

GLOBAL TERRORISM IN 21ST CENTURY: IDEOLOGIES, TREND AND IMPLICATIONS

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Abstract

Global Terrorism is a phenomenon that refers specifically to the 21st century though it has a relation with history. It is a highly contested and deeply controversial phenomenon; theorists believe that major amount of commonly accepted knowledge about it, are stereotype and based on misconceptions. It is greatly an over stated concept on ideological grounds and over promoted by media, which most of the time used to achieve national objectives by world powers. Thus, there is a need to understand its origin and all its complexities and transformations in the modern era. The attacks of 9/11 were the land mark of its emergence in a globalized world of modern era because they were completely different from all previous incidents of terror. Global terrorism has been linked with Islamic Jihadi Organizations after this catastrophic event. This ideology has both its supporters and opponents. The opponents of this theory generally emphasize the limited role and infrastructure of these Jihadi organizations and over exaggerated propaganda of the west especially by USA. Whereas, its supporters consider it, a major threat to global security. This article analyzes this global issue to explore its hidden consequences.

Keywords: terrorism, suicide bombing, Al-Qaeda, weapons of mass destruction (WMD)

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Introduction

Terrorism is the greatest threat to global security in the 21st century. The attacks of September 11, 2001 on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon dramatically demonstrated the significance that terrorist acts can have for citizens and residents of United States. These fatal attacks reinforced the fact that terrorism had been an important problem for the rest of the world for a long time. Therefore, the issue which till 1990 was considered a second order security apprehension came in the limelight after the events of 9/11 and new global terrorism had become the principal security threat in the early twenty first century. Terrorism is both a highly contested phenomenon and a deeply controversial concept. Critical theorists, for example argue that much commonly accepted knowledge about terrorism amounts to stereotypes and misconceptions, with the significance of terrorism after being grossly overstated usually for ideological reasons (Heywood, 2011).

Defining Terrorism

Basically terrorism as a word has a connotation of evil, indiscriminate violence or brutality (Lutz, James M. & Lutz, Brenda J. 2008). Goodin, describe it as form of political violence that aims to achieve its objectives through creating a climate of fear and apprehension. (Goodin, 2006). Terrorism is not an ideology, a political movement but a method of achieving a particular goal. While the 9/11 attacks are exceptional, it is important to recognize that terrorism has had a long history (Silke, 2004). Thus terrorism by no means is a modern phenomenon.

History of Terrorism

Terrorism is an ancient concept. The *Sicarii* (dagger men), extreme splinter wing of the Jewish Zealots was the early example of terrorist group in 1st century. They used killing and kidnappings in their campaign against Romans in Judea and against Jews, who collaborated with the Romans (Rapoport, Sep 1984). Similarly the *Thuggee (or Thugs)* in India, a cult which carried out ritual killings supposedly in honor of the goddess Kali and which came to particular prominence in the 17th century, may have emerged as early as the 13th century. *Assassins* were another group that sought to purify Islam by stabbing infidels from 109 to 1275 (Robertson, 2010). But the term 'terrorist' derives from the *French Revolution* and *Reign of Terror*, 1793-94. This witnessed a wave of mass executions, carried out by the Jacobins under the leadership of Robespierre, in which up to 40,000 alleged 'enemies of revolution' lost their lives (Heywood, 2011). With the French Revolution of 1789 terrorism was used to pursue nonreligious goals, and Russian anarchist, nihilists, and populist of the 19th century refined it as a tool for political, economic, and social change (Robertson, 2010). The first widespread association of Western societies with terrorism occurred with the upsurge in clandestine violence by anarchist groups in the late 19th century, which reached its peak in the 1890s. Amongst the victims were Tsar Alexander II (1881), Empress Elizabeth of Austria (1894), King Umberto of Italy (1900) and President Carnot (1894) of France and McKinley (1901) of USA (Ford, 1985. pp. 208-9). A further wave of anarchist violence broke out in the 1960s and 1970s under taken by groups in West Germany, the Italian Red Brigade, the Japanese Red Army and the Angry Brigade in United Kingdom (Drake, 1998).

However, in the post-1945 period, Terrorism generally had a nationalist orientation. During the 1940s and 50s, it was associated with Third World anti-colonial struggle in Africa and Middle East, later being taken up by national liberation movements such as the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and groups like Black September. (Hoffman, 2006) Terrorism was also used by disaffected national or ethnic minorities in developed Western Societies, notably by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern Ireland and on the UK mainland, by ETA: Euskadi Ta Askatasuna ("Basque Homeland and Liberty"), of Spain and by the FLQ: Front de libération du Québec (FLQ; English: Quebec Liberation Front) in Quebec, Canada. (Pelletier, 1971) Nevertheless, the attack on New York and Washington on September 11, 2001 convinced many people that terrorism had been reborn in a new and more dangerous form, leading some to conclude that it had become the major threat to international peace and security.

Incident of 9/11 transformed the old types of terrorism. Some scholars claimed the emergence of entirely new brand of terrorism. For instance Michael Grant Ignatiff distinguished between four types of terrorism:

- ***Insurrectionary Terrorism:*** This is aimed at the revolutionary overthrow of state (examples include anarchist and revolutionary communist terrorism).
- ***Loner or Issue Terrorism:*** This is aimed at the promotion of a single cause (examples include the bombing of abortion clinics in USA and the 1995 Sarin nerve gas attack on Tokyo subway by religious cult Aum Shinrikyo).
- ***Nationalist Terrorism:*** This aimed to overthrow colonial rule or occupation, often with the goal of gaining independence for an ethnic, religious or national groups (examples include the FLN in Algeria, the liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), commonly known as Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka and Hamas and Hezbollah in Israel and the occupied territories).
- ***Global Terrorism:*** This is aimed at inflicting damage and humiliation on a global power or transforming global civilization relations (examples include Al-Qaeda and other forms of Islamist Terrorism. (Ignatieff, 2004)

New research introduced three other types of terrorism in 21st century such as:

- ***Cyber Terrorism:*** It is the newest form of terrorism that illustrated the attacks on computer systems, it differs from more routine cybercrimes such as identity theft, viruses and bogus business deals because it is meant to disable systems, disrupt daily life and cause panic.
- ***Narco Terrorism:*** Criminals may turn to terrorist tactics trade to influence governments to turn a blind eye to their activities, particularly in the lucrative narcotics trade. It has been especially prevalent in Columbia (Cocaine) and Afghanistan (Heroin).
- ***Paper Terrorism:*** It is more of a nuisance than a threat to public safety, but it does disrupt daily life. For example groups, such as Militia of Montana/Freemen file numerous frivolous lawsuits to try to clog the court system or to challenge the title to various real state parcels, usually belonging to government officials (Robertson, 2010).

However the phenomenon of “new terrorism” suggesting that there has been a revolutionary change in the nature of terrorism, predates the September 11 attacks, interest in it being stimulated by events such as the 1995 Aum Shinrikyo attack on the Tokyo subway system and the 1997 massacre in Luxor, Egypt, which left 62 tourist dead (Laqueur, 1999). The most important and perhaps defining feature of terrorism is its religious motivations which replaced its secular motivation. Secular terrorism was a “traditional terrorism” which derived from the post 1945 period terrorism, associated with nationalist and particularly separatist movement. Nevertheless, the notion of new terrorism has also been subject to criticism, many arguing that distinction between new and traditional terrorism is largely artificial or, at least, much exaggerated (Copeland, 2001). History exhibits that religiously inspired terrorism is certainly not an entirely new phenomenon. Apart from more ancient examples, elements within Muslim Brotherhood, which was formed in 1928, have often been linked with assassinations and other attacks, while nationalist groups such as the Moro National Liberation Movement (MLF), Egyptian Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah, have fused religious and political objectives (Heywood, 2011). Similarly there are also examples of traditional terrorist groups who are secular in nature but very fanatical and uncompromising such as the Tamil Tigers, The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Kurdistan Workers Party. Finally there is a clear view of organizational differences between new and classical terrorist groups may also be deceiving. Traditional terrorist groups such as Irish Republican Army (IRA) or FATAH often proceed through the individual command and control structure.

There is nothing inventory about the idea that terrorism has an international, transnational or even global dimensions, It has existed in some form from at least the last quarter of the 19th century. A consideration of the successive waves of ‘rebel terror’ that have punctuated that last 130 years illustrates this point. Transnational or global terrorism’s origin can be traced to the anarchist terrorism that convulsed Western Europe, North America and Tsarist Russia from 1880 to 1914 (Rapoport, 2001). The anarchist campaign of violence constituted the Western public’s first sustained exposure to modern terrorism. Therefore, the late 19th century anarchist saw themselves as a part of an international movement and operated across the national borders of Western Europe. The extreme leftist groups of the 1960s and 1970s, such as the Baader-Meinhof Group, The Japanese Red Army and the Italian Red Army, believed that they were engaged in a global struggle, both to overthrow the capitalist system and to expel the US military presence from Western Europe and elsewhere. Some scholars linked the birth of international terrorism with the advent of aero-plane hijackings in late 1960 by PLO (Heywood, 2011). However the development of transnational terrorism genuinely associated with the advance globalization and due to this reason new terrorism often portrayed as a child of globalization. This relation has many reasons which are:

- Increase cross border flow of people, goods, money, technology and ideas have generally benefited non-state actors at the cost of state and it is proved that this hyper mobility exploited by terrorists groups.
- Increased international migration flows have often helped to sustain terrorist campaigns as Diaspora communities as occurred, for instance with the Tamil Tigers.

- Globalization has generated pressure that has contributed to a growth in political militancy.

Although, globalization may have provided an environment against which terrorism acquired an increasingly transnational character, but it does not in itself explain the emergence of transnational or global terrorism. This is proved in the case of Islamist or Jihadist terrorism, which appears to be most transnational. Though, Islamist terrorism has been depicted as a nihilistic movement or as a manifestation of religious revivalism, it is better understood as a response to political conditions and crises that have found expression in a politico- religious ideology (Azzam, 2008).

Islamist or Jihadist Terrorism (Western View)

Western World believes that the Islamist or Jihadist terrorism is the prime example of global or transnational terrorism. According to them, it emerged from the late 1970s onwards, and was shaped by three major developments:

1. A growing number of Muslim States experienced crises of governmental legitimacy, as popular frustration mounted against corrupt and autocratic regimes that were thought to fail to meet their citizens' economic and political aspiration. In the light of defeat of Arab nationalism, this led to a growing religiously based movement to overthrow what were dubbed 'apostate' (a person who forsakes his or her religion) Muslim leaders in countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Pakistan. These leaders and their regimes came to be seen as Islamism's near enemy.
2. US influence in the Middle East expanded, filling the Power vacuum that had been created by the UK's post-1968 withdrawal from military bases to the east of the Suez Canal. The USA thus came to be seen as the 'far enemy', as policies such as implacable support for Israel, the siting of US troops in the Muslim 'holy ground' of Saudi Arabia, and support for 'apostate' Muslim leader across the region made the USA appear to be a threat to Islam.
3. There is a growth in politically engaged forms of religious fundamentalism in many parts of the Islamic World, a trend that was radically accelerated by the 1979 Iranian 'Islamic Revolution.

Apart from above argument domestic Jihad predominated over global jihad during the 1970s and 1980s, it lay largely in an ongoing internal crisis of governmental legitimacy that began to engulf large swathes of the Islamic world (Doran, 2002). It also restricted in different countries where it active on a national level. This only changed from the mid-1990s onwards, and it did so largely through the failure of political Islam to achieve its domestic goals. (Kepel, 2006). Jihad went global in the context of successful military repression in African countries like Egypt and Algeria. It has a growing element within the Islamist movement realigned their strategies around the 'far enemy': Western and particularly US, policy in Middle East and across the Islamic World. In that sense, the rise of global jihad was a mark of Islamism's decline, not of its resurgence (Roy, 1994). The Afghan War 1979-89 played an important role in boosting the shift of globalism. The emergence of a transnational Mujahedeen resistance against the Russian

Helped to create a corporate sense of belonging among Islamist groups that often had different back ground and doctrinal beliefs. It also strengthened the belief that domestic struggles are part of a wider global struggle.

These were the circumstances in which al-Qaeda emerged, usually viewed as a clearest example of global terrorism. Al-Qaeda's goals are global: it seeks to purify and revive Muslim society at large both by overthrowing 'apostate' Muslim leaders and by expelling Western and particularly US, influenced and engaging in large struggle against the moral corruption of Western 'crusaders' (Heywood, 2011). It has been associated with terrorist attacks in Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Kenya, the USA, Spain and the UK and has cells or associate organizations across the world. Therefore, global or transnational terrorism appears to be an alarming escalation in 21st century.

Effective Terrorism Tactics of 21st century

There are number of tactics used in the past in the acts of terrorism in different regions of the world. The most ancient tactic was personal assault, it is the way in which attacker uses a simple weapon to kill his victims. The Zealots used daggers; the Assassins used swords, while the Thugs strangled their targets. In the 19th and 20th centuries guns and bombs were popular weapons. Terrorists can plant bombs and detonate them remotely or strap explosives to their body and detonate themselves when they are near the target (Robertson, 2010). As technology progresses in 21st century, new tactics and better execution of old tactics have been used by the terrorist groups. Some of the well-executed tactics are as follows:

Hijacking: It is not a new phenomenon. The first recorded instance was in 1930, when Peruvian revolutionaries used a hijacked plane to drop propaganda leaflets (Piszkiewicz, 2003). It was the famous way of terrorism in late 1960s and 70s which proved to be a short lived technique, as airlines and national security agencies rapidly enacted precautions and closed security gaps. The revolutionary execution of hijacking of airplanes and its use as a weapon in the attacks of 9/11 gave new blood to this relatively old tactic. Therefore the use of airliners as suicide vehicles in peace time was seen as a unique incident. Full fuel tanks of hijacked planes enhanced the total destruction of the World Trade Center beyond people's anticipation.

Bombing: Various kinds of bombs have been a mainstay of terrorist groups for many years. Approximately half of all terrorist attacks involve bombs (Enders & Sandler, 2006). From simple devices like grenade or sophisticated devices like remote control and timer bomb to deadly bombs that can blast the airplane or buildings were used in the past in different terrorist activities. Car bombs have been a relatively recent addition to the armory of terrorist groups. Vehicles packed with explosive can do considerable damage and kill and wound many people. Thirteen vehicle bombs that were set off in Bombay (Mumbai), India in February 1993 killed more than 400 people and injured over a thousand people (Hoffman, 2001). In other cases car bombs have been driven into targets on suicide missions as happened in Lebanon to US marines and French paratroopers trying to end the Lebanese civil war (Lutz, J. & Lutz, B. 2008). Car and truck bombs are frequently use in Middle East and Northern Ireland for many years. It

still a very useful weapon of terrorists because of its lethality and advantage of blend into same kind of vehicles on streets and parking's.

Suicide bombings have become common for some terrorist groups, as they provide an advantage over other bombs since the explosives can more readily be delivered to a location that might otherwise be inaccessible while the timing of the detonation can be more effectively controlled (Dolinik, 2003). Suicide bombings are also a relatively low cost method of inflicting damage on opponents.

Suicide Terrorism

The clandestine attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon reawakened the world to the murderous effects of suicide terrorism. Since the attacks on New York and Washington, these apparently random and fanatical acts of violence have swept the globe from Rabat to Islamabad to Jakarta (Alam, 2008). More than twenty countries have been directly affected by suicide terrorism. Although this phenomenon is not new but its recent devastating execution overshadowed its history.

A group of suicide squads were used by the Indian Chera rulers to resist Chola invasions to their state from 11th century. These warriors were known as the "chavers" (Menon, 2006). Later, these suicide squads rendered service as police, volunteer troop and fighting squads in the region. Now their primary duty was to assist local rulers in battles and skirmishes. The rulers of the state of Valluvanad were known to have deployed a number of suicide squads against the ruler of Calicut. In the late 17th century Qing official Yu Yonghe recorded that injured Dutch soldiers fighting against Koxinga's forces for control of Taiwan in 1661 would use gunpowder to blow up both themselves and their opponents rather than be taken prisoner (Yu Yonghe, 2004). However, the Chinese observer may have confused such suicidal tactics with the standard Dutch military practice of undermining and blowing up positions recently overrun by the enemy which almost cost Koxinga his life during the siege (Campbell, 1992). During the Belgian Revolution, on February 5, 1831, Dutch Lieutenant Jan van Speijk detonated his own ship in the harbor of Antwerp to prevent its capture by the Belgians. Another example was the Prussian soldier Karl Klinke on 18 April 1864 at the Battle of Dybbol, who died blowing a hole in a Danish fortification. In the 18th century John Paul Jones wrote about Ottoman sailors setting their own ships on fire and ramming the ships of their enemies, refusing to leave their vessels, although they knew this meant certain death for them. Modern suicide bombing as a political tool can be traced back to the assassination of Tsar Alexander II of Russia in 1881. Alexander felt victim to a Nihilist plot. While driving on one of the central streets of Saint Petersburg, near the Winter Palace, he was mortally wounded by the explosion of hand-made grenades and died a few hours afterwards. The Tsar was killed by a member of Narodnaya Volya, Ignacy Hryniewiecki, who died while intentionally exploding the bomb during the attack. Rudolf Christoph Freiherr von Gersdorff intended to assassinate Adolf Hitler by suicide bomb in 1943, but was unable to complete the attack. From 18th to 19th century suicidal attacks occurred in colonial India, Indonesia, Philippines and Russia. The first accepted suicidal activity occurred in World War II by Japanese Kamikaze "Divine Wind" pilots, who participated in suicide attacks against American ships in Pacific Ocean. After a quarter of the century the revival of this martyrdom was persuade in Middle East by

Hezbollah in Lebanon against French and US forces, after which the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) adopted this tactic with more brutality leading to the highest number of suicide attacks in the world.

There has been a marked increase in suicide attacks in recent years. From an average of three attacks a year in mid- 1980s, these rose to 10 attacks in the 1990s and over 100 attacks a year since 2000. However, suicide terrorisms has not proved completely as a Jihadi organization tactic because many a times it has taken place in a context of nationalist or separatist struggles with the leading exponent of suicide attacks being the Srilankan Tamil Tigers is a nationalist movement subscribing to a secular ideology. Thus, suicide terrorism may be best explained in terms of strategic consideration (Pape, 2005). Therefore, the strategic basis for suicide attacks is that, it is difficult to prevent, hence, it is an effective form of terrorism. Although in 2011 suicide attacks accounted for just 60 which are 3% of terrorist attacks worldwide but they led to 1,131 deaths, 18% of overall atrocities in terrorist incidents. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_terrorist_incidents,_2011). This is backed up by the fact that such attacks carry enormous moral force, demonstrating the power of the conviction that encourage them and highlighting the extent of the injustice they seek to protest against.

Future of Terrorism and Use of WMDs

Many analysts fear that terrorists will try to use weapons of mass destruction (WMD). They are of four types: nuclear, radiological, biological and chemical.

Nuclear Weapons: They are explosive devices that derive its destructive force from nuclear reactions, either fission or a combination of fission and fusion. Both reactions release vast quantities of energy from relatively small amounts of matter (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nuclear_weapon). Nuclear weapons are the most catastrophic weapons devised, built and used by human being. They are bombs that could wipe out entire cities, as Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan in 1945. Nuclear weapons made it dramatically easier both technically and morally to kill mass number of people in no time.

Radiological Devices (Dirty Bombs): They are ordinary explosives laced with radioactive materials. The purpose of the weapon is to contaminate the area around the dispersal agent/conventional explosion with radioactive material, serving primarily as an aerial denial device against civilians (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dirty_bomb). It would kill fewer people than nuclear bombs but the radiation release could create mass panic and effected area would need to be quarantined for, an extended period, possibly decades (www.cnn.com/SPECIAL/2002/cfr/stories/dirty.bombs/index.html). Therefore, it sometimes called "weapons of mass disruption".

Biological Weapons: Biological weapons employ living microorganism, such as viruses and bacteria, or toxins produced by living organisms, to anticipate or kill (Caldwell & William, 2012). Bacteria, viruses and rickettsia are three categories of microorganism used as biological agents. Each set kind of organism produces a distinctive set of diseases.

1. Bacteria diseases include Anthrax, Plague and tularemia (rabbit fever).
2. Viruses' diseases are not responded on antibiotics such as Small pox and yellow fever.
3. Rickttesia are Q fever, which is rarely fatal and typhus.

Chemical Weapons: Chemical weapons can be broadly defined as toxic manufactured gases, liquids, or powders that are designed to incapacitate or kill humans (Caldwell & William, 2012). There are four basic categories of chemical weapons:

1. Lung, or choking, agents, such as chlorine and phosgene, which damage lung tissue and make breathing impossible.
2. Blood agents, such as hydrogen cyanide, which prevent the flow of oxygen in the bloodstream.
3. Blister agents, such as mustard gas, which cause chemical burns on skin and all other contacted body tissue, both internal and external.
4. Nerve agents, such as sarin and VX, which disrupt the central nervous system.

These are lethal chemical agents; there are some non-lethal weapons known as incapacitating agents, such as tear gas, which causes temporary discomfort, and BZ which causes cognitive disorientation (Caldwell & William, 2012.).

In recent years due to the longstanding assumptions, question arises about the possibilities of terrorist's use of WMDs. Three incidents of 90s in particular, have generated heightened concern that terrorism may be entering a period of calamity. They were,

- The 20th March 1995 nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subway system.
- The April 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah. Federal Building in Oklahoma City.
- The 1993 bombing of New York City's World Trade Center.

Indeed, the Aum Shinrikyo sect's nerve gas attack on Tokyo subway crosses an important threshold so far as potential use of WMD is concerned: for this incident clearly demonstrated that it is possible to execute a successful chemical terrorist attack and may conceivably have raised the stakes for terrorists everywhere (Hoffman, 1998). The attack caused extensive psychological consequences in Japan. For weeks after the attack, each day hundreds of people sought health care, convinced that they also had been poisoned (Biema, April 3, 1995). Apart of the possibilities of use of WMDs by terrorist, there are two obstacles to using it for terrorist acts, first, few terrorist groups possess the skills needed to create, deploy and activate such weapons which is very difficult to acquire though, 1995 Tokyo subway's attack proved it wrong but still chances are very rare. Second, even groups that might have such skills, hesitated to make widespread lethal attacks for fear that such brutality would harm their cause more than advance it.

Conclusion

Global terrorism has been so radical and devastating especially in the 21st century that it has frightened the world completely. It is because of three reasons first, modern

terrorism is by its nature difficult and may be impossible to defend, because how can protection be provided against such attackers who are willing to sacrifice their own lives in order to kill others? This contributes to the idea that, although it may be possible to reduce the likelihood of terrorist attack, the threat can never be eradicated. Second, the potential scope and scale of terrorism has greatly increased as a result of modern technology and particularly the prospect of WMDs falling into the hands of terrorists. Since September 11 governments have been trying to plan for the possibility of terrorist groups using chemical or biological weapons, with the prospect of nuclear terrorism no longer being dismissed as a fanciful idea. Third, some people believe that modern terrorist not only have easier access to WMDs but also have a greater willingness to use them. This allegedly, is because they may be less constrained by moral or humanitarian principles than others.

However, there are other analysts who argue that the threat of terrorism, whether new or global has been greatly overstated because, there are doubts about the military effectiveness of terrorism. Though, terrorist's attacks have a devastating impact but it is different from systemic destruction wreaked by mass warfare among states. Therefore terrorism cannot overthrow a government or destroy a society as well as terrorists campaigns usually advance or defend the interests of a national or ethnic groups and are only effective for limited period and for certain regions, such as Jewish terrorism before the creation of Israel in 1948, or anarchist terrorism in the late 1960s and 1970s. Although, Islamist terrorism has played a significant role as part of insurgent war in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere, it does not, and cannot, pose a serious threat to Western societies.

Fear about Islamist terrorism may also be exaggerated because it is based on questionable assumptions about a civilizational conflict between Islam and the West. There is a very little evidence that Muslim populations generally are hostile towards Western' values like human rights and democracy. Critical theorists, indeed have gone further and argued that the war on terror', and the exaggerated fear of terrorism on which it is based, serve both to legitimize US attempts to maintain its global hegemony (in particular, helping to justify the USA's presence in the oil-rich Middle East) and to promote a wider politics of fear (Altheide, 2006). Therefore, the war on terror primarily an ideological construct, which has been created by the USA and other Western state to generate internal cohesion and a sense of purpose in societies that are no longer afraid of the "communist threat". According to this view, ruling elites, in democratic and authoritarian societies, strengthen their positions by creating myths about threatening 'others'. In 21st century this role may be filled by global terrorism especially when fear about terrorism can be bolstered by linking it with WMDs and the specter of nuclear terrorism.

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