

Chapter 6

International Security after the Cold War

Introduction: The Changing Nature of Security Studies

- Security
 - The security of a state from external threats to its territorial integrity, political independence and way of life
- Biggest challenge is the military threat posed by other states
- One side wants to focus on “threats” like environmental degradation, the intrusion of outside cultural influences, modernization, economic integration, migration of peoples
- Other side wants to focus on “threats” like ideologies, individuals, groups, socioeconomic conditions existing within or across state boundaries
- Securitization Theory
 - Emphasizing that security is not an objective term but is constructed through social processes (speech, media...)
- Cold War had a huge impact on international security
- Studying international security
 - The origins and causes of conflict in the international system
 - National security and research on potential threats
 - Group security
 - Nuclear weapons safety and nuclear weapons proliferation
 - Chemical and biological weapons terrorism
 - The spread of conventional weapons
 - Asymmetric threats
 - Human security
 - Regional security studies
 - Environmental security
- Security challenges in today’s world; proliferation of weapons, terrorism, growth of international organized crime

The Nature of War in Global Politics

- War is a period of armed hostilities within or between states or other collectivities
- War is often described as conflicts where there are 1000 + combat-related deaths
- Conflicts that generate less than 1000 may cause immense human suffering and must still be considered wars
- Trends in war (over 5 centuries – 16th to 20th)
 - Shifts from major power wars to minor power wars
 - Shift from wars in Europe to wars in other regions
 - Shift from wars between states to wars within states
 - 4 times more people died in 20th century wars than in wars in the past 400 years
- Trends in post-World War 2
 - No wars between great powers – however great powers involved in wars
 - Magnitude of war on the decline (toll on human life, size of affected area, damage, dislocated populations)

- The victims of war have increasingly become civilians
- Immediately following the end of the Cold War global military spending declined
- Since 1998 military spending has increased
- 2002 world military spending totaled \$784 billion US
- The U.S. is responsible for 75% of the increase between 2001 and 2002
- Top five countries (U.S., Japan, UK, France, China) account for about 62% of world military spending

Theorizing About the Origins of War

- Wars have been started over tangible and intangible issues – how can a generalization about cause of war be made?
- Quincy Wright : “A war, in reality, results from a total situation involving ultimately almost everything that has happened to the human race up to the time the war begins.”
- To find possible explanations for war use three levels of analysis
 - War at the individual level – the cause of war in ourselves, in our nature as a species
 - War at the state or group level – causes that may be found in the social and political characteristics of states or groups
 - War at the systemic level – finds origins of war in the nature of international politics itself

Interstate Warfare After the Cold War: From Gulf War to Iraq War

- August 28, 1990 Iraq invaded Kuwait – Iraq claimed a right to Kuwait as a province of Iraq
 - Iraq’s desperate economic situation at the end of its war with Iran prompted Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein to seize the oil-rich country
 - Motives seem to be immediate economic gain, long-term control over a significant portion of Middle East oil reserves
- UN called for Iraqi withdrawal, imposed economic sanctions, authorized use of force
- Coalition of Great Britain, France, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Canada, and more had amassed 750 000 personnel in the Gulf
 - Not all public opinion in these countries was behind war, but once the war began public support increased
- Iraq took Western civilians in Iraq hostage in attempt to change Islamic opinions about the coalition
- Hussein attempted to widen war by involving Israel, hoping to break coalition between Western and Middle Eastern countries
- Iraq deployed 400 000+ troops to defend gains in Kuwait – failed
- Diplomacy failed: Hussein unwilling to meet coalition demands
- Military campaign began on January 17, 1991 with 40-day air campaign against Iraq and Iraqi forces in Kuwait
 - This caused Iraqi forces to be destroyed, and coalition controlled air
- Iraq- launched Scud missiles on Saudi Arabia and Israel – failure
- Ended with 100-hour ground offensive into Iraq and Kuwait

- Ceasefire called on February 27, 1991
- Impacts
 - Costs of war were high, coalition casualties 240, Iraqi military casualties between 20 000 and 85 000, Iraqi civilian casualties between 2300 and 20 000, displacement of 4 to 5 million people
 - Kurds in north and Shiite Muslims in south rebelled against Hussein
 - Northern/southern Iraq – safe haven protected by coalition airpower
 - Iraq released crude oil into Gulf to foul Saudi Arabian coasts
 - Iraqi blew up hundreds of Kuwaiti oil wells
- The Gulf War achieved stated objective: removal of Iraqi military from Kuwait and restore Kuwaiti government
- Gulf War left many issues unresolved
 - Saddam Hussein remained leader of Iraq, Republican Guard kept regime in power through force and intimidation
 - UN weapons inspectors encountered effort to hide WMD programs
 - Increased anti-American sentiment for punishing Iraqi forces when they threaten no-fly zones
 - UN sanctions that remained crippled Iraq’s economy, caused hardship to civilians

- Terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 caused terrorism to be primary security
- Terrorism and supporting states were focus of “War on Terrorism”
- Bush (then back by public/government opinion and UN Security Council) identified Al-Qaeda
- U.S led coalition launched war to overthrow Taliban government in Afghanistan
- January 29, 2002 Bush referred to North Korea, Iran, and Iraq as “axis of evil”
- Iraq agenda and war “War on Terrorism” began coverage in Washington despite a clear link
- By late 1990s Hussein became less cooperative with UN resolution conditions
- Since end of Gulf War Iraq defied 10 UN resolutions related to arms inspections, sanctions, safe havens, no-fly zones
- Weapons inspection teams withdrawn in 1998
- December 1998, U.S. and Britain dropped un-UN-authorized bombs on suspected WMD sites
- France withdrew from coalition enforcement of no-fly zones
- U.S. received support to go to war from UK and British Prime Minister
- Numerous examples of opposition to U.S. efforts
 - Many thought U.S. motives were to remove Hussein and gain Iraqi oil
 - Many did not see a connection between Hussein and 9/11
- February 15, 2003 “Day of Action”
- June 2002 Bush stated to be ready for preemptive action when necessary
- September 2002 document stated efforts to deter and defend against the threat before it is unleashed
- October 2002 U.S. Congress authorized Bush to use force against Iraq
- The U.S. sought after UN support and wanted a harder line against Iraq – the people would also be more supportive of a war that had UN approval

- UN Security Council passed Resolution 1441– weapon inspectors returned to Iraq
- Iraqi government did not comply – U.S., Spain, UK drafted resolution authorizing force
- February 5, 2003 Secretary of State Colin Powell outlined to UN: suspected WMD programs, circumventions of UN sanctions, connections to Al-Qaeda, and human rights violations by Iraqi government – Proposal withdrawn
- March 17, 2003 Bush gave Saddam Hussein 48 hours to leave Iraq
- Military campaign began on March 19th, 2003
- Many countries who supported diplomatically did not support with military or financial needs
- U.S., Britain, and Australia contributed military; no Middle Eastern or Muslim contribution
- U.S. and British forces moved into Iraq from Kuwait on March 20
- The U.S. forces reached Baghdad by April 3
- By April 9, Hussein had fled and U.S. troops controlled the city
- By April 16, the last pockets of resistance towns had collapsed
- May 1, Bush declared the war over
- Hussein captured on December 13
- Questions, Criticisms, Issues with Iraq War
 - What were the human and monetary costs of the war?
 - Over U.S.\$500 billion in 2004
 - What was the Bush Administration’s motive for going to war?
 - Weapons of mass destruction
 - Opportunity to reorder the Middle East
 - Control of Iraqi oil
 - A need to “deal” with Saddam Hussein
 - Was the Iraq War a “war of necessity”?
 - May have been, “the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time, against the wrong enemy.”
 - What happened to the weapons of mass destruction?
 - Why was the United States so poorly prepared to stabilize and rebuild postwar Iraq?
 - Bush Administration chose to treat warnings about the challenges of postwar Iraq as antiwar sentiment
 - The image of the United States in the world
 - The United States alienated most of its key allies and was deeply unpopular around the world
- Bush Administration has chosen a course that emphasized military paths
- Sound policies, political commitment, and wise expenditure of resources will be needed for positive possibilities of the situation
- Examples of high tension and rivalry between states in the international system that could lead to future wars:
 - Greece and Turkey
 - India and Pakistan
 - China, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei, and Philippines
 - Israel and Syria

- North Korea and South Korea
- Peru and Ecuador
- Ethiopia and Eritrea
- Cameroon and Nigeria
- The use of coercive diplomacy and military intervention during crisis remains relevant in contemporary international politics
- Threatening to use military force to achieve political objectives remains a prominent tool of state diplomacy
- Wars between states remain possible even though there a few recent examples
- The problem of intrastate war is extremely more relevant
- Concern over transnational security threats has risen dramatically

Ethnic, Religious, and Factional Conflict

- Decline in interstate conflicts – rise in intrastate conflicts
- Many intrastate conflicts may be between religious communities, clans, or political factions
 - Class relations may be central factors in most of the above
- Just over 5% of major armed conflicts between 1990 and 2002 were interstate

The Nature of Communal Groups

- Communal groups share a sense of common identity
 - Causes the group to differentiate from others
- This sense of identity give group internal harmony and capacity for collective action
- Communal groups can be base on one or more of
 - Ethnicity (race, custom)
 - Historical experience or myth
 - Religious beliefs
 - Region of residence
 - Familial ties (clan systems)
- Communal has a voluntary element, and are always changing

Explaining Communal Conflict

- Communal conflicts may originate in one of more of the following situations:
 1. Grievances
 - Economic grievances
 - Political grievances
 2. Autonomy and independence
 3. Social change
 4. Primordialism
 5. Incitement by leaders
 6. State nationalism versus ethnonationalism
 7. The loss of the political centre
 8. Symbolic politics

The Nature of Communal War

- Kalevi Holsti “There are no declarations of war, there are no seasons for campaigning, and few end with peace treaties. Decisive battles are few. Attrition, terror, psychology, and actions against civilians highlight ‘combat’. Rather than highly organized armed forces based on a strict command hierarchy, wars are fought by loosely knit groups of regulars, irregular, cells, and not infrequently by locally based warlords under little or no central authority.”
- Attacks are done on civilians because they are the source of soldiers, food, and support
 - Attacked to weaken the military potential of the communal group
- Territorial gain is reflected in composition of people living in the territory thus forcing people to leave is a cornerstone of military campaigns (ethnic cleansing)
- In communal conflicts, territory is gained once all members of the other ethnic group have been removed and the victor’s ethnic group has replaced them
- Fear and terror are important weapons in communal conflicts
- Rape – causes AIDS, reduces chances for finding a mate and having children, causes women to leave out of fear, attack on the ability of a communal group to reproduce itself, women gone – communities uprooted
- There may also be an economic component to ethnic conflicts

The Case of Yugoslavia: Communal Conflict in a Fragmented State

- Created following the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires
 - Serbia and Montenegro (core of new state)
 - Slovenians and Croats (joined out of concerns of Italian expansionism)
- WW2 Yugoslavia conquered by Nazi Germany
 - Much violence occurred between ethnic groups
- Memories of violence surfaced again in 1990s
- Federal state composed of 8 republics and provinces
- Dictator – Josef Tito (died in 1980)
- After Tito’s death Serbia dominated federal structure and army (alienating Slovenia and Croatia – wanted to leave federation and declare independence)
- Violence broke out in 1990s between Serbian minority militia and Croatian police
- Slovenia and Croatia declared independence in June 1991
- Serbian-dominated army used force to try and keep Slovenia and Croatia in the federation – Failed
- Serbian army withdrew from Slovenia in 1991 and Croatia in 1992
- April 1992 the war spread to Bosnia
- Serbian and Croatian regions of Bosnia wanted to join Serbia and Croatia in independence
- Success of Bosnian Serbs was reversed by Muslim-Croat alliance, withdrawal of Serbian support (result of UN sanctions), and intervention of NATO
- 1995 peace was negotiated in Bosnia – led to Dayton Agreement – 60 000 NATO troops used force to keep peace
- NATO troops declining in Bosnia, disruptions in peace may increase, long-term reconciliation looks grim

The Case of Somalia: Clan Conflict in a Failed State

- Emerged as independent state out of Africa in July 1960
- 1969 Major-General Mohammed Siad Barre tried to establish a socialist state
- Opposition to his rule grew in 70s and 80s
 - He had to rely on his own clan to maintain power
- January 1991 Barre thrown out by opposition of other clans
- Clans began to fight over which clan was to rule
- Warfare between rival clans broke out and lasted for 16 months
 - Destroyed the infrastructure in Somalia
- UN and American forces tried to keep the peace – clashes with local warlords
- International presence withdrawn in 1995 – clan violence continued

The Case of Chechnya: The Russian State Against an Ethnic Group

- Bitter relations between Moscow and the people of the Caucasus region
- Chechnya was the most homogenous Muslim republic in the Russian Federation
- Soviet Union collapse 1991 – Chechen leaders claimed right of self-government and independence for Chechnya
- Russian government maintained Chechnya to be part of Russia
 - Seemed to be no compromising
- Chechens ran more of their own affairs in disobedience of Moscow political authority
- 1993 Russian government (Boris Yeltsin) used military force to stop Chechen independence
 - First round of violence lasted two years
 - Cities and towns devastated including the capital Grozny
 - 100 000 casualties 400 000 refugees
- August 1996 ceasefire – postpone status of Chechnya for 5 years and withdrawal of Russian troops
- During this Chechnya continued to disobey Moscow, and Russia continued trying to weaken Chechen leaders
- 1999 war returned to Chechnya, Russian president Vladimir Putin wanted to end conflict
- More support in Russia after bombings in Moscow were attributed to Chechens
- Chechen people demonized in Russia as criminals or radical Islamists
- Russia now controls most of Chechen
 - Unable to eliminate Chechen resistance
 - Unable to impose complete authority of entire republic
- Many countries sided the right of Russia to maintain order to maintain good relations
- March 2003 referendum run by Russian government – that Chechnya was a part of Russia in return for greater local self-government – Agreed upon
- Year later Chechnya still faced heritage or both wars
 - Destroyed civilian infrastructure
 - Countryside ridden with land mines
 - Population living in poverty with a fierce hatred of Moscow

- It is unlikely Chechnya will get the reconstruction that it needs under the same government that brought it war
- Other important conflicts with a communal dimension include:
 - Israel and the Palestine people
 - The Kurds
 - The Sudan
 - Indonesia
- How can these conflicts be avoided and stopped?
- There is a huge presence of weapons in both intra and inter state wars
 - Spread of weapons around the world is a major security concern

The Proliferation of Weapons

- Vertical proliferation
 - Increases in the number of weapons possessed by individual states
- Horizontal proliferation
 - Spread of military capabilities across states
- The largest concern in the international system is with horizontal spread of WMD, horizontal spread of conventional weapons, and with individual “light” or “small arms” weapons
- Weapons proliferation is regarded with concern because arms races can increase existing tensions or raise levels of distrust and hostility
- Large concern about terrorists acquiring chemical and biological weapons
- Prevention of proliferation is a contribution to preventing war and reducing violence level in future wars

The Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

- One of the greatest concerns is the spread of nuclear weapons capabilities to more states and substate actors
- 8 countries possess nuclear weapons (with 4 more acquiring then giving them up)
- 30+ countries have the technological ability to become nuclear weapons states
- 7 states are declared nuclear (8 with Israel as undeclared)
- Some say that nuclear weapons can have a steadying effect on regional stability
 - Kenneth Waltz “the presence of nuclear weapons makes states exceedingly cautious. Why fight if you can’t win much and might lose everything?” - multilateral nuclear peace
- If more decision makers have the option of using nuclear weapons, then they are more likely to be used
- Social and environmental costs are huge
- Several rationales may motivate state leaders to develop nuclear weapons:
 - They may want to acquire nuclear weapons for security reasons
 - State leaders may seek the prestige such a capability would bring: nuclear weapons are equated with modernization and development
 - The ability to become self-reliant when it comes to nuclear weapons
 - Isolation or ambition

- Influence of domestic politics: nuclear weapons may be acquired to advance the interests of domestic groups, industries, and bureaucracies
- Several steps must be taken to become a nuclear weapons state
 - Political will to develop the weapons
 - A country must acquire the knowledge base required to build the weapons
 - A country must build the nuclear, industrial, and manufacturing infrastructure required to build a bomb
 - The country must acquire fissile material-highly enriched uranium or plutonium-for the bomb
 - A bomb design must be adopted and a decision made to assemble and deploy the weapons
- Profile of the North Korean case has escalated dramatically
 - Began nuclear weapons program in 1964 and accelerated in 1980s
 - Suspected of producing plutonium for a nuclear bomb by early 1990s
 - Refused to permit an inspection of their nuclear facilities
- October 1994 Framework Agreement between U.S. and North Korea
 - North Korea agreed to stop nuclear weapons program
 - Give international inspector leave to enter
 - In return they would get assistance in building replacement reactors for civilian use and regular supplies of oil
- October 2002 – North Korea admitted having a program to enrich uranium for use in nuclear weapons – violation of Framework Agreement
- Trilateral meeting took place (U.S., China, North Korea) where North Korea admitted to having at least one nuclear weapon
- Substate and terrorist organizations may produce or acquire nuclear weapons
- Concern has increased by the concern of the security of weapons grade materials, technology, and warheads from the former Soviet Union and Russia

A Nuclear South Asia

- One of the most significant proliferation of nuclear weapons – May 1998
- 11-13th – India conducted five nuclear tests - first tested in 1974
- 20 and 30th – Pakistan made six tests – thought to have weapons since 1992
- U.S., Japan, Australia, Canada imposed sanctions on India and Pakistan
 - Neither country renounced its nuclear weapons program
- Nuclear deterrence did not stop after the Cold War – alive in South Asia
- February 20, 2000 – leaders of India and Pakistan launched first bus service between the two countries in 50 years
 - This showed desire for peace and avoid a nuclear war
- Summer of 2000 – increased tensions, possession of nuclear weapons may not prevent conflict between them
- Indian commentator “A country that has nearly half its population living in absolute poverty, that has an illiterate population more than 2.5 times that of Sub-Saharan Africa, that has more than half its children over the age of four living in malnourishment can never be a superpower.”
- To all other countries the tests seemed very inappropriate

The Proliferation of Chemical and Biological Weapons

- The medium through which the chemical or biological warfare agent reaches a human is the atmosphere, although they can be through water and surface contact
- Chemical weapons used extensively in WW1 and in China in WW2
- Iran-Iraq War (1980-88) chemical weapons used by Iraq and against Kurdish rebellion in northern Iraq
- 1995 nerve gas used by terrorists in the Tokyo subway system
- Why countries would want to acquire chemical or biological weapons
 - For the use on the battle field against unprotected opponents
 - Deterrent purposes
 - Compared to nuclear weapons, chemical and biological are inexpensive

The Proliferation of Conventional Weapons

- Conventional weapons responsible for majority of deaths in world wars since 1945
- The problem of the proliferation of conventional weapons
 - The legal international arms trade
 - The covert arms trade
 - The indigenous development and production of weapons
- Majority of arms trade is between industrialized countries to developing world
- Fall in arms sales after 1991
 - End of the Cold War and fall of Soviet Union (reduced availability)
 - Strained budgets in the South
 - Indigenous weapons production (less reliant on purchasing)
- Concern of the quality of weapons purchased – very best weapons for sale
- Concern over spread of ballistic missile capabilities – could be used to deliver nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons in various regional settings
- Competition – arms companies offering generous offset packages to potential buyers
 - Some permit permanent transfer of technology to the recipient country
 - Governments may assist their own arms industries by lifting export restriction on certain armaments
 - Governments may offer financing or credit to possible buyers to ensure a contract
- Weapons can use components and technology from many countries and corporations
- Why governments allow, encourage, help weapons manufactures sell abroad
 - Hard currency
 - Military hardware is a significant export
 - Jobs
 - Maintain manufacturing capability
 - Encouraging sales abroad may lower the unit cost of the weapon
- Covert trade in armaments is estimated at U.S.\$2 billion – U.S.\$10 billion per year
- During war in former Yugoslavia, despite UN arms embargo, U.S.\$2 billion + worth of arms was covertly shipped into the country in 1993 alone

- Indigenous production of weapons systems has occurred for a number of reasons
 - Developed technological infrastructure and expertise to manufacture more modern weapons
 - Manufactured certain weapons or parts under license and acquired production rights over time
 - Ability to produce modern weapons is indicator of expertise
- Worrying implications
 - Controls over proliferation will be difficult because many countries are producing their own and not buying from abroad
 - Growth of indigenous production means more countries producing for export increasing the number of producer states
- Concern over proliferation has led to creation of international efforts to control global spread of armaments

International Terrorism

- Have huge emotional impact
- Transnational security concern
- Terrorist attacks against U.S. on September 11, 2001
 - Thrown debates about terrorism and counterterrorism into sharp relief
 - Raised profile of international terrorism
- Terrorism in Canada is very rare
 - FLQ Crisis
 - Activities of Direct Action
- Terrorism used as weak, employed political instrument used to
 - Seeks to reject authority
 - Generate social change
 - Promote revolution or spread of far
- Terrorism has been used all throughout history
- No real definition for terrorism – because it is a politically charged work and is often used inappropriately for political purposes
- “One person’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter” – relative nature of term
- Walter Laqueur defines terrorism as “the substate application of violence or threatened violence intended to sow panic in a society, to weaken or even overthrow the incumbents, and to bring about political change”
- Cindy Combs defines terrorism as “a synthesis of war and theatre, a dramatization of the most proscribed kind of violence – that which is perpetrated on innocent victims – played before an audience in the hope of creating a mood of fear, for political purposes.”
- Suman Gupta says in cases of international terrorist acts “the motives and/or agencies and/or effects cross the boundaries of nation-states, and are not necessarily conducted at the behest of any nation-state.”
- State terrorism used within their own borders to prevent opposition
 - Campaigns often involve massive human rights violations
 - Has deep historical roots
- State-sponsored terrorism where government support is given to international terrorist individuals or groups

The Origins and Causes of Terrorism

- Studies suggest that terrorism can be explained by the following
- Individual Psychology
- Ideological Fanaticism
- Religious Fanaticism
- Grievance and Cycles of Violence
- Nationalism and Separatism
- Activist Fanaticism

September 11, 2001

- Box cutters and verbal threats used to hijack planes
- On board was one terrorist who had taken flight lessons in the U.S.
- Two of the aircrafts were crashed into the World Trade Center
- Third plane was crashed into the Pentagon
- Forth (believed to be intended to hit Capitol Building or White House) crashed into a field in Pennsylvania
- 3000+ were killed
- Attacks were the result of years of planning by small group of terrorists associated with Al-Qaeda
- The suspicion was laid on Al-Qaeda, they had bombed WTC in 1993, U.S. Embassies in Africa in 1998, and attack on U.S. warship in 2000
- Some of the terrorists had entered the U.S. legally on student visas
- September 17th, Osama Bin Laden was officially accused of planning the attacks
- Some blame was put on U.S. Intelligence for failure to observe signs of attack
- Bush Administration was too focused on Iraq, and failed to take Al-Qaeda seriously
- Anti-American sentiment was built on
 - U.S. support for Israel
 - U.S. assistance to repressive regimes in the Islamic world
 - Growing cultural influences of the United States
 - Reaction against Western modernization and globalization
- Recruited young volunteers for a perverse form of jihad or holy war against America and the West
- The Taliban had seized power over most of Afghanistan in 1997
 - Separated from the international community for harsh imposition of Islamic law and its treatment of women
- Bush Administration began war against Afghanistan on October 7, 2001
 - Had a lot of support, (e.g. From UN Security Council)
 - 33 countries offered military support, many others offered political support
- U.S. successfully overthrew the Taliban in November
- At the same time U.S. was waging battle to combat Al-Qaeda
- The Pakistan government supported Washington, although it was an unpopular decision in Pakistan (didn't support until U.S. sanctions on them were lifted)
- Patriot Act was passed – increased power of agencies to arrest and detain non-citizens, as well as the ability to use wiretaps and intercept e-mails.

- Despite damages to Al-Qaeda, it still survives as a more effective and impenetrable network (they have not lost their capability to act)
- These attacks show that Al-Qaeda is still capable of masterminding and executing terrorist attacks, and will be part of the international terrorist landscape for years to come

International Terrorism After September 11

- Don't focus overemphasize on the United States and Al-Qaeda
- There is a decreasing trend in the frequency of terrorist attacks in international terrorism per year
- Surged in 1980s to a peak of 665 incidents in 1987
- 2002 there were 199 terrorist incidents recorded
- There is some doubt as to whether international terrorism presents a significant threat to national and international security when compared with other security issues
- Characteristic of contemporary international terrorism is the growing link between different terrorist individuals and groups
- Audrey Kurth Cronin "the current wave of international terrorism, characterized by unpredictable and unprecedented threats from nonstate actors, not only is a reaction to globalization but is facilitated by it"
- Others argue "many of the most effective tools for dealing with the terrorist threat are themselves partly the production of globalization"
- Objectives of "postmodern terrorism" are not political; they are inspired by religious or cult beliefs or by racial hatred
 - These groups seem to be focused toward more indiscriminate killing
- There is also growing concern that terrorists have increasingly greater access to chemical, biological, or even nuclear weapons.
- Since September 11 terrorists have attacked nightclubs, street markets, civilian aircraft, embassy buildings, and train stations
- It is also possible that terrorists will turn to "weapons of mass disruption" by using "cyber attacks"

Combating Terrorism: Approaches and Methods

- Counter terrorism efforts can be successful
 - Effort to address root causes
 - Governments can employ military and/or police force against organizations or the states that sponsor their activities
 - Efforts can be made to reduce the vulnerability of a country and its people to terrorist attacks
 - Governments can seek to strengthen international cooperation on counterterrorism
 - The complex role that media plays in covering terrorist events

International Organized Crime

- "transnational organized crime" is now considered a serious global security issue

- December 2000 the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime was established
- October 2003 the UN Convention against Corruption was established
- Transnational crime has been identified as an international security issue for the following reasons
 - International criminal activity has escalated in terms of monetary scale and international scope
 - Organized crime has expanded into international banking, investment, finance, and business activity
 - Criminal organizations have become threats to governments
 - Criminal organizations can erode the social fabric of a country, undermining political authority and corrupting the economic and political leadership of states and their governments
 - In some countries, organized crime represents a threat to the conventional economy and the ability of the government to manage it
 - Worrisome indications exist that organized crime may be involved in the international sale of materials required for the production of WMD which has appeared in small quantities for sale in Europe
 - The distinction between organized crime and terrorist and revolutionary movements is blurring as terrorist and revolutionary organizations obtain funding from the sale of drugs and as governments funnel money from illegal arms sales to revolutionary militias
- Terrorist goals
 - The weakening of the state and social and political order
- Criminal organizations
 - Had an interest in economic stability so that they could pursue their business activities
- The lines between criminal organizations and terrorism are blurring
- As criminal organizations have become more international, the effort to fight them has involved greater cooperation and coordination of effort between countries
- In 2000 the United States committed U.S.\$1.3 billion to “Plan Columbia,” an effort to eliminate that country’s coca production

Conclusions

- The world is only significantly safer for people living in certain parts of the world
- Will more regions become increasingly stable and free of conflict, or will instability and violence spread?

Key Terms: Chapter 6

Self-determination: the claim that people have the right to self-rule

Warlords: authoritarian leaders of substate groups that are isolated from the will of their peoples and lack any checks or controls on their exercise of power

Long cycles: theory that hegemony rises and declines in regular patterns, which in turn influence the international economy and the outbreak of hegemonic wars

Golan Heights: contested territory adjacent to Israel, which has occupied it since the 1967 war

Communal Conflicts: wars that take place between communal groups of all types at the substate level

Ethnic Cleansing: the forced removal of an ethnic group from their area of residence using tactics that include executions, the destruction of homes, and rape to instill fear in the target population. In its ultimate form, genocide.

Weapons of Mass Destruction: nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, biological weapons

Conventional weapons: fixed-wing and rotary aircraft, naval vessels, missiles, armoured vehicles

Light or Small Arms Weapons: assault rifles, rocket propelled grenades, land mines

Proliferation: increase in numbers, grow or produce

Covert Arms Trade: underground arms market

Embargo: The refusal of one country or a group of countries to export goods to another, for punitive reasons. (Ex. American embargo on Cuba)

State Terrorism: the use of state power to terrorize civilians into compliance

State-Sponsored Terrorism: government support for terrorist individuals or groups to be acting abroad

Cruise Missiles: a missile, guided remotely, that can fly low enough to escape radar detection and can deliver conventional or nuclear warheads

Authoritarianism: Political system in which individual freedom is subordinate to the power of the state, concentrated in one leader or group that is not accountable to the people