point of view by looking at how people and society as a whole conceptualize security and its threats.30 The author conceptualised security as “life, health, status, wealth, freedom” from threats.31 He rejected the realist view of security as a ‘struggle for power’ asserting it was outmoded and conceptualised from a myopic view point, hence limiting in scope. However, he concurred with the realists assertion that the “international political scene is anarchical” and therefore lacked a central governing authority.32

His work is very significant because he widened the scope of security by approaching it from a holistic perspective and deconstructed the complexity of the concept for easier and better
understanding. It also identifies some of the evolving trends in international security which is key to this study.

Another work by Barry Buzan which complements the aforementioned work is his article published in the *International Affairs* journal: “New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century” (1991b). He identified threats to security as very significant in order to map out measures and actions, including the use of force which has also created several difficulties in understanding the concept. He also examined the five sectors of security, namely: Political, Military, Economic, Societal and Environmental and their implications for the Centre (First World) and Periphery (Third World). He posits that each of the sectors of security did not operate in isolation because of their overwhelming linkages. Buzan defines security to be “the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and the society to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change.” He claimed the defining features of the post-Cold War era are: the rise of multipolar, the ideological rivalry and division between the First World and Third world, the dominance of security community and the strengthening of the international society.

This work is very important because it provides a contemporary approach that unveils the major threats and patterns in international security in the twenty-first century. Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin in Chapter Eight: “The ‘Golden Age’ of Terrorism” which featured in the book, *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al-Qaeda* (2007). They examined the etymology of terrorism from the dawn of history to the modern day and the linkages inherent therein.

In the writers’ opinion, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries marked the beginning of an upsurge in modern international terrorism. For example, they cited examples from the
anarchists in Russian, French and Italian and how it spread to the Balkans, Armenia and India, among other places. According to them, this apogee in terrorism was propelled by the democratic environment which took over after the First World War (1914-18).^36 The writers make the point that state terrorism was a common phenomenon during the French Revolution but gained currency at the time of the October Revolution in Russia. In their view, modern terrorism at the early stage was largely being perpetuated by nationalists, left and right ideological movements such as Anarchism, Nihilism and Marxism with religion playing no role in the equation until the Iranian Revolution in 1979. They quoted the German radical Karl Heinzen (1809–1880), a founding father of the philosophy of modern day terrorism, who wrote in his essay “Der Mord” (“Murder”) that: “As our enemies have taught us to do, we take it as a founding principle that murder, both individual and mass, remains a necessity and an essential instrument in the making of history”, as an example to buttress their point.^37

Their article is very erudite in the sense that it provides the philosophical foundations for the emergence of terrorist groups during the revolutionary and nationalist eras which has since then influenced modern day terrorism. It also details the emergence and activities of early terrorist groups in Ireland, India and the Balkan regions as well as some extreme right groups. They also make the point that the weapons of terrorist have changed from dynamites to bombs as well as their clandestine modus operandi. Consequently, the activities of terrorists have also increased monumentally with the advancement of modern technology as the pattern of attacks move from assassination to a more lethal era.^38

Audrey Kurth Cronin’s chapter in Contending with Terrorism: Roots, Strategies, and Responses edited by Michael Brown et al, entitled “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism” (2010) is worthy of consideration. She discusses the controversial
issue of the definition of terrorism as well as its history, causes, and types with the events of September 11, 2001, in perspective. It briefly describes key trends in modern terrorism, explaining how the phenomenon appears to be evolving and analyses the implications of these trends for the stability and security of the international community generally, and the United States and its allies more specifically. It furthermore outlines the prospects of these trends and suggests a wide range of policy recommendations.

The writer’s article is relevant to this study because it identifies globalization as a major cause and facilitator of international terrorism. Cronin also criticises the US and Western approaches to the fight against terrorism as reactive and obsolete. She also chastised the US conventional state-centred power approach as lacking “creative thinking” and a forward looking strategy. Instead, the writer suggests a deliberate, effective, flexible and multifaceted long term approach that exploits the avenue of globalization. She also cautions that the lack of a balance in the policies of counterterrorism may lead to a destabilised international system for quite a long time.

Caron Gentry’s work titled: “Popular Support and Terrorism” (2009) which featured in the book Rethinking the 21st Century: ‘New’ Problems, ‘Old’ Solutions edited by Amy Eckert and Laura Sjoberg is quite interesting. The writer examines the controversial issue of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of terrorism in relation to John Locke’s political idea of the ‘right of revolution’. He buttressed this with the statement by the former leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), Yasser Arafat, at the United Nations General Assembly in 1974 that “one man’s terrorism is another man’s freedom fighter.”
Gentry supports the position that there is no universally accepted definition for terrorism and proceeded to categorise terrorism into three eras, namely: Modern (beginning from the 1800s to the world wars and post-colonialism), International (from 1968 to 2001) and Global (since 2001). He also opines that religious–based terrorism is not a new phenomenon just like the theoretical foundation underpinning it. According to Gentry, global terrorism is characterised by the use of information technology in the planning, organization and execution of terror attacks which he juxtaposed with the phrase ‘propaganda of the deed’, coined by the Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin.42

His work is significant because, he uses the Lockean political thought to distinguish between legitimate acts of rebellion (revolution) and illegitimate acts of rebellion (terrorism) beginning from the days of the Assassins to Al-Qaeda in the context of the 9/11 attacks. He also establishes the point of convergence and departure between the US GWoT and Al-Qaeda’s universal war (Jihad) against the US and its allies, all based on a crave for popular support.43

Paul Rogers’s Chapter Nineteen: “Global Terrorism” (2012) in US Foreign Policy edited by Michael Cox and Doug Stokes takes a look at the events of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks against the US which claimed almost 3000 human lives and the immediate response by President George W. Bush of the Global War on Terror (GWoT) and its aftermaths.44 He also examines the implications of the Arab Spring which engulfed some MENA countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Yemen, Jordan and Syria and its impact on the war against terror vis-à-vis the death of Bin Laden on May 1, 2011.45

According to the writer, the impact of 9/11 on American can only be compared to Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbour in Hawaii in December 1941, which led to 2400 people dead and more than 1000 injured, infuriating the US to join the Second World War.46 In this instance, President
Bush declared a “Global War on Terror” but this time around the enemy was neither a state nor state-actor but a non-state actor, Al-Qaeda led by Osama Bin Laden. On the polemical issue of the definition of terrorism, he quoted the National Advisory Committee (NAC) of 1976 of the United States and juxtaposed it with another one by Walldlaw (1982). According to NAC, terrorism is the threat of violence and the use of fear to force, persuade and attract public attention while Walldlaw defined political terrorism as the use, or threat of use of violence by an individual or group, whether acting for or in opposition to established authority, when the action is designed to create extreme anxiety and/or fear inducing effects in a target group larger than the immediate victims with the purpose of coercing that group into acceding to the political demands of the perpetrators. Rogers claim that the global war on terror which was hyped and spearheaded by President Bush in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) succeeded in removing the Taliban regime harbouring Al-Qaeda, the death of Osama bin Laden, the ousting and execution of Saddam Hussein. It also claimed the lives of more than 120,000 civilians as at the end of November 2003, with over 100,000 people being detain without trial. The US military causalities, according to him, were about 4,000 dead soldiers with 30,000 injured. The important thing about this work is the fact that it does not just only give an account of the events of 9/11 but also looks at the reactions of the American governments, and people as well as the spill over effects of these responses through the war on terror.

Divya Srikanth is another scholar whose work on security is worthy of consideration. In the article published in the International Journal of Development and Conflict, 2014 titled “Non-Traditional Security Threats in the 21st Century: A Review”, the writer primarily examines the emergence and impact of non-state actors and the new threats they pose to security in the new millennium.
Srikanth posits that the era where the major security threats to nation-states were the threats from other states was a thing of the past. To the writer, the emergence of non-state actors such as terrorist organizations, transnational organized crimes (drug trafficking, piracy, arms smuggling, etc.), as well as environmental degradation, population growth, cyber-crime and cyber-warfare have assumed pivotal roles as ‘new-age’ threats to security in recent times. Srikanth recounts that the international system during the twentieth century was characterised by the two World Wars, the formation of the UN, numerous proxy wars, a bipolar world and the Cold War, with the emergence of the US as the sole superpower. The writer also mentions that the use of force for self-defence and collective security, as prescribed by the UN, has put a limit on wars by state actors in the twenty-first century. His hypothesis is that the rise of non-state actors such as terrorist networks and drug cartels presents greater threats to security than the armies of other states.49

Srikanth’s work is very important to this subject matter because it brings to focus the *modus operandi* as well as dangers of these new and evolving threats to security that states and the international community have to contend with in the new millennium. In the writer’s opinion, TOC networks, such as drug traffickers, have flourished in contemporary times because of their financial and organizational capabilities. Therefore, they are not only able to outwit state security agencies to carry out their criminal activities in weaker or failed states of developing countries but also target developed states like the United States and the European Union as well.50


1.10 Conceptual Definitions

- **Caliphate**: An Islamic state especially one ruled by a single religious and political leader.

- **International Security**: it is the general condition of peace, order and lawlessness within the society of states.\textsuperscript{52}

- **International Society**: A group of states that interact among one another and are bound by a set of rules and norms.\textsuperscript{53}

- **International System**: It is a period, an event, or an activity in world affairs that explains a phenomenon.\textsuperscript{54}

- **International Terrorism**: International terrorism is terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country.\textsuperscript{55}

- **Islamist**: Someone who believes strongly in Islamic ideas and laws.\textsuperscript{56}

- **Jihadist**: Someone who advocates or uses violence based on his/her Islamic beliefs.\textsuperscript{57}

- **Salafist**: Someone who believes in the strict adherence to puritan early teachings of Islam.\textsuperscript{58}

- **Threat**: An expression of danger or injury to human life.\textsuperscript{59}

- **Trend**: A change or a form of development towards something new or different.\textsuperscript{60}

1.11 Sources of Data

The data is derived from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include unstructured interviews with academics and experts such as Dr Ken Ahorsu (Research Fellow) and Dr Philip Attuquayefio (Senior Research Fellow) at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), University of Ghana. Also included are Dr Bossman Asare, Head of the Political Science Department, University of Ghana and Irbard Ibrahim, an
International Relations and Security Analyst. The rationale for selecting these respondents was because of their in-depth knowledge on the subject of international terrorism through their writings, analysis and public engagement. The secondary sources consist of text books, academic journals, magazines, research works, reports and documents as well as online sources via the internet. Some of the libraries from which data was collected included at LECIAD, Political Science Department of the University of Ghana and the Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre (KAIPTC).

1.12 Research Methodology

The research methodology used for the analysis is qualitative. The choice of a qualitative method is to conduct an explanatory, interpretative and descriptive study of the subject matter. It employs one-on-one and telephone interviews with a sample size of four respondents using a purposive sampling method of data collection.

1.13 Ethical Consideration

Ethical measures such as seeking the consent of each respondents was adhered to before being interviewed, explaining the purpose of the research as well as the role of the respondents. Other ethical measures strictly adhered to include permission to record the interview, engaging the respondents solely for the objectives of the research and respecting the views of the respondents by not asking any biased question. Additionally, to secure the credibility of the research, no portion of the information collected was falsified or distorted. Again, respondents who requested for copies of the findings shall be provided with one. Lastly, all the sources were duly cited and acknowledged using the Chicago Referencing Style.
1.14 Limitations

Among the key limitations encountered in the course of this research is the broad nature of the subject matter of international security in general and international terrorism in particular. This has taken me quite a lot of time to go through the voluminous materials on the issue but have to narrow it down to meet my scope. Again, my inability to interview some scholars and experts in the field of international terrorism led to more reliance on secondary sources and a few primary sources of data. Lastly, the inadequate and limited time for the completion of the research hugely affected my work as one has to work under extreme pressure and urgency.

1.15 Arrangement of Chapters

The study consists of four chapters, namely:

1. Chapter one constitutes the introduction.
2. Chapter two provides a general overview of international security threats and trends.
3. Chapter three identifies and assesses the threats and trends of international terrorism since September 11.
4. Chapter four finalizes the research work with a summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.
ENDNOTES

3. Ibid., p. 19.
4. Ibid., p. 30.


Ibid., p. 2.

Ibid., pp. 3-6.


Ibid. p. 36.

Ibid., p. 146.


Ibid., p. 433.

Ibid., p. 434.


Ibid., p. 176.

Ibid., pp. 177-196.


Ibid., pp. 51-56.


Ibid., pp. 23-30.

Ibid., pp. 33-45.


Ibid., pp. 347-348.

Ibid., p. 335.

Ibid., pp. 336-337.

Ibid., pp. 341-349.


Ibid., pp. 61-68.


Ibid
CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
THREATS AND TRENDS

2.0  Introduction

This chapter briefly delves into the historical evolution of the concept of international security and identifies some major contemporary international security threats. It also looks at some of the contemporary international security trends.

2.1  Brief Historical Evolution of the Concept of International Security

The term ‘security’ is derived from the Latin word securitas, meaning freedom from care or safety. The historical antecedents of the concept of international security just as national security had territorial integrity, political stability and military power of nation-states as the main pillars of survival against threats from other states.

The study of international security has been at the core of international relation since the days of the Cold War, especially during the Vietnam War (1964-75) as indicated by Taylor. In fact, Joensson mentions that the Cold War world unfolded security studies in terms of the society of states by moving it from national to international.

Again, since the 1990s, the concept of international security has extended in all directions from nation-states to individuals, groups, international systems, international governmental and non-governmental organizations and even local governments, both as actors and referent objects.
albeit, states are the main actors and referents. More so, the post-Cold War international system is defined by complex political, economic and social interdependence and cooperation because of the emerging threats to international security and the multifaceted trends.

Consequently, some international relations and security scholars like Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver have also called for broadening security studies so that it embraces many new global issues such as environmental, economic and population growth. They have argued, for instance, that the threats posed by global warming, ozone depletion and other related potential environmental calamities are as grave as the dangers of wars. Moreover, since the end of the Cold War and due to the effects of globalization, the gravest threats to international security are no longer solely military but go far beyond state’s military aggression.

2.2 Contemporary International Security Threats

According to the UN Secretary-General’s High Panel Report “any event or process that leads to large-scale death or lessening of life chances and undermines states as the basic unit of the international system is a threat to international security”. The Panel, therefore, identified six main clusters of the threats to international peace and security in the twenty-first century. They are international terrorism, WMD, TOC, socio-economic threats, interstate and intrastate conflicts.

2.2.1 International Terrorism

The menace of contemporary international terrorism, whether at the state, domestic or international level, is amongst the gravest threats to security at all levels—human, national and international. In the view of the UN High Panel, international terrorism is any action that
is intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants, so as to intimidate a population, or to compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act. In the assertion of the Panel, international terrorism threatens: respect for human rights, the rule of law, rules of war that protects civilians, tolerance among peoples and nations and the peaceful resolution of conflict.

Moreover, there have been over 48,000 terrorist incidents globally which claimed over 107,000 lives between 2000 and 2013. Furthermore, the threat by international terrorist groups such as the Islamic State (IS) in Iraq and Syria, Al-Qaeda global networks in MENA as well as Al-Shabab and Boko Haram in sub-Saharan Africa are posing universal insecurity not only to humans but to states as well as global sovereignty. As noted by John Ashcroft, former US Attorney General: “The threat of international terrorism knows no boundaries”.

The September 11 terrorist attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Centre, New York and Pentagon, Washington killed 2998 and damaged properties worth billions of dollars. The economic costs of terrorism go further than the destruction of property and the loss of life. The increased costs of security, military expenditure and insurance often outweigh the original attack. Furthermore, terrorist activities increase uncertainty in the market, decrease foreign direct investment (FDI), alter trade and change consumption and savings behaviours. The long term effects can be long lasting and have a significantly larger impact on the economies of both developed and developing countries.

In 2001, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimated that terrorism costs the US 0.75 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or approximately US$75 billion per year, while increases in terrorism in Nigeria in 2010 was associated with a decline of FDI by 30 per cent.
the following year.\textsuperscript{18} Although, there is no evidence of the use of any WMD on a large scale by any terrorist group, the fear of a terrorist organization resorting to its usage is very high and possible which calls for serious concern by all and sundry.

\textbf{2.2.2 Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)}

The UN Commission on Conventional Armaments (CCA) in August 1948, which was subsequently endorsed by the General Assembly in 1977, defines WMD as: “atomic explosive weapons, radioactive material weapons, lethal chemical and biological weapons and any weapons developed in the future which might have characteristics comparable in destructive effect to those of the atomic bomb or other weapons mentioned above”.\textsuperscript{19}

The first resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1946 was on WMD. This was after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings by the US which killed more than 80,000 people on August 6 and 9, 1945, respectively. The resolution called for the “elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction”.\textsuperscript{20} Nonetheless, the US and the Soviet Union continued to embark on mass production of nuclear weapons during the Cold War, deploying thousands of them capable of destroying the world many time over.\textsuperscript{21}

As at 2004, eight states namely US, Russia, UK, France, China, Israel, Pakistan and India were known to have nuclear arsenals with only the first five accenting to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 while there is suspicion of North Korea also possession nuclear weapons.\textsuperscript{22} There is also a danger of more countries capable of producing nuclear
weapons because of the availability of about 1,300 kilograms of highly enriched uranium (HEU) existing in research reactors in 27 countries.\textsuperscript{23}

The threats emanating from the proliferation of WMD to international security are not only dangerous but very catastrophic. At the Stanley Foundation’s 39th Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade held in June 2004, participants at the programme identified two major threats to the existing NPT regime. The first is the fact that states are still pursuing nuclear programs despite being signatories to the treaty and second is the potential provision of nuclear technology, information, and know-how to non-state actors such as terrorist groups. Hence, Dr Mohammed El Baradei, former head of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), once made a statement that you cannot declare a particular type of weapon to be illegal and then have states base their national security on that very weapon.\textsuperscript{24}

The concerns about the use of any chemical, biological, radioactive and nuclear (CBRN) weapon by terrorist groups to commit crimes against humanity are very rife. Forest points out that these concerns became high after in April 1985 when the compound of the Sword, the Covenant and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), a terrorist group based in the US, was found to have a 55-gallon barrel of cyanide (poison). He also cited the 1995 sarin nerve gas attack on a Tokyo subway in Japan, the June 1990 chlorine gas assault by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) terrorist group of Sri Lanka as well as the October 2001 use of anthrax spores mailed in the US supposedly coming from Al-Qaeda, among many others.\textsuperscript{25} It is also a fact that states have publicly confirmed with documented evidence of 20 cases of nuclear material diversion and more than 200 incidents of illicit trafficking in nuclear materials in the 1990s.\textsuperscript{26}
Experts have also estimated that terrorists with 50 kilograms of HEU, an amount that would fit into six one-litre milk cartons need only smuggle it across borders in order to create an improvised nuclear device that could level a medium-sized city.\textsuperscript{27} They have also mentioned that if simple nuclear device is detonated in a major city, the death toll could range from tens of thousands to more than a million. They also add that the impact for international trade and commences would also amount to at least one trillion dollars.\textsuperscript{28} Therefore, any attack with WMD in any part of the world could have further far-reaching consequences for international security, democratic governance, human and civil rights, among others.\textsuperscript{29} The proliferation of WMD if not check can be exploited by other TOC to carry out criminal activities.

### 2.2.3 Transnational Organized Crimes

The connections among different international criminal organizational networks became a major feature of the organized crime world during the 1990s.\textsuperscript{30} Moreover, TOC thrive in “weak” or “failed” states which are characterized by ineffective government control, poor law enforcement and a weak regulatory framework for protecting business activities and a corrupt judiciary and other public officials.\textsuperscript{31}

The UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000) defines an organized criminal group as:

> a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit.\textsuperscript{32}

The Convention identifies drug trafficking, arms trafficking, human trafficking, money laundering, piracy, counterfeiting and many others as examples of TOC.

First and foremost, the illicit trafficking of narcotics drugs (cocaine, heroin, marijuana, Amphetamine-Type Stimulants (ATS) and other psychotropic substances remain major threats
to international security.\textsuperscript{33} It is estimated that TOC gain $300 to $500 billion annually from drug trafficking which is their largest source of income.\textsuperscript{34} The huge incomes generated through the illicit drug trade exceed the GDP of some states or even rivals them. This situation threatens many states’ authority, economic development and the rule of law.\textsuperscript{35}

Since the end of the Cold War, West Africa has become a major transhipment point for the trafficking of illicit drugs, particularly cocaine from South America and heroin from Southeast and West Asia to American and European markets respectively. Furthermore, this situation has rapidly expanded since the mid-2000s as a result of weak security measures at the airports and harbours, porous and ill-manned borders, corrupt security and government officials, lack of logistic to detect new trends in drug trafficking, among many other challenges.\textsuperscript{36}

The threats posed by drug trafficking to states are very enormous and utterly disturbing. First, it undermines the rule of law, deepens corruption, violates fundamental human rights, steals natural resources and jeopardising health.\textsuperscript{37} Second, Burgess argues that drug use affect the security and well-being of the individual as well as social cohesion because of the direct linkages between drug use and violent crime and conflicts.\textsuperscript{38} Third, there is palpable nexus between drug trafficking and terrorism (narco-terrorism) which serves as a major source of income for terrorist groups like the Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) in Turkey, Basques Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) of Spain, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC) and the United Self Armed Forces of Columbia (AUC), among others.\textsuperscript{39} Fourth, in terms of human security, the World Drug Report of 2015 indicates that a total of 246 million people, or 1 out of 20 people between the ages of 15 and 64 years, used illicit drugs just in 2013, representing an increase of 3 million over the previous year. An estimated 27 million people (almost the entire population of a country like

28
Malaysia) are problem drug users. In other words, they are suffering from drug related disease or are drug dependants. It adds that almost half of the 27 million (12.19 million) of those problems drug users are also Persons with Injectable Drugs (PWID). It also estimates that 1.65 million of those who inject drugs lived with HIV as at 2013 and as a result are at an elevated risk of dying. Finally, the report also claims that the annual number of drug-related deaths is estimated at 187,100 since 2013 as a result of overdose usage of hard drugs.\(^{40}\)

Another TOC which threatens international security is human trafficking. Human trafficking also referred to as trafficking in persons, involves the movement of people (men, women and children) from one place to another and placing them under conditions of forced labour.\(^{41}\) Human traffickers use violence, threats, debt bondage, deceit, lies and other manipulative techniques to lure their victims into this horrific situation. Human trafficking, in short, can be described as modern day slavery.\(^{42}\)

The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that there are about 20.9 million persons trafficked as at 2015 compared to 2.4 million in 2005. Out of this, 5.5 million are children and 55% are women and girls. It also claims that forced labour and human trafficking accounted for a $150 billion industry worldwide in 2012 compared to $32 billion in 2005.\(^{43}\) Again, the US Congressional Research Service (CRS) reports that between 700,000 to 2 million people are trafficked each year across international borders of which 35 per cent are under the age of 18.\(^{44}\) Poor economic conditions have been cited as one of the major causes of human trafficking and therefore, threatens the socio-economic security of innocent persons globally.\(^{45}\) Human trafficking also endangers the victim’s human security such as personal as well as emotional security.\(^{46}\)
Arm trafficking is also one of the serious international security threats which fall under TOC. They come in the form of pistols, assault rifles, sub- and light machine guns, grenades and portable rocket launchers. The flow of small arms weapons has grown continuously in the last decades to become a worldwide security threat. A global Small Arms Survey conducted in 2001 reveals that the number of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in circulation throughout the world was estimated at 600 million and the global black market trafficking of small arms is 1 billion US dollars yearly.47

Trafficking in SALW possess tremendous threats to international peace and security because they are the primary choice of weapons in most civil wars in the 1990s till date due to the fact that they are relatively cheaper, portable and easy to maintain as claimed by Jackson et al.48 For instance, out of the forty-nine major conflicts recorded in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, forty-seven of them were conducted with SALW. The use of SALW, according to the aforementioned survey, is responsible for almost 500,000 deaths a year of which 300,000 occur in armed conflicts. A further 200,000 people a year die through SALW in homicides and suicides.49 Schreier also opines that trafficking and proliferation of SALW threatens international peace and security by destabilizing regions, incites and prolongs conflicts, undermines peace initiatives, aggravates human rights abuses, undermines international humanitarian law and fosters a “culture of violence.”50

Last but not the least, money laundering is another international security threat that has been on the rise since the past decade. It is the concealment of the actual income of people who engage in illegal activities.51 Thus, money laundering is the concealment of the real income of people who engage in illegal and criminal activities by serving as the lubricants for their operations.
Money laundering or cash smuggling threatens international security in several ways. First, it leads to economic insecurity due to its pernicious effects on domestic resources mobilization and economic growth for nations and the global financial market. Second, it defrauds the state of valuable income for developmental purposes and maintenance of peace and security. Third, it distorts market mechanisms, including some government regulatory activity and deprives consumers and producers of the benefits of fair, free, safe and secure economic and commercial systems. Fourth, it undermines the integrity of the banking and financial systems. Last, it hinders the progress of foreign investments in developing countries in particular. Transnational organized crimes therefore, threatens human, states and the international society by eroding human security and the fundamental obligation of states to provide for law and order within and across borders with the potential of leading to conflicts.

2.2.4 Conflicts

According to Salleh and Adulpakdee, conflict may involve “individual or group disagreements, struggles, disputes, quarrels, or even physical fighting and wars.” Hence, conflict is disagreement or dispute between people or groups with divergent needs, interests, ideology, identity or positions.

Since the collapse of the erstwhile Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, inter-states and intra-state conflicts have and continue to pose grim threats to international peace and security. More importantly, the increasing level of intrastate conflicts made Kofi Annan to state that “most wars are now civil wars”. These conflicts and the threats they pose are not only countless but fatal and devastating to the survival of states and individuals. Conflicts in many
countries like Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Liberal, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central Africa Republic, Sudan, Cote d’Ivoire, Mali, Uganda and Rwanda since the 1900s have led to the death of millions of people and loss of millions of dollars in properties.\textsuperscript{58} In addition to this, unresolved and protracted conflict fuels extremism leading to acts of terrorism in most part of the Middle East and the Muslim world.\textsuperscript{59} A typical example is the Israel-Palestinian conflict which has recorded several acts of terror perpetrated on innocent civilians in both countries since 1948 by both the Israeli Defence Force on one side and Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah on other side. \textit{The Economist} of October 13, 2001 quoted a former president of the Al- Azhar University of Egypt (one of the oldest universities in the world) that: “there will be no stability and no end to terrorism so long as the Palestinian people are under occupation”.\textsuperscript{60} Coupled with this, conflict in recent times has led to the proliferation of non-state armed groups leading to internationalization of local wars through their operations, especially in sub-Saharan African and the Arab world. An example of this is the Syrian crisis which has created several insurgent groups like IS, \textit{Nusra} Front, Free Syria Army (FSA), \textit{Jabhat} Front, Democratic Union Party of the Kurds (PYD), and the rest.\textsuperscript{61} The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) report of 2014 claims that every day in 2013, 32,000 people had to abandon their homes to seek protection due to conflict.\textsuperscript{62} Again, the conflict situation in Syria, Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan and Somalia has claimed the lives of thousands of innocent people and led to the worst refugee crisis in human history since the end of the WWII, according to the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR).\textsuperscript{63} For instance, in marking the World Refugees Day on June 20, 2016, the UNHCR estimated that 65.5 million people were either refugees, asylum seekers or internally displaced due to conflicts as at the end of 2015, which is an increase of 5 million in just one year.\textsuperscript{64} Moreover, conflicts endanger human security by destroying human behaviour. Owen opines that protracted and violent conflicts can have a devastating impact on the behaviour of people in any social setting in the
sense that it often develops into hostility which also causes people to withdraw both physically and psychologically. For instance, physical withdrawal might come in the form of non-compliance to society’s norms and psychological withdrawal can also take the form of alienation, apathy and indifference.\textsuperscript{65} Besides, conflict adversely affects international peace and security as it makes fuming or warring parties intolerant towards each other. In the opinion of Whetten and Cameron, ample evidence exist to show that conflicts often produce hatred and harmful results which make people have very low tolerance for disagreement with others of opposing views.\textsuperscript{66} Finally, conflicts are very expensive to manage and resolve as it involves lots of time, energy, resources and money to engage in negotiations, mediation, arbitration, adjudication, and others means of conflict resolution.\textsuperscript{67} Thus, all these process come with a cost and to the detriment of other socio-economic and developmental issues.

### 2.2.5 Social and Economic Threats

Socio-economic challenges such as poverty, hunger, malnutrition, unemployment, infectious diseases, rapid population growth, just to mention but a few, continue to be the bane of most developing countries.\textsuperscript{68} These conditions have led to insecurity in many parts of the world and attracted serious attention by the international community because of its perilous consequences to international peace and security.

The 2002 UNDP Report indicates that a large number of people living in extreme poverty have increased in some regions by more than 100 million people. And in at least 54 countries, the average per capita income has declined over the same period, most of which are in Africa.\textsuperscript{69} Again, about one in five persons in developing regions live on less than $1.25 per day and in Sub-Saharan Africa the number of people living on less than $1 a day has increased since
Also, about 173 million fewer people worldwide suffered from chronic hunger in 2011–2013 than in 1990–1992. Additionally, an increase in poverty levels in many developing countries has led to an increased global inequality and income inequality. In some Latin American countries, for example, the income of the wealthiest fifth of households is 30 times greater than that of the poorest fifth.

Unemployment has become a major threat to international security because of the dire consequence it has for global peace and stability. A case to buttress this is the Arab Spring which began in 2011 in Tunisia and extended to Egypt, Syria, Libya, Yemen and other MENA countries leading to protracted conflicts and instability in the region with it accompanying humanitarian crises.

Infectious diseases in contemporary times have also emerged as very critical threats to international security due to their pandemic nature and high rate of fatality. Infectious diseases are caused by microorganisms such as bacteria, viruses, fungi and protozoa, and by proteinaceous particles called prions. The common infectious diseases include the Human Immune Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS), Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), Ebola Viral Disease (EVD), Tuberculosis, Malaria, Zika, Virus, Avian, Bird and Swine Flu.

First and foremost, the UN Security Council in 2000 declared the HIV/AIDS pandemic as a threat to international peace because the number of deaths from HIV/AIDS outstripped the number of deaths by civil wars fought in the 1900s. Additionally, the epidemic orphaned more than 11 million and 7 million children in Africa and Asia, respectively by 2003. By the end of 2010, United Nations HIV/AIDS Programme (UNAIDS) estimated that thirty-four
million people were living with HIV/AIDS. In that year, 1.8 million people were thought to have died from AIDS-related illnesses, with an additional 2.7 million people infected.\textsuperscript{78}

Second, SARS as far back as 1991 killed 100 million people in many countries which exceeded the death toll in the First World War as estimated by John Barry.\textsuperscript{79} In July 2003, there were 8,096 reported cases of SARS in 29 countries, with a mortality rate of up to 10 per cent among those infected.\textsuperscript{80} This is obviously a grave threat to international security in this modern era.

Third, long-established transmittable diseases such as tuberculosis kill millions of people each year. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that about 8.5 million people are infected with tuberculosis while 2 million people die of the disease every year. It further adds that if the current trends persist, one billion people will have new infection, 150 million will develop the disease and 36 million will die from it.\textsuperscript{81}

Fourth, the outbreak of the Ebola Viral Disease (EVD) in West African in December 2013 did not only threaten the security of Africa but the world at large. This became apparent when the WHO on August 8, 2014 declared EVD epidemic as a Public Health Emergency of International Concern (PHEIC).\textsuperscript{82} Subsequently, in September 2014 the UN Security Council declared it as a threat to international peace and security.\textsuperscript{83} As at January 2016, WHO recorded 28,616 cases with 11,315 deaths in West Africa. Liberia recorded the highest number of deaths of 4,809 followed by Sierra Leone with 3,955, Guinea with 2,536 and Nigeria 8 deaths. There were also reported cases of the outbreaks which were positive in Nigeria, Senegal, Mali, US, UK, Spain, and a few other places.\textsuperscript{84} Hence, the United Nations Development Group (UNDG) described the EVD outbreak in West Africa as the “longest, largest, deadliest and most complex in history”.\textsuperscript{85}
Lastly, the Zika virus which spreads through the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito was also declared a PHEIC on February 1, 2016 by the WHO. It was first detected in 2007 in the Yap Island in the Federated States of Micronesia and then spread to many countries in Oceania, before arriving in the Americas from 2014-15.  

The threats from the Zika viral disease, according to the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies (NTS), are political, economic and social at the global level. First, the international political threat stems from the fact that any nation which is not able to prevent the disease from spreading to another neighbouring country has the potential of hindering relationship between the states and therefore, incurs the wrath of that nation. Second, the international economic threat is that it has escalating and unbearable economic costs for poor families and developing countries for which the international community, especially the WHO has to intervene. Last but not the least, the international social threat comes from the fact that in some affected countries like Brazil, it started in marginal communities and moved to the urban cities which has exacerbated rural-urban migration with its spill over effects on illegal international migration to other developed countries in the region.

### 2.3 Contemporary International Security Trends

Buzan asserts that even though security is about survival, it does however inculcates a reasonable range of concerns about conditions of existence. As pointed out by Tuchman, the challenged of maintaining security at the global setting is no longer limited to the traditional foreign policy and military tools of the nation-states. Hence, security and insecurity are no longer considered as conditioned only by geopolitics and military strength, but also by social, economic,
environmental, moral and cultural issues. Burgess also posits that the international security trends can be broadened to include emotional, health, identity, energy, natural resources, cyber, as well as human security.\(^{90}\)

2.3.1 Political Security

In the view of Barry Buzan, political security involves the organizational stability of states, their systems of government and the ideologies that give them legitimacy.\(^{91}\)

To many realists, the only source of survival for any state is the acquisition of power. For instance, classical realists like Niccolo Machiavelli and offensive realists like John Mersheimer believe political power is an end to itself if any nation is to survive. In other words, it should be the priority of states to maximise power at all cost. This view runs contrary to defensive realists’ such as Kenneth Waltz who perceive power as a means to an end. Hence, states should be security maximizers and not power if they are to survive.\(^{92}\) Morgenthau concludes that international politics like all politics is a power struggle.\(^{93}\)

Buzan observed four developments after the end of the Cold War that will have drastic impact on international politics in the new era. First, he claims the most apparent political feature of the end of the Cold War was the collapse of bipolarity and the rise of the great powers (multipolar world) with the United States as the greatest. These changes will push the major powers of the centre to interact with majority of states in the periphery coupled with its security implications. Second, he predicted that liberal democracy will take over most part of Eastern Europe, hence, the decline and end of communism. Third, he added that the end of the Cold War also puts the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) to political comma since there is nothing to be aligned to any more. Lastly, he claims the demise of communism as the arch rival of Western
liberal ideology pave the way for Islam to fill the vacuum in what Samuel Huntington described as the “Clash of Civilizations”. Political security, therefore, can be fulfilled with a strong military strength.

2.3.2 Military Security

Paris defines military security as “military defence of state interests and territory”. In the opinion of Litwak, the definition of military security is founded on the traditional issues of interstate conflict, military threats, arms races, nuclear deterrence and contestation among states.

Jean, therefore, identifies four features of military security. First, he claims military security focuses on the state as the unit of analysis without taking into consideration the threats posed by the state itself towards its people. Second, it also focuses on external threats from other state military. Thus, military threats are perceived to be state-centric. Third, it is also interested in immediate and apparent dangers to security and does not perceive non-military threats like infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS as threats to the state. Lastly, military security concerns itself with unilaterally enhancing its military capabilities. A case in point was the mutual assured destruction (MAD) policy between the US and the Soviet Union during the course of the Cold War when acquiring nuclear weapons and other weaponry as a form of deterrence against each other became the order of the day.

Buzan, therefore, concludes that the end of the Cold War should eliminate the problem of militarization but unfortunately “any regime with access to cash will still have access to supplies of modern weapons”.98
2.3.3 Economic Security

Anderson claims that the end of the Cold War has shifted the global geopolitical landscape and that in today’s world it is the international economy that matters most.\textsuperscript{99} Buzan views economic security as access to the resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain appreciable levels of the peoples’ welfare as well as state power.\textsuperscript{100}

The US National Intelligence Council (NIC) Worldwide Threat Assessment in 2014 claims that since the world economic and financial crisis began in 2008, global economic growth rates entered a marked slowdown in Europe and America with its replica consequences for the developing world. For instance, from 2008 to 2013, the global growth rate averaged less than 3.0 per cent, well below its 30-year average of 3.6 per cent. The difficulties with this lengthy global slowdown mean a reduction in job creation, income growth, and standards of living in many parts of the world which pose threats to global security.\textsuperscript{101} Thus, economic insecurity leads to inability to sustain the basic human needs of the population as it happened in Sudan, Bangladesh, Ethiopia and Liberia.\textsuperscript{102} Also, it leads to the disruption in fluctuation and uncertain earnings from exports of primary products as happened in countries like Zambia, Peru and Nigeria. Lastly, it brings about the inability to resist the policy pressures of external financial institutions like the IMF and World Bank in return for needed supplies of capital as it did in Brazil, Argentina and Tanzania.\textsuperscript{103}

Economic security must include free and open market competition, protection and promotion of domestic commercial interests and enhancement of global market economies that will grow to become future competitors. Additionally, it must also balance competing and sometimes contradictory economic philosophies in order to fight international threats through an economic
strategy whose principal objective is building a more stable world. The absence of these pertinent issues might have dire societal consequences for international security.

2.3.4 Societal Security

Societal security is the ability of societies to reproduce their traditional patterns of language, culture, association, religious, national identity and custom within acceptable conditions for evolution. Burgess posits that the concept of societal security as advanced in the 1990s has been extremely influential in developing new understandings of threat to international security. It involves issues like values, traditions, customs, language, religion, ethnicity, among other immutable attributes. Societal security, therefore, is about the threats and vulnerabilities that affect ideals and values of identity and culture.

Cronin makes the assertion that identity against forces of homogeneity, especially by cultures that are left behind or threaten by secularization which is being propelled by a western-led globalization has facilitated international threats like international terrorism. As a result of this, Huntington propounds that the fault line for conflict in the post-Cold War world will be the clash of civilizations. His claim is based on the hypothesis that, the most important distinctions amongst peoples will not be ideological, political or economic but cultural. In other words, people will define themselves by their ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs and institutions. He adds that people will identify more with cultural groups like tribes, ethnicity, religious communities, nations and civilizations.

Buzan explains that the clash of civilization is most conspicuous between the West and Islam. The reasons are partially due to secular and religious values, the historical contentions between
Christianity and Islam, resentment of the West’s domination of the post-colonial Middle East, jealousy over Western power and the bitterness between the followers of these civilizations over their comparative accomplishments in the past two centuries. This rivalry between the West and Islam has been heightened in the post-Cold War era because the latter has imbibed a vigorous and expanding collective identity due to the role it plays in their political lives as well as other past religious rivalries as mentioned earlier.\textsuperscript{109}

Huntington concludes by suggesting that the clash of civilizations might be avoided or at least ameliorated by “renouncing universalism, accepting diversity, and seeking commonalities…” The security of the world he adds requires the acceptance of global multiculturality.\textsuperscript{110}

\subsection*{2.3.5 Environmental Security}

Environmental security is concerned with the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend on.\textsuperscript{111} Moreover, environmental degradation becomes a security issue when it threatens the conditions of human existence on a large scale, as in the case of countries vulnerable to extensive inundation from modest rises in sea levels, among others.\textsuperscript{112} Environmental deterioration and climate change in particular, in the past few decades have increasingly been seen as having major implications for international security.\textsuperscript{113}

In December 1997, 55 parties signed the Kyoto Protocol under the auspices of the United Nations to commit themselves to the reduction of carbon dioxide emission and other greenhouse gases. The Protocol which entered into force in 2005 was opposed by the United States on the basis that it was an affront to its national interest and security, hence, threatens
the American Way of Life.\textsuperscript{114} Also, in 1992 at the UN Conference on Environment and Development —the Rio Earth Summit— convened on a consultation basis to review the progress of the Kyoto Protocol, US opposed the initiative on the grounds of security, among other pertinent issues despite the fact that it accounts for about one quarter of world emissions of greenhouse gases.\textsuperscript{115}

The relation between environmental degradation, scarcity and armed conflict, either in the form of civil war or inter-group violence has been well established and documented.\textsuperscript{116} For instance, environmental issues, particularly control over water supplies, look likely to generate quite a bit of local conflict which can escalate to other neighbouring countries.\textsuperscript{117} The UN High Panel Report claims that environmental degradation has enhanced the destructive potential of natural disasters and in some cases hastened their occurrence. It further warns that if climate change produces more acute flooding, heat waves, droughts and storms, it will accelerate the threats to international security.\textsuperscript{118} In recent years, for example, food, water, energy, health and economic security have been badly degraded worldwide by severe weather conditions as a result of global warming. These include more frequent or intense floods, droughts, wildfires, tornadoes, cyclones, coastal high water and heat waves.\textsuperscript{119}

In addition to this, the main threats emanating from climate change due to global warming are: First, global warming is expected to reduce rainfall in several regions of the world as well as cause the melting of glaciers eventually reducing the availability of fresh water posing environmental insecurity.\textsuperscript{120} Besides, more frequent droughts are expected to affect crop production and therefore, food security. Second, the consequence of global warming is sea level rise which is expected to lead to seasonal flooding and soil erosion in coastal cities and farmlands across the globe.\textsuperscript{121} Finally, global warming intensifies natural disasters such as
storms, floods, landslides, wildfires and earthquakes. For instance, in 2010, more people died in Haiti’s earthquake than in all the world’s conflicts combined in that year, therefore, having adverse effect on human security.¹²²

2.3.6 Human Security

The 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights acknowledged the importance of human security as the “recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world”.¹²³ The concept of human security itself has been an issue for academic and scholarly debate since the end of the Second World War. The paradigm of human security became prominent in international relations after the Cold War in the 1990s as an alternative to national and international security.¹²⁴ Human security, therefore, has come to signify civilian immunity from the cruel and numerous civil rebellions that characterized the post-Cold War era.¹²⁵

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) defines human security on two principles: First, as safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression and second, as protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities.¹²⁶ Subsequently, in 2003, the Commission on Human Security (CHS) expatiated on the definition of human security to mean:

Protecting the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people’s strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity.”¹²⁷
The CHS claims human security complements state security, strengthens human development and enhances human rights. It also states that human security integrates freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom from indignity as its cardinal principles. Human security, therefore, moves the orthodox threats posed to states to an individual level with the human being as the referent object.

The HDR further outlined seven elements which comprise human security and have direct bearing on people with the resultant repercussions for state stability if not resolved. First, economic security focuses on the creation of employment and measures against poverty. Second, food security is about the measures against hunger and famine. Third, Health Security concerns the measures against disease, unsafe food, malnutrition and lack of access to basic health care. Fourth, environmental security looks at the measures against environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters and pollution. Fifth, personal security tackles issues of physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence and child labour. Sixth, community security considers measures against inter-ethnic, religious and other identity tensions. Lastly, political security centres on mechanisms against political repression and human rights abuses.

2.4 Conclusion

The International security landscape has drastically evolved since the events of September 11, 2001. States and the international community are increasingly concern about the threats and trends of the non-state actors, particularly international terrorist organizations.
Many states have not organized themselves to address the problems of development in a coherent, integrated way and instead continue to treat socio-economic issues like poverty, unemployment, infectious disease and environmental degradation as stand-alone threats. Nevertheless, the scope of international security has been broaden to make room for new and emerging threats and trends such as economic, societal, environmental, cyber security and many more which pose serious challenges to nations and the world at large.

In a nut shell, contemporary international security threats does not recognise state boundaries and are connected which must be addressed at all levels of governance – national, regional and global.
ENDNOTES

8 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., p. 52.
12 Ibid., p. 48.
14 Ibid., p. 2.
17 IEP, Global Terrorism Index, p. 45.

29 Ibid.


42 Ibid.


46 Ibid., p. 13


55 M. J. Salleh, and A. Adulpakdee, ‘‘Causes Of Conflict and Effective Methods to Conflict Management at Islamic Secondary Schools in Yala, Thailand,’’ *International Interdisciplinary Journal of Education* 1, no. 1: p. 15.

56 Ibid., p. 20.


Robert S. Litwak, “Henry Kissinger’s Ambitious Legacy” 18, no. 3(June 1, 2007), accessed July 1, 2016. http://www.onlinelibrary.wiley.com


Burgess, “Non-military security challenges”, p. 5.


Cronin, “Behind the Curve”, p. 50.


Ibid., p. 450.


The Economist (December 16, 1989), p. 70.


Ibid.


128 Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE THREATS AND TRENDS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

3.0 Introduction
This chapter assesses the threats and trends of international terrorism since the September 11 terrorist attacks and examines some key motivations driving these phenomena. It further analyses the implications of these international terrorist threats and trends and assesses the GWoT as a counterterrorism strategy to curb this canker.

3.1 International Terrorism Threats and Trends
In recent time especially since September 11, international terrorism has taken different dimensions with regards to its threats and trends. This has attracted much debates and brainstorming among politicians, academics, security analysts and experts on the issue. The threats posed by international terrorism now are greater than ever before.\(^1\) Hoffman emphasise that modern terrorism is internationalised in scope, uses unparalleled gory tactics and weapons and dependence on modern technologies, etc.\(^2\) Thus, the threats and trends emanating from the modus operandi of the new form of international terrorism are now more lethal, suicidal, technologically driven, nuclear threatened, hugely resourced, not to mention but a few.

3.1.1 New Terrorism
Walter Laqueur suggests that there has been radical transformation, if not a revolution, in the character of international terrorism in contemporary times leading to the existence of new
terrorism. New terrorism is terrorism that is indiscriminate and causes as many casualties as possible. Laqueur argues that the new terrorism is different in character because it does not only aim at making political demands but the destruction of society and the elimination of large sections of the population.

According to Attuquayefio, another major threat and trend of the new terrorism is the increasing readiness to use extreme violence with machine guns and explosives targeting “engendered species” such as cafes, restaurants, hotels, markets and other civilian locations as in the case of Boko Haram and Al- Shabab.

In addition to this, new terrorism identifies the strict compliance with religion, predominantly radical Islam, as one of its main characteristics, unlike old terrorism which is secular in nature. Therefore, new terrorism rejects all other ways of life and advocates a categorical and inflexible worldview consistent with the beliefs of that religion.

Matusitz explains that this trend in international terrorism is due to a paradigm shift in the international system. “A paradigm is a pattern, worldview or model that is logically established to represent a concept. In other words, a paradigm is a way of interpreting the world that has been accepted by a group of people and that can be useful for politicians and thinkers for a political agenda. Thus, when a paradigm changes, the whole group experiences a paradigm shift.”
3.1.2 Suicide Terrorism

One of the striking threats and trends in contemporary international terrorism is the use of the suicide to commit terrorist attacks. Prior to September 11, there were sporadic and isolated cases of suicide bombings and attacks in few countries namely, Israel, Lebanon, Sri Lanka, and Turkey. For instance, the 1983 suicide bombings in Beirut was the single most significant development in international terrorism, especially the two that killed 241 American Marines and 53 French paratroopers. These Hezbollah attacks led to the withdrawal of Western troops and were the most important of international terrorism between 1968 and 2000. However, in recent time suicide attacks mainly through bombings has become a common method and tactic of international terrorism. For instance, the 2014 GTI report claims there were 2,500 suicide attacks from 2000 to 2014 with over 90 per cent occurring in MENA and South Asia. In the report, these two regions’ suicide attacks average between 11 and 13 fatalities per incident which is the highest for all regions with the exception of North America due to the attacks of September 11. In all, suicide attacks averaged 11 deaths per attack while other terrorist attacks averaged two. Thus, it is averagely four and a half times more lethal than other forms of terrorism.

Attuquayefio states that the recent rating by the Chicago Program on Suicide Terrorism in 2015 ranks Boko Haram as the terrorist groups that frequently resort to suicide attacks. He also claims one of the disturbing threats and trends of suicide attacks is the targeting of “soft target”, that is, civilians and crowded locations like airports and markets. Another shocking trend with regards to suicide attacks especially by Boko Haram is the use of women in those missions as asserted by Ahorsu.
There are several reasons for the upsurge in suicide terrorism globally. Hoffman claims it has become a popular technique of terror attacks due to its ability to attract media attention, its effectiveness and lethality as well as its divine rewards. Examples include the September 11 events, the attacks in Bali in 2002 and 2005, the bombings in Madrid in 2004 and the suicide bombing in London in 2005, among many others, intended to cause and actually caused large numbers of civilian casualties.\textsuperscript{13}

According to Moghadam, two interrelated factors explain the proliferation of suicide missions, namely: the evolution of Al-Qaeda as a global terrorist actor and the growing appeal of \textit{Salafist} jihad which is guiding its ideology and associated movements.\textsuperscript{14}

\subsection*{3.1.3 Technology Driven Terrorism}

The employment of sophisticated technology and effective communications networks have made it increasingly difficult for the governments to wipe off terrorist groups.\textsuperscript{15} International terrorism, therefore, has become more sophisticated, complex and well-networked due to technological advancement.\textsuperscript{16} The exploitation of the technological driven global information age via the internet and other new media has made international terrorism unpredictable.\textsuperscript{17} The use of information technologies such as the internet, mobile phones and the media, for instance, has extended the global reach of many terrorist organizations and therefore posing serious threats to international security.\textsuperscript{18}

A report from the Homeland Security Institute claims that the internet plays a vital role in creating social bonds that are necessary for radicalization and recruitment as well as providing avenue for recruitment.\textsuperscript{19} For instance, the US National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) states
that IS’s online services has become sophisticated in disseminating time-bound and quality information to the media and other platforms which is drawing a number of Westerners to Syria.\textsuperscript{20}

This spate of technological driven terrorism has led to a new trend called cyber-terrorism. This is the use of cyberspace via the internet and other social media platforms such as Emails, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, just to mention a few. It also makes use of clandestine methods like using encrypted messages with invisible graphic codes, steganography, death threats via internet and hiring hackers to collect intelligence such as the names and addresses of law enforcement officers from online databases.\textsuperscript{21} Before the September 11 attacks, for example, members of Al-Qaeda communicated through Yahoo email and Mohammed Atta, the presumed leader of the attacks, made his reservations online and some members went online to do research on subjects such as the chemical-dispersing powers of crop dusters.\textsuperscript{22}

One of the key goals of the international terrorism is to shape the global public attitudes and perceptions to support their course. International terrorism attempts to accomplish this goal through the manipulation of media coverage. Hence, international terrorist attacks are designed to draw the attention of the mass media because the attacks itself will have accomplished little without being viewed by the larger audience provided by media coverage.\textsuperscript{23}

As result of this, some critics of the media are of the view that in providing terrorists with publicity through sensationalized media coverage on Al-Jazeera, BBC, CCN, et al, terrorists achieve their objectives through the fear and panic they intend to create. However, others have suggested that while this may be true, the media coverage of terrorist activities is not always
useful for terrorists but also a tool for creating awareness to find solutions.\textsuperscript{24} Hence, the need for caution and restraint on sensational stories and news items especially by the international mass media about atrocities committed by terrorist groups. Technology to a large extend can play a double-edge sword role in international terrorism if care is not taken. More so, it can be exploited by terrorist to carry out devastating atrocities using nuclear weapons.

3.1.4 Nuclear Terrorism

The diffusion of advanced technological capabilities could facilitate the access to chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear (CBRN) materials as well as advanced technologies such as guided missiles for international terrorism.\textsuperscript{25} The 2005 United Nations International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism defines the crime of nuclear terrorism as any unlawful and intentional manufacture, possession, or use of radioactive material, devices or facility to cause substantial death, bodily harm, damage to properties or the environment in order to force a person, an international organization or state to do or refrain from doing an act.\textsuperscript{26}

The motivations for terrorist organizations to use CBRN weapons could multiply if care is not taken. For example, the 1995 sarin gas attack by the Japanese cult Aum Shinrikyo in the Tokyo subway system seemed to confirm this threat and trend. Again, in January 2003, an apartment in north London was found to have raw ingredients for making cyanide and ricin as well as instruction manuals. Also, in January 2004, seven pounds of cyanide salt were found during a raid on a house in Baghdad reportedly connected with Al-Qaeda and in November 2004
“chemical laboratory” was discovered in Fallujah containing potassium cyanide, hydrochloric acid, and sulphuric acid.27

Thus, the tendencies for international terrorist organizations to resort to nuclear and other WMD for mass atrocities is very rife and threatening because some of the materials can be bought on the open market with the level of funds available to some of them.

3.1.5 Funding of Terrorism

International terrorist organizations just like many business organizations generate income in order to run their operations. They need money and logistics in order to carry out their activities effectively. They also need money to: procure weapons and ammunitions, recruit new members, indoctrinate, radicalization gullible people, propagandize in the media, create training facilities and camps for members, maintain the networks of organizations, corrupt public officials and many more. Some of the sources of funding terrorism include state sponsorship, charity, voluntary contributions from individuals and businesses as well as criminal activities like drug trafficking, money laundering and piracy.28

Ibrahim strongly believes that the major threats and trend in international terrorism recently has to do with it huge source of funding. He points out that the colossal funding for international terrorist groups which might be state sponsored has changed the dynamics of contemporary international terrorism. He cited the lethal weapons such as armoured vehicles, machine guns, and other assault rifles use by Boko Haram, among others, to buttress his point. Again, Boko Haram finances and human resource base have significantly increased since the assassination
of its founder, Mohammed Yusuf, in 2009. It is also estimated that the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) has an annual budget of $86 million per year.\textsuperscript{29}

Ahorsu also makes the point that, the funding of international terrorist groups like IS with oil purchased by some states and the support of Western countries like the US and France to rebel groups in Syria has driven modern day international terrorism to a different level.\textsuperscript{30}

### 3.2 Motivations of International Terrorism

Since the September 11 terrorist attacks on the US almost half a decade ago, many experts have heightened the quest to unearth the main motivations or causes of international terrorism. The factors that cause international terrorism or motivate people to become terrorists are contextual, multifaceted, complex and manifold. They broadly range from religious, political, cultural, social and economic to psychological factors.

#### 3.2.1 Religious Factors

Hoffman claims the September 11 terrorist attacks gave rise to the “Fourth Wave” of terrorism, both for the US and nations worldwide. In his assertion, the Fourth Wave terrorism is symbolized by religious justification for killing people, among others.\textsuperscript{31}

Attuquayefio also claims religious fundamentalism in various religions has been the main driving force in international terrorism for some time now. He cited the Norwegian Christian fundamentalist, Andrews Berwick, who detonated a bomb in Norway on July 22, 2011, killing seventy-seven people on the grounds that he was inspired by some verses of the Holy Bible,
among other things, to murder those people.\textsuperscript{32} Again, the Aryna Brotherhood (a terrorist group in the US) for instance, has vowed to wipe out all Jews on the surface of the earth.\textsuperscript{33}

Islamic radicalism and extremism has been identified as one of the root causes of international terrorism in contemporary times.\textsuperscript{34} Asare also asserts that terrorist acts committed by Islamist and Jihadist have been on the ascendancy since September 11 albeit, he admits Islam is not the only religious motivator for such acts.\textsuperscript{35}

Irbard Ibrahim explains that those religious motivation for acts of international terrorism by radical Islamic groups sterns from the misinterpretations and their inability to contextualize verses of the Holy Quran pertaining to Jihad (defensive wars) which were fought in the early years of Islam.\textsuperscript{36} He adds that Jihad does not target non-combatants and civilians such as women and children as well as properties as mentioned by the Holy Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) that: “Do not kill any old person, any child or any woman or labourer … Do not kill the monks in monasteries… Do not kill the people who are sitting in places of worship (including churches, synagogues and mosques)”.\textsuperscript{37} Chaiwat Satha-Ahmad, the President of Social Science Association of Thailand, in his article entitled: “The Eight Theses of Non-violent Actions”, states that if Jihad does not discriminate between combatants and non-combatants then it is not Islamic.\textsuperscript{38}

The irony of Islamist terrorism is that majority of its victims are Muslims. In 2007, the second in command of Al-Qaeda, Ayman al-Zawahiri, defended the use of violence against Muslims by claiming those Muslims were either apostates or martyrs.\textsuperscript{39}
Thomson also explains that religion has become a major motivation for international terrorism because it is very effective at guiding in-group morality and out-group hatred. He noted that religion permits the take-over of groups by disenfranchised young males, they minimize the fear of death by spreading the belief in an afterlife reward for those who die in a holy war, etc.\textsuperscript{40} Examples of religiously motivated terrorist groups include the Al-Qaeda and its global networks, IS in Syria and Iraq, Tehrik- Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Al-Shabab in Somalia, Boko Haram in Nigeria, Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda, Jewish Defense League (JDL) in the United States, among others.

Cronin concludes that religious motivated terrorism is not a new phenomenon, but rather it is a continuation of an on-going modern power struggle between those with power and those without it for various political reasons.\textsuperscript{41}

\subsection*{3.2.2 Political Factors}

Nia points out that international terrorism traditionally had its roots in political issues.\textsuperscript{42} Consequently, the strategic model theory has been use by some experts to explain the political motives of international terrorism. The model posits that terrorists are rational actors who attack their targets for political ends in order to maximise its benefits.\textsuperscript{43} In other words, terrorism is used when the expected political gains outweighs the cost of other alternatives such as protest.\textsuperscript{44}

Again, it is widely believed that the fall outs of the GWoT in terms of foreign policies of Western countries like the US, UK and France has increase the spate of international terrorism since September 11. A case in point is the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003
respectively by the US and UK as well as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervention in Libya which led to the ousting and killing of former Libyan leader, Col. Muammar Gadhafi in 2011. Moreover, modern international terrorism has been a power struggle along a connected series of: central power versus local power, big power versus small power, and modern power versus traditional power. Ibrahim has also observed that the “policy follies of regional and international players” in Somalia has contributed to the rise of insurgent groups such as Al-Shabaab. Other key variables that cause terrorism globally are widespread perceptions of political opportunity combined with a shift in a particular political or ideological paradigm.

Attuquayefio posits that political Islam has been another key motivator of modern day international terrorism. For instance, he unequivocally stated that IS’s ideology and fight for a caliphate in the Middle East and beyond is more of a politically inspired motive than religious.

Some politically motivated terrorist organizations included the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) in Turkey, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC) and United Self Armed Forces of Columbia (AUC), Basques Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) of Spain, Irish Republican Army (IRA) of Northern Ireland, Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka as well as Hezbollah and Hamas in Lebanon and Palestine respectively, albeit some of these terrorist groups are also influenced by religious and cultural motives.
3.2.3 Cultural Factors

It has been claimed by some scholars that identity conflicts has been one of the major cause of international terrorism since 9/11. Huntington believes it is what has manifested into “The Clash of Civilizations”. This phrase was first mentioned by Bernard Lewis in his article “The Roots of Muslim Rage” in September 1990 but was popularised by Samuel Huntington in his article, the “Clash of Civilizations?” published in the *Foreign Affairs* journal in 1993 and subsequently in his 1996 book, *The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking of World Order*.

This theory posits that cultural differences, values and ideals between civilizations worldwide have become the primary source of international conflicts. He also mentions that Western ideas of individualism, liberalism, constitutionalism, democracy, human rights, equality, rule of law and separation of church from state have little resonance in Islam and other non-Western cultures. The clash of civilizations is therefore akin to the “War of Ideas”, whereby cultural identities and ideologies clash between the West and the Muslim world. Thus, giving rise to the concept of the “New World Order”, which intends to change the world by establishing new ideologies and eventually replace the sovereign nation-states.

Again, Marc Sageman study of 172 global *salafist* terrorist shows that about 85% of Al-Qaeda members are “cultural outcast living at the margins of society”. He adds that they are first and second generation immigrants in non-Muslim countries especially in Europe where they feel unassimilated to the Western culture thereby fuelling issues of identity conflicts which can lead to acts of international terrorism. Nonetheless, there are other evidences of social and economic reasons which serve as pull-and-push factors of international terrorism.
3.2.4 Socio-Economic Factors

Terrorists believe in social benefits of terrorism than political ones as it is more accurate to see it as part of a larger phenomenon of anti-globalization and tension between the have and have-not nations as well as between the elite and underprivileged within those nations. There is a preponderance of evidence that people join terrorist organizations for social solidarity and not for political reasons or gains. Examples can also be found in terrorist groups like Water Underground, ETA, IRA, PKK, Red Army Faction (RAF), Al-Qaeda, Red Brigades, etc.

Many scholars have tried to find a strong nexus or correlation between poverty and other economic challenges as drivers of international terrorism. For instance, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has limited economic opportunities for many Palestinians and Palestine as a nation. About 70% of its adult population are unemployment in Gaza and the GDP of the Palestinian territories is among the lowest in the world which others believe triggers Palestinian terrorism against the Israelis. Huntington argues that economic and social welfare issues such as poverty, unemployment, marginalization, lack of opportunities, among others, foster international terrorism. This is because it creates a condition of hopelessness, restricts educational opportunity and produces frustration over inequality. He postulates that governments that fail to meet the basic welfare and economic needs of their peoples generate violent opposition to themselves and to Western governments that support them.

More so, the Federal Administated Area of Pakistan (FATA), for example, has become a breeding ground for recruiting terrorists and extremists by the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Al-Qaeda due to its high and growing rate of poverty in Pakistan.
Additionally, the growth of Islamic extremism in East Africa appears to be linked to the poor socio-economic conditions of countries in the region where Islamist groups deliberately leverage on these grievances to perpetrate acts of terrorism.\textsuperscript{60}

Again, in 2014 the BBC interviewed a Boko Haram recruit in Niger who said they were given 500,000 Nigerian Naira (equivalent to $3,000) for joining the terrorist group. He said, they join not because of the ideology of Boko Haram but because they were school drop outs, unemployed and needed money.\textsuperscript{61}

However, Ibrahim believes these socio-economic motives are “cosmetic” especially juxtaposing it with the background of some vicious terrorists such as those who carried the September 11, 2001 attacks, the Paris bombings of November 2015, and other recent occurrence of international terrorism. For instance, many people who join terrorist groups in wealthy countries are well educated and come from middle class families.\textsuperscript{62} Hence, others believe there is no systematic link to poverty or other broader economic development factors such as GDP, unemployment and education that correlates with terrorism.\textsuperscript{63} Nonetheless, some psychological motives have also been ascribed as drivers of acts of international terrorism.

\section*{3.2.5 Psychological Factors}

Some early psychological explanations of terrorism have focused on the disruptive or psychopathological personalities of terrorist operatives by analysing terrorists based on characteristics or disorders associated with violent or aggressive behaviours. For instance, psychologist like Jeff Victoroff argue that many international terrorist organizations appeal to
certain psychological type of people who have feeling of loneliness, rejection and exclusion from families, groups or societies.\textsuperscript{64}

According to Post, even though terrorists fit within the spectrum of “normality,” a large number have demonstrated specific personality characteristics that indicate a minor psychopathology in them such as aggression, activism, thrill seeking, an externalist psychological mechanism and factionalism. Some of the common psychological characteristics that have been attributed to alleged terrorists are paranoia, anti-social and narcissistic disorders and borderline personalities. Also, Post claims terrorists are motivated by psychological influences when they choose to conduct violent acts, as expressed in “us versus them” and “good versus evil” dichotomies. He further claims that a terrorist permanent logic is the notion that the regime must be toppled which actually tries to destroy the inner enemy within him.\textsuperscript{65}

Meanwhile, Crenshaw noted that even though, acts of terrorism may have some psychological underpinnings, the prime decision to join a terrorist organization or commit acts of international terrorism is not influence by latent psychological motives.\textsuperscript{66}

\section*{3.3 Implications of the Threats and Trends of International Terrorism}

The adverse effects from the threats and trends of international terrorism are quite enormous and multidimensional. The implications on individuals, governments and the international community have security, political, economic, socio-cultural and psychological consequences.
3.3.1 Security Implications

The threats from international terrorism since September 11 has affected a significant portion of many countries budget and many national resources are allocated to the GWoT and other counterterrorism measures in order to prevent and defend against any attacks. While the cost of carrying out act of terrorism itself is extremely low, billions of dollars are invested in defence against acts of terrorism. Hence, Ahorsu believes it has led to the securitization of the societies and almost all facets of life especially at the airports and even in financial transactions. He cites examples like the constant terror alerts from state security apparatus to their citizens at home and abroad. It has also led to the militarisation of counterterrorism leading to the glorification of war, military force and violence through the media and other platforms.

3.3.2 Political Implications

International terrorism has made many nations unstable and weak because it constantly challenges their authority to govern. It has also strained relationship between long-time allies such as the US and Saudi, although, the findings of the 9/11 commission of enquiry exonerates the Saudi government or officials for the attacks.

The Global Terrorism Index report also claims that since 2000 international terrorism has been predominant in sub-Saharan Africa, MENA as well as South Asia. According to the report, 82 per cent of the lives lost to terrorist activity in 2013 alone occurred in only five countries, namely: Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and Syria by Al-Qaeda, IS, Al-Shabab and Boko Haram. Therefore, the goal of such attacks is to destabilize local regimes and create political unrest, establishing the conditions necessary for radical movements to take control of the
country’s government. Such attacks seriously undermine a country’s ability to provide critical services to its citizens, ultimately leading to criticism, unrest and political instability.  

3.3.3 Economic Implications

The direct economic effects of international terrorism since September 11 include, inter alia, compensation for direct damage caused by an attack, including damage to property or from personal injuries. These costs are likely to be paid by insurance companies or directly by the governments through compensation payments or a national insurance system, as is customary in Israel. The two industries that were badly hit following the 9/11 attacks are aviation and tourism. In fact, it almost caused the financial collapse of several airlines and resulted in heavy economic damage to countries like Egypt where tourism is considered a major source of income. As a result of such harsh blows to the tourism sector and the decrease in international flights, the leisure industry also suffered. A decline in tourism hurts restaurants, cafes and clubs.  

Aside from the example of September 11, other such cases of commercial targets of international terrorism include the attack on a hotel in Mombasa, Somalia and the firing of anti-aircraft missile at an Israeli passenger plane in November 2002. Other attacks include against tourists in Egypt in Sharm-al-Sheikh in July 2005 and in Dahab in April 2006. Another attack took place in a dance club in Bali in October 2005 and the attacks against hotels in Amman in November 2005 are just a few examples. Other cases in point are the attacks at commercial centres and businesses such as Muna Hotel in Mogadishu, Somalia in 2010 and Westgate Mall in Kenya in September 2013 by al-Shabaab in 2010. Another one is Hotel Riu Imperial Marhaba in June 2015 in Tunisia and the firing of an aircraft in Shams-al-Sheickh hotel in
Alexandria, Egypt in 2016 by IS terrorists. The beach attacks in Cote d’Ivoire in 2016 by AQIM as well as several Boko Haram attacks at market place are all examples of terrorist acts targeting business and commercial centres.\textsuperscript{76} The World Bank, for instance, estimated that the September 11 terrorists attacks cost the global economy in excess of $80 billion and as a result leading to an increase in global poverty by $10 million.\textsuperscript{77} Thus, international terrorism have gross negatively impact on the human and physical capital of nations, tourism, foreign direct investments, economic uncertainties as well as individual savings, investment and consumer behaviour.

### 3.3.4 Socio-Cultural Implications

To Mayall identity is an attribute that is more often than not conflated and have to be protected from external attack and internal decay. It is more plausible to assume that the process of living through a natural catastrophe will have traumatic effects on anyone who experiences it, although the ways in which they deal with the trauma may indeed differ with social and cultural background.\textsuperscript{78}

Among the social implications is the fact that many people may avoid traveling abroad for a certain period of time, especially to those countries where an attack has occurred.\textsuperscript{79} They may also avoid air travel in general or congregating in tourist sites, among other crowded place as happened in Nice, France in July 2016 when 84 people were killed during a celebration.

More so, host societies experience threats to social stability through the problems arising from migrants who have settled in their countries due to the effects of international terrorism. Therefore, creating culture and identity clashes which have led to a number of xenophobic
attacks in certain parts of the world.\textsuperscript{79} Thus, people are affected by these incidents of international terrorism as it limit the movement of people from one country to the other due to the fear and pandemonium that comes about anytime there is a terrorist attack in some part of the world.

3.3.5 Psychological Implications

Terrorism is actually designed to have far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victims or object of the terrorist attack.\textsuperscript{80} According to Horgan, terror as a clinical term refers to a psychological state of constant dread or fearfulness, associated with an abnormally high level of psych-physiological arousal. He stressed that the immediate and psychological goals of terrorists are to instil fear and anxiety among people. Hence, the psychological impact of international terrorism cannot be underestimated.\textsuperscript{81}

3.4 Assessment of the Global War on Terror (GWoT)

The GWoT is a US foreign policy initiated by former President George W. Bush in 2001 to counter international terrorism in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks by Al-Qaeda. The military aspect of it includes the use of force and policing-led activism for intelligence gathering and enforcement targeted at suspected terrorists or intended acts of terrorism so as to thwart their activities using force by the state or state allied forces. This also includes surveillance, raids, arrest, detention, imprisonment, confiscation and executions.\textsuperscript{82} It also targets perceived state sponsors of international terrorism such as Iraq (under the late Saddam Hussein), Libya (under the late Col. Muammar Gadhafi), Iran, Syria and North Korea.\textsuperscript{83} Other non-military forms also include public diplomacy, promotion of freedom, justice and human dignity by working to end tyranny, promoting democracy and extend prosperity through free
and fair trade globally.\textsuperscript{84} But for the purpose of this work, the focus will be on the military aspect of the war.

The on-going GWoT and its fallouts in Afghanistan and Iraq has been a matter for debate and concern to many in the international community. The critical question which demands an answer is whether the war has succeeded or failed. The 2006 US National Security Strategy (US) claims that the GWoT was successful in Afghanistan because it removed and dislocated a major threat to international security, that is, Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, where the former had its headquarters. The US also claims the GWoT has been successful because it removed the threat posed by Saddam’s suspicion of possessing WMD and possibly transferring them to terrorist groups, even though, no WMD was found out in Iraq after the invasion.\textsuperscript{85}

Asare is also of the opinion that to a large extend, it has been successful because it destroyed many Al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan and Pakistan as well as ousted the Taliban regime. He also mentions the fact that the extension of the fight in East Africa, for instance, has reduced the capabilities of Al-Shabab following the killing of its leader Ahmad Godane by the US in September 2014. Again, he said, it has cut down funding for most international terrorist groups and the organizations behind their funding thereby incapacitating them.\textsuperscript{86}

On the other hand, others also claim the GWoT has woefully failed. Critics of the GWoT also admit it may have yielded some short term positive results through the elimination of key architects of Al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups as well as the collapse of the Taliban. Nonetheless, they cite the ‘ballooning effect’ (spill over) of the war as being disastrous. For instance, it has diffused and exported terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda and its radical ideologies globally and in wider coverage to MENA and other parts of the world such as Al-Qaeda in the
Arab Peninsular (AQAP), Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Al-Qaeda in the Indian sub-Continent (AQIS). It has also led to the creation of undoubtedly one of the most resourced and lethal terrorist group called the “Islamic State” and led to many civilian deaths and humanitarian crises in Afghanistan and Iraq. Thus, the GWoT has engendered more terrorists than existed before the war.

More so, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that the GWoT has resulted in 4.7 million Iraqi refugees, which is equal to about 16 per cent of the Iraqi population. More seriously, a 2015 report dubbed “Body Count” by the Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) revealed that in addition to the 1,000,000 deaths in Iraq, about 220,000 people have also been killed in Afghanistan and 80,000 in Pakistan as a result of the GWoT.

As a result of this, Wolfendale concludes that: “we should fear counterterrorism more than we fear terrorism” because the GWoT and other counterterrorism measures by states have posed greater threat to individual’s physical security and well-being than non-state terrorism.

3.5 Conclusion

The September 11 terrorist attack by Al-Qaeda was a turning moments not only for America’s security but the global security community at large. It has brought to bear the existential threats posed by international terrorism and the need to find workable solutions to curb this international menace. The threats emanating from international terrorism is multiple, sophisticated, complex and widespread just as the motivations for it. It has religious, political, cultural, socio-economic as well as religious causes and effects. It is therefore, important that
counterterrorism measures such as the GWoT should seek to address the problem holistically by looking at the root causes of terrorism so as to adopt other alternatives that are non-violent in addressing this universal challenge.
ENDNOTES

4 Ibid., p. 81.
5 Phillip Attuquayefio, Interview by Abass Mohammed, July 15, 2016.
7 Ibid., p. 130
11 Attuquayefio, Interview, 2016.
12 Ken Ahorsu, Interview by Abass Mohammed, July 18, 2016.
16 Bossman Asare, interview by Abass Mohammed, July 22, 2016.
18 Audrey, “Behind the Curve”, p. 44.
22 Cronin, “Behind the Curve”, p. 45.


Cronin, “Behind the Curve”, p. 33.

Attuquaye, Interview, 2016.


Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, p. 12.


Cronin, “Behind the Curve”, p. 32.


Ibrahim, Interview, 2016.

IEP, Global Terrorism Index, p. 4.


Martha Crewshaw, “Theories of Terrorism”, p. 31.


Ahorsu, Interview, 2016.
78 Ibid., p. 25.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid., p. 27.
90 Asare, Interview, 2016.
CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter captures the summary of the major findings of the study in relation to the objectives of the research. It also deals with the conclusions made from these findings as well as makes some recommendations on the way forward in curbing the menace of international terrorism.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The summary of the major findings of the study are as follows:

- The typologies of international security threats since September 11 are numerous and not new, even though most of these threats has substantially increased. These predominant international security threats include but not limited to international terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, transnational organized crimes, conflicts (inter and intra states), environmental as well as social and economic threats. More so, the contemporary trends with regards to international security include political security, military security, economic security, societal security and environmental security.

- Furthermore, international terrorism has been the principal threats to international security since the September 11 terrorist attacks on the US. The threats and trends of international terrorism since September 11 have dramatically changed. They have taken new forms (new terrorism) which are suicidal, technologically sophisticated, highly lethal and well-resourced.
International terrorism is caused by a myriad of factors which can be generally categorised under religious, political, cultural, social, economic and psychological reasons. Nonetheless, religious motivations for international terrorism have seen a drastic increase since September 11, although it is not a new phenomenon.

Similarly, the negative effects of these threats and trends of international terrorism have security, political, economic, social, cultural and psychological implications for international security. International terrorism, therefore, threatens human security, national security and international security.

The GWoT and other counterterrorism measures and strategies have been predominantly short-termed and militarized. In other words, they rely chiefly on the use of force to counter international terrorism. As a result of this, the GWoT has led to lots of resentments especially in the Muslim world due to the causalities and fallouts from the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. It has also created more enemies for the West especially the US popularly referred to as Anti-Americanism. Therefore creating more problems than solutions.

4.2 Conclusions

Contemporary international security threats emanate mostly from non-state actors such as terrorist organisations, drug traffickers, money launders, human and arms trafficker. However, International terrorism is a major international security threat since September 11 2001. Other threats from state actors are also major international security concerns in the twenty-first century especially when it comes to state military interventions in conflicts and funding of international terrorism.

There is no single nation, no matter how militarily powerful it is, which can win the war against international terrorism. The GWoT has failed to live up to its expectations due to its militarized
approach. Thus, the threats and trends of international terrorism justify the hypothesis that the world has been less safe since September 11, 2001.

4.3 Recommendations

These recommendations come from the backdrop of the findings and conclusions of this study. These are as follows:

- There should be change in foreign policies of Western countries and great powers such as the US, UK, France, Russia and Israel especially in the MENA. This is necessary since the region has become the theatre of international terrorism targeted at foreign interest and those governments as well as regimes terrorist perceive are in bed with the West in particular. More so, members of the Security Council (especially the permanent five-members) should take practical steps in addressing the Israel-Palestinian conflicts which has led to many terrorist attacks in the Middle East.

- Arab and Islamic countries must also improve on the human development and human security of their citizens to address political, social, economic and religious grievances that sometimes terrorist exploit to indoctrinate, radicalized and recruit gullible people. For instance, the Arab League and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) should focus much on dealing with political and socio-economic issues that affect the daily lives of their citizens that make them susceptible to radicalization and extremist tendencies.

- Religious leaders especially within the Islamic fraternity should also be forthcoming in explaining the context of Islamic concepts like *jihad*, *sharia*, etc. in order to counter the extreme interpretation and narrative by international terrorist organizations for their parochial politico-religious gains. This will help curb fanaticism, radicalism and violent extremism.
There should be real-time sharing of intelligence information and collaboration across board (domestic, inter-national and inter-regional) among governments. State security agencies and apparatuses in nation-states should relate information among themselves and the global security community on time so as to foil any plot of terrorism anywhere. This will effectively and efficiently enhance cooperation in order to safeguard national security, regional security and international security as a whole.

The human resource capacity of security officials and national security institutions must be beefed up to meet the new trends in terms of the modus operandi in fighting the menace of international terrorism. Hence, there is the need to build the human resource and organization developments of state security apparatuses to meet these challenges.

Also, more efforts and resources must be geared toward addressing the structural and root causes of international terrorism such as religious radicalization and extremism, political marginalization and seclusion, bad governance, identity conflicts, poverty and unemployment as well as mental disorders, in order to tackle the problem from the sources and not the symptoms.

Low risk countries like Ghana should also be proactive in addressing political, social and economic challenges confronting them, especially the youth and minorities in order not to make them susceptible to the evil agenda of international terrorist groups.

Lastly, counterterrorism efforts in the GWoT should be multipronged, comprehensive and broaden to include civil society organizations such as religious bodies, educational institutions, think-tanks, corporate bodies, community and youth-based organizations as well as international non-governmental organizations. This will enhance cooperation and information sharing across board in order to thwart any future terrorist attacks.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Books


**B. Journal Articles**


Huntington, Samuel P. “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993):pp. 22-49


**C. Interviews**

Ahorsu, Ken, Interview by Abass Mohammed, July 18, 2016.

Asare, Bossman, Interview by Abass Mohammed, July 22, 2016.

Attuquayefio, Philip, Interview by Abass Mohammed, July 13, 2016.

Ibrahim, Irbard, Interview by Abass Mohammed, July 13, 2016.

**D. Reports/Documents/Papers**


http://www.bmj.com


88


**E. Newspapers and Magazines**


Huntington, Samuel P. “The Age of Muslim Wars,” *Newsweek* (December 17, 2001).


**F. Internet Sources**


APPENDIX

This interview forms part of the data collection for the completion of my Master of Arts in International Affairs programme at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), University of Ghana.


1. What in your opinion is the meaning of international terrorism?

2. What would you say are some of the key factors or motivations driving international terrorism since 9/11?

3. What are some of the threats posed by international terrorism since 9/11?

4. What do you think are the contemporary trends in international terrorism since 9/11 and why?

5. How has the 9/11 terrorist attack by Al-Qaeda affected the international security landscape in general? Psychological, Political, Economic, Social, etc.

6. What is your assessment of the Global War on Terror (GWoT) declared by former President Bush in 2001? Has it succeeded or failed. Reasons?

7. Do you think the world is a safe place today than prior to 9/11?

8. The way forward to curb the threats posed by international terrorism.