

# The Impacts of the Upsurge of Terrorism to the Contemporary International Relations

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## Abstract

The upsurge of terrorism poses threats and insecurities to human existence. Terrorism is capable of paralyzing the foundations of modern governments. Terrorism poses alarming kind of violence and threat in the contemporary International Relations (IR). Perhaps if not properly handle is capable of eroding the interdependence nature of nation-states relations in the world. The paper sets out to identify and explain the factors and implications of terrorism in the contemporary IR. It argues that contemporary IR discourse predominantly subscribes to a prevailing global order that is overwhelmed by the complexities of post-international politics, interdependence and structural relations through globalization. The paper also emphasizes that, the upsurge of terrorism and media are linked together. The paper posit that, a terrorist act is not senseless, but a logical effective given certain political and psychological condition. The paper argued that, terrorism is goal-oriented, though could be corrected and also devastating and could be controlled. The paper concludes that, since all the military strategies used by United States government failed to curb the upsurges of terrorism, negotiation, reconciliation, comprehensive economic and social strategy and diplomacy are the ways out of the scourge.

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the cold war the IR as well as international security environment has become more complex. A number of issues have been added to traditional concerns in the field such as international terrorism, cross-border security threats, failed states, internal conflicts, and consequences for global inequalities, weapon proliferation and the emergency of new interventionist foreign policies. The catastrophic and aftermath of September 11, 2001 have been dramatic that motivated contemporary IR scholars and practitioners to conclude that, the world has entered an “*age of terrorism*”. Since then, the consciousness of terrorism has taken a quantum leap. Terrorism now looms as a new and menacing situation without end, calling for new approaches on many fronts including a new kind of preparedness and a new kind of struggle against it (Heywood, 2011; Mitchel and Smelser, 2002). The magnitude of the disaster of 9/11 brought to bear a general recognition that required urgent attention. Terrorism has acquired global reach, and its destructive potential has greatly increased (Heywood, 2011; Ovasogie, 2013; Tella and Akintola, 2013). The activity of contemporary terrorists as non-State actors is a challenge to the sovereign States. The upsurge of terrorism (after 9/11) and perception of global insecurity have resulted from the changing in the power structure and ideological configuration of the IR caused by the collapse of the entire deterrence regime as previously defined, that is norms, rules and procedures of international system of governance (i.e. traditional approaches to IR). Today, it is impossible to read news headlines without seen terrorism as public phenomenon. In other words, it is inconceivable to think of a public event- the premier leagues, world cup games, an economic summit, any official gathering without worrying about security and threat of terrorist activities globally. Therefore this paper aim to discuss the following; conceptual analysis of terrorism, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, theoretical framework of terrorism, methodology, causes of terrorism, implications of terrorism, counterterrorism strategies and the ways forward.

## 1.2 Stating the problem

Considering the topical nature of terrorism since the events of 9/11, the deluge of divergent interpretation, commentaries and projection is hardly surprising. The increase upsurges of terrorism in contemporary inter-states relations have seriously affected lives in global level. Perhaps if not properly handle might destroy the interdependence and interconnected nature of IR. Terrorist activities since 9/11 attack have call serious attention to tackle the menace. The implications of terrorists act ranges from failed state, economic development, territorial and sovereignty fragility. This explains why these are global phenomenon, and call for need to curb the menace collectively in the international level. However, IR as a field of study tries to explain and understand contemporary terrorism that apparently defies logic, rationality and ethics as well as most attempt to resolve certain or deter it (Mitchel and Smelser, 2002 emphasis added).

## 1.3 Objectives of the paper

The broad objective of this paper is to examine the implications of the upsurge of terrorism in the contemporary IR.

- (i) To examine the factors that encourages terrorism globally.

- (ii) To analyze the implications of terrorism in the contemporary IR.

#### 1.4 Theoretical framework

Act of terrorism are manifestations of unresolved conflicts and inability of global actors to overcome the challenges are reflection that the root cause(s) of the problems are not identified and therefore the correct mechanism could not be adopted to resolve it. Scholars and practitioners have propounded different theories and models to explain the prevalence of terrorism, but for the purpose of this paper, Rational Choice Theory is adopted. Rational choice theorists (sometimes positivists), take the position that there are actors which have “*preferences*” and “*interests*” that, they act accordingly to achieve them. This implies that, actors in International System do act rationally “NOT” in the sense of acting reasonably or good but they act in a “*goal-oriented*” manner. Their actions are input-rational not necessary output reasonable. The actors have fixed and mostly stated preferences (like survival, reproduction, resource accumulation, security/ protection, may be cognitive consistency) and act in a given situation to achieve their preferences (Segbers *et al*, 2006). The actors in international system are “*utility maximizers*”- they screen information at hand then arrange the available options hierarchically and accordingly. The terrorist’s activities to this school of thought are rational in nature owing to the facts that, the actors (terrorists) have a motives and payoffs targeted to execute in any of their missions. For example, Cuban missiles and 9/11 crises have motives. The Palestinian- Israeli conflict is also a good example. Why did the Palestinian leaders Arafat decided to support terrorism after the second intifada started although he opposed it in the beginning? And why did Israelis decide to reoccupy territory after they withdrawn earlier? Why Boko Haram of Nigeria despite of the proposed agreement to lay arms continued bombing today? The answer is that, they are rational actors with motives and goal-oriented. In addition, suicide terrorism is not senseless, but it is logical effective given certain political and psychological conditions (Robert Pape, 2005). Rational theorists assumed that, actors (terrorist groups) are atomistic, self-interested and rational in their pursuit. They are concerned primarily on the pursued of their motivated interest. The actors (terrorists) are rational capable of establishing the most effective and efficient ways to realize the interest within the environmental constraint they might encounter (Burchil *et al*, 2005:192).

#### 1.5 Methodology

The paper relies on secondary data, sourced from books, journals, articles, internet and reports of periodicals, and also employed descriptive analysis and critical analysis. Findings show that the rise terrorism is the central discourse of IR today.

#### 1.6 Conceptual Analysis of Terrorism

There is no universal definition of terrorism in all literature of terrorism. The concept is essentially contested among scholars and practitioners. This is because the meaning changes overtime, and it has greater rhetorical power but limited scientific precision (Gallie, 1956). Terrorism is ideologically contested and emotionally charged; some even refuse to use it on the ground that it either hopelessly vague or carries unhelp pejorative implications (White, 2003; Heywood, 2011). To be clear with that, Hoffman (1998) write that, “Few words so insidiously worked their ways into our every vocabulary. Most individuals have vague notion of what the term means, but cannot offer precise explanatory definitions”.

Scholars and practitioners have hung up in attempting to define terrorism in a way that distinguishes it from other criminal violence and even military actions. Complications aside, most people would agree that, terrorism is a subjective term with negative connotations, a pejorative term, used to describe the act of enemies or opponents. Terrorism is defined within social and political context. This is the reason that no single definition will ever be successful (White, 2003). The term has moral connotations and could be used to persuade others to adopt a particular viewpoint. For example, one man’s terrorist act is another man’s freedom (Rourke, 2005; Golstein in Tella and Akintola, 2013).

However, there are various definitions of terrorism which ranges from those that are quite simplistic to those that are equally comprehensive. Terrorism is violence for purpose of creating fears and anxiety to human beings. Terrorism is politically and socially motivated violence. It is a political violence against true democracies. Terrorism is a method of action by which an agent tends to tends to produce terror in order to impose his domination. Terrorism may be described as a strategy of violence designed to inspire terror within a particular segment of a given society. Terrorism is a systematic use of coercive intimidation, usually to service political ends (Mitchel and Smelser, 2002:26; Goodin in Heywood, 2011:283).

The United States department of state defined terrorism “as politically motivated violence perpetuated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents usually intended to influence an audience”. However, the violence or threat of violence inherent in terrorism is premediated and politically motivated for the purpose intimidating or coercing a government or the general public. The strategy of terrorism is to instilled fear and insecurity. Terrorism consist of carefully planned goals; means target, and access

conducted in a clandestine manner. The goal of terrorism is to focus on political, social and ideological or religious ends. Terrorism is an illegal use or threatened use of force or violence, an intent to coerce societies or government by inducing fear in their populations; typically with ideological and political motives and justification; an extra societal element either outside society in the case of domestic terrorism or foreign in the case of international terrorism (Mitchel and Smelser, 2002).

However, despite the various definitions of terrorism, there is a common consensus among scholars and practitioners that, terrorism is the premediated use or threat of use of extranormal violence or brutality by subnational group to obtain a political, religious or ideological objective through intimidation of a huge audience usually directly involved with the policy-making that terrorist seek to influence (Ender and Sandler, 2002). This definition is adopted in this paper, because it contain criteria assuming in the theoretical framework and definitions in the literature reviewed. Examples of terrorist groups includes; Hezbollah, Taliban, Al-shabaab, Al-Qaeda, Hamas and Palestinian liberation organization (PLO), ISIS and Boko Haram among others. Terrorism is not an ideology as anarchism as in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Rather, it is a tool or tactics, resorted to a particular way by the weak against the strong- weak individual, weak group and weak states. Terrorism is one of the most intractable global problems in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Terrorism is a socio-political disorder that has grown to the detriment of the international security system and global economy (Ogundiya and Amzat, 2008). Terrorist usually engage in asymmetrical conflict. They want to demonstrate a government's inability to protect people and government (White, 2003).

In its geographical perspective, the geography of terrorism is linked to specific failure lead to grievance and opportunity (Bahghat and Medina, 2013). Contemporary terrorism is often stateless and not territorial bounded. It operates in the form of territorially fluid networks that are relatively unreachable politically and diplomatically. Terrorist mentality and culture are rooted in absolutist, either or good – and evil world views, resist effort to negotiate because accommodation bargaining and mutually acceptable compromise are not envisioned as possibilities within terrorist mental framework. For example, a leading Islamic terrorist proclaimed that, “God does not negotiate or engaged in discussion”. And this is one of the reason why Nigeria's terrorist group (Boko Haram) and the leader of Hezbollah stated that, “we are not fighting so that enemy recognizes us and offer us something, we are fighting for seek of God and to wipe out enemy” (Mitchel and Smelser, 2002).

Terrorists usually employed techniques and strategies to achieve their motives such as: kidnapping, ambush, assassination, hijacking, skyjacking, hostage taking, radiological pollution and threats among others (Ogundiya and Amzat, 2008). There are various types of terrorism based on scholar's orientations. In their work, Ogundiya and Amzat (2008) adopted Wilkerson's typology of terrorism. They are: revolutionary terrorism, sub-revolutionary and repressive terrorism. Heywood (2011) also identified the following types of terrorism:

- ❖ *Insurrectionary* terrorism – this is aimed at the revolutionary overthrow of a 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 the USA and the 1995 sarin nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subway by the religious cult Aum Shinryko).
- ❖ *Nationalist* terrorism – this aims to overthrow colonial rule or occupation, often with the goal of gaining independence for an ethnic, religious national group (examples include the FLN in Algeria, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (commonly known as the 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 at transforming global civilizational relations (examples include al-Qaeda and other forms of Islamist terrorism).

Objectives of Terrorism are summed up as follows:

- Attract public attention to the group's grievances.
- Demonstrate inability of the state to provide security.
- Coerce the public into pressuring the states into compromise solution.
- Force the state into repressive reactions that serve to recruit new members and supporters.
- Attract international attention and encourage interventions.
- Promote widespread civil uprising to change the government or form a separate state etc (<http://www.globalfocus.org/Gf-terrorism.html>).

### 1.7 Causes and Factors that Precipitated for Terrorism

*“The differences between the revolutionary and terrorist lie in the cause for which each fights”* (Yassir Arafat 1929-2004).

There are several theories used in explaining the factor of terrorism in IR, although this factor varies from one society to another. Today, many argued that, poverty and social injustice are the causes of terrorism, while others debunked the argument, that some terrorist countries like Nigeria, Pakistan, Iraq, among others are

not that poor. Ogunديya and Amzat (2008), identified societal inequalities, political disenfranchisement, economic depression, geographical sphere both external and internal level as the causes of terrorism. They further identified these as factors that lead to terrorism: psychological factors (resulted from concrete grievances among groups in society, and frustration-aggression syndrome caused by relative deprivation e.g. Boko Haram terrorist group of Nigeria), Economic factors (from economic imbalance, inflation/poverty, which provide a breeding ground for terrorist activities), Socio-cultural factors (result from faith ginger violence for e.g. US policy in Middle East is labeled as Anti-Islam and US 9/11 attack notions), political factors ( this resulted to agitations from domination, oppression, deprivation and bad governance which provoked terrorist activities such as Boko Haram in Nigeria).

In another development, Rourke (2005) identified the following as causes of terrorism:

- (a) **System level:** This occurs from political violence as a product of global unequal distributions of wealth and the impact of globalization with westernize cultural dislocation.
- (b) **State level:** It implies that, US support of some states like Israel against Palestinian and US interest in Middle East evoked anger among world terrorist groups.
- (c) **Individual level:** The psychological drives of terrorist, for example, suicide bombers blown themselves to pieces to create fear to the public.

On the whole, it is obvious that all these factors are interwoven depending on scholar's orientation. However, for the purpose of the following are summed up as factors (theories) that cause terrorism:

**Relative Deprivation and Inequality:** The necessary precondition for violent civil conflict is perception of relative deprivation or inequality, which serves as the basic condition for participation in violence and can be defined as an actor's perception of discrepancy between the value expectations and their environment's apparent capabilities. Structured inequalities within countries are breeding grounds for violent political movements in general and terrorism specifically (Shafi, 2010).

**The Contagion Theory:** The occurrence of terrorism in one country often leads directly or indirectly to more terrorism in neighboring countries with the mechanics of the diffusion process.

Terrorists learn from one another, and new tactics are usually quickly emulated. Spillover across borders occurs in a variety of ways.

**Democratization:** It has been noted that totalitarian regimes rarely experience terrorism because of pervasive state control. Instead, states in democratic transition are more exposed to armed conflict and terrorism than democracies and autocracies. Increased democratization does not lead to a reduction in terrorism.

**Political Regime and Legitimacy:** Terrorism is known to be closely linked to a set of core legitimacy problems. Lack of continuity of the political system and a lack of integration of political fringes tend to encourage ideological terrorism. Ethnic diversity increases the potential for ethnic terrorism. A terrorist is more likely than a non terrorist to be an individual who sees politics as highly relevant. Usually a terrorist's aim is to call for radical change in the distribution of power in society or challenge the legitimacy of existing political and social elites.

**Poverty or Weakness of States:** Although not a root cause of terrorism, poverty is a social evil that should be fought for its own reasons. There is a broad consensus that there is only a weak and indirect relationship between poverty and terrorism. However, poor societies with weak state structures are much more exposed to civil wars and terrorism than wealthy countries because this cause is not addressed in developing nations as compared to developed nations.

**Occupation by Foreign Forces:** While terrorism in some cases is an armed conflict in its own right, terrorists' motivations are often rooted in ongoing or past wars in one way or another usually to end foreign occupation, which has given rise to many national liberation movements.

**Religion:** Most scholars agree that while religion has been a major factor in recent acts of terrorism, it is seldom the only one. Religious ideologies, goals, and motivations are often interwoven with those that are economical, social, and political. None of the religions actually teaches terrorism, as usually "political and economic grievances are primary causes or catalysts, and religion becomes a means to legitimate and mobilize" (Krueger, 2007; Mitchel and Smelser, 2002; Shafi, 2010 emphasis added).

Other major factors are: globalization, mass media, energy, technology and oil. These are the current factors influencing the upsurge of terrorism in contemporary IR. Relations of states are blend of historical economic, political, cultural, motivational and technological factors. Imperialism, colonialism and globalization often linked with upsurge of terrorism. For example, since the collapse of soviet bloc in 1990s, the world system has been called "American Hegemony". The role of US is paramount. The contemporary global mode is one of economic productivity (wealth) based on a superior, science-based technology. This influence is realized and exercise by the mechanism of trade among nations, capital and financial investment, and power in the international monetary system. There is also aspect of military domination but, this is primarily realized not through military conquest and administration of occupied territory, but through a technologically superior arsenal of weaponry, occasional wars and peacekeeping interventions and above all military intimidation.

Ideologically and culturally, the American also exports cultural materials value through media example is the availability of short-waves radio (very cheap that poor people can afford) services in the whole world. However, all these activities of the West sometimes send bad signal to the Eastern bloc (mostly the Muslims countries), which has implications on their state relations due to the ideological influence of the messages sent (Baylis, Smith, and Owens, 2009).

The level of rebellion is high today in the world due to ideological differences such as democracy, capitalism and secular modernization of the West and these usually lead to social unrest to Muslim world. Thus, globalization and media today is one the major causes of the upsurge of terrorism. Globalization is the “widening, deepening, and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness” Globalization has become the principal security threat in our contemporary IR, reflecting the fact that, in conditions of globalization, non-state actors (like terrorist groups) have gained important advantage over states ((McGrew, 2009; Heywood, 2011). For example, the ongoing progress of technologies and communication has maximized the capabilities and coordination of international terrorist groups, both for the planning of their operations and for the organization of their finances. Moreover, it also allows main terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda to spread their values and ideals, especially with their extensive use of the Internet. Globalization is then in a way helping shape the agenda of international terrorism. Modernization has introduced new risks, coming as consequences of globalization. Modern terrorism is a child of globalization because of border flows of people, goods technology, ideas and growth of political militancy.

### 1.8 Media and Terrorism

*“Without mass media, there can be no modern approach”.* (Jacques Ellul 1912-1994).

The traditional role of mass media is to inform, educate, entertain, and to “persuade” people. Media can bring changes in behaviour and attitude of the people by emphasizing certain issues. One of the most controversial topics of terrorism analysis is the way print and electronic media cover terrorist acts (White, 2003). The media played vital roles in it offensive and defensive act of terrorism today in the world most especially in the Middle East, although there are competitive school of thought about the roles of media in engineering conflicts. However, the linkage between media and terrorism is a propaganda, which leads men to actions either positively or negatively. There is an intuitive assumption that, as the media provides terrorist a natural platform from which to espouse their (often extremist) viewpoint, terrorist on the other hand, provides media with gripping images of violence. The media is a tool of terrorism and the interest of government. For example, media reports on terrorism after 9/11 degenerate into an irresponsible organ of patriotic propaganda in America news media, and the present roles of media on Nigeria’s insurgencies- where the government own media like Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) report differently with the private own channels. Even the report coming from Al-jazeera is totally contradicting about Boko Haram issues.

Significantly, using Game Theory of IR (strategy and rationality) to explain the relationship between the upsurge of terrorism and media, one will realized that, the western media tend to cover incidents due to their interest in the developing countries today. Only when large amount of fatalities are involved, incentivizing terrorists to commit high-fatality attack or when victims (countries) does not have crude oil and other economic endowment. Indeed, the frequency of stories of terrorism serves to highlight a public cognitive bias in which people perceive a connection and a probability because they hear about is so often, regardless of the reality of the situation (see Haque, 2010).

Media is seen today as “oxygen of terrorism”. Political leaders and media have promulgated such as strong connection between terrorism and those born in the Middle East, Arab and Islamic Fundamentalist that may assume only such people could commit such acts. For example, it was reported that, the US Time Magazine published photography where Muslim soldiers were performing prayers with guns; gun and prayers go together in fundamentalist ideology and battle as labeled by the West. This might escalate more conflict and send messages to all Muslim worlds to react violently (Haque, 2010). Indeed, American media is not driven by truth; it is driven by market domination, which leads to sensationalistic reporting. The press is ally to media, for example, PLO would not exist today if not media coverage and sympathy, which in turn the media make profit by reporting PLO violence (White, 2003).

More evidently, in a video message broadcast on the Arab Television Station, Al-jazeera on February 2003, Osama Bin Laden, pointed out that Nigeria (among other nations) is a country ripe for “liberation” by his followers; that Nigeria is a country worthy of Jihad (Karon, 2003 in Ogundiya, 2008). Again, the recent videos going around the world posted by the so called Leader of Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria about the kidnapping of chikbok girls, which attract other actors in the world. This message send to the world does not only motivate more terrorist acts but also affects relations among states in the world. Today, the failure intelligence security networks of both domestic and the international level is as a result of how information loaded on the system is been interpreted and reacted upon. However, today, trans-sovereign problems present difficulty for scholars and policy-makers to study IR comprehensively. The upsurge of terrorism have alter the

priorities of IR, the nature of regional politics driving purpose of US policy, the nature of international cleavages among others.

### 1.9 Implications of the rise of terrorism in the contemporary IR

Today humanity is facing the risk of being exterminated as a result of terrorism. The impacts of terrorism (though positive and negative) in contemporary IR have left behind inestimable damages to every facet of life globally. There is no gainsaying that, the rise of terrorism have slowed down international economic relations growth and development. Indeed, no investors would prefer to invest in a crisis ridden nations. The world now lives in fear like Hobessian theory of state of nature, “*where every man is against everyman*”. No country goes unaffected by the upsurge of terrorism, for the reason that, global community is interconnected and interdependence (Nimma, 2007). Terrorism threaten the viability of nation-states bringing about economic crises, political instability, a threat to tourism, energy-sector, civil-aviations, maritime, transportations (Oviasogie, 2013). In fact, terrorism is today considered to be the second most serious threat to global security after the fear of nuclear conflagration by or between superpowers in the international system. Terrorism is a huge threat all round world to the extent that, they influence global politics due to their financial and resources capabilities.

The Institute for Economic and Peace (IEP) released reports that, there is increased of deaths to 61% from 2013-2014 caused by terrorism globally (Naija.com- foreign news, 21<sup>st</sup> November, 2014). The Global Terrorism Index (GTI), reported that, there is rising from 11,133 in 2012 to 17,958 of deaths in 2013 and the numbers shows that, more than 80% of death occur in just five terrorist countries (i.e. Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Syria and), and accounted for the global figures going up daily (Global Terrorism Index GTI 2014). Indeed, contemporary theorists of IR argued that, the upsurge of terrorism is a signed of 4<sup>th</sup> world wars with catastrophic destruction of human existence. Given the tight political, financial and trade relations of contemporary world, where no country is an island, terrorist attack carried out in out in one state bring greater consequences in many other states. Terrorism as an act of violence have changed the history and geography of the world, and ripples of its effect have reached international politics, of world policies and the domestically controlled environment of many countries including security issues across the globe. The consequences of terrorist attack ranges from physical damages of infrastructure (example, bridges, buildings, electrical grids, communication system, computer networks, software etc), biological damages to people, animals, plants (causes epidemics, epizootics and epiphytic), environmental damages, psychological damages (example, panic, conflict, class warfare), economic disruption (example, suspension of trade, banking and supply etc) among others (Mitchel and Smelser, 2002). However, there are several implications of the upsurge of terrorism in the contemporary IR, but for the purpose of this paper the following are summed up as the major impacts of terrorism; Economic, Political, Psychological Repercussion and Foreign Policy.

**Political Impacts:** The upsurge of international terrorism is currently dominating IR as well as global politics due to it large impacts on the political systems. The upsurge is the aspects that are significant for strength/ failure of nations-states or the internal and external erosion of state capacity. Terrorism leads to problem of weak and failure of states today, such as Somalia, Afghanistan and Yemen, even Nigeria is moving towards collapsing. Terrorists have operated in many countries around the world. They have the capacities to strike any territory to destabilize domestic politics and promote their cause. Terrorist interfered in country’s sovereignty and makes eventual peace efforts in the country more difficult, if not impossible. Terrorist acts lead to erosion of civil liberties on national level and undermining sovereignty in the relations between state in the international system (Koechler, 2002). The post 9/11 environment has also relegated the Israeli/Palestinian to the back burner thereby to a freeze in the peace process and the result is the renewed cycle of violence and growing tension in the region having great implication on global security (Kwangha and Robert 2011). For example, the upsurge of terrorism poses serious dangers to Nigeria’s nascent democracy and economic development (Isayaku, 2013). Terrorism paves ways for vicious political violence in Nigeria, and lack of legitimacy of government in some countries in Middle East. Recent cross-national study shows that, terrorism affect voting behaviours and access to life satisfaction (William *et al*, 2012). Terrorist event could produce a rally effect among political parties (as the case of Nigeria) leading to more unified from across parties in opposition to terrorism demand. A conventional wisdom revealed that, it is unlikely that, general elections might not be conducted in about 3 states (Adamawa, Yobe and Borno) in the Northeastern parts of Nigeria due to the upsurge of terrorism, which it has international impacts of disenfranchisement and human rights abuse to citizen of the country. Indeed, Nigeria, the rise of terrorism ignites more conflicts in the domestic politics and ethno-regional problems.

**Foreign Relations Impacts:** One of the major features of the current conjecture in international politics and international security is the upsurge of terrorism on states relations. Terrorism has negative impacts on global security, which affect every nations of the world because of their interdependence and interconnected nature. It is true the foreign policies of different countries are changed due to international terrorism. Countries that help to expand international terrorism are ignored by the UN member’s countries.

Today, the upsurge of terrorism not only affected IR, but also influences foreign policy of many nations.

For example, the US reports from CIA, restricted its citizens to avoid travelling to terrorist countries including Nigeria. The failed attempt by a young Nigerian to US bound plane from Amsterdam on Christmas day, and the current bombings Boko Haram terrorist linked to Al-Qaeda impacted negatively in Nigeria's foreign relations (Isayaku, 2013). The upsurge of terrorist attack influences Nigeria's foreign relations, where foreign nationals had lost their lives due to bombings and hostage taking. The UN bombing which claimed the lives of 23 persons in Abuja Nigeria on the 26<sup>th</sup>, August, 2011, seriously affected Nigeria's relations to other nations in the globe. The killing of a British Mcmamus and his Italian counterpart, Franco Lamlingara by Nigerian terrorist attracted global condemnation and tarnished the image of Nigeria in the international politics (Adele, 2013).

Touched by the degree of insecurity that Nigeria experienced, the Nigerian government recently deported back about 7,000 illegal immigrant of it neighbor-Chad and Niger Republic. These affected not the relationship between those countries with Nigeria, but also create more suspicion among them. More to that, on the 25<sup>th</sup> November, 2014, it was reported that, the Cameroonian government forced to shut down about 130 of school in the northern parts of the country over Boko Haram insurgency of its neighbor Nigeria. Also the number of refugee migrated from Nigerian territory to Cameroon challenged its sovereign status. Thus, these has really influences their relations to other countries in the world (Naija.com foreign news, 25<sup>th</sup>, November, 2014). Indeed, the upsurge of terrorism in Nigeria and other terrorist countries have affected their bilateral and multilateral co-operations.

In another development, the wanton destruction of lives and properties prompted the UN secretary General- Ban Ki-moon to ask Nigerian government quell the Boko Haram terrorist attack. That the UN might suspend all nationals travels to Nigeria due to the insurgencies. For example, the closure of American and British consular in Nigeria due to possible attack has an international implications the multinational corporations and other foreign subsidiaries operating in Nigeria is at risk and they might vacate Nigeria due to terrorist attack (Ogundiya and Amzat, 2008). Recently, the US government list out about 27 countries whose citizens have to provide fingerprints and photographs before they can enter America. This has negative impacts to those states in its relations to the west. The US interest in Nigeria, the US in promoting conflicts in Iraq and other others in Middle East in 2003 affected the mode of IR today. For example, then US president Bush, enforce the destruction upon which the UN Security Council resolution 687 had agreed and Iraq's rejection to cooperate with the inspectors of UNMOVIC and IAEA which is to monitor the disarmament. This ugly situation led to 3<sup>rd</sup> gulf war and US led operation by bombing Baghdad from 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003- 9<sup>th</sup> April. However, this occur due to US notion on "war on terrorism", due to the consequences of 9/11 and internal legitimacy as well as geo-strategic economic interests example, the deposit of oil in the region. This alone really affects states relations in the world, and this is the reason why Al-Qaeda with its affiliates declared a global jihad against the US and its allies today (Segbers, *et al*, 2006; Wilkison, 2007).

**Psychological and Socio-cultural Impacts:** The trauma caused by terrorism on the world stage and the consequences thereof are incalculable. Indeed, international terrorism has become a nightmare. The upsurges of terrorism have posed serious bias and ideological beliefs in the minds of people. Example, terrorism usually centered on the ideological fundamentalist of jihad, and rejection of western principles. People are so dogmatized with the notion to persuade violence. Terrorism could be perceived as criminal acts in IR. That is irrespective of ideology, terrorist acts are considered by all civilized societies to be at odds with social, moral and common decency (Ogundiya and Amzat, 2008).

In their work, Mitchel and Smelser (2002) viewed that, regions that produce terrorist threat have notion on colonialism, economic and cultural penetration in accelerated process of globalization. Many contemporary terrorist ideologies single out American or the West political and economic policies as object of opposition. This imparts a distinctive political cast to contemporary IR and establishes other forms of international conflicts. The impact of such relations of states results to economic and political dislocations and creation of new values. Consequently, this dislocation leads to terrorist organizations revolting in trying to retain their traditional purity (Mitchel and Smelser, 2002:13).

Closely related to that, many leaders of Islamic states/world perceived the US as threat, due to its policies of globalization and hegemonic culture. On the other hand, Western world portrays Islam as its main enemy and the Muslim world as a hotbed of terrorism that threaten civilization and its democratic values. Although this paper debunked the idea of equating islam with terror, because terrorism is purposive and goal-oriented (Ogundiya and Amzat, 2008). Such image of linking Islam with terrorism is painted by the media, to motivate and aggravate more challenges to IR (Bruce, 2005, Khan, 2010). Muslim world sees the US promoting imperialism and hypocrisy by its aggressive use of force in toppling unfriendly regimes. For instance, the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan and the equivocal support of Israel (at the expenses of Palestinian people) have generated Ant-America sentiments on a global level. Thus, religious and cultural ideological and extremist believe from traditional enemies of the Western world and the Middle East countries, have impacted their hatred on the mindsets of the people (Ogundiya, 2009)

## Economic impacts

The upsurge of terrorism is a threat to global economy. The impact is both positive and negative in nature. On the positive side, terrorism create economic boom for defense related industries and private contractors. It creates business opportunity and profits. Today, terrorists group are richer than some national government in the world. For example, the International Business Time (2014) shows that, the money terrorist organizations get from robberies, kidnapping, drug trafficking, NGOs and even government organizations worth billions of dollars, and is about 1 quarter of world budgets. The study shows these figures; ISIS worth \$2000 million, Hamas Group worth \$1000 million, People's Army or FARC \$600 million, Hezbollah \$500 million, the Taliban group \$400 million, Al-Qaeda and its affiliates \$150 million, Lashkar e-Taiba \$100 million, A-Shabaah \$70 million, Real IRA \$50 million and Boko Haram \$25 million (International Business Time Index, 2014).

This above figure implies that, the financial strength of terrorist makes them goal-oriented and so powerful that governments hardly suppressed their actions globally. The negative side on the other hand, it is believed that, due to the upsurge of terrorism, international communities and societies have been badly touched. The 9/11 catastrophe has contributed to changing of IR. Terrorists attacks, whether domestic or international, causes economic repercussion of differing intensity. After the 9/11 attack, similar studies shown that, economically many industries had being bankrupted due to the global stock market and also the foreign cases of devalued of currencies. Terrorism affects leads to global inflation and depreciation of currency in home countries such as Nigeria. Higher levels of terrorism risk are associated with lower levels of net Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). In an integrated world economy, where investors are able to diversify their investments, terrorism may induce large movements of capital across countries. Smaller countries that face a persistent threat of terrorism may incur economic costs in the form of reduced investment and economic growth. It affects Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of countries that experience the upsurge.

Ye Threats of terrorism reflect in economic decline, unemployment, inability to pay salaries to workers, debt burden and poverty, frustration among the victims (Oviasogie, 2013). For example, Nigerian government recently took loan of 1 billion naira to fight terrorism while its citizen experienced hunger and stomach infrastructure development. The US government cost estimated by economist shows that they spent \$500 billion annually for countering terrorism and homeland security. Globalization and upsurge of terrorism toady integrate the economy into international finance capital through investment, short-term and long-term capital and international migration of skilled and unskilled labour, which result to international political economy crises (Chisti, 2002:227).

In Nigeria today, the rise of terrorism leads to under-production crises, where there is scarcity of food because the affected regions could not cultivate crops due to destruction of ecosystem (Oladimeji *et al*, 2012). On the whole the following could be deduced as summary of impacts of terrorism on economy:

- The increased upsurge of global terrorism looms as a major threat to regional development. Terrorist acts have imposed significant increased cost on all economies in the world.
- The immediate cost of terrorists acts including loss of lives, destruction of properties and depression of short-term economic activities are compounded by the costs associated with the continuing threat of terrorism.
- The upsurges of contemporary terrorism, unchecked creates uncertainty, reduces confidence and increases risk perceptions and risk premiums leading to lower rates of investment and lower economic growth. Terrorist act have disrupt international trade and the continuing threat of terrorism imposes cost on international trade.
- Due to regional and international economic linkages, terrorist events in one economy could impose significant cost on the other economies as result of interdependence of world systems.

### 1.9.1 Counterterrorism Strategies and Ways Forward

*"No amount of world military muscle or technologically prowess could erect an effective shield against the actions of desperate men"* (Camilleri, 2002).

The upsurge of terrorism in the contemporary IR has attracted international attention and encourages serious intervention to curb the menace. Unlike military threats, terrorists often do not have a conventional base or location and they may be particularly difficult to distinguish from the civilian population at large. However, various strategies have been adopted by both domestic and international actors to curtail the challenges. Scholars and practitioners provide various strategies to contain or reduced the scourge in the globe. For instance, Heywood (2011) suggested these as counterterrorism strategies: strengthening states security, military repression and political ideals. In their work, Ogundiya and Amzat (2008) are of the opinion that, preventive measures of tackling terrorism are both offensive and defensive. On it offensive method, it implies retaliatory raids and preemptive strikes (mostly by security forces). The defensive method on the other hand, entails the used of metal detectors at all airports and improvement of security network (such as border patrol).

The US government specific after 9/11 catastrophe have used various approaches and strategies to declare *"war on terrorism"*. Nigeria also played regional roles at the continental level through bilateral and

multilateral agreement. On the bilateral relations, the Nigerian government on February 2012 signed an agreement on trans-border security team with Cameroonian government to curb terrorism jointly. Nigeria and Niger Republic signed agreement for joint border patrol, and similar bilateral relations between Nigeria and Britain to fight terrorist attack following the UN building bombing at Abuja (Adele, 2013). Other countries signed similar bilateral relations with Nigeria include Italy, Germany and Israel. On the multilateral relations, many countries of the world had expressed their willingness to assist Nigerian government to curb the threat of terrorism. Nigerian president Jonathan recently attended an international conference in United Kingdom, in which members of the international community debated and assured to step in to check the growth of terrorism in Africa and Nigeria in particular ([www.news.bbc.co.uk](http://www.news.bbc.co.uk)).

However, despite of the above measures adopted to curb or contained the upsurge of terrorism, today the scourge is drastically increasing and is more sophisticated. This is because of the ideological believes between the two blocs. For example, there is this religious ideology believes that, anything from the West is declared unhealthy and capable of destroying indigenus values system and any attempt to counteract such ideology places the state as potential threat of terrorism. For instance, countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Iraq, and Nigeria faced the threat and the Israeli policy to Arabs justify this argument (Isayaku, 2013).

To this effect, despite the US declaration of Global War on Terrorism (GWOT), and lunched invasion of Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, terrorism still remained threat to global security. Indeed, some today portrayed the GWOT as clash of civilization, a war on Islam or modern day crusade. Critics argued that, GWOT of US affect UN collective security system, and threaten the sovereignty of weak states in the international system. As such, the states affected does not have alternative either to join the hegemonic US or declared “enemies of humanity” (Koechler, 2002). GWOT further strengthen the hegemonial role of US as if the world is a now uni-polar system. Indeed, GWOT of US is “desire for revenge” resulting form 9/11 tragedy. Preventive war of US is a medium of controlling natural resources of the affected countries, example Iraq with vast oil reserves (Koechler, 2002). At this juncture, this paper posits that, over-reliance on military response is counter-productive, and will only complicate and prolong an already difficult problem. This is because the current war on terror, military responses have so far failed to produce a significant success of this scourge, although the realist school would still emphasis on state power to crushed terrorist group.

However, this submit, as a proposition to be subjected to empirical scrutiny, that effective solution to counter terrorism should involved encouraging terrorist to abandon violence by drawing them into the process of negotiation, reconciliation, diplomacy, comprehensive economic and social strategy for sustainable development. For example, the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) and United Nations (UN) have roles to play in countering terrorism. They must as a matter of necessity call for open discussions between the West and Muslim world through various peace strategies. These are:

- ❖ **Recantation of Extremist Group:** Noam Chomsky rightly posited that, “everybody is worried about stopping terrorism. Well there is an easy way; stopping participating in it”. This approach suggest that, there is a consensus among counterterrorism experts that just as there are conditions, through which an individual becomes an extremist comes to renounce violence, leave a group or movement to negotiate or reject radical world view. For example, the attempt made by Nigerian government to negotiate with Boko Haram recently, though it failed.
- ❖ **Economic and Social Strategy for sustainable development:** it is argued that, “Drain the swamp and there will be no mosquitoes”. There is need for comprehensive socio-economic policy that is oriented towards a just and balanced international economic order to address the upsurge of terrorism globally. Measure for the alleviation of poverty and social injustices on the global scale should be provided and encouraged globally (Koechler, 2002).
- ❖ **Quest for Proper Education:** There is need for proper education and re-orientation campaigns for both the Muslim world and the West about the impacts of terror to human existence. This will help to dissociate their psychological thinking by equating religion with terrorism. Educating them will bring about greater social and societal changes in the Muslim in the Muslim world. Therefore, the goal should be advance Muslim countries through Islamic education system in combination with scientific intervention to meet up with the current trend of globalization.
- ❖ **Actions for both West and Muslim world:** Both Muslim world and West need to revisit their policies towards each other. Building support within civil society across the US –Muslim world divided is valuable to both communities in that it could strengthen international security through mutual understanding, and open communication channel that could be used to solve shared challenges. Indeed, Muslim-West dialogue is critical in today’s world because peace and stability are critical for economic growth and opportunity necessary to meet human needs in a sustainable fashion on a global scale (Shafi, 2010; Heywood, 2011 emphasis added). To the end, it obvious that terrorism is a war and extension of politics by other means. It goal-oriented, though could be corrected, and also devastating and could be controlled (Ogundiya and Amzat, 2008).

## Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is obvious that the upsurge of terrorism in all its ramifications is a serious threat to the international system. The upsurges of terrorism have seriously affects the interdependence and interconnected geographical location of the IR. The paper examined various concepts of terrorism and acknowledges it generic, vague and essentially contested nature among scholars and practitioners, and the concept despite of it various definitions has common comprehensive characteristics adopted by experts. The paper adopted the rational choice theory as a theoretical framework that could be used to explain terrorist actions and motives; that a terrorist act is not senseless, but a logical effective given certain political and psychological conditions. The paper argues that, there is a linkage between mass media, globalization and the upsurges of terrorism in IR. It identifies various factors that precipitated for the upsurge of terrorism ranging from poverty, unemployment, psychological repercussion, inequality and technology among others. It argues that, the impacts of terrorism are negative and positive, ranging from economic, political, foreign relations and socio-cultural among others. To address these implications, the paper argue that, in spite of the strategies used to curb the upsurge of terrorism by US after the 9/11 experiences and other regional efforts made by other nation-state, it proves counter-productive and ideological crusade. That the ways out is to embarked on negotiation, comprehensive economic, social strategy for sustainable development, reconciliation and diplomacy through open discussion globally. By doing this, the paper summit, as proposition subjected for empirical scrutiny, that recantation of terrorist group, proper education and actions by both Muslim world and West as the major strategies to curb the upsurge of terrorism in international system.

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