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Mundialization and terrorism: the society of the "global risk"

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Abstract: The violent acts which took place in some important cities of the world during the first years of the XXI Century have revealed that the mundialization process, which eliminates commercial barriers and achieves a spatial approach among the population, has also consequences like the generation of an uncertain "global fear" panorama before the most incomprehensible threat for humanity: terrorism.

Key words: imperialism, world hegemony, terrorism, mundialization, global risk.

Resumen: Los actos violentos ocurridos en algunas importantes ciudades del mundo en los primeros años del siglo XXI han revelado que el proceso de mundialización, que elimina barreras comerciales y logra una aproximación espacial entre la población, también tiene consecuencias como la generación de un panorama incierto de "temor mundial" ante la amenaza más incomprensible para la humanidad: el terrorismo.

Palabras clave: imperialismo, hegemonía mundial, terrorismo, mundialización, riesgo mundial.

Introduction

The terrorist attacks on New York, the United States of America, on September 11th 2001, on Madrid, Spain, on March 11th 2004, and on London, England, on July 07th 2005, just to mention the ones with a wider coverage of the global media and not leaving aside different cities from the Middle East which are also targets for violent actions (such as Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, India and Morocco), have terrified citizens in the world in the early XXI century.

From the perception of the Occidental World, terrorist attacks are done against innocent people, they normally involve the use of explosives in crowded places, with the aim to generate fear, apprehension and angst among population, and of diminishing support and consensus to the local governments. Recently —when violently attacked—, in some of the countries of the called Occidental World (the United States, Great Britain and Spain) there is an ideological tendency from the dominant bloc to condemn the actions performed by the terrorist groups which, according to them, come from the Muslim World. Such events, in North America and Europe, were immediately known all over the world due to the technology and the media which have erased borders and distances among the international community members.

The political, military and civil reactions condemning, combating or refusing the terrorist actions were quick to appear, even though "suspiciously" the military interventions carried out by the *global empire* in Iraq, Afghanistan and Lebanon were not the object of the same disapproval in the global media. The opinions, generally vague and inaccurate, make social scientists to start deep analyses on the facts for their full understanding. *Terrorism* forces to check the springs of the current imperialism, the modifications in the prevailing ideological discourse and to explain the impacts that to live in a world-system imply. As referred by Juan Cole in his article "Thinking again of 9/11" —Foreign Policy—: Iran and its influence on Syria and Lebanon, the relevance of oil in the Persian Gulf, the obstinate relation of Saudi Arabia with Egypt and the war unleashed by Israel in the south of Lebanon and in the Palestinian Territories. In the four stages the

drama is evident, the 9/11 attacks left untouched many of the subjacent left-wing forces and the tense relations persist in the international political sphere.

We found ourselves in a world where the traditional polarization keys —between capitalism and socialism, the frontal military fight and the mediation of the international organisms— which once were useful to explain and justify the prevailing world order in the end of the XX century, are no longer valid to understand the current international terrorism. "This kind of terrorist fight, that generates or relives racial or religious hatred, must be considered as counter-hegemonic to the occidental imperialism, where there is no possibility of solution; this implies that the XXI-century citizen must learn to live with it, in a global society", what the German Sociologist Ulrich Beck calls of the *global risk* (Beck, 2001: 5).

This article is organized in four sections: in the first one the intimate relation between imperialism and terrorism is revised by means of a comparative table; in the second section the characteristics of the traditional terrorism are stated; in the third part the early XXI-century terrorism characteristics are exposed; in the fourth section the terrorist motivations and effects —geopolitical, racial and religious— to transform the world in a society of risk are presented.

1. The new imperialism and terrorism

Imperialism is an international strategy of political control, exerted by the nations with the most economic or military power, with which they try to broaden their interests. The imperialist countries while trying to increase their economic, cultural or territorial influence attain domain upon the less powerful nations, whether by financial, commercial or military pressure. According to Lenin, "Historically, the capitalist countries in their eagerness to broaden their interests and influences, enter into world distribution phases, with violent actions of 'conquer, plunder and pillage', where only a fistful of 'advanced' countries share the loot" (Lenin, 1917: 2-8).

The occidental imperialism had its boom in the XIX and XX centuries; their main impellers: Great Britain and France appeared into the Islamic world and their influence was felt on the modification of the Muslim people

habits. Facing this military, economic and cultural invasion the religious leaders reacted; they saw in terror how their politicians were occidentalized and became vassals of the luxury, admirers of the occidental power, imitators of the European monarchs, religious corruption and indifference. The members of the religious hierarchy propitiated a social activism in order to dethrone their governors, betrayers of the Islam and to banish the occidental vices and influence.

Historically, imperialism has been present in the conformation of the world-system. Samir Amin points out that "imperialism is the permanent state of the capitalism", for the conquest of the planet is a constant in the development of the capital system.

> Such capitalist expansion process has experienced several phases, at first (mercantilist) its origin had to do with the conquer of America, which was followed by what Carl Marx called "the originative accumulation of capital", with the consequential final success of the capitalism over the old regime (feudal); the second moment (classic), developed from the XIX century and up to the XX century first half, with the colonization of Africa and Asia; and the third included the conflicts for the world's distribution in the First and Second World Wars (Amin, 2001: 8-10).

> In the two first imperialist phases, the competence was basically violent, where the wars were for the hegemonic control of a nation; at first this competence was among England, France and Holland and later among the United States, Germany and Japan. By the end of the XX century and the early XXI, a third wave of imperialist expansion is visualized, fueled by the fall of the communist bloc and the populist regimes of the developing countries (Amin, 2001: 12).

In this last wave, the one of the recent imperialism, the objectives of the dominating capital are still the same: the control of the market expansion, the plundering of the natural resources of the planet, and the overexploitation of the peripheral workforce reservoirs, although new conditions prevail and, in some aspects, in a very different way to those of the previous imperialism. As it is registered in Table 1, from the second half of the XX century and in the first years of the XXI, the struggle to control the natural resources contribute to produce conflicts in many countries.

TABLE 1
Fight for Natural Resources

Country	Duration of conflict	Resources
Afghanistan	1978-2001	Precious stones, opium
Angola	1975-2002	Oil, diamonds
Angola (Cabinda)	1975-	Oil
Cambodia	1978-1997	Wood, precious stones
Colombia	1984-	Oil, gold, cocaine
Congo, Rep. of the	1997	Oil
Congo, Dem. Rep. of the	1996-1997-1982-2002	Copper, coltan, diamonds, gold, cobalt
Indonesia, Aceh	1975	Natural gas
Indonesia, Papua	1969	Copper, gold
Liberia	1989-1996	Wood, diamonds, iron, palm tree oil, cacao, coffee, marihuana, rubber, gold
Morocco	1975-	Phosphate, oil
Myanmar	1949-	Wood, tin, precious stones, opium
Papua New Guinea	1988-1998	Copper, gold
Peru	1980-1995	Cocaine
Sierra Leona	1991-2000	Diamonds
Sudan	1983-2005	Oil

Source: Bannon and Collier (2003)

In the table it is observed that oil is one of the main resources involved in the conflicts in the world, developed, mainly, in countries from Africa, Middle East and South America; another group of resources, motive for conflict are the precious stones, diamonds, gold, copper, tin and cobalt; finally those linked to drug dealing, such as opium, marihuana and cocaine. In such exploitation, overexploitation and plundering process it is no secret that the beneficiaries are, at a lesser extent, the local groups of power, and at a greater extent the political and economic groups of the dominating countries, mainly the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, China and Japan.

"An interpretation of the new imperialism face, points out that this hegemony is not exercised by a single country but by a 'collective triad' (the United States, Europe and Japan), even though it is directed from

Washington, in a basically economic dominion, but also military and cultural" (Amin, 2001: 13). In such a way that the United States, Europe and Japan, with their interlinking of interests and aims, have succeeded in imposing a concatenation of the social distribution of power, configuring a new hegemony in the world system in the XXI century.

Samir Amin's argumentations allow us to directly link international terrorism to this new capitalist imperialism's phase. The author supports that the stages of a XXI century governed by the strict principles of the collective imperialism and the worldwide economic liberalism presented by, either the political framework defined by the United States' hegemony or the framework of a shared management of the triad, they will be, in both cases, unbearable for the peripheral countries.

The United States and its European and Japanese partners act in an integral way in the defense of their interests, with military and monopoly policies of commercial, financial, technological and cultural control; and that triad (altogether) represents the oppressive face of the international capitalism, in such sense, the "resistance" or "reaction" of the peripheral countries toward that bloc is directed, openly o symbolically, by means of the terrorist attacks, against all which means that new imperialism. It is from here that the "terror" deeds that happened in the previous years can answer to that historical logic of reactions against the new worldwide imperialism.

Another interpretation indicates that China and Russia are positioning, together with the great occidental countries, in the first places to control the rich oil deposits in the Middle East and to be, likewise, benefited from the big businesses done with the countries rich in natural resources. China is already recognized as a large economic power and Russia is speedily recovering from the failure of the "actual socialism"; but both countries search for a position in the recent world distribution.

From such interpretation, which lets us realize that there is a group of imperialist countries, it is acknowledged that China, the United States and Russia are aware of the enormous importance of the oil regions in the world, as the one in the Caspian Sea. "These countries like several occidental nations, by means of diverse mechanisms, try to secure their riches, the

United States through the control of the local governments, whereas China is preparing itself for an eventual belligerent confrontation starting a modernization plan of its army and financing terrorist groups, and Russia maintaining a strict policy in its Caspian territory, in Chechnya" (Mercado, 2005: 127-137).

The new imperialism under the "triad" control (the United States, Europe and Japan) or with the support of a variety of nations, no only from the Occident but also from the former socialist bloc, such as China and Russia, look for, basically by violent means and from a dominant approach, appropriating of the world's economic resources. Such violence form should, also be interpreted as *terror* forms implemented by the powerful nations upon the weaker ones.

Generally speaking, we visualize two strategies to impose goals and interests, that vary according to resources and action methods (see Table 2): the imperialism, in the frontal and open field, in the search of control of the world's resources; while the terrorism, from secrecy and informality, to coerce and intimidate those who detent the political-economic world dominion.

Table 2
Characterization of the imperialism and terrorism

Factors	Imperialism	Terrorism
Actors	Governments of countries or countries' blocs or regions with hegemonic interests.	Organizations, groups and individuals who declare representing the oppressed world.
Objectives	They look for the commercial, financial, technologic and cultural control of the world in order to consolidate or extend their interests.	Generate fear, terror and angst among the affected population and with this lessen the support and consensus of the countries in charge of their protection.
Means	Military intervention, expansion of markets, pillage of natural resources and over-exploitation of reservoirs of the world's work force.	Violent actions and attacks with explosives at crowded places, governmental institutions or national or international enterprises.

Source: Own elaboration

The imperialism is a *violent* practice, of oppression and exploitation of the countries with hegemonic interests, against the less favored; terrorism implies violence, but from groups or individuals who claim to represent a sector of the "oppressed" world against the interests of powerful nations. Both use violence for their ends, neither is justified because of the loss of lives in the world; however, the first one is considered legitimate whilst the second is condemned, since the first ones have the power on their side and control the media and so the public opinion worldwide.

The argumentation we hereby support has to do with that ambivalence that characterizes the mundialization; the following are the ideas:

1. Terrorism tends to move from the internal struggles of the National-States toward a war with no boundaries; but where the occidental countries' governments tend to protect their national spaces.

2. Even if the terrorist deeds have been interpreted as a fight between "Christians" and "Muslims", and between "Middle East" against "Occident", terrorism must not be considered only as a racial and cultural confrontation, but as a consequence of the historical development of the worldwide imperialism.

The means to argue are the historical events referred to the terrorism phenomenon and some classical conceptions such as: imperialism, Nation-State, globalization, and the redefinitions of the world's geopolitics.

2. Old-school traditional terrorism

Terrorism tries to generate, by means of violence, a state of terror, panic, fear and angst among the population. In the belligerent jargon, *terrorism* is considered as a non-conventional war form, not frontal, used by very small groups of people with scarce economic and military resources.

> Since terrorist groups do not posses the adequate belligerent resources to face a powerful and well armed enemy, then they appeal to surprise attacks not caring if innocent people die. [...] Their targets are: institutions (embassies, governmental or military offices), economic (banks, factories or commercial offices) or symbolic (monuments, means of transport and communication) (Horowitz, 1977: 54).

The terrorist groups know they are not able to militarily defeat their enemy, but create a condition of insecurity and chaos among population so that the support and credibility the government has is diminished. They do not search the government of a nation in particular, but indeed to generate a generalized feeling of fear and the idea, among the affected inhabitants, that the violent situation is unbearable and unendurable, causing confusion and conflict to those who have the power.

The specialists distinguish three traditional terrorism groups:

1. Terrorism based on nationalist motivations; such as the operations in Europe, the Palestinians and the Croatians.

2. Terrorism based on ethnical minorities of interests; such as the Basques, Corsicans and Irish.

3. The terrorism based on revolutionary, Marxists-Leninists, Maoists motivations; such as the Movement June 2nd, the revolutionary cells in Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy.

Fernando Reinares points out that a violent act is a terrorist one if the psychic impact it provokes in a society or in a sector of it, in terms of anxiety and fear, surpasses by far their material consequences, i.e., the physical damage intentionally inflicted to people or things. "Those who instigate or execute terrorism thereby try to condition the attitudes and behaviors of the governors and governed. [...] It is systematically and unpredictably committed, usually against targets with a symbolic relevance in their corresponding cultural or institutional environments (Reinares, 2005a: 1).

The shapes of terrorism are varied and have different ends; there are the ones which are inside a guerrilla-war panorama, with revolutionary characteristics and anti-systemic, as the ones in Latin America, Asia and Africa; there are others focused on internal conflicts of territorial autonomy, such as those developed by the Palestinian in Israel; the Irish revolutionary Army (IRA) in Ireland or the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) in Spain; even those who openly face the worldwide imperialism, their countries and their interests, as the ones which took place in the recent years in New York, Madrid and London. Since the attraction center on terrorism is its current manifestation, we will only refer to the last two sorts of terrorism, where

the debate on imperialism and the National States have acquired evident importance.

The sort of *terrorism* developed in the second half of the XX century had as main characteristics to be a problem enclosed to the *National States*, as it was seen on the Arab-Israelite conflict, ETA in Spain and the IRA in Great Britain, and in its international dimension to be a problem linked to the occidental interests and global imperialism (Europe and the United States).

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) fights for recovering the land that —since 1948— was assigned by the UN to the people of Israel, where the Palestinian were displaced and marginalized in their own land. Ever since the latter started to fight, by means of the terrorism, in order to recover their territory against the army of one of the most powerful military forces in the world, Israel, which have always had the United States support; "even if this is a Palestinian battle with the aim to have an own State, in the same way, it became a war between the Arab Countries and Israel, who represents the global imperialism" (Quintana, 1980: 92-135).

The separatist organization ETA, in Spain, fights an open war against the Spanish State. For it considers that Basque people must be autonomously and independently self-regulated and be a separate State.

> Their pressure strategy is the terrorism by means of setting bombs in different places of Spain, and thereby generating fear and unease among citizens, as well as pressuring the government in order to achieve their independence. […] Even if in the recent years the Spanish government and ETA started a process of political settlement, through dialogue, cease of attacks and integration of the Basque people to legal politics, the conflict has not been completely solved (Martínez, 2005: 48-51).

In Great Britain there was a terrorist group with similar demands: the IRA, which by using terrorist attacks seeks to coerce the British government in order to become independent from the United Kingdom (made up by England, Scotland Wales and Ireland). The IRA fight, which started in the 1970's, is to achieve the territorial independence of Ireland where, besides, there is a religious conflict between the South (protestant) and the North

(Catholic), and the well-know irreconcilable hatred spiral. "The Southern Ireland conflict is supported by the British government, which has the political and administrative control of the United Kingdom. […] Currently, the IRA is undergoing disarming and negotiation processes with the British government, but there is no certainty that this conflict has ended yet (Boix, 2005: 60-61).

In the three conflicts the racial and religious problems are present: Arabs against Jews in Israel, Basques in Spain, and Christians against Protestants in Ireland; in an identity and shaping-up unsolved situation of these Nation-States. From any angle they are seen, these conflicts are proper to a previous imperialist stage (the classic period), because what is involved is the appropriation and distribution of a land (in the three cases); but, in any case, by the present imperialist interests, as in the Middle East (with the Palestinian conflict), for in this region there are economic motives of global concern and importance (oil). In the Palestinian, Spanish and Irish cases there are terrorist acts with international implications, due to the interests involved, but with "nationalist terrorism and statism purposes" (Reinares, 2005a: 2). Here, it was sought to cause regime changes or political lineaments in each country, even pursue the appearance or disappearance of a State Entity, but with no global reach prospect.

3. The recent terrorist wave.

Terrorism is defined as the use of violence and threats to coerce or to intimidate, especially with political ends. These organizations, which respond to certain political-philosophic conceptions, can only progress at the extent in which their "message" allows them to indoctrinate and conquer new adepts to replace the eliminated terrorists. Because of this, it is important to analyze the ideological aspects of the supporting cultures. Generally speaking, suicidal terrorists tend to justify all the means to achieve their goals and to do not respect human life, even their own. They are "salvationists", i.e., in the hope of the "afterlife paradise", they sacrifice life in the name of death. Their lack of respect for human life makes them minimize the happiness that can be achieved by means of an ethical behavior. Salman Rushdie said: "They seem to believe in a divine authorization to

make terrorism and lynch people" and added from his Muslim perspective: "What kind of Islam those apostles of death have made and how important it is to have the courage to dissent from it!" These terrorist organizations in spite of being against a pluralist, liberal and tolerant life system use it in favor of their organizational ends.

Nowadays, terrorism compensates the vacuum the socialist bloc's disappearance left and it is one of the most intricate and complex problems we face as humankind. Terrorism has always existed, for where there is insurgency or a non-conformist attitude against the ruling State, this will discredit every action against its power. The single-polarity of the United States represents a danger for cultures, identities and customs of populations which live according to principles, statutes and ancestral heritages, inherited from their history and religion. From our point of view, terrorism against empires is nothing more than a desperate expression to preserve and keep safe the customs and identity before the overwhelming and degrading neoliberal capitalist globalization.

The last terrorist attacks on New York and Washington are a clear display of their ability in this respect. Dr. Samson L. Kwaje, commissioner for the Information in Sudan, commented that Islamic fundamentalism has as a mission that every single extremist Muslim expands the Islam by means of the force of the sword with the sole aim of to establish *The Umma* (The Community) in all of the Muslim countries and eventually in of the world by means of the International Islamic Jihad War. This is Allah's desire: the Islam's fundamentalists war —do not confound with the Muslim religion— against the rest of the world, including the non-fundamentalist Arab countries such as Egypt and Algeria.

The terrorist organizations of the International Islamic Jihad, which support the aforementioned theory, are numerous and virtually exist in every country in the world. The most well known are: Al-Qaeda, involved in the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, whose leader is Osama Bin Laden; in Khartoum, Sudan, in 1993 the International Fundamentalist Islamic Conference was organized and with Bin Laden's help some training fields for terrorist were established as well as a wide international investment network in the main European,

American and Australian capital cities; Gamaat The Islamite, from Egypt, organized with Al-Qaeda the failed assassination of the Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa in 1995; the organization Algerian Islamic Jihad; Hezbollah in Lebanon; the Palestinian Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, which assassinated hundred of civilians in Israel; terrorist groups under different names in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea (see Table 3).

There are also counterterrorist organizations as cruel as or even more than their counterparts such as the fearsome Israelite Mossad, the Central Intelligence Agency from the United States and the counterterrorist groups from England, France, Germany, Russia and Spain. In the global terrorism framework there is a wide variety of groups, some more well-known than others; such distinction comes from their actions' magnitude, from the impact they achieve in the international opinion, from the interest that exists where they attack and even, most of the time, from the importance the governments give them in the countries where they operate or where they are operated from.

As it is observed in the table, terrorist organizations shape up a heterogeneous group and have their origin in diverse world regions; however, it is obvious that the most of the groups were constituted in nations and regions where the struggle for control and natural resources exploitation are constant motives of conflict.

All of these terrorist groups operate as an international federation of autonomous entities. All in all, it is about a doctrine that gives religious, cultural or ethnic fanatics a sanctified death by means of the terrorist suicide.

The alterations in the victims are considered as acute psychic impacts induced by a terrorist attack and appear within the first four weeks, and some do not necessarily persist more than three months. If they persist beyond that period, they are typified as sequels.

The first reaction usually takes one of these three ways: incredulity or denial, the defense and tumult or the commotional shock. After one of these three instant reactions, or even if they are absent, the psychic alterations start, such as mental confusion, anxiety, psychomotor syndrome —represented by a movement agitation or an almost total paralyzation—,

and paranoid manifestations, expressed as mistrust or even hearing hallucinations. The representation of these disturbances, which affect conscience, affectivity, psychomotor activity and the mind, can be produced in a pure or associated way. Sometimes, they can even appear much later.

The clinical manifestations of the posttraumatic stress comprehends psychic symptoms, affective disorders, phobic terrors, irritability, changes in mood, avoiding any element which reminds them of the terrorist attack; cognitive disorders, lack of concentration and memory loss; disorders that affect sleep (insomnia), nourishment (anorexia, bulimia) and sexuality (lack of desire), headaches, dizziness, digestive disorders and hearth throbs.

The terrorist attacks cause extreme sufferings to those involved or affected. The innocent victims are lives destroyed by a violent deed, the loss of a single life can affect entire families, especially in the countries where there are not high economic resources. The families which lose a fundamental member for their economic support are affected sentimentally as well as in an economic way at the extent of hunger and poverty.

The victim's sort of reaction varies according to the psychological relation set in the circumstances of the attack. The role of four factors is fundamental: the individual's personality and his or her socio-familiar situation; the sort of terrorist attack, which causes the utmost stress expression in the survivors and the tortured, sequestered and wounded; the details of the terrorist attack, including the attack's time length, personal contact with the criminals, cruelty; and demographic data: the most intense reactions are always present in women and children.

The terrorist's personality is characterized by the occidental vision of a heavy socio pathological narcissism overload, crystallized as a combative fanaticism. All of the terrorists share a hyper-narcissism with fanatical ideals that can be individual or collective.

> This hyper-narcissistic radical reflected in the fanaticism integrated by an ideal regarded as sacred is very easily spread among the individuals, simply by means of the personal interrelations. […] We thus face a psychic relation with a partial character, since it is limited to the overvalued subjects, and an intermittent evolution, at the time linked to its own dynamic and to the stimulating influence of certain environmental factors, mainly the every day relationships with the partners (Sánchez, 2004: 7).

Table 3
Terrorist organizations in the beginning of the XXI century

No	NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION
1	Revolutionary Organization 17 November
2	Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)
3	Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)
4	Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigada
5	Ansar al-Islam (AI)
6	Armed Islamic Group (GIA)
7	Asbat al-Ansar
8	Aum Verdad Suprema (Aum), Aum Shinrikyo
9	Aleph
10	Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA)
11	Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army (CPP/NPA)
12	Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA)
13	Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (GI) (Islamic Group)
14	HAMAS Islamic Resistance Movement)
15	Harakat ul-Muyajidin (HUM)
16	Hizballah (Party of God)
17	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)
18	Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM) (Army of Mohammed)
19	Jemaah Islamiya Organization (JI)
20	Al- Jihad (Egyptian Islamic Jihad)
21	Kahane Chai (Kach)
22	Lashkar I Jhangvi (LJ)
23	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)
24	Libian Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG)
25	Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK)
26	National Liberation Army (NLA)
27	Kongra-Gel (KGK, formerly Kurdistan Worker's Party, also known as PKK, KADEK)
28	Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LT) (Army of the Righteous)
29	Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)
30	Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)
31	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)
32	PFLP-General Command
34	Al-Qa'ida
35	Real IRA
36	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (RAFC)
37	Revolutionary Nuclei (formerly ELA)
38	Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (RPLP/F)
39	Salafist Group for Call and Combat (SGCC)
40	Shinning Path (SP)
41	Tanzim Qa'idat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn (TQJBR)
42	United Self Defense Forces of Colombia (USDFC)
Other terrorist organizations:	
43	Al-Badhr Mujahedin (al-Badhr)
44	Al-Ittihad al-Islami (AIAI)
45	Alex Boncayao Brigade
46	Antiimperialist Territorial Nuclei (AITN) (Italy)
47	Cambodian Freedom Fighters (CFF)

48	India Communist Party (Maoist Party)
49	Nepal Communist Party (Maoist Party) / People's United Front)
50	Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda (DLFR)
51	Islamic Movement of Eastern Turkistan (IMET)
52	First of October Antifascist Resistance Group (GRAPO)
53	Harakat ul-Jihad-I-Islami (HUJI)
54	Harakat ul-Jihad-I-Islami/Bangladesh (HUJI-B)
55	Hizb-I Islami Gulbuddin (HIG)
56	Hizb ul-Mujahedin (HM)
57	Irish National Liberation Army (INLA)
58	Irish Republican Army (IRA)
59	Islamic Army of Aden (IAA)
60	Great Eastern Invaders
61	Islamic International Peacekeeping Brigade (IIPB)
62	Islamic Jihand Group (IJG)
63	Llamita ul-Mujahedin (JUM)
64	Japanese Red Army (JRA)
65	Kumpulan Mujahedin Malasia (KMM)
66	Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)
67	Loyal Voluntary Force (LVF)
68	Moroccan Combat Islamic Group (MCIG)
69	New Red Brigades / Communist Combat Party (RB / CCP)
70	The People Against Banditry and Drugs (PABD)
71	Red Hand Defenders (RHD)
72	Revolutionary Proletarian Initiative Nuclei (RPIN)
73	Revolutionary Fight (RF)
74	Riyadus-Salikhin Recognition and Sabotage Battalion of Chechen Martyrs (RSRSBCM)
75	Sipah-I-Sahaba/Pakistan (SSP)
76	Islamic Regiment for Special Purposes
77	Tunisian Combant Group (TCG)
78	Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (TARM)
79	Turkey Jizbola
80	Ulster Defense Association / Ulster Freedom Fighters (UDA/UFF)
81	Ulster Voluntary Force (UVF)
82	Unified Liberation Front of Asma (ULFA)

Source: Terrorist international organizations named by the U.S. Department of State if the United States, Washington D.C., 2005. <http://usinfo.state.gov/esp/Archive/2005/Apr/29-767751.html>.

To kill in order to create terror is only possible from the nonsense or unreasonableness of the fanaticism. Most of the terrorist organizations have an end to do their deeds, but they always apply a fanaticism dose. Psychiatrist Franco Farracuti, cited by RAND Corporation, analyzed the features of the terrorists and concluded that they normally show a good capacity to handle stress, ability to be organized in groups as well as capacity to spread propaganda with their ideological principles. And he distinguishes several characteristics in relation to the terrorists' personality: ambivalence about authority; poor and defective ideas; emotional separation in respect to their actions' consequences; disorders in sexual identity with uncertain roles; superstition, magic and stereotyped thoughts; destructivity and self destructivity; low education level; and weapons perception and adherence to values of a subculture of violence (Kellen, 1982: 15-16).

In respect to the impact on the victims, it is demonstrated that a disastrous intense experience, as a terrorist attack is, will drastically change their lives. The violent and unexpected terrorist attacks can leave grave physical and emotional wounds in the victims. U.S. Department of Justice points out that the people affected by terrorist attacks have certain rights important to mention: the right to preserve dignity and confidentiality, and to be treated justly and respectfully; the right to look for help from the federal forces in the case the victim is threaten or intimidated; the right to receive notifications of the judicial process; the right to attend to all of the public processes related to the crime, unless the court does not allow it; the right to consult the attorneys working in the case; the right to a restitution; and the right to receive information on the verdict of guilty, the sentence and imprisonment of the offender; Toward a regulation of the global terrorism (U.S. Department of Justice, 2005).

With the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001, their importance was over-dimensioned because of the impact on the country that leads the global imperialism (the United States), the times for global, postmodern and borderless terrorism are inaugurated; the age of Megaterrorism is born. In order to go to the deepest roots of the problem, terrorism must be divided into institutionalized and subversive. While the subversive terrorism tries to provoke collective terror states as means to fight against the established

power, the institutionalized one absorbed by the official structures, wants the annihilation the adversary.

Terrorist attacks on New York, Madrid and London, between 2001 and 2005, present new manifestations. The attacks are no longer executed under demands of territorial autonomy; i.e., inside a National State context. The new terrorism is realized by extremist groups against objectives that, due to their extensions and dimensions, have a global character.

> We are facing an international terrorism that in the fist place is practiced with the deliberate intention to affect the structure and distribution of power in entire regions of the planet or even at the scale of the world's society. Secondly, that kind of terrorism whose individual and collective actors have extended their activities across a number of countries or geopolitical areas, consequently with the reach of their declared aims (Reinares, 2005a: 1).

Global terrorism, that affects all of the zones in the world, nowadays has an Islamic orientation, constituted by the different armed groups all around the globe, linked directly or indirectly to Al-Qaeda. This organization with diverse entities associated in different parts of the world and self constituted numerous local groups shape up a complex multinational and multiethnic network (Reinares, 2005b:1-2), which has shown its ability to operate and direct its actions anywhere in the world, with a structure and an organization as complex as effective.

> What contributed to elucidate the Al-Qaeda's origins was a finding on March 19th, 2003, in the offices of the Benevolence International Foundation in Sarajevo, the Bosnian authorities found in one of the computers a file named (Tareekh Osama), which in Arabian means History of Osama. […] They found documents of the Al-Qaeda foundation, including photographs and scanned letters, even some actual ones by the hand of Osama Bin Laden. […] A document read: the only solution is the continuance of the Armed Jihad. There, it was described how the group had moved the fight started in Afghanistan to Chechnya, Bosnia, Sudan and Eritrea. […] There was an extraordinary international terrorist network in formation. […] A Koran verse was found —and spend of your substance in the cause of Allah—, followed by a list of 20 wealthy Saudi donors, known as the Chain of Gold. […] The

donors from the Chain of Gold are the quality of the Saudi industrial and mercantile elite, owners of the 16 of the one hundred biggest Saudi enterprises, with more than 85,000 million dollars in assets (Unger, 2004: 132).

An interpretation of the terrorism and Al-Qaeda —which the authors do not agree with— states that such violent deeds must be analyzed as a "struggle among civilizations", since the attacks on the United States, Spain and England were attributed to Islamic groups, such as Al-Qaeda, leaded by Osama Bin Laden, in which Moroccan, Pakistani Saudi and Afghan terrorist took part, who evidently had racial and religious motives.

With Samuel Huntington's idea on the *Civilizations Clash* (1997), it is said that in this modern and globalization age, the conflicts are no longer due to the world's distribution and in defense of the Nation-States, but among ethnical and religious groups. Even the cultural ingredient is present in the integration of the groups and individuals who executed the attacks on New York, Madrid and London, just assuming this is a war among civilizations would be to forget the capitalism historical development, to put aside the imperial tendency to dominate the world, and that a fistful of governments —the aforementioned triad— tries to impose their interests to the world. As an argumentation to debate the idea of the supposed civilization clash, it must be considered that the scenarios, modalities and targets of the recent global terrorism were presented inside the very Islamic world and not only in Occident (see Table 4).

Al-Qaeda's terrorist attacks executed in Occident have a lesser percentage than the ones that happened in Islamic nations. The answer is to be found in the fact that the struggle for economic and political interests is not only fought against the external enemy —the North American, European or Asiatic imperialism—, but also to preserve or to increase the political hegemony inside the Islamic world. "The attacks executed in the Arabic and Islamic regions intend to erode the legitimacy of some governments and to establish political regimes which share the same project —they say— as the Islamic world" (Reinares, 2005c: 5).

Table 4
International terrorist attacks in 2004

Countries	Frequency	Percentage
Afghanistan	71	38.0
Iraq	56	30.0
India	14	7.5
Saudi Arabia	13	7.0
Pakistan	9	4.8
Argelia	6	3.2
Philippines	5	2.7
Uzbekistan	4	2.1
Spain	3	1.6
Turkey	3	1.6
Indonesia	1	0.5
Egypt	1	0.5
Siria	1	0.5
Total	187	(100)

Geopolitical regions	Frequency	Percentage
Central and South Asia	98	52.4
Middle and Gula East	74	39.6
Magreb	6	3.2
Southeast Asia	6	3.2
Western Europe	3	1.6
Total	187	(100)

Source: Reinares (2005c: 4).

In the terrorist attacks of this early century we notice there are racial and religious elements and what is more, we also found political-economic causes in those who perform the violent deeds (Al-Qaeda), as well as from the governments of the nations where those attacks are directed to. On June 7th, 2006 in the evening in the city of Baquba, 65 kilometers to the north of Baghdad and as a result of an air raid, Al-Qaeda's second main leader in Iraq was killed: Abu Musab Al Zarqawi. Moments later Al-Qaeda declared: "the dead of our leader means life for us. […] It will only increase our resistance to continue with the holy war until the Word of God becomes supreme".

It is common to find in Bush's or Bliar's discourses ideas which draw the real attention of their objectives, focusing on ideological aspects and not on the interests they pursue. Their argumentations are the following: "Fanaticism belongs to the Islam; truth, kindness and beauty to Occident; and democracy, under any circumstances, overcomes all government forms ever to exist" (Segovia, 2005: 47).

Under democracy's ideological shelter, it is pretended to hide a terrorist offensive on behalf of the *imperialist triad*, with which it is sought to broaden their economic interests, mainly oil; the fuel that is the real objective of their intentions. To that "cause violence", the one of plundering and despoiling, there is a "violence effect" as a reaction. It is important to notice the dead in 2005—a myocardial infarct— of the former British minister Robin Cook some weeks later after having declared that the Iraqi dictator did not have any kind of mass destruction weapons nor was he a Bin Laden's ally, that Al-Qaeda was actually an invention of the occidental intelligence services in order to use them as an excuse and justification to develop their imperial strategies.

The English analyst Peter Lehr exposed the terrorism's ambivalence: the terrorist attacks as the ones in London and Madrid are the typical examples of what nowadays is known as "asymmetric war". These attacks are normally the weapon used by the weak; it is, by the movement which lack the force to face their (real or imaginary) enemy on a battlefield. The war against terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq is a good example of it; the allied forces, under the United States' direction as the last superpower, are in possession of an impressive arsenal on land, air and sea. In this way, any conventional campaign against this alliance, directed by the United States, would be useless and suicial. The only option available left for the staunch Iraqi Baatistas or the International Extremists Muslims is a terrorist campaign. Not only are the soldiers and emplacements the objectives nor are the terrorist limited to Afghanistan or Iraq, but the objectives are too often innocent civilians (hired workers in Baghdad, for instance, or tourists in Bali or citizens from Madrid or London).

The very Osama Bin Laden declared that terrorism is the most dreadful weapon of the modern age, since it attacks the psyche of the European and United States' citizens. […] Due to the unpredictable nature of this sort of attacks, the population as a whole experiences a fear and defenselessness feeling which progressively undermines their States' capacity to firmly react against the terrorists and their demands (Lehr, 2005: 2).

Beyond the debate that both kinds of terrors are condemnable, we must emphasize that apart from the cultural, religious and racial ingredients there

is in the background a clear logic of the development of the global imperialism.

4. Imperialism's reactions

A relevant aspect, indispensable to distinguish, is the high symbolism implicit in the terrorist attacks executed in the occidental cities, New York, Madrid and London, which had a large coverage in the media, closely linked to the globalization processes that we can find in the targets as the means used by the extremist groups.

For instance, in the United States the terrorist attack had a great impact, firstly because the most powerful military nation in the world had been vulnerable to this sort of attack; and secondly, because the most important terrorist attacks were executed on the World Trade Center Towers (WTC), the financial center of the world, which represented *modernity*, *progress* and *globalization*.

Separately, in Spain the attacks had on the one side, a political impact, for they made the Spanish Socialist Laboring Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE*) displace the conservative Aznar's government and the Popular Party (*Partido Popular*), with a clear anti-imperialist message, and as an Arabic response to the Spanish government support to the United States and their European allies, to the invasion in Afghanistan and Iraq; in the United Kingdom the anti-imperialist purposes were evident, since the historical alliance of the Prime Minister Tony Blair with the United States, in the military attacks on Libya, Iraq and Afghanistan. And on the other side, due to the coincidence of the attacks with the G-8 meeting.

In the United States, two men and a woman were designated by the President Bush to face the terrorist menace: Donald Rumsfeld in the Department of Defense, John Dimitri Negroponte as the CIA director and Condoleezza Rice in the Department of State. They are defining the imperial defense policy that includes a series of projects to be applied in the regional and international spheres, disarticulating the potential threats from the emergent nuclear weapons to the cybernetic surveillance of the dissident thinking.

The terrorist events of the XXI century which have, actually and in the collective imaginary, covered the whole world, have made us realize we are in a chaotic world in the middle of a hegemonic war. From the September 11th events the United States have carried out important changes in its army. Donald Rumsfeld stated that September 11th showed that the future still hides a lot of unknown dangers, and at our own risk and expense, we failed to be prepared at the moment of facing them. The new strategy of imperial defense will consist in six steps, according to the Pentagon strategists: 1. To protect the U.S. territory and our bases abroad. 2. To send forces to distant places and maintain them there. 3. To prevent our enemies from finding shelter. 4. To protect our information networks. 5. To use communication technologies to link the different U.S. forces types so that they can fight altogether. 6. Maintain without obstruction the space access and protect our resources in the space from any enemy attack.

> XXI century wars will require more frequently the concourse of all the elements of the national power: economic resources, diplomatic, financial, law and intelligence application. […] What this war taught us is that combat effectiveness will greatly depend on the combined operation, and that the diverse weapons of our armies will be able to communicate and to coordinate their efforts on the battlefield. […] But achieving the combined operation in times of war implies to build it in times of peace. Defending oneself against the terrorism and other emergent threats requires we take the war where the enemy is. […] The best defense, and sometimes the only one, is a good offensive. […] The enemies must understand we will use any means to our disposition to defeat them, and that we are wiling to do anything necessary to succeed. […] Transporting fast the U.S. Special Forces to the battlefield extraordinarily increases the effectiveness of an air campaign (Rumsfeld, 2002: 156).

The strategy of Bush and the Secretary of Defense was fundamentally to seize a neuralgic center: Iraq, as strategic piece in the Middle East; to make the decision to attack Iraq, violating and disregarding all the agreements that gave stability to the global legal system. And from the questioning and disobedience to the U.N. Council of Security, the entire world will potentially become an occupied territory. The occupation will be offensive with an

army of armed intervention. The countries can not defend themselves or complaint with an international legal instance. The United States reaffirms their Manifest Destiny: they will not allow the growing threat to their leadership. They snatch future's rationality disqualifying the rest of the nations as irrational, fundamentalist and nationalist.

There is a totalitarian discourse, and the one who questions or does not accept it is a terrorist and dangerous enemy subject to be eliminated. In this fight —according to Manifest Destiny—, the Good Lord will be with the United States. However, the United States face a series of threats to keep their hegemony and protagonist role in the world: 1. Neoliberal model exhaustion and the inequity stressed by the globalization in the world. 2. The appearance of intermediate powers that question its leadership. There is a new competitive bloc: Berlin, Peking, Tokyo; facing the Washington, London, Madrid one. There is a financial offensive leaded by: China, Japan and Germany, competing against the North American capital. Japan in the automotive market, China in textiles, and Germany appears as the second investor in Latin America, displacing the American capital. 4. It is foreseen that by the year 2020 the American influence areas will be displaced by Germany. We witness the shaping of new, eminently Europeans, multinational enterprise conglomerates: Aéreas, Chrysler, Mercedes. 5. Rising of the Social Democracy in the world. Out of 172 registered countries, 158 are Social Democratic. The third way, project supported in Europe, is achieving more legitimacy than the Neoliberalism. 6. In the monetary field the Euro strengthened against the American dollar. 7. Differently from America, in Europe a central bank was created that in financial matter is highly competitive. 8. In the knowledge sphere, per every 10,000 researchers in Europe there are ten in Latin America. The future of knowledge is European. The datum is relevant if we consider that there is no development without knowledge. 9. In the Asian environment, a spatial productive system is being developed. Facing this competitive stage, it is necessary to destabilize the rest of the blocs. 10. In front of the Muslim offensive it is necessary to defeat the Orthodox Christianity. 11. The growing political importance of the Latin minority in the United States compromises —the second most important population in demand of legalization in the United States— the

conservative position of the elite in power. 12. The current political and economic conjuncture at a global level is unfavorable for the United States in the next decades; this is why it must reverse the tendencies. Getting hold of Iraq it will have oil for the next three centuries.

The contradiction in this situation is that the United States, who claim to be the guarantors of the world order, defenders of the democracy and progress impellers, have unleashed a wave of military violence and interventionism in Afghanistan and Iraq, generating the same or stronger "terror" feeling among the population they say they help or protect. The media, belted to the globalization process, help at a great extent to distract the true objective of the global imperialism, and even of the groups or countries who execute any *terrorist deed*, that is the control, exploitation and overexploitation of the natural resources of the world, especially oil.

We should not put aside the United States stance before the conflict between Israel and Lebanon in 2006, where the reason of the fight against *Hezbollah* has revealed it supports state terrorism, since they have paid no attention to the excesses committed by Israel against Lebanon civilians. Even though such situation come as no surprise, for as Juan Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt explain: "Israel is not only supported by the United States due to its imperialist eagerness in the Middle East, but also the United States has been converted into an Israeli means to broaden the dominion and power of the latter in the region" (Mearsheimer, 2006).

5. Mundialization and global risk

In the different terrorist attacks which took place in the last years of the XX century and the beginning of the XXI, were used massive means of transport and communication, proper to the global technologic development: besides the remote-controlled explosives, the airplanes, underground trains, urban busses and cellular phones must be mentioned. With the mundialization process, we witness an acceleration of the scientific and technologic progress within the reach of a lot of sectors and regions in the world. In this process the terrorist groups are also benefited, since the armament and equipment they use are very modern.

> The weapons terrorist use are more sophisticated, less expensive and smaller, hence easier to camouflage; at the same time they use a wide variety of instruments, as satellite telephones and internet, which allow them to have constant contact at long distances and to make the operation at a transnational and even global levels easy (Avilés, 2003: 1).

The very U.S. intelligence organisms recognize that evidence, when point out: "In the end we are talking about following a network of terrorists. […] *A network can not fully work without technology.* […] They have to be able to transfer funds, to travel. *And they have to be able to communicate*" (Saxe-Fernández, 2001: 6).

The new-wave terrorism's objectives and ends have to do with a reaction to the current imperialism; but all the same, they are coherent with the modern and *global* times we are living, which shows a clear ambivalence: on the one side, it provides us with commodities and grants us access to all the available means and resources, and on the other, it makes us a global "risk" and "insecurity" society before unsolved problems and struggles for the world hegemony thus far unsolved.

International terrorism responds to a global violence situation with new characteristics, conventional wars are no longer among the States, but in the interior of them. It was already stated by Ulrich Beck: "the responses from the United States and its allies —in the year 2001 practically in all of the countries of the occidental culture— are generating a war that might not defeat terrorism, but feed it and increase it; and at the time that war will suppress important liberties, renew the protectionism and nationalism, and demonize the culturally different countries" (Beck, 2001: 2).

We should not minimize the fact that in the United States, Europe and many parts of the world there are fear manifestations towards immigrants. In several nations the problems of "national security" are already being debated, the borders being closed and the "world" citizens with Muslim characteristics or just to be seemingly "suspicious" are being pursued, arrested and harassed.

In a survey carried out by *Sofres*, as an assignment of *The German Marshall Fund* and the *Compagina di San Paolo* (in July 2003), in the United States and

eight European countries, in order to known about their fears, produced the following results: 1. International terrorism is considered an important or very important threat by the 96 percent of the Europeans and 96 percent of the North American. 2. A military conflict between Israel and its neighboring countries is considered as an important or very important threat by 87 percent of the Europeans and 82 percent of the North American. 3 the Islamic fundamentalism is considered as an important or very important threat by 85 percent of the Europeans and 83 percent of the North American. 4. The development of mass destruction weapons in Iran is considered as an important or very important threat by 84 percent of the Europeans and 83 percent of the North American. 5. The development of mass destruction weapons in Iraq is considered as an important or very important thread by 82 percent of the Europeans and 85 percent of the North American (Avilés, 2003: 3-4).

In the coincident aspect, and in a high percentage, is in relation that terrorism constitutes a grave threat for their populations. The percentage is very high if it is considered that the survey was carried out almost two years after the terrorist attacks on New York (September 2001) and the mournful events on London and Madrid had not taken place yet.

We face a conflict that, due to its imperial dimensions and not only cultural, do not seem to have a short term solution. One of the most visible consequences is the global angst. Everyone's question apparently is: When and where will be the next terrorist attack? Tokyo, Berlin, Paris, Rome or another city? Such situation has made the world's population live in a *permanent risk* environment, mainly because the "enemy" does not come from the outside but it is in the same society, it can even be a native from the country. The certainty that there are terrorist cells all over the world seems to indicate the phenomenon is getting broader, not a single country is safe from the violence which today the Occidental world suffers from.

Conclusions

The problem of global terrorism is complex and its real understanding is yet to be fulfilled. It is clear that in these lines we only discussed some ideas in relation to the phenomenon, in the way that current terrorism has a great correspondence with the global imperialism.

Against the idea, widely known, that the origin of the terrorist attacks is a "Civilizations Clash", we recognize that among the causes of terrorism there are, undoubtedly, cultural and religious aspects, but there are also violent reactions before the imperialism oppression, because of the recent struggle for the world hegemony and preservation or creation of new political and economic interests.

Terrorist attacks once reviewed force us to reconsider the National-State notion, as for nationalisms and territorial protectionism problems have come alive again. XXI international terrorism makes us revise the modernity and globalization's perverse consequences, as it is the spiral of violence of the ones above (imperialism) and the ones "below" (terrorism); where, the struggle to conquer miserable interests is the real motivation, whereas the usual victim is the global community.

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