

# 7. Understanding Terrorism in the context of Global Security

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**Abstract:**

Terrorism being a complex phenomenon, is an alarming kind of violence, threat, a method to combat or a strategy to achieve certain goals aiming to induce a state of fear in the victim, which is ruthless and does not confirm to humanitarian norms where publicity becomes an essential factor in the terrorist strategy indulging killing of innocent and destruction of much valuable property thereby creating wide panic and gripping the remotest part of the world. Thus, the fight against terrorism has not only become a primordial concern for all the nations but also for research study in the context of global security under the impact of globalization.

**Keywords:** Terrorism, Violence, Threat, Global Security, Globalization.

**Full Text:****Introduction:**

Any discussion on terrorism must begin with an attempt to define the phenomenon. As in the case with most questions in politics, the answer to the question what is terrorism are both numerous and controversial. The standard summary of this controversy asserts that "one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter" because terrorism is a highly charged political term used by most people to refer to political violence or any other political tactic of which they disapprove. Cooperation and conflict are the two essential features of mankind. While the former has produced the civilization, the latter has posed threat to the growth of human society. Terrorism is a complex phenomenon that is an alarming kind of violence, a method to combat or a strategy to achieve certain goals that its aim is to induce a state of fear in the victim, that it is ruthless and does not confirm to humanitarian norms and that publicity is an essential factor in the terrorist strategy. It indulges killing of innocent and destruction of much valuable property and thus to create wide panic which has gripped even the remotest part of the world. The irony of today's terrorism is that many of the developed countries are encouraging terrorist activities and at the same time they are subject of counter terrorist attacks. This paper basically seeks to that is an alarming kind of violence, a method to combat or a strategy to achieve certain goals that its aim is to induce a state of fear in the victim, that it is ruthless and does not confirm to humanitarian norms and that publicity is an essential factor in the terrorist strategy. It indulges killing of innocent and destruction of much valuable property and thus to create wide panic which has gripped even the remotest part of the world. Thus, the fight against terrorism became a priority for all the nations. This study further considers

the broader changes in the context of global security. It also emphasizes the impact of globalization on global security. It is concluded finally with the methods of dealing with terrorism as well as other risks in the twenty first century which requires international cooperation for global security. However, the response of the states to 9/11 terrorist attacks provides interesting points about the relationship between globalization and terrorism. In the *post-sovereign globalized world* the states remain as important agents of security. The strong states try to shape and master the impact of globalization on terrorism. Yet, home-land security gained importance.

The term terrorism often comes with a moral judgment. For example:- one definition is that “terrorism is the deliberate, systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear in order to gain political ends.....Terrorism is intrinsically evil, necessarily evil and wholly evil.”<sup>i</sup> The problem is then defining what are “evil” political ends? And what ends justify certain means. Since there is a usually considerable disagreement on what is moral, defining terrorism in moral terms becomes problematic. The French Resistance and the Polish Underground were labeled terrorist by Germany in World War II, but others would certainly disagree, believing that resistance against Nazi occupation was a moral cause. This is not to say that terrorist acts should not be held to moral and legal standards but that it becomes problematic if morality is part of the very definition of terrorism. Because of the moral judgment connected to the label “terrorism” defining groups as terrorist has become a tool that political actors use to undermine legitimacy of their enemies. “The political nature of determining under what circumstances a violent international political act should be considered terrorism is illustrated by US Department Official List of States supporting terrorism. With no objective criteria

for deciding when countries should be placed on or removed from the list, inclusion is a purely political decision.” Since September, 11 the tool to define enemies as terrorist have become more powerful. The term terrorism is then unfortunately related to the judgment of the morality of the actor’s objective and the political consequences of being labeled as terrorist.

Less judgmentally, Thomas Schelling points out that the dictionary defines the term as “the use of terror, violence and intimidation to achieve an end.” The CIA sponsored study has defined international terrorism as “ the threat or use of violence for political purposes when (i) such action is intended to influence the attitude and behavior of a target group wider than its immediate victim; and (ii) its ramifications transcend national boundaries.” The main problem with these definitions is that they are far too broad. They would include under the same rubric; an incredibly diverse array of phenomena. Accordingly to these definitions, terrorism includes more than the hijacking of air planes or the random machine gunning of people in airports. The bombing of civilian population in cities by both side in the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War; the invasion of Germany by Allied troops; the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the arrest and torture of political prisoners- would all qualify as terrorism according to these definitions. A more useful definition might stipulate that terrorism is “the use of violence for political purposes by non-governmental actors.” This definition, however, still remains broad for it would include attacks on states by revolutionaries or guerillas. Many are of the opinion that guerilla fighters, who restrict their target to the military forces of the government they are trying to overthrow, should not be labeled as terrorist. Indeed, of condemnation of terrorism is not denunciation of revolutionaries or guerillas. It is only a reiteration of the limits of violence that a civilized society is willing to permit.

It does not in any sense preclude the right to revolution which a recognized and protect right under international law.

### **TERRORISM: - IT'S HISTORY AND ORIGINS:**

It is easy to say the impression that terrorism is quite a recent phenomenon, almost entirely dependent on and so to a great extent a result of modern communications medium especially television. But terrorist acts were quite common even centuries ago. One analysis of 3 groups of religious terrorists that existed centuries ago – the Things (Hindu), the Assassin (Islamic), and the Zealots (Jewish) —makes it clear that terrorist activity on a significant scale has occurs at least since the days of the Roman Empire. Clearly terrorism is not a phenomenon produced solely by excessive attention from modern media. The Assassins for example did not need mass media to reach interested audiences, because their prominent victories were murdered in venerated places/ locations & royal courts, usually on holy days when many witnesses were present. In general the idea that terrorist operations require modern technology to be significant is a misconception. In the modern age of terrorism one analyst has identified four waves of terrorism. The 1st wave beginning at the end of the 19th centuries was characterized by anarchism as a motive & assassination as a method, including the assassination of the Austrian Arch Duke Sarajevo in 1914; that sparked World War I. The 2nd wave was primarily a reaction to decolonization after WW I & WW II & involved groups fighting for national self-determination. The 3rd wave came in response to the criticism of the US in Vietnam & Israel in the Middle-East. This wave was more trans-national in character & air-line hijacking was the most popular method used. Presumably the 4th wave, beginning with the Iranian revolution in 1979 & growing

significantly in the post cold war era, involves religion more directly as a motive or at least as recruitment tool.

Global terrorism in the 1980's was largely connected to Israel's invasion of Lebanon & US support for Israel & its involvement in the Lebanese civil war. The American embassy in Lebanon was bombed twice & the American embassy in Kuwait was also bombed. Furthermore the 1980's saw an increased involvement of states in 'supporting' or 'sponsoring' terrorism. There were reports for example that Libya maintained camps within its borders capable of training 5000 men at a time. Several terrorist training camps were located in Syria in the 1980's. And Iran was suspected of sponsoring several Islamic groups responsible for several terrorist attacks in the 1980's & the 1990's. States sponsorship of terrorism in 1980's was also connected to the Cold war rivalry between the US & the Soviet Union.<sup>2</sup> In 1984, one report claimed that "an even increasing flow of arms & ammunition, manufactured in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia & East Germany have been shift to the PLO via East Germany & Hungary." In addition the US has funneled millions of dollars in support of such "non-governmental perpetrators of violence for political purpose" (terrorist) as the rebels in Afghanistan & the controls in Central American. One disturbing result of this trend towards state supported terrorism is that terrorists acquire access to increasingly sophisticated military technology. Indeed there have numerous instances of terrorist attack in the recent past which provides proof that global politics has entered a new phase of terror. However some scholars would still like to argue in the light of the actual amount of suffering & death from international terrorism that it is perhaps an over emphasized phenomenon.

**Professor Jayantanuj Bandyopadhyay** refers to certain special features of international terrorism. He points out that "international terrorism is a form of

asymmetric war and terrorism boundaries become largely irrelevant for identifying and targeting the terrorists where many big terrorist groups may acquire chemical and biological weapons.” He further ascertains that “the roots of international terrorism are often embedded in perceived international injustices for which no democratic remedies are available in the prevailing international system”.<sup>ii</sup>

Terrorism may assume different forms:

- (i) State terrorism.
- (ii) Non-state terrorism.
- (iii) Ethno-nationalist terrorism.
- (iv) Militant terrorism.
- (v) Religious- fundamentalist terrorism.<sup>iii</sup>

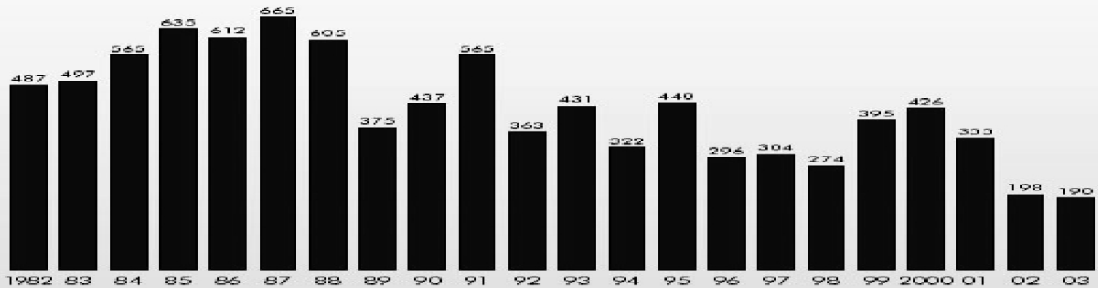
From the late 1960’s until the late 1980’s, trans-national terrorism was primarily motivated by nationalism, separatism, Marxist ideology, racism, nihilism and economic equality. Some argue that the current wave of modern terrorist activity is distinct because of its religious character. Indeed since the start of 1980 the number of terrorist, religious based groups (define as groups for while religious provides the dominant objective & who engage in terrorist acts) has increased as proportion of the active terrorist groups. Possible due to a worldwide growth of religious fundamentalism, some analysts view these more religious based groups as more dangerous than entire terrorist groups which wanted to win over the people and in so doing, did not want to leave massive casualties. Other scholars disagree with this viewpoint & argue that the current type of violence is not particularly new & not particularly related to religion. Islam for example: - strictly prohibits the targeting of innocent civilians, and Islamic theology cannot explain suicide as a method of terrorism. Clearly there is an endeavor on the part of the perpetrators & their supporters may twist religion to suit their ends.

After this detailed analysis of history and origin of terrorism, the issue that needs to be considered is the extent of terrorism. How much international terrorism has actually been conducted in the past quarter century? How many persons have been

injured? How has terrorism changed over the years? I examine these questions by distinguishing between conventional terrorism and terrorism involving weapons of mass destruction.

Conventional terrorism simply means that terrorists have essentially restricted their modus operandi to bombings, fire bombings, arson, armed attacks, kidnappings, and vandalism. In fact, the first three categories account for over 70 percent of all terrorist incidents from 1986 to 2003- bombings of various sorts are the preferred terrorist method of attack.<sup>iv</sup> The figure below illustrates the number of international incidents that has fluctuated over time, but within a fairly narrow range. Given the fact that these statistics cover the entire world at the relatively low number and in fact, the number of international incidents in 1998 was the lowest since 1971. Perhaps even more surprising, in 2002 international incidents were even lower than in 1998. So we seem to be faced with a paradox- just as the number of terrorist incidents drops to historical lows, terrorism has become a major international security concern.

**Total International Terrorist Attacks, 1982-2003**



In past years, serious violence by Palestinians against other Palestinians in the occupied territories was included in the database of worldwide international terrorist incidents because Palestinians are considered stateless people. This resulted in such incidents being treated differently from intraethnic violence in other parts of the world. In 1989, as a result of further review of the nature of intra-Palestinian violence, such violence stopped being included in the US Government's statistical database on international terrorism. The figures shown above for the years 1984 through 1988 have been revised to exclude intra-Palestinian violence, thus making the database consistent.

Investigations into terrorist incidents sometimes yield evidence that necessitates a change in the information previously held true (such as whether the incident fits the definition of international terrorism, which group or state sponsor was responsible, or the number of victims killed or injured). As a result of these adjustments, the statistics given in this report may vary slightly from numbers cited in previous reports.

FIGURE: 1 SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE (2004). PATTERNS OF GLOBAL TERRORISM, 2003.





One reason terrorism is proclaimed a top global security concern is that in recent years it has been coupled with another global security priority- the proliferation of nuclear, biological, chemical, and radiological (or “dirty bomb”) **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. Newspaper reports and Hollywood movies have highlighted the dangers posed by “nuclear leakage” from the erstwhile Soviet Union and fears as to where such material and scientific expertise may end up. It is bad enough if material falls into the hands of renegade states, but worse if terrorists get their hands on it. States have to fear retaliation should they employ such weapons. A small band of terrorists, however, might feel much more confident that they would be difficult to locate in raising the specter of terrorist use of nuclear weapons dates from the 1970s. Looking back, such studies are oddly reassuring. Utilizing the rational actor model associated with realist thinkers, it was assumed by analysts that terrorists recognized that the employment of such weapons was counterproductive in achieving political objectives and gaining public support for one’s cause. As noted by Brian Jenkins, “terrorists want a lot of people watching, not a lot of people dead.”<sup>v</sup> Such reasoning can be extended to the use of chemical and biological weapons.

## **TERRORISM’S CHALLENGE TO THE STATE SYSTEM AND GLOBAL SECURITY UNDER GLOBALISATION**

Along with MNCs and NGOs terrorist groups today represent another significant actor outside the authority of states. If the ‘new terrorism’ is indeed new and based, in good measure, on the identification with religion then terrorist action represents a challenge to the state- sovereignty system. In fact the use of terrorism implies an attempt to delegitimize the concept of sovereignty and even the structure of the state system itself. The gradual transition at the end in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is getting away from direct state sponsorship of terrorism and towards more amorphous groups is a politically dangerous development. Obviously states are far from helpless, but in an increasingly globalised international environment, the traditional state-centric of responding is such a threat will not work and may even be counter-productive.

While globalization and international terrorism are matters of growing concern for the governments since the 1980s, they are also among the main topics

dominating the study of international relations. Both topics has been discussed separately so widely both scholarly and in public, but as indicated by **Cha** there has been less studies together on security and globalization<sup>vi</sup> though security is a well developed field. Nevertheless, as stated by **Hughes** we should be cautious in applying globalization to the topic of security, since “there is a risk on various side of the debate on engaging in a *securitization* (politics of making a political issue a security issue) <sup>vii</sup> exercise” without deeper analysis or understanding.<sup>viii</sup>

What is globalization? Globalization may be defined as an integration of economic, social and cultural relations across borders.<sup>ix</sup> Today, many articles have gone beyond simply restating basic arguments about economic globalization and discuss political globalization and security globalization.<sup>x</sup> As **Kay** states, “globalization is best understood as the creation of a variety of trans-boundary mechanisms for interaction that affect and reflect the acceleration of economic, political and security interdependence.”<sup>xi</sup>

With its economic, political and cultural dimensions, globalization has significant effects on the state. **Ian Clark** says, “Globalization also needs to be understood as a number of changes within state, and not simply as a range of external forces set against it.”<sup>xii</sup> In despite of the decline of nation-state<sup>xiii</sup>, continued strength of the state is also visible and effective in the international arena. Moreover, “globalization is more significant for its erosion of the internal/external divide than for its erosion of state capacity.”<sup>xiv</sup>

In the post-cold war era, we are tempted to replace the East-West divide by ‘fragmentation versus globalization’ division, where globalization is viewed as good and fragmentation as evil. However, both **Guehenno** and **Clark** mention that these two concepts are linked to each other and co-exist rather than in opposition.<sup>xv</sup> Furthermore, economic, military and political globalization and fragmentation are observable within the states as well as between the states.<sup>xvi</sup>

Looking to the security side of the globalization analysis, security became so complex and multi-dimensional, traditional national border-setting type of security perception is not capable of recognizing new threats that transcend the national borders. In this context, international terrorism became one of the main concerns with its highly complicated characteristics.<sup>xvii</sup> Thus; globalized world has to face an

immediate threat: international terrorism. This problem has been recognized not only by one nation, but also in the era of globalization when the nations became much more connected and interdependent, it became a threat to international security. Some of the states have witnessed terrorist threats since many years. Nevertheless, though these states have already known the pains of terrorism, it became more a concern of many other states with September 11, 2001 (9/11) terrorist attacks in the United States. This a turning point for all the nations to see the threat of terrorism. Almost a new awareness has started, because everybody saw its damages while a lot of people have died or injured, and unfortunately while terrorist declared their success. Terrorism became the main topic on the top agenda for many nations and institutions. September 11 gave a message that the target was the main leader of globalization, the United States. The World Trade Center as one target in the United States symbolized economic dimension of globalization, while Pentagon symbolized the political and military dimension. In other words, terrorism has put globalization among its targets.

Globalization of transformation, communication, information, technology and economy catalyze some of the dangers such as global warming, ozone depletion, acid rain, environmental problems as well as terrorism. The danger of terrorism is clearly seen in the **September 11** terrorist attacks. **Cha** also, indicates that as the scope of threats are widening with globalization, the targets are becoming individuals rather than the states.<sup>xviii</sup> It is undauntedly connected with contemporary terrorism. In particular, technologies have improved the capability of groups and cells in the following areas: proselytizing, coordination, security, mobility, and lethality.<sup>xix</sup> Technology as one engine of globalization has been a tool that terrorist groups have need to their advantage. And the backlash against globalization has advantage terrorists as it is fuelled by a resistance to unjust economic globalization and to a western culture deemed threatening to local religions & culture.

A major threat in the age of globalization in this connection is the evolution of terrorism, especially the WMD terrorism. It is not possible to apply the traditional deterrence strategy against this threat because of its non-territorial nature, so the pre-emptive or the preventive strategy is preferred.<sup>xx</sup> Especially the difficulty lies in

evaluating the precise effects of globalization on the global security, because of the fact that the impact of globalization varies from region to region and is determined to a large extent by the state's capacity to adapt to change and thus to meet the specific challenges presented by the process of globalization.<sup>xxi</sup> Thus, it is not easy to generalize stabilizing or destabilizing effects of globalization on the international security. Nevertheless, one of the challenges posed by globalization is that individual states can no longer control the movement of technology and information. Furthermore, since the arms industry mostly held by private sectors, it causes the trans-nationalization of defense production and reduces the state control over these productions.

Second, in the age of globalization, the emergence of information based-economies reduces the importance of national industries. For example, the increased foreign direct investment in local economies by the multinational companies decreases the state control on domestic economy and makes them more vulnerable to international crisis and intervention, which is threatening their economic security.<sup>xxii</sup> The states are more sensitive to security and military developments in other regions due to increasing financial, trade and economic relations.<sup>xxiii</sup> The advancement of communication technologies created vital effects on certain dynamics. For example, during the **Kosovo conflict**, after the broadcasting of mass deportation and casualties on the television broadcasts, the conflicts became impossible to ignore creating international public pressure for intervention. On the other hand, this might be also dangerous in some cases; as **Kay** states if there is control on the information and media technology, powerless can become powerful.<sup>xxiv</sup> Globalization process widened the support for terrorism. As globalization created negative consequences and marginalization of some groups and global social and economic inequalities, terrorism gained more support from many marginalized people in different nations, and became more global. As stated by **Kronin** frustrated populations are against the US-led globalization.<sup>xxv</sup> Terrorism thus, under the impact of globalization has rippled in world politics, adding an altogether new dimension in the study of international relations in particular to security studies, threatens the state system and the global security as a whole. The largest international organization (UN) responsible for maintaining global peace and security views it as

the biggest threat to mankind, which may upset the maintenance of global peace in our times and pose a serious challenge in safeguarding human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world.

### **Conclusion:**

### **METHODS OF DEALING WITH TERRORISM**

Most analysts of terrorism agree that it is impressive to prevent terrorist attacks. Yet intelligence does work at times, a series of millennium plots including a plan to bomb the Los Angeles airport were foiled in December 1999. Overall, however, prevention is extremely difficult and some anti-terrorism measures can in fact be counter-productive.

Many fear that military attacks such as those on Afghanistan in 1998 and 2001 against terrorist groups can be counterproductive: "If the terrorists are militarily destroyed, the legitimacy of their cause may still exist & even become stronger depending on how the operation is perceived. Dramatic cruise missile attacks for example play into the mindset of developing countries and even of some US allies, affirming the belief that the US is too powerful, takes too many unilateral actions and has too much sway in world. The ironic result is an overall increase in political sympathy for the terrorists or their cause."

Along this line of thinking many argue that it is the US forcing policy in Afghanistan after the war against Saddam Hussain's in Iraq after the war against Saddam Hussain's regime that is most critical to its anti-terrorist goals. If Afghanistan for example falls from the international agenda and reverts back into economic despair & civil war, it once again may provide sanctuary for terrorists & it will serve as an example to those who oppose US politics.

In this relation, another approach in dealing with terrorism is to address the grievances of the terrorists. Many of the most spectacular terrorist incidents especially those involving American & Israeli's have been carried out by Palestinians or groups sympathetic to Palestinians, providing Palestinians with some relief from their currently stateless condition might deprive at least some terrorist organizations of an important source of volunteers for their plans and projects. This was presumably one motive behind the signing of the Oslo Peace Agreement in 1993, but the process of implementing this agreement was accompanied by and

perhaps even provoked several terrorist incidents in the decade that followed. Beyond addressing specific grievances, in the Middle East, a broader strategy may be appropriate : “Much more needs to be done to create a peaceful & stable world order; the major powers must not only co-operate in the fight against terrorism, but also deal with its root causes... we are locked in a struggle for ideas & beliefs that demands greater attention be paid to such issues as poverty, trans-national crime the proliferation of weapon of mass destruction and the spread of regional conflict. A robust global economy is a condition sine qua non for the battle against terrorism. By destroying a root cause of frustration-manly grinding poverty- a healthy economy denies terrorists a fresh source of recruits. In the current security environment, the focus has shifted from state territorial security to broader and deeper security dimensions and towards global security interdependence. Only military means for addressing security threats and challenges is increasingly perceived to be ineffective. Today, terrorism has a strong transnational dimension. As recognized by the US, NATO and the EU there is need for global action to address this threat.

Let us conclude by drawing a comparison on the recent measures taken as a response to global terrorism. The states have decided to take actions against terrorists and their supporters. International cooperation is emphasized in combating terrorism. However, we found out that the response of the US emphasized preponderance of US power, especially military power and preemptive strike.

Similarly after 9/11, the fight against terrorism became a priority for all the European Union member states. As the European Security Strategy makes clear, the European Union cannot ignore danger of terrorism and the proliferation of WMD. The European Union is committed to jointly combating terrorism. They have supported the key role of the UN and full implementation of UN conventions on terrorism. They seek an effective multilateral response to these threats.

We cannot be sure if all these developments will foster peace or not. There is a global effort to combat terrorism. However, as some analysts point out there is declining support on war on terror due to unilateralist tendencies of the US policies. Moreover, homeland security gains importance while the threat of terrorism

increases. As stated by **Kay**, nation-state is vital for defense against asymmetric challenges (mainly international terrorism) for homeland security.<sup>xxvi</sup> Nations prefer to fight with terrorism abroad and not face it in their homeland. They try to increase border controls and transportation. Thus, there is cost of getting security for individual freedom.

The response of states to 9/11 terrorist attacks also provides interesting points about the relation between globalization and terrorism. In the *post-sovereign globalised world* states remain as important agents of security and try to shape the impact of globalization process on terrorism. In other words, although globalization generates security problems, the strong states try to shape and master its impact on terrorism.

Finally, we have to emphasize that content of terrorism has changed and became more challenging with its changing content of global terror that affects directly or indirectly to more countries in the global village. There should be a universal fight with global terrorism. Furthermore as **Kaldor, Held and Mc Grew and Beck** advice, there is a need for cosmopolitan approach in the worldwide struggle against global terror in the 21<sup>st</sup> century- where all human beings will have equal moral respect and concern, pushing towards extended governance by international law and towards the common acceptance of international human rights standards.<sup>xxvii</sup> As a last but not least, the emphasis on national sovereignty and the reluctance of states to be involved when the threat did not seem to be in their homeland would jeopardize the cooperation among states. What will make all of us secure are the collective activities that are directed against the new threats such as global terror.

Due to new characteristics of terrorism, and its relations with globalization, the terrorist threats require a complex response of transnational cooperation. As **Cha and Beck** indicates cooperation is necessary not only between the traditional allies but many nations such as Russia, NATO and the EU.<sup>xxviii</sup> Today terrorists also use the positive points of globalization for their actions. For example, they can easily spread the fear around the world through media. They use globalization of transformation, communication, information, technology and finance.<sup>xxix</sup> Global terror as well as other risks requires transnational cooperation, because the states cannot deal with these threats through sovereign means.<sup>xxx</sup> The new threats cannot be conducted by

old measures, generally what is known as neo-realist premises. The old state-centric approaches that place main emphasis on military in order to have national security have become insufficient. Though states remain as important agents of security, they have to cooperate in the *post-sovereign globalized world*. The traditional security is not irrelevant but has to expand.

The use, or threat of use, of violence by an individual or a group, whether acting for or in opposition to established authority, when such action is designed to create extreme anxiety and/or fear-inducing effects in a target group larger than the immediate victims with the purpose of coercing that group into acceding to the political demands of the perpetrators. And while it is not a major cause of human suffering it does have an effect beyond the immediate suffering it does cause due to its malicious and random nature and the targeting of symbolic buildings for political goals leading to fear in the populace. Security is “the alleviation of threats to cherished values; especially those which, if left unchecked threaten the survival of a particular referent object in the near future.” and since terrorism does fall with this definition terrorism is a real threat to security but it is not the most serious threat to the security of western states.<sup>xxxii</sup>

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