Terrorism

Until the 1990s, terrorism was widely considered to be a security concern of the second order. However, the events of 11 Sept 2001 changed this dramatically, encouraging a major reappraisal of the nature and significance of terrorism. Terrorism is by no means a modern phenomenon. The term 'terrorist', nevertheless derives from the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror 14 1793-94. This witnessed a wave of mass executions, carried out by the Jacobins under the leadership of Robespierre, in which up to 40,000 alleged 'enemies of the revolution' lost their lives.

In the post-1945 period, terrorism generally had a nationalist orientation. During the 1940s and 1950s it was associated with third world anticolonial struggles in Africa, Asia and the Middle East later being taken up by national liberation movements. The sep 11 attacks on New York and washington convinced many people that terrorism had been reborn in a new and more dangerous form, leading some to conclude that it had become the principal threat to international peace and security. The central feature of terrorism is that it is a form of political violence that aims to achieve its objectives through creating a climate of fear and apprehension. Terrorism, therefore, often takes the form of seemingly indiscriminate attacks on civilian targets, although attacks on symbols of power and prestige and the kidnapping or murder of prominent businessmen, senior government officials and political leaders are usually also

viewed as acts of terrorism. Terrorism shares more in common with guerrilla warfare. Both are examples of asymmetrical warfare in which tactics and and strategies are adopted specifically to compensate for an enemy's greater technological, economic and (conventional) military strength.

The concept of 'new' terrorism, suggesting that there has been a revolutionary change in the nature of terrorism, predates the sept 11 attacks, interest in it being stimulated by events such as the 1995 Aum Shinrikyo attack on the Tokyo subway system and the 1997 massacre in Luxor, Egypt which left 62 tourists dead. Traditional terrorists tend to employ military-style command and control structures, new terrorists tend to operate within more diffuse and amorphous international networks of loosely connected cells and support networks. Al-Qaeda for instance is often portrayed more as an idea than as an organization, its network of cells being so loosely organized that it has has been seen as a form of 'leaderless jihad'. Although Islamist terrorism has been portrayed as a ninilistic movement or as a manifestation of religious revivalism, it is better understood as a violent response to political conditions and crises that have found expression in a politico-religious ideology.

The birth of what is sometimes classified as 'international' terrorism is often traced back to the advent of aeroplane hijackings in the late 1960s carried out by groups such

as the PLO. However, the development of terrorism into a genuinely transnational, if not global, phenomenon is generally associated with the advance of globalization. Modern terrorism is sometimes, therefore portrayed as a child of globalization.

Al-Qaeda's goals are transnational if not civilizational, it seeks to purify and regenerate Muslim society at large, both by overthrowing 'apostate' Muslim leaders and by expelling western and particularly US influence and in engaging in a larger struggle against the moral corruption of what it sees as western 'crusaders'. Moreover, it has been associated with terrorist attacks in states as disparate as Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Kenya, the USA, Spain and the UK and has cells or affiliate organisations across the world. There is no doubt that the terrorist attacks on the USA in sept 2001 were events of profound significance. The assaults on the world Trade centre, the Pentagon and the crash of United Airlines flight 93, believed to be heading for the white House, resulted in the deaths of around 3000 people, making this the most costly terrorist attack in history. Its impact was all the greater because its targets were respectively symbols of global financial power, global military power and global political power. The psycho-emotional impact of sept 11 on the USA has only been matched by Pearl Harbour in 1941, both incidents destroying the myth of US invulnerability. In the late evening of 12 october 2002, three bombs were detonated on the Idonesian island of Bali. The militant Islamist

group, Jemaah Islamiah (JI) was widely linked to the attacks. The Bali bombings also had significant international repercussions, for Indonesia and Australia in particular. The USA put considerable pressure on Indonesia to crack down on militant Islamist groups in the country. However, as the largest Muslim country in the world Indonesia was reluctant to be seen to be acting under pressure from the USA or other western states. The Australian reaction to the Bali bombings was nevertheless less equivocal.

Modern terrorism has sometimes been dubbed 'catastrophic terrorism' or 'hyper-terrorism'. Terrorism is a clandestine activity, often carried out by small groups or even lone individuals who unlike regular armies, go to considerable lengths to be indistinguishable from the civilian population. Such difficulties have nevertheless been greatly exaggerated by the advent of new terrorist tactics, notably the growth of suicide terrorism. This contributes to the idea that although it may be possible to reduce the likelihood of terrorist attacks, the threat can never eradicated.

Effective solutions to terrorism have usually involved encouraging terrorists to abandon violence by drawing them into a process of negotiation and diplomacy. Although such an approach has sometimes worked in the case of nationalist terrorism, it has been seen as an example of appeasement and as inappropriate to dealing with Islamist terrorism. Key counter-terrorism strategies include the strengthening of state security, the use of military repression

and political acts. State security and military approaches have often been counter-productive and have provoked deep controversy about the proper balance between freedom and security.

Although disagreements still exist over how best to deal with terrorism philosophically, pragmatically the largest problems reside in locating terrorists and isolating them from their means of support. Locating and identifying terrorists is a tedious and time-consuming process that requires collecting, assessing and analysing information collected from a range of sources.

Migration

Migration refers to individuals or groups moving from one place to another typically across geographical boundaries. The movement of populations across international borders in recent years, especially from developing to developed countries and between developing countries, is ~~that~~ having a significant impact on international relations. Almost daily there are reports in the press of conflicts between states involving population movements: a Vietnamese offensive in Kampuchea results in a new movement of refugees to the Thai border; Israelis, secretly working with the Sudanese and others, transport Ethiopian Jews to Israel, soon followed by an Ethiopian protest that their citizens have been abducted; Tamils from northern Sri Lanka flee to India and Tamil secessionists call upon India to invade Sri Lanka, likening their situation to that of Bangladesh in 1971; and relations between Nigeria and Ghana are strained when the Nigerian government announces that 700,000 migrant workers must immediately leave.

Migration is caused by push factors (issues that would make one want to leave one's home state, such as hunger or war) and pull factors (elements that would attract one to a foreign state, such as safety or an employment opportunity) when these push-pull factors are weighed up by a particular individual and occur together with an available opportunity or a means to move, they result in people moving from one state to another.

This can be temporary or permanent. There are different types of migration such as:

a) Internal Migration: moving within a state, country or continent.

b) External Migration: moving to a different state, country or continent.

c) Voluntary Migration: those who could have stayed, albeit sometimes with difficulty, but decided to move abroad

d) Forced Migration: it involves movements of people displaced by war, conflict or oppression.

e) Economic Migration: moving from one region to another, seeking an improved standard of living. job opportunities etc

From a macro perspective, this economic view of migration, which is apparently built on an understanding of individual agency, locates the universal human being within the global supply and demand for labour in universal markets, in which countries with more work, higher wages and fewer workers attract workers from countries with lower wages and less work. Push/pull theories of migration thus support a politically liberal view, positing the notion that if left to work naturally (relying on the actions and choices of the rational individual) then the open migration market should achieve its own equilibrium, as the poorer move to richer countries and the crowded move to less populated areas.

New economic and dual/segmented

labour market theories are refinements of rational-choice economic theories explaining the process of movement. Dual/segmented labour market theories refer to the dualistic or segmented nature of economies in the developed world. Here it is assumed that the majority of work (the primary labour market) is secure, regular and well-paid, but the nature of the way in which these economies works means that, from time to time, there are bouts of temporary, or seasonal insecure and less well-paid work. These jobs, in what is known here as the secondary labour market, often need filling at short notice, tend to be avoided by locals because of their insecure nature, and thus, attract temporary labour from abroad. The theoretical explanation for migration in this case gives causal primacy to markets, albeit these are assumed to act through the rational choice of actors. The approach is uncritical, simplistic and politically liberal: industrial economies are portrayed as having an 'insatiable thirst for cheap labour' while migrants are portrayed as free to exploit destinations for their own short-term gain. The approach ignores the fact that migrant-labourers often tend to settle and to 'segment' into long-term insecure and low-paid work. It also overlooks the fact that many migrants move on their own initiative and create jobs that would not otherwise exist.

      In world systems theory the world itself can be viewed critically as a single capitalist system in which poorer nations, the periphery provide a constant supply of cheap labour to support the powerful and wealthy nations at the

core of the system. By Drawing from Marxist political economy, it emphasises global inequalities and views migration as a central feature contributing to the perpetuation of the system. It is not in opposition to the push/pull approach, but rather takes a critical and global view to explain the actions of individuals from a structural perspective. Here, migration is just another element in the domination of the third world and works in hand in hand with military and economic control.

  Castles and Miller contend that inter-disciplinary research should be employed by migration scholars to examine the role of both social structures and individual actions, as well as the intermediate level of agents and inter-mediaries in the decision-making processes and the outcomes of migration. But rather than develop a macro-theoretical framework for understanding these complex processes, they suggest that complexity is framed within migration systems or networks. Migration systems and networks theory thus acknowledges that moves tend to cluster, can be circular and take shape within wider contexts and systems.

  It was often assumed that migration was a threat to the purported cultural homogeneity and thus, the stability of the nation state and migration was theorised in terms of assimilation and ~~adaption~~ adaptation on the part of the migrant. Clearly, the assumption was that the migrant should be doing the adapting and assimilating, not the previously settled community. Assimilation as a term comes with a great

degree of baggage and it is difficult to use it without at least appearing to make value judgements. As time passed governments and policy makers became accustomed to the idea their migrants might settle permanently and that it is more morally acceptable as well as practically achievable to ~~see~~ accept and tolerate difference. Migration scholars began to examine processes of settlement with reference to multi-culturalism as a theoretical tool to aid empirical and critical research. Theoretical treatises analyse the extent to which groups can exist side by side retaining some elements of their distinct cultures, while sharing the same rights and responsibilities studies also critically examine the role of multi-culturalism in identity, social cohesion and conflict scholars are developing new concepts and frameworks with which to understand non-linear, circular and temporary flows and they are including diverse types of migrant such as affluent migrants and asylum seeking migration. Transnationalism is a relatively new concept that is used to enable the theorising of processes that travel back and forth across borders and between and beyond nation states. Transnationalism is a call to researchers not to ignore things outside of the state, not to be 'methodologically nationalist'. There has been a tendency to perceive migration in terms of the male pioneer blazing a trail to new destinations, followed eventually by the female partner and family. But the migration of women has been on the increase and it is not always, by any means, related to male migration in a straightforward way.

To conclude, contemporary migration theories and perspectives recognise the existence of diverse flows and counter flows, examine immigration and emigration within wider systems and networks, are able to theorise movements, mobilities and processes, rather than acts and effects and are more likely than in the past to consider transnational phenomena and roles of women in migration.