

**PREVENTION BETTER THAN CURE:
THE UNITED NATIONS, TERRORISM AND THE CONCEPT OF
HUMANITARIAN PREEMPTION**

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**PREVENTION BETTER THAN CURE:
THE UNITED NATIONS, TERRORISM AND THE CONCEPT OF
HUMANITARIAN PREEMPTION**

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To my parents, Hema and Vasant Kulkarni

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SUMMARY

Terrorism is a critical security problem confronting the world today. It is important to properly understand the factors responsible for terrorism if one has to devise effective solutions. As opposed to the various explanations provided, I argue that the disconnectedness of states and people from the process of globalization is the factor responsible for terrorism. The cases of Somalia, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan are examined to challenge rival explanations and establish the importance of tackling disconnectedness to address terrorism.

The threat of terrorism is not just from the hardened terrorists' ability to attack us but also from their ability to continually add new recruits to their numbers from the vast pool of disconnected people. While military strikes and other aggressive strategies might be useful in eliminating terrorists and destroying their infrastructure, it is also important to focus on the problem of disconnectedness. From the cases, it is clear that though factors such as poverty, religion or hatred of the West are contributors, it is the disconnectedness of the people that makes these factors more important.

Without focus on disconnectedness, long term success against terrorism will continue to elude us. To address this fundamental problem, I suggest the method of humanitarian preemption, a comprehensive collective strategy aimed at tackling disconnectedness and hence terrorism. This strategy works on political, economic and social levels. Specific measures to address the unique problems confronted by the countries examined are suggested.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The end of the Cold War has seen a marked change in the global security environment. During the Cold War era the world was a battleground for the two superpowers and the concerns of the rest of the world were subordinate to the superpowers' interests. After the dawn of the new post Cold War era, other issues such as ethnic conflicts, sub-national violence and terrorism have cornered attention. Even though terrorism has been around for a long time, the events of September 11 2001 have brought home its seriousness as a problem. The emergence of transnational non-state security threats has forced us to pay greater attention to the issue of terrorism thus making a study of the root causes of terrorism and possible solutions an important one.

Terrorism has received a great deal of attention from academics and policymakers alike. There is no dearth of scholarship on the issue. Scholars such as William Doyle (1999) and Jessica Stern (2003) trace the history of terrorism, from acts of terror dating as far back as 2000 years ago to the *regime de la terreur* during the French Revolution. Other authors, as discussed below, have focused on the different methods of attack used by terrorists or on a military approach to tackle terrorism. For instance, new security measures were introduced at airports when 9/11 displayed how terrorists can use aircrafts as deadly weapons. Authors such as Patrick Buckley and Michael Meese (2004) have focused attention on methods to freeze financial assets. Thomas P.M. Barnett (2004) has spoken for the development of a new kind of US armed force that has two distinct components, one for war-fighting and the other for peacekeeping. Scholars such as

Robert Mandel (2004) have suggested some unique methods such as using transnational criminal networks and private armies to fight global terrorism. Yet, the terrorism literature is inadequate in that it fails to fully explain why people resort to terrorism while it largely focuses on dealing with terrorist infrastructure and tactics.

The above described inadequacy largely stems from a flawed understanding of the root causes behind terrorism. The solutions suggested toward tackling terrorism stem directly from the inadequate assessment of the problem, which in my opinion focuses on only few of the many dimensions that define the problem. Scholars such as Jessica Stern (2003) have considered religion as an important factor that motivates terrorists. She also argues that poverty plays a major part in luring people toward religious extremism. Samuel Huntington (1996) contends that terrorism results from a clash of civilizations wherein the Western civilization and its modern way of life are seen as threats by others to their ways of life. This compels others to resort to terrorism to protect their way of life. Michael Radu (2002) argues against poverty being a cause and highlights the fact that most of the men who high-jacked airplanes on 9/11 were from affluent backgrounds as is Osama Bin Laden. Others such as Michael Scheuer (2003) try to distinguish between terrorism of the past and the present. Scheuer argues that the terrorism we (Americans) face today is a direct response to US foreign policy and is different from terrorism in the past.

Terrorism can result from a combination of a few or all of the above factors. I view terrorism as a strategy that is used by those who are on the weaker side of a power discrepancy against a stronger side. This strategy may be used by terrorists to espouse any one or a combination of the motivations that various scholars have identified. In

essence, terrorists use terrorism as a strategy to fulfill whatever motivations they have with the limited means available because they cannot directly match the power of their adversary. Hence, our goal is to find means to counter this strategy. Also, it has to be understood that there is a fundamental difference between hardened terrorists who use terrorism as a strategy to fulfill their motivations and those disenfranchised common people who are exploited by terrorists and used as foot soldiers of terrorism. Thomas Barnett (2004) is among the few scholars who provide a comprehensive understanding of this issue. He argues that “disconnectedness” from the process of globalization is the primary cause for security problems like terrorism. He contends that the countries and regions riding the current wave of globalization are interconnected and do not present threats to each other now or in the future. He instead draws attention to the remainder of the world that is disconnected from the globalized world and deprived of its benefits. He argues that this disconnectedness defines danger. This view, focusing on disconnectedness, provides the foundation for my thesis.

My thesis builds upon the ideas of Barnett and outlines the chief motivations behind terrorism. Drawing from his work, I argue that disconnectedness not only provides terrorists with opportunities to recruit people due to their deprivation but also has the potential to instill sympathy among common people toward causes championed by them such as religious, political or ideological causes. Identifying terrorists and eliminating them by military means is an important and necessary preliminary step to avert terrorist attacks. Military strategies to prevent attacks and eliminate terrorists have thus received great attention for obvious reasons. Many countries and international bodies such as the EU and the UN have already undertaken various measures to target terrorist

infrastructure and strike at their immediate ability to attack us. While acknowledging the importance of a military approach as a primary strategy to neutralize hardened terrorists, I choose to focus on the measures that can be implemented as long term solutions to the problem of terrorism. These measures are not targeted at hardened terrorists. Instead they are targeted at the thousands if not more of disconnected people who are potential victims of exploitation by terrorists. Disconnectedness is by no means a military problem that will be solved by a military solution alone. It has other facets which demand action on multiple fronts such countering religious extremism, spreading literacy, poverty alleviation, generating employment, building stable institutions among others. Toward this goal of devising a long term solution to address disconnectedness and tackling terrorism, I propose the concept of humanitarian preemption.

Humanitarian preemption is an approach that works on the political, economic and social levels of disconnected regions. It adopts a different philosophical approach from other methods of dealing with problems. It is based on the belief that a greater understanding of the root causes of terrorism and a greater willingness to acknowledge that a problem of enormous proportions confronts us is required. This approach combines military tactics, financial sanctions and dismantling of terrorist infrastructure with issues such as education, industrialization, employment, human rights, political choice and building institutions among others. I then explain how the humanitarian preemption strategy can be applied by the UN and the specific steps that can be taken to address unique problems of states. I also focus on issues such as state sovereignty, political expediency and limited resources that are likely to pose a challenge to the humanitarian preemption approach.

This paper proceeds by offering a brief history of terrorism in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 deals with the phenomenon of disconnectedness and the threats it poses. It presents Thomas Barnett's argument and the solution recommended by him. In contrast to Barnett's solution, the theoretical aspects and dimensions of the concept of humanitarian preemption recommended by this paper are explored. In Chapter 4, rival explanations for terrorism are examined and disconnectedness is established as the root cause of terrorism with the help of case studies. The practical implications of disconnectedness are discussed through case studies on Somalia, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. I choose these cases because their vulnerability to terrorism has varied. The citizens of these states have in the past either been victims or perpetrators of terrorist activities. These states have different systems of governance in place and different past experiences. They also enjoy varying levels of affluence, global and regional influence, and connectedness with the rest of the world, thus providing a spectrum of situations on the basis of which comparative analyses can be performed. I believe these cases best illustrate the problems, internal as well as external that disconnectedness poses to states. The actual implementation of the humanitarian preemption strategy and its likely impact on the problems of these countries is discussed. I also discuss some of the major problems that the international community is likely to confront while implementing this strategy. Finally, Chapter 5 draws conclusions about the process of globalization, the phenomenon of disconnectedness which is responsible for terrorism and the potential of the humanitarian preemption approach to tackle the root causes responsible for terrorism.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF TERRORISM AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Combating Terrorism

Terrorism is an issue that has been a cause for concern for quite some time. It has assumed enormous proportions and established itself as the scourge of modern governments, as terrorists seem to strike their targets at will. Preventing or combating terrorism has assumed great importance, and the events of September 11, 2001 have lent greater urgency to the situation. Scholars such as Paul Dibb (2003) have written about the importance of international coalitions while Rob de Wijk (2003) has argued about the limits of military power with respect to terrorism. Ray Takeyh and Nikolas Gvosdev (2003) delve into the nature and consequences of nation-state failure especially, its role in allowing terrorists to thrive. Francis Fukuyama (2004) emphasizes the importance of enduring national institutions to maintain political stability. Building on the work of these scholars, this thesis aims to formulate a comprehensive strategy to address the problem of terrorism.

Need for a New Approach to Combat Terrorism

There is a wealth of literature on methods to combat terrorism especially focusing on the means to target terrorist infrastructure, financial capabilities and physically eliminate terrorists. Great emphasis is placed on military solutions to the problem. Issues such as the tactics used by terrorists and the strategies that can be used to counter them have also received attention. This literature, however, is highly ‘reactionary’ in nature in

that it follows the trends set by terrorists and tries to tackle the ingenious methods, such as the use of airplanes as weapons, evolved by them after they have been used to devastating effect, doing little to foresee them. Second, there is a dearth of literature on the root causes of terrorism. There is not as much attention focused on understanding why terrorism occurs in the first place. This paper attempts to address these lacunae in the literature by first focusing on the root causes of terrorism and following it up by proposing the method of humanitarian preemption to preempt, not react, to terrorism.

2.2 Definitions of Terrorism

The recent attention toward the issue notwithstanding, terrorism is a strategy that has been used for centuries. Numerous definitions of terrorism have been provided over the years encompassing dimensions such as use of violent force, unlawful methods of coercion and intimidation, desire to achieve religious, social or political goals, violence by non-governmental entities, violence distinguishable from military action, violence targeting civilians and many more. Each definition lays greater emphasis on some issues than others. I do not view terrorism as a result of any particular factor more than another. Instead, I view terrorism as a strategy used by a weaker entity against a stronger one and terrorists may espouse any of the aforementioned causes or entirely different ones. It is important to view terrorism as different from criminal activity or other violent tactics used by weak entities against strong ones, guerilla warfare being one. While guerilla warfare might be restricted to a particular territory, terrorism is wider in scope and can affect larger populations.

2.3 Motivations behind Terrorism

The literature on motivations behind terrorism can be broadly classified into the following categories of theoretical explanations: theory of religious motivations (Stern), theory of clash of civilizations or the theory of opposition to modernity (Huntington), theory of political and ideological factors (such as secessionist movements or freedom movements) (Radu), and theory of deprivation (motivations from socio-economic factors such as poverty) (Stern). Some scholars such as Michael Scheuer have gone to the extent of delineating present day terrorist activities from the phenomenon of terrorism, choosing instead to define it as merely a violent response to US foreign policy. Many of the above categories frequently overlap with others making our task of identifying the root causes and devising appropriate solutions that much more difficult.

2.4 Brief History of Terrorism

While it is impossible to definitively ascertain when terrorism was first used, its roots can be traced back at least 2,000 years. Some of the earliest examples of terrorism were the actions of communities called the Zealots-Sicari, a Jewish sect which lived at the time of Christ and operated for about twenty five years. The Sicari, literally meaning ‘dagger men’, used a short dagger to murder those whom they deemed apostate. Another group, which lived in the eleventh century, was the one known as the ‘Assassins’. This group operated for over two centuries, and its aim was similar to that of present day Islamic extremists: spread a “pure” version of Islam (Stern, 2003). These are among the earliest forms of terrorism which were religious in nature.

Origins of the Modern Term ‘Terrorism’

From its early use with religious connotations, terrorism continued to play a part over the centuries. The English word ‘terrorism’ originated much later from the ‘*regime de la terreur*’ that prevailed in France after the French revolution. This ‘Terror’ was originally an instrument of the state and was designed to consolidate the power of the newly-installed revolutionary government. It was a tool to protect the government from elements considered subversive (Doyle, 1999). The term terrorism had positive connotations during those times. The French revolutionary leader, Maximilien Robespierre, viewed it as vital if the new French Republic was to survive its infancy. Later, terrorism began taking on the negative connotations it bears today, helped initially by the writings of people such as the British political philosopher Edmund Burke, who popularized the term ‘terrorism’ in English while being harshly critical of its French revolutionary practitioners.¹

Potential of Contemporary Forms of Religious Terrorism

Hoffman (1998), presenting his views on contemporary forms of religious terrorism, argues that religious terrorism has the potential to have a disastrous effect when coupled with the increased availability of weapons of mass destruction. He compares the goals of terrorists from the past with the religious terrorist of the present and observes that the main goal of the terrorist in the past was not to kill but to attract media attention to his cause in the hope of initiating reform. Hoffman does not place the blame on any particular religion, pointing to the bombings of the World Trade Center and

¹ Edmund Burke (1790) “Reflections on the Revolution in France”

Oklahoma City and to the sarin nerve gas attacks in Tokyo in order to demonstrate that fundamentalists belonging to any religion are capable of extreme acts of terrorism.

Terrorism as a means for Political Propaganda and Nationalist Movements

The newly defined notions of nationalism and citizenship that were spawned by the French Revolution also saw the emergence of a new form of terrorism, secular in nature and devoid of its religious leanings. The Italian revolutionary Carlo Pisacane's theory of the 'propaganda of the deed' recognized the utility of terrorism to deliver a message to an audience other than the target and draw attention and support to a cause. Pisacane's ideas were first put into practice by the Narodnaya Volya (NV), a Russian populist group formed in 1878 to oppose the Tsarist regime (Roberts, 2002). The group gained notoriety for the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. However, those were different days when groups like the NV went to great lengths to avoid innocent deaths, carefully choosing their targets which were usually state officials who symbolized the regime they were fighting. Operations were often compromised rather than causing unintended casualties or incurring collateral damage. Martha Crenshaw (1994) also provides a similar, classical view of terrorism. She calls terrorism a conspiratorial style of violence calculated to alter the attitudes and behavior of multiple audiences. She believes that it targets the few in a way that claims the attention of the many and points out that a lack of proportion between resources deployed and effects created is typical. Her view obviously applies to the old approach used by terrorists but present day terrorists use methods that no longer confine their actions and impact to a few.

In due course of time, nationalist groups adopted terrorism as a means toward their desired ends. There were insurgencies conducted in China and Indochina against the Kuomintang regime and the French colonial government respectively. It was Algeria's *Front de Libération Nationale*, seeking liberation from France, which first demonstrated the violent nature of modern terrorism, by deliberately targeting French civilians. FLN activists bombed locations with high likelihood of civilian activity such as beachside cafés and restaurants. Their goal was to raise the price of colonialism to intolerable levels, and they succeeded in achieving that goal.²

The success of the Algerians inspired others such as the Basque and Quebecois separatists, Palestinian and Irish nationalists and many others around the world. Through the 1960s and 1970s, the number of groups that might be described as terrorist swelled to include not only nationalists, but those motivated by ethnic and ideological considerations. The method of killing of civilians to create fear and secure political gains was gaining momentum even in developed nations, prominent examples of which were the Weather Underground in the US, the Marxist Baader-Meinhoff Gang in West Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy. Terrorist groups quickly learned to exploit the burgeoning globalization of the world's media. Bruce Hoffman (1998) highlights this by crediting the terrorists for being the first to recognize the publicity value inherent in terrorism and to stage their violence for an audience far beyond the immediate geography of their loci of their respective struggles.

² Center for Defense Information: A Brief History of Terrorism (July 2003) online at: http://www.cdi.org/friendlyversion/printversion.cfm?documentID=1381&from_page=../program/document.cfm#_edn8 Downloaded 3 January 2005.

As the use of terrorist methods spread worldwide the methods used by them also witnessed significant changes. In South-East Asia, the Middle East and Latin America there were killings of policemen and local officials, and hostage-takings. Palestinian groups pioneered hijacking as a symbol and means of the new age of globalization. They effectively used the jet airliner as a mode of operation and publicity. The group Black September, staged what was perhaps the greatest terrorist publicity coup then seen, with the murder of 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games (Laqueur, 1999).

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealem (LTTE), the most powerful Tamil group in Sri Lanka pioneered suicide bombings against important targets. This took terrorism to an altogether new level where collateral damage was no longer an issue. The LTTE rank-and-file carries a cyanide capsule to commit suicide rather than allow capture.³ The tactics of the LTTE claimed the lives of Sri Lankan President Premadasa and former Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi among other regional leaders in the early 1990s. David Whittaker (2004) discusses this phenomenon when he presents the possibility of people resorting to terrorism to acquire what they perceive as unfairly denied land, freedom, basic rights and opportunities. This argument by Whittaker explains violent acts as a response from the insecure as means to protecting themselves when they see a threat to their basic way of life.

Throughout the 1990s, Osama Bin Laden has been the most recognizable face of modern terrorism. He is suspected of having a hand in the 1993 World Trade Center bombings. His organization *Al Qaeda* also targeted US infrastructure abroad such as US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in August 1998 and the USS Cole in Yemen in

³ History of the LTTE online at http://www.ict.org.il/inter_ter/orgdet.cfm?orgid=22#history
Downloaded 15 December 2004

2000. This was a new kind of terrorist movement that had a cause and a network, that was not confined to any one state, and whose adherents were willing to commit suicide if they could thereby inflict carnage and destruction on their adversaries, as they did on September 11. Thus, we see that terrorism has been used as a religious or political strategy for centuries, and the motivations and means used have taken different shapes and forms at various points in time. Such has been the metamorphosis of terrorism from the early ages to the present.

2.5 Scholarly Views on the Motivations behind Terrorism

As discussed earlier, scholars have found it difficult to agree on the motivations behind terrorism. Various scholars hold different factors responsible for motivating terrorism. Jessica Stern (2003) focuses on the combination of religious motivations and the conditions of deprivation. She explains how terrorist organizations are formed by opportunistic leaders who use religion as both motivation and justification and recruit the disenfranchised. She depicts how moral fervor is transformed into sophisticated organizations that strive for money, power, and attention. Her definition of "religious terrorism" encompasses the growing Muslim *jihad* in Indonesia, militant Palestinians and zealous Israelis, and Americans who kill abortion doctors in the name of Christ. Her work outlines the ways in which militant leaders of all denominations find recruits among the disenfranchised and recondition them, often under cult-like conditions, stoking their zealotry to the point of suicide and murder. Her argument highlights how potent a weapon the disenfranchised can be at the hands of the religiously motivated.

Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Maleckova (2002) challenge the deprivation theory. They compare the backgrounds of terrorists from several regions to typical members of the terrorists' own societies. They conclude that the terrorists tended to be more affluent and better educated than the average citizen and that support for terrorism did not rise as poverty increased. They note that affluent Palestinians were more likely to support suicide bombings than poor Palestinians. Taking the argument by Krueger and Maleckova a step further, Michael Radu (2002) challenges the view that poverty is a cause for terrorism by pointing out that the September 11 killers were without exception scions of privilege. He further argues that many poor Egyptians, Moroccans, and Palestinians may support terrorists, but they do not, and cannot provide them with recruits. He says that Al Qaeda has no use for illiterate peasants as they cannot participate in 9/11-like attacks, unable as they are to make themselves inconspicuous in the West and lacking the education and training terrorist operatives need. He goes on to add that Islamic terrorism, just as its Marxist or secessionist version in the West and Latin America was, is a matter of power — who has it and how to get it— not of poverty.

This paper disagrees with the above views presented by Krueger, Maleckova and Radu. It may be true that the ideological and financial support comes from the better educated and average citizens. However, the recruits, the foot soldiers of terrorism, are more often than not disenfranchised, downtrodden people with no hopes for the future. For instance, Al Qaeda ideologue Ayman al Zawahiri was born in a middle class Egyptian family and is a trained physician. Osama Bin Laden was the scion of a rich family. However, the average fourteen year-old being indoctrinated in a madrassa in remote Pakistan or the average suicide bomber in Palestine does not share the same

background as Zawahiri or Bin Laden. He will most likely be from a family that cannot afford to support the child and sends him to a madrassa which promises food, education and shelter, or one who is disillusioned with the prevalent conditions and falls prey to the ideas propagated by fanatics.⁴ Thus, factors such as deprivation cannot be wished away.

Samuel Huntington (1996) has articulated the argument of a clash of civilizations and written about how the world's major civilizations are likely to be in conflict with each other due to their individual ideas and values. President George W. Bush has often articulated that 'they hate freedom' when referring to the terrorists. This is another popular explanation, similar to Huntington's argument, which conveys that *Al Qaeda* specifically and radical Islamism in general are being stirred by the hatred of modernity and all that the West stands for, namely its civil liberties, freedom and liberal lifestyle.

The above view is, however, rejected by Michael Scheuer.⁵ Scheuer (2003) advocates the more recent argument of current terrorist acts being a response to flawed US foreign policy. He argues that although aspects of the modern world may offend conservative Muslims, no Islamist leader has fomented *jihad* to destroy participatory democracy, for example, the national association of credit unions, or coed universities. He further argues that a growing segment of the Islamic world strenuously disapproves of specific US policies and their consequent military, political, and economic implications. The rise of Osama Bin Laden and his movement, *Al Qaeda*, lends support to this argument. *Al Qaeda* is critical of US presence on Saudi soil and is hostile to existing Arab regimes whom it accuses of American subservience. *Al Qaeda's* public statements

⁴ Online at: <http://pakistantimes.net/2004/01/11/guest1.htm>
Downloaded on March 2 2005

⁵ The book does not mention the name of the author and his identity was unknown at the time of publication. However, it is now but it commonly known now Michael Scheuer is the author.

condemn America's protection of corrupt Muslim regimes, unqualified support for Israel, and the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan. Scheuer adds that while capitalizing on growing anti-US animosity, Osama bin Laden's genius lies not simply in calling for *jihad* , but in articulating a consistent and convincing case that Islam is under attack by America. The rising violence in the Middle East in support of the Palestinian cause was justified by the perpetrators of these as a legitimate counter-response to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

Scheuer draws attention to one of the main flaws of Huntington's argument, which is to overlook the effects of US policy on the Middle East and lay the blame on the hatred toward modernity or the West. However, Scheuer in turn lays too much emphasis on radicals such as Bin Laden inciting people in the Middle East by portraying the US policy as an attack on their country and religion. He fails to go a step further to investigate why people tend to be swayed by such radical rhetoric, which is done by this paper.

Thomas P.M. Barnett (2004) displays a good understanding of the root causes that give rise to security problems such as terrorism. He examines the process of globalization and economic integration in today's world. He defines regions which are out of this loop of economic integration and interdependence as disconnected and hence potentially dangerous because they do not benefit from the integration. He presents his map of disconnectedness⁶ and discusses the threats that this disconnectedness presents to US security. He contends that after the Cold War the US was engaged in a futile search for the next big threat when it should have really focused on what he calls the Gap or the part of the world that is disconnected from the process of globalization. He rightly argues that

⁶ See Barnett's Map of Disconnectedness in Figure 1

the threats to the US today emanate from the Gap rather than the Core and are a result of the deprivation faced by the population in these regions. Thus, he provides a more nuanced understanding of the problem that avoids blaming the usual suspects and attempts to understand what lies behind them.

Francis Fukuyama's (2004) argument about institutions complements the previous argument by Barnett. Fukuyama blames the lack of an "organizational tradition" in "failed or weak" nations such as Afghanistan and Haiti. He argues that the United States and the West in general, after rightly intervening in such states either militarily or economically (most often through the IMF or World Bank), have failed to transfer institutional and public and private-sector know-how to needy countries. He sees these states as the greatest threat to an orderly world.

In summary, the various motivations suggested by scholars are important contributing factors to terrorism. Scholars such as Huntington and Scheuer hold the more obvious factors such as the hatred for modernity or the Western civilization and US foreign policy responsible for terrorism. However, Barnett takes a more nuanced look by focusing on why and how these arguments based on civilization, modernity or foreign policy assume such importance and, thereby, what are the root causes that create such circumstances. Similarly, Jessica Stern presents a better understanding of the situation and Fukuyama provides an insight into what could be done by emphasizing the need for local knowledge and institutions. The work of these scholars provides the foundation for this paper.

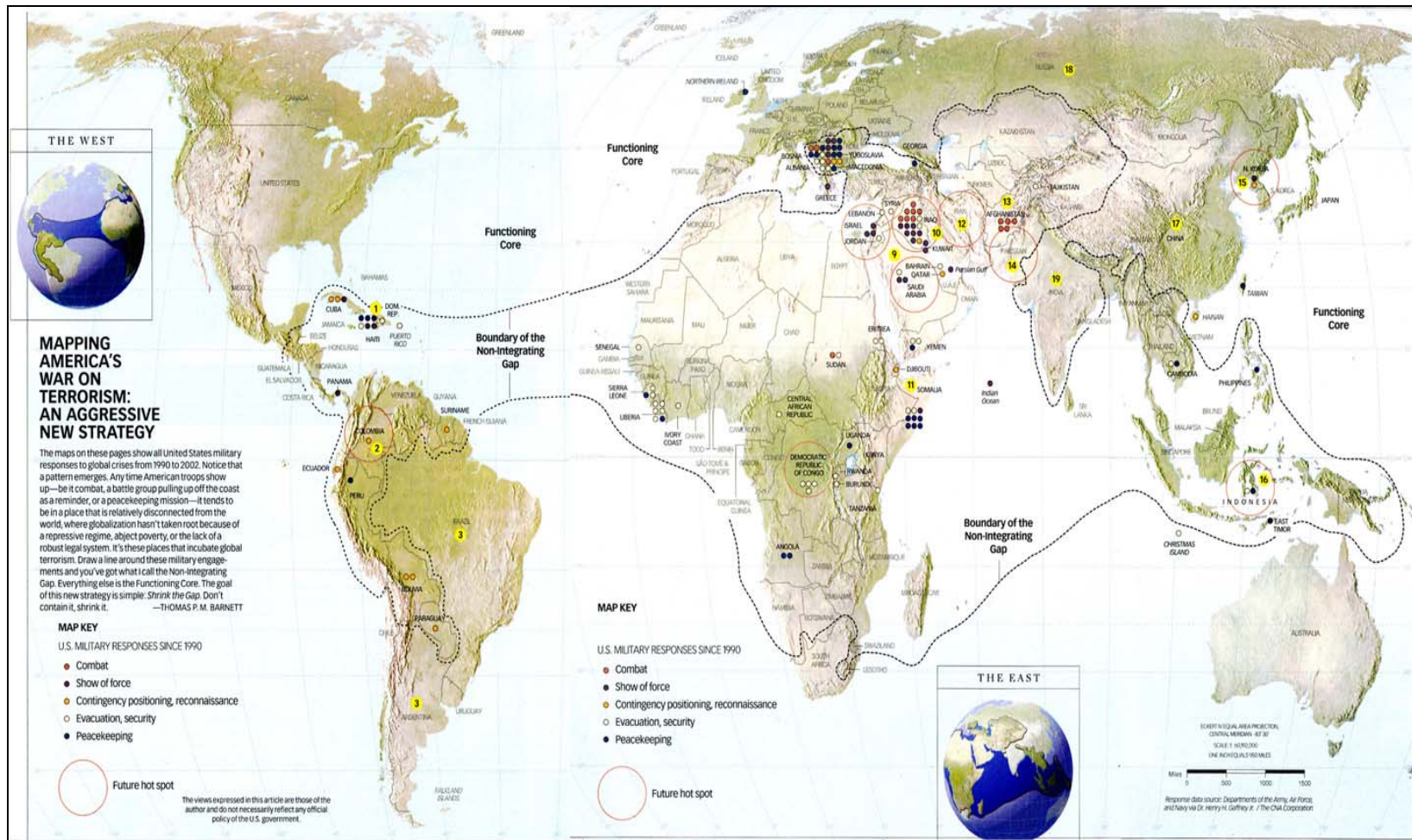


Figure 1: Thomas Barnett's Map of Disconnectedness

Source: <http://www.thomaspmbarnett.com/published/pentagonsnewmap.htm>

2.6 Responses to Terrorism

There have been varied responses to terrorism, some more effective than others. These responses are categorized here in terms of responses by individual states to terrorism as a domestic issue and collective responses by the international community.

Responses by Individual States

Many countries have been fighting terrorism for decades before the events of 9/11 and have used various methods to deal with it. The responses by individual states can be categorized into internal and external responses. In terms of internal responses, some states have used violent crackdowns on people believed to be sympathetic to terrorist causes. Russian action in Chechnya and Indonesia's imposition of martial law in Aceh are examples of the use of the power of the state to quell internal activities seen as terrorism.⁷ India has been fighting terrorists in Kashmir with a large number of troops deployed for counter terrorist operations. Recently, India has engaged in fencing the border though the mountainous terrain does not make the task easy. However, infiltration from across the border is said to have been reduced. The United States has implemented unprecedented security measures at all airports and other transit locations to prevent attacks similar to 9/11. The Department of Homeland Security and the position of the Director of National Intelligence have been created to better coordinate intelligence among all the security agencies. Israel has recently built the wall to separate itself from Palestinian territory which has succeeded in reducing the number of suicide bombings. In response to attacks on its soil, Saudi Arabia has cracked down on extremists recently

⁷ Online at: <http://www.hrw.org/background/asia/aceh0903-bck.htm>
Downloaded on February 25 2005

arresting several religious radicals. Similarly, Pakistan has decided to crackdown on sympathizers of the erstwhile Taliban regime who live in the Waziristan region of Western Pakistan. This region had for long been a stronghold of local tribes and was characterized by the lack of reach of the national government.⁸

The external responses have also been diverse. Some countries have resorted to use of force while others have used negotiations as tactics. Countries have even negotiated with other states from whose territories the terrorists operate. For instance, faced with the bombing campaign by Algerian fighters, France decided to eventually pull out of Algeria. Israel has repeatedly sent troops into Palestinian territory and conducted aerial bombings and assassinations of terrorist leaders. It has also bombed Lebanon to target the Islamist resistance group Hezbollah. Israel has also negotiated with Palestinian leaders urging them to rein in extremists.⁹ The US has responded with enormous military power to the attacks on its soil. It has replaced the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein in Iraq, both of whom it considered supporters of terrorism. The US has also taken other steps such as freezing the financial assets of terrorist organizations and dismantling training camps. In the past it has launched attacks on a pharmaceutical factory in Sudan believed to be used by terrorists.¹⁰ Several countries in the European Union such as Italy, France, Germany, Britain and Spain have engaged in efforts to search for Europe-wide solutions in the fights against terrorism and illegal immigration.

⁸ Online at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/pakistan/wana.htm>
Downloaded on February 25 2005

⁹ Online at: http://www.caabu.org/press/letters/israeli_bombing.html
Downloaded on February 25 2005

¹⁰ Online at: <http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/africa/9908/18/sudan/>
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Many European countries have also taken on drug trafficking and weapons trafficking. These have been some of the individual responses of countries against terrorism.

International Responses to Terrorism

The international response to terrorism since World War II has taken various forms, some more effective than others. While various national governments responded to incidents within their territory with military action, the international response although well intentioned was largely ineffective.

In the 1960s the UN General Assembly embarked on an attempt to outlaw terrorism. Initially, many states were reluctant to outlaw terrorism unless at the same time the 'causes of terrorism' were addressed. Other states saw this approach as implying that terrorism was a response to real grievances which would be a form of justification. The oft-repeated statement 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter' reflects genuine doubts about the term. In the past there have been strong disagreements about the nature of certain movements: for instance, the Viet Cong in South Vietnam from the late 1950s to the mid-1970s and the Provisional IRA in Northern Ireland from the late 1960s onwards. Interestingly, in 1987-88 the UK and US governments labeled the African National Congress of South Africa 'terrorist': a questionable attribution even at the time not because there had been no violence, but because the ANC's use of violence had been discriminate and had constituted only a small part of the ANC's overall strategy (Roberts, 2002). Also, Cold War dynamics and the tussle to widen individual spheres of influence between the US and the Soviet Union is another factor that took attention away from the issue of terrorism during this period. It was particularly difficult for an international body

such as the UN to act when the two most powerful members at the time were engaged in locked in a struggle where any proposition likely to benefit the other was immediately scuttled. These factors were responsible for the marginalization of the issue of terrorism and the lack of a strong international response.

The UN tried to address the issue within the restricted operating space it had with limited practical measures. In a series of 12 international conventions drawn up between 1963 and 1999, particular actions, such as aircraft hijacking and diplomatic hostage-taking, were deemed terrorist acts (Roberts, 2002). As the 1990s progressed, and concern about terrorism increased, the UN General Assembly embarked on discussions about defining and outlawing terrorism. Its Legal Committee issued a rough draft of a convention, which reiterates:

Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be used to justify them.”¹¹

There are still disagreements between states about this draft convention. National interests, aided by bilateral or multilateral of treaties, have prevented a broad based international approach against terrorism despite the fact that there are some areas deemed as *ius cogens* which by definition are principles of international law which cannot be set aside by agreement or acquiescence. In modern use, as laid down by the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (1969), this is equivalent to "a peremptory norm of

¹¹ Online at: <http://www.un.org/terrorism/>
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general international law."¹² Sections 53 and 54 of the Vienna Convention on Treaties clearly define the scope of such international norms. Section 53 says that, "A treaty is void, if, at the time of its conclusion, it conflicts with a peremptory norm of general international law. For the purposes of the present convention, a peremptory norm of general international law is a norm accepted by and recognised by the international community of States as a whole and from which no derogation is permitted." Further, section 54 says that, "If a new peremptory norm of general international law emerges, any existing treaty which is in conflict with the norm becomes void and terminates." The ambit of such peremptory norm extends to a set of crimes that are offences such as torture, murder, genocide in any and the various meanings attributable to it, which by extension includes terrorism (Harris, 1997). It then implies that any infraction of these laws is visited with very strict consequences. Based on the definitions of terrorism in various treaties, it is indisputably a major offense that threatens the peace of the nations and causes mass killing and suffering of human beings. Thus, the scope for collective action in the face of grave threats global security has been clearly provided, and it is now the responsibility of the international community to put this into practice.

The Security Council took action against terrorism in response to specific events such as the Pan Am and UTA flight bombings, the attempted assassination of President Mubaraq of Egypt and the bombing of US embassies. Sanctions were imposed against Libya and Sudan for refusing extradition of suspects. France, while expressing solidarity with the US after the 9/11 attacks, issued calls for joint action by the international

¹² Online at: <http://www.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/mmt/udhr/concepts/441.html>
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community, under the aegis of the United Nations, the European Union or any institution of which it is a member.¹³

The European Union made unprecedented provisions during the meeting of the European Council convened on September 21, 2001. While reasserting its solidarity with the United States, the Council adopted a plan concerning various aspects of the battle against terrorism and in particular for improving co-operation between police forces and legal systems, reinforcing the role of Europol, developing Eurojust, increasing security of airline companies, and fighting the financing of terrorism. Since then, the Council has adopted a “master decision” against terrorism, the intention of which is to harmonize European legislative systems by developing a common definition of terrorism as a criminal offense. The Fifteen member nations of the European Community also adopted a master decision that involves the creation of a European summons of arrest setting up a more flexible mechanism than extradition for a number of criminal offenses, including that of terrorism, and agreed to create joint investigation teams. They also drew up a confidential list of terrorist organizations threatening the territory of the Union that will facilitate co-operation between their police forces.¹⁴

The EU response has provided attention to details regarding issues such as security, anti-terror laws, policing capability and collective operations. If implemented on a global level, these strategies have the scope to create an efficient system against terrorism. However, while these actions are good methods to combat terrorists, there is

¹³ Online at: <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/mae/rapport2001.gb/page01.html#2>
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¹⁴ Online at: <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/mae/rapport2001.gb/page01.html#2>
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also a need for focusing on the root causes of terrorism and preempting it rather than merely reacting to it. International action was largely restricted to responding to certain terrorist acts, and there has been no attempt to devise a comprehensive strategy that could target the root causes and be implemented across borders without regional politics or other partisan issues taking precedence.

The Post-9/11 Response

The events of 9/11 drew an unprecedented international response. Terrorism moved from the periphery to being a key issue something that was difficult to envision in the Cold War era. None of the 189 member states of the UN opposed the US's right to take military action in Afghanistan after the events of 9/11, and none offered explicit support to Al Qaeda. Security Council Resolution 1368 passed the day after the attacks on US territory recognized the right of individual or collective defense as a legitimate response (Bolden and Weiss, 2004). However, in doing so, the UN lost an opportunity to lead the combined international efforts against terrorism. The UN should have instead taken the lead to devise a comprehensive collective strategy that went beyond threats to individual states and targeted the root causes of the problem. Instead, the UN gave a free hand to individual states to undertake individual responses without defining the limits on such actions, thus all but nullifying the chances of a collective response. This was followed by the Security Council Resolution 1373 on September 28, 2001 which has detailed requirements that necessitate significant actions by member states including changes to national legislation. The resolution created uniform obligations for all 191 member states and established the CTC (Counter-Terrorism Committee) to monitor

member state implementation of these measures. These two resolutions have the potential to be contradictory in nature, rendering each other ineffective as one justifies use of individual military force without a role for the UN while the other defines a more proactive UN role in monitoring the implementation of recommended measures even to the extent of modifying national policy.

Despite the role played by the international community in general and the UN in particular, it is painfully clear that the efforts to address the issue of terrorism have been inadequate. Over the years, the UN has been satisfied with responses to specific terrorist acts without addressing the causes behind these acts. There was also a tendency to focus merely on the tactics used by terrorists such as hijackings or bombings and attempts to counter them without trying to understand and address the causes behind them. The EU has also devised some effective strategies but failed to focus on the root causes. When 9/11 happened, the international community was overwhelmed by the magnitude of the attacks and the fact that the target was the strongest state in the world further aggravated matters. In this situation, the community betrayed a sense of ill-preparedness and confusion. The ideal response would have been a closing of ranks and coming together of states under one umbrella to collectively tackle the problem. Instead, the states came together in unanimously approving individual action by the US, which set a wrong precedent against the possibility of collective action. Thus, a crucial opportunity to devise a comprehensive strategy was lost.

Other Views of on the International Response to Terrorism

Despite the inadequate response of the international community against terrorism there is no dearth of literature on the issue. Scholars have suggested many different ideas on possible new approaches to tackle terrorism. As the points of view of scholars on the motivations behind terrorism differ considerably, so do the solutions they propose to tackle terrorism. Boulden and Weiss (2004) repose their faith in the UN despite its under-performance in the past. They argue that unilateral projection of power, even by the only remaining superpower with no near-peers, has its limits. They argue that transnational security problems require multilateral solutions and that the UN should be at the forefront of the debate on how to deal with terrorism.

Jack Snyder (2003) discusses the terrorist threats faced by Americans today and warns against the American inclination to project military power. Snyder argues that such a strategy is not different from those adopted by various great powers in the centuries gone by, which eventually proved to be very harmful. He advises against the policy of projection of military power across the globe to suppress potential threats. In a similar vein, Joseph Nye (2004) extols the virtues of 'soft power.' He argues that it is wrong to talk about American dominance and hegemony when the US has to depend on the rest of the world for so many critical issues such as terrorism. He favors a bigger role for institutions and says that the UN may not be the only source of legitimacy, but it still is a useful organization to address important global issues.

Audrey Kurth Cronin (2004) argues that terrorism is a complex phenomenon and has to be met with short-term military action if required but a long term in-depth sophisticated analysis. She advocates an effective grand strategy against terrorism that

involves a long standing global campaign that goes beyond the current war and political expediency. This approach seems to be a balanced one with out excessive reliance on either military or softer approaches. In contrast, Scheuer (2004) contends the terrorists will go to any length, not to destroy our secular, democratic way of life, but to deter what they view as specific attacks on their lands, their communities, and their religion. He says that unless U.S. leaders recognize this fact and adjust their policies abroad accordingly, even moderate Muslims will join the bin Laden camp. He calls for an approach by the West so as to "proceed with relentless, brutal, and, yes, blood-soaked offensive military actions until we have annihilated the Islamists who threaten us." It is hard to understand how such an overly aggressive strategy will prevent the alienation of moderates. Thus, Scheuer's argument is self defeating in nature.

Patrick Buckley and Michael Meese (2004) focus on specific methods to thwart terrorist designs. They contend that the terrorist networks require the capability of raising and distributing funds globally to pursue their goals. Hence aggressively pursuing the financial apparatus of terrorists forms an important aspect of the campaign against terrorists. Robert Mandel (2004) highlights the need for unorthodox counterterrorism strategies. He advocates aggressive principles as opposed to civil, orderly, restrained state methods and calls for the use of transnational criminal networks and private armies to fight global terror. These are not all-encompassing strategies but are definitely important tactics that should be implemented as part of a broader strategy against terrorism.

Russell Howard (2004) speaks in support of President Bush's preemption doctrine. He says that WMD threats cannot be faced once they are obtained by rogue groups. He contends that preemption has to be an option and that preemption as defined

by Bush is as valid as any other interpretation of “preemptive self-defense.” He seeks to bolster his argument by saying that under international law developed long before the UN charter was adopted, it was accepted that preemptive force was acceptable in self-defense. However, Howard should consider the development and progress of international norms and the decrease in reliance on use of military force over the years. Second, even if his argument is considered valid, there is definitely a limit to the preemptive capacity of even a strong country such as the US. A comprehensive strategy under the UN, with possible military action if necessary, provides a better framework to achieve the goals as defined by Howard than the policy of preemptive self-defense.

Rob de Wijk (2003) discusses the various responses to 9/11 and the limitations of a military response. He explores the use of coercive diplomacy, human intelligence gathering methods and special efforts to gain allies and support from people of other cultures. He points out that the formation of a global coalition was the most dramatic result of the 9/11 attacks and that the coalition was remarkable not only due to the number of countries involved but also due to the apparent recognition that the fight against terrorism will be a prolonged one – one that will involve diplomatic pressure, financial sanctions as well as military force. Thus, he sets the tone for multilateral action and presents some useful tools that could be used in this process.

Jessica Stern (2003) suggests that action should be taken aimed at alleviating the poor living conditions of disenfranchised people, whom she identifies as easy targets for terrorist recruiters. She seeks to draw attention to suppression and abuse of human rights by governments, and subsequent double standards of the international community in turning a blind eye to these abuses, which invites violent retribution from the abused. She

argues that even though US foreign policy in the Middle East may be a major factor that motivates terrorists, a change in these policies will be only have limited effectiveness unless combined with steps to improve the conditions of the common man.

Francis Fukuyama (2004) builds on his argument that a lack of strong institutions in several countries has resulted in security problems. He argues that the answer lies in providing states with internal organizational structure and, above all, with a culture that enables strong leaders and government institutions to enforce capitalist and free-market values. Since he sees the international community represented by the United Nations as a myth because it lacks a military, he argues that the mantle of leadership must be worn by the US, at great risk to itself. Fukuyama does well to emphasize the importance of local institutions in addressing the security problems that weak states pose. However, by dismissing the UN and advocating a bigger role for the US military, he contradicts himself. If institution building is the desired goal then a strategy much broader than a military approach is required. The UN, as the representative organization, although much-maligned and weakened, still provides a better platform to launch efforts of local institution building as compared a unilateral military approach by the US.

Thomas Barnett (2004) bases his suggestions on his Core-Gap thesis and advocates a four-dimensional strategy that will ensure: movement of people from Gap to Core, movement of energy from Gap to Core, movement of money from Old Core to New Core, and exporting of security to the Gap. Thus, he makes people, energy, investment and security the pillars of his plan. He adds that the American military in its current form is the best in terms of achieving quick regime-change but is not capable of doing nation-building tasks. For this reason, Barnett advocates the development of two

separate US forces: the Gap Leviathan which is in charge of exporting security and the System Administrator, responsible for coordinating with the world's relief agencies and international development organizations. He argues that America, with its superior military power should play the role of the Gap Leviathan, set the rules and export security, and the other countries should be satisfied with outsourcing the Leviathan function to the US on account of its unparalleled military prowess. Barnett does not look beyond US security, US capability, and defense reform and fails to provide an international approach to deal with terrorism. He also discounts the possibility that US leadership may not be acceptable to the Core even if it is assumed to be logical and desirable. It is important to remember that despite the US suffering the horrors of 9/11, terrorism is not and should not be treated only as a US security issue. Terrorism is a global security issue that demands a comprehensive multilateral strategy.

As evident from the discussion so far, an extensive and very diverse literature is available on terrorism. Some authors focus on methods to prevent terrorist attacks, destroy terrorist infrastructure while others focus on the role of US military and economic power in this fight against terrorism. Some have argued for a more broad-based multilateral approach while others advocate stronger institutions. Unfortunately, except for the articulation by Barnett and Stern highlighting the phenomenon of disconnectedness and disenfranchisement there is not much written on methods to preempt terrorism by understanding the fundamental motivations of terrorists which I believe is critical to devising solutions. This deficiency is also reflected in the measures taken by the international community to counter terrorism with increasing reliance on military measures.

A military approach is an important first step toward eliminating hardened terrorists who threaten our security. However, as scholars such as Barnett and Stern have said, it is the disconnectedness and disenfranchisement that poses a bigger problem. The problem is not just of the threat posed by terrorists. It is of their ability to find sympathizers among common people which happens due to disconnectedness. It is these thousands of disconnected people that can be exploited by terrorists that are a focus of my thesis. If we desire to find long term solutions to the problem of terrorism, the issue of disconnectedness needs to be addressed. It is imperative that we take action which aims to 'preempt' terrorism - not to be mistaken with President Bush's 'doctrine of preemptive self-defense' - and not merely respond to or defend ourselves against terrorist acts. This cannot be done by using a military approach alone. An accurate diagnosis and a good understanding of the root causes for terrorism are required to find viable solutions. Toward these goals, this paper advocates an internationalized approach based on the concept of 'humanitarian preemption.'

CHAPTER 3

DISCONNECTEDNESS, TERRORISM AND THE THEORY OF HUMANITARIAN PREEMPTION

3.1 Globalization and Connectedness

In little over a decade, globalization has transformed the way the world operates. A combination of path-breaking technological developments and an evolving socio-political climate has facilitated a silent revolution that has managed to change our lives dramatically. Technology has worked wonders and shrunk the world in ways that have enabled high levels of connectivity among people separated by great distances. Thomas Friedman (2000) sees the phenomenon of globalization as an international system that replaced the Cold War system. He considers it the new, well-greased, interconnected system which rests on the integration of capital, technology, and information across national borders, in a way that is creating a single global market.

Many countries have been able to leverage core competencies and natural resources such that the best goods are produced at the most efficient of locations and reach the customers in good time. New markets have opened up and national boundaries have ceased to be obstacles to the free movement of people, goods and services. For instance, it is common to find American stores filled with goods produced in China or Mexico and similarly people all over the world enjoy McDonalds and Coca-Cola. Employment has received a boost and the lives of millions of people have been changed drastically, for the better, due to this wave of global connectedness.

States have been able to overcome some serious problems after joining the loop of globalization. Eminent economist Jagdish Bhagwati (2004) argues globalization has done much more good for poor countries than it is credited with. He states the case of China where the government's aggressively outward economic policies that characterize globalization reduced poverty from 28% of the population in 1978 to 9% in 1998. Similarly, Joseph Stiglitz (2003) argues that globalization can be a positive force for the world if institutions that govern the process, such as the World Bank, IMF and WTO function efficiently with greater transparency. He draws attention to how globalization, along with foreign aid, has improved the living standards of millions around the world.

The benefits of globalization have not been limited to better standards of living and economic gain. Among the highly connected countries such as the United States or Western European countries, there are fewer territorial disputes and greater respect for sovereignty as issues of trade and commerce have taken precedence over territorial ones. The example of the Schumann Declaration of 1950, which proposed placing Franco-German production of coal and steel under a common higher authority, is a prominent one. This measure was proposed with the intention to foster interdependence in core sectors to such levels that war became "not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible."¹⁵ The connectedness between traditional rivals France and Germany, who had bloodied each other not very long ago and the peace that followed, is an important example of how connectedness fosters peace. It has successfully facilitated a sharing of values and countered the centuries old feelings of animosity. By achieving peace and stability, the US and the Western European countries have been able to focus on other

¹⁵ Schumann Declaration of May 9 1950
Online at http://europa.eu.int/abc/symbols/9-may/decl_en.htm
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pressing issues such as education, employment and development of modern technology. Well educated and informed people are in better positions to hold governments accountable and enjoy greater civil liberties. The fact that the governments are answerable to the voters results in higher standards of governance and greater respect for public opinion.

The same cannot be said of disconnected states that are outside the loop of globalization. Disconnectedness is the product of a combination of political economic and social conditions that heavily influence each other. The policy decisions made by the government and the resulting effects on respective societies create conditions where these states are not allowed to interact with the rest of the world and have little to contribute. The situation is made worse by the international community turning a blind eye to these conditions. Such a situation creates resentment among people of the region, which as Jessica Stern (2003) says, leads to violent retribution against the ruling that is not always confined to national boundaries. Not only are they deprived of the direct political and economic benefits of globalization but they also suffer from other issues such conflict and security problems. Barnett (2004) focuses on such states that are out of the loop of globalization when he presents his thesis that *disconnectedness defines danger*. With his map of disconnectedness he identifies regions of the world which are likely treading the path of globalization and the ones that are not. His thesis not only fits nicely with the work of scholars such as Bhagwati, Stiglitz and Friedman but also presents a new and highly important facet. While these scholars highlight the ways (such as poverty reduction, higher employment and incomes) in which globalization improves the living conditions of people in countries that move toward connectedness, Barnett goes a step

further and looks at what negative impact the rest of the states are likely to have. The negative consequences, he rightly argues, are not limited to poor economic conditions and opportunities. Instead, they have the potential to create serious security problems for the region itself as well as the rest of the world. For example, states in the Middle East and Africa, where authoritarian regimes have held sway without any semblance of accountability, have suffered from lack of political participation, economic hardships, public discontent and conflict.¹⁶

The conditions of disconnectedness can be changed if steps are taken to address the problems. States such as China and India, epitomes of inefficiency and mismanagement a decade or two ago, have undergone dramatic changes. They have entered the interconnected world due to the conscious change in policies by their governments. China has chosen a unique mix of authoritarian rule and liberal market reforms (Garver, 2001) while India has trodden the path of democracy combined with a shift from a centrally planned economy to a liberal market one. (Das, 2002) They have chosen distinct paths to do so and are still some distance away from achieving the standards of the West but the efforts and the results are definitely visible.

The new world of globalization, however, has not been open to everyone. For the few that have made progress toward connectedness, there are many more that are totally out of the loop of globalization. As stated earlier, I examine the cases of Somalia, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to demonstrate the consequences of disconnectedness and also discuss the difficulties faced by these states in overcoming their disconnectedness. In the case of Somalia, it has been left out due to sheer lack of wherewithal among them to

¹⁶ Online at: <http://www.hrw.org/wr2k1/mideast/saudi.html>
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initiate change. Its economic fortunes are being driven by its deep political divisions. The country has been in a state of civil war with no central government since 1991. Before 1991, it was ruled by the repressive Siad Barre regime. This history has left the country with no institutions to enforce the law and provide governance. Somalia's small industrial sector, based on the processing of agricultural products, has largely been looted and sold. Ongoing civil disturbances and clan rivalries have interfered with economic development and international aid arrangements. Overdue financial obligations to the IMF continued to grow.¹⁷ The international community has not found it in its interest to intervene in this war-ravaged country and hence Somalia has been largely left to fend for itself without much capacity to do so. This situation has created an ideal home for terrorists fleeing other countries. Not only have religious radicals set up base and started operating in Somalia but the local population is also at risk of being indoctrinated with radical religious ideas and recruiting tactics of terrorist causes, thus becoming a breeding ground for terrorism.¹⁸

Others such as Saudi Arabia have been left out due to the resistance from the ruling elite as disconnectedness strengthens their hand and serves their purpose. Saudi politics and society are highly conservative. *Wahhabism*, a conservative interpretation of *Sunni* Islam, has been a cornerstone of the *Al Saud* family's legitimacy since the 18th century. The country's basic law stipulates that the throne shall remain in the hands of the sons and grandsons of the kingdom's founder, thus ruling out public participation in

¹⁷ Online at: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/so.html>
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¹⁸ Online at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/security/library/congress/1992_cr/h920205-terror.htm
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politics. The royals have been prone to excess while the people suffer hardships. Despite the enormous wealth, resources seem to be misused as the unemployment rate is at an absurdly high 25%. Increasing discontent has created sympathy among people for the likes of Osama Bin Laden and similar radical ideologies who advocate the overthrow of the current regime. The good relations between the Saudi elite and the US have also led to resentment against the US.¹⁹

States such as Pakistan suffer from a combination of a lack of capacity as well as resistance from the ruling class. The people lack sufficient power to effect change and are also victims of the vested interests of their political elite. Even though there have been several experiments with democracy, institutions have been frequently undermined and weakened by the politicians. The military has become overly powerful at the expense of civilian authority. Economic hardships have created a strong constituency for religious radicalism, posing serious security problems for the region as well as the rest of the world. An example of this was the Taliban regime, members of which were educated in Saudi-financed *madrassas* in Pakistan that taught austere Wahhabism and rigid medieval forms of Islam which lay emphasis on *jihad* and defeat of the infidels.

People living in some of these disconnected countries may be better off on some counts than others. For instance, the unemployment situation of Pakistan is better than that in Saudi Arabia but overall both states are far below the standards enjoyed by people from connected states. Not only are they deprived of the benefits of globalization but their disconnectedness from the process also pushes them into greater misery on other fronts. Some of the indicators of connectedness/ disconnectedness are outlined here and

¹⁹ Online at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1587484.stm
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will be used to evaluate the conditions in cases considered in Chapter 4. The problems due to the political instability or lack of political participation undoubtedly form the foundation of disconnectedness. However, disconnectedness can be compounded by and manifest itself in various other ways. The state may be politically isolated from the international system due to the benefits that such isolation lends to its rulers. It may be an economic pariah due to its political problems, thus, facing lack of foreign investment or exports as a source of income. For instance, the FDI in Saudi Arabia is as low as negative 0.41%. The population may be deprived of access to basic health services. Diseases such as AIDS may be rampant and affect the efficiency of the workforce, with no effort from the government to spread awareness. Absence of infrastructure and a local industry required to sustain oneself could make matters worse. The government may resort to censorship of the media, which is further facilitated by inadequate modes of communication such as telephones or the internet. Widespread income inequality, with the few constituting the ruling elite growing richer by the day at the expense of the poor masses, may lead to discontentment. For example, Saudi Arabia's high levels of income inequality and chronic unresponsiveness to the needs of the poor are often reflected in low life expectancy relative to the GDP per capita of the country. Lack of income in the hands of the poor means they are unable to purchase medical care and other basic needs. Lack of government action to facilitate provision of livelihoods, food, health care, and other needs, also lowers life expectancy among the poor.²⁰ The state is likely to use strong handed tactics to quell any attempts at changing the status quo, often leading to

²⁰ Online at: <http://ucatlans.ucsc.edu/sen.php>
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blatant human rights violations. A combination of several of the above factors is likely to be the cause of disconnectedness.

3.2 Disconnectedness Defines Danger

On an intellectual level, it is easy to see disconnectedness as another form of unequal distribution of wealth and resources, a phenomenon so common in the world. However, the issue of disconnectedness is a much deeper one as these disconnected parts of the world pose a threat to the connected parts. It is not just a localized problem but one that has the potential to spillover from one country to another. For example, the disconnectedness in Afghanistan has had an adverse impact on Western Pakistan. Lawlessness and radicalism are common on both sides of the border are commonplace even though Pakistan is much less disconnected. The radicals in Afghanistan, the Maoists in Nepal, and the *jihadis* in Indonesia are all products of disenfranchisement and disconnectedness. Some of them may have suffered directly from it while others have thrived due to it by finding recruits for their radical causes. The radicals in Afghanistan played vital roles in training terrorists and planning and financing the events of 9/11. The Maoists of Nepal not only aim to unseat the King of Nepal but harbor grand visions of spreading their ideology throughout India. The *jihadis* in Indonesia unabashedly declare support for Bin Laden and voice anti-American sentiments. Thus, such groups have not just created problems for their countries but pose threats to the rest of the world.

Disconnectedness leads to circumstances where the underprivileged can be exploited by extremist groups such as those discussed above by recruiting them for their violent causes in exchange for financial remuneration as can be seen in the case of young

children indoctrinated in *madrassas* in exchange for basic amenities such as food, shelter and education. (Stern, 2003) Second, it may instill empathy among the disconnected toward terrorist causes due to similarity of their situations as can be seen in the case of peasant support for Maoists in Nepal.²¹ Since a record high of 500,000 visitors in 1999, tourism has steadily declined as the conflict has escalated: by 2002, the number had fallen to 215,000. A recent survey found that less than 37% of children were vaccinated in two districts affected by the rebellion, compared with a national average of 75%. Hard statistics are scarce, but remittances are thought to comprise 12% of GDP, and the figure is growing. With no viable options to secure their future within the country, the deprived may as well find the terrorist ideology attractive. The conflict has claimed more than 10,000 lives.²² Propaganda of different kinds can lead to victimization or subsequent convergence of ideas, leading to the disconnected population playing host, providing safe-havens and becoming breeding grounds for terrorist activities as was the case with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Thus, living in splendid isolation is not an option for the connected. This problem has to be addressed to preserve the well-being of the better off and improving the conditions of those who are less fortunate.

Different Methods of Creating Connectedness

Globalization takes its own course in countries that possessed the basic capability to outgrow their woes and the benefits of being connected are slowly but surely

²¹ Online at: http://www.economist.com/displaystory.cfm?story_id=3446340
Downloaded on March 2 2005

²² Online at: http://www.economist.com/displayStory.cfm?Story_id=3140715
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percolating to the inner layers of society as seen in China and India. However, the weak states such as Somalia which lack the resources to extract themselves from trouble have to be helped. Then, there are the reluctant ones such as Saudi Arabia whose authoritarian regimes have self-interests in remaining disconnected. Further, states such as Pakistan present a complex mix where on the one hand the economy shows a satisfactory growth of about 6% while teenagers continue to fall prey to radicalism due to poverty and the bankruptcy of the education system. Such states harm their own cause as well as that of the rest of the world and have to be pampered, coaxed, pressured or forced to join the process of globalization so that the lives of their citizens improve and they cease being a threat to the rest of the world. Thus, states of different kinds have to be encompassed by connectedness, though the methods to do so may differ in each case and the results will depend on the inherent capacity of the state and the external help it receives.

Multilateral Framework for Creating Connectedness

While this paper agrees with Thomas P.M. Barnett's argument that disconnected represents a grave security problem, it takes a stand entirely different from his regarding the method to be employed in addressing this problem. Barnett argues that since the US is the dominant power today and is the only state capable of projecting military power to the most remote parts of the world, it should play the role of 'Gap Leviathan.' According to Barnett, the Gap Leviathan would be in charge of exporting security to the disconnected regions (the Gap) and helping create an atmosphere for connectedness to thrive. He argues that since the rest of the world does not have the capability to fight alongside the US, it should be satisfied with outsourcing this security function of playing

the Gap Leviathan to the US. He chooses to see the exporting of security (read military action including regime change if required) as one separated from the process that follows in the aftermath of US military action. He contends that there should be a multilateral effort in carrying out peacekeeping, post-war reconstruction and nation-building activities. However, he says that without long-term US commitment, “our allies essentially get left holding the bag, meaning the Pentagon could easily generate more post war long-term babysitting jobs than the rest of the core could readily handle.” (Barnett, 2004 pp. 314) He does not want the US to be dependent on the whims of its allies and hence he argues in favor of specialization of functions in which the US handles the military aspect fully while the other members of the core can join the post-military effort if they so desire. He goes to the extent of saying that the US should build two types of forces, one for war and the other for peacekeeping.

This argument is blatantly unilateral and betrays an exceptional overestimation of American military power. No matter how powerful, the US military cannot realistically address security issues of the world on its own. A potential counterargument to my observation is that Barnett’s argument is based on the realism that the US may not favor an international force under the aegis of the UN. Also, the US may be confident of its ability to project its power and might prefer having a multi-faceted force rather than endure the myriad coordination problems that an international force would entail. However, just as the US may be opposed to a “UN army”, the rest of the world may be opposed to an expanded global role for the US as suggested by Barnett within which only the US will possess a military of some significance. US efforts would be seen as unilateralism and vehemently opposed by the rest. Second, it would be worth evaluating

whether, assuming that it has the capability, the US would actually be willing to deploy its forces when some other country faces a terrorist threat that does not directly threaten the US. Since it is a global problem that we are trying to address, such broad responsibility would require deployment of US personnel to places that may not be in America's strategic interest. It is hence important to reevaluate Barnett's idea of developing a super-military. Finally, there is no real need to see the military aspect and the postwar aspect as two separate processes and the prospective allies will not view it separately either. If Barnett does not oppose the involvement of other states in principle, there is no reason why should they be kept out of the task of exporting security in the first place. It would be wiser, despite the capability differences, to ensure involvement of as many states as possible from the outset so that the same support continues for postwar efforts. It will also help address issues of legality of the intervention. The US would also be spared the effort and cost of developing two types of military forces as advocated by Barnett. Finally, Thus, Barnett's argument, even though well-intentioned, has flaws on multiple levels that need to be addressed.

This paper argues that the process of facilitating change has to happen within a multilateral framework under the supervision of the international community. It is clear from previous efforts at nation-building such as in Iraq that no matter how powerful the external power is, it is always helpful to have an international coalition at work rather than one state carrying out the operation. Second, a standard approach which entails the ouster of all the "big man" regimes as Barnett calls them, cannot be used. There are situations where a military option may not be viable and sometimes the international community may be forced to work with dictators and authoritarian regimes. Thus, in

carrying out this entire process we should not lose focus of the ultimate goal which is to redeem regions of disconnectedness, upon successful completion of which, issues of both US security as well as the security of the rest of the world will be automatically addressed.

3.3 The Concept of Humanitarian Preemption

The first reaction to any plea for help invariably invokes a response in financial terms. Often, enormous sums of money seem to flow into bottomless pits with no real change affected in the target regions. For instance, Britain has pledged € 350 million to Pakistan over the next three years to help it fight poverty and promote government accountability.²³ The US administration has requested Congress for \$698.3 million for fiscal 2006 as aid to Pakistan to help fight terrorism.²⁴ Similarly, the European Commission has adopted a humanitarian aid package worth €5 million to help tackle some of the severe humanitarian needs in Somalia, resulting from prolonged conflict, drought and floods.²⁵ These announcements although useful, are limited in their effectiveness. As Jim Kolbe (2003) says, it is not the quantity of foreign assistance that is integral to successful development. He cites the example of US\$ 167 billion given in aid to 156 countries since 1980. Yet, the group's median inflation adjusted GDP declined from \$1076 in 1980 to \$994 in 2003. Kolbe argues that given the long time-frames,

²³ Online at: <http://212.2.162.45/news/story.asp?j=174552155&p=y74553x66&n=174553089>
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²⁴ Online at: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/1039137.cms>
Downloaded on February 25 2005

²⁵ Online at: europa-eu-un.org/articles/cs/article_2026_cs.htm
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sufficient growth should have been achieved. He points out that the focus should be on other critical issues such as regulatory policies, anti-corruption practices, transparency and the rule of law rather than on the amount of aid. Once the problem of disconnectedness is identified and acknowledged, it is clear that pouring money into the region does not serve the cause of redeeming the region of its disconnectedness. There has to be a strategy that works on several different levels to target the multi-layered problem. The strategy has to have the capacity to negate the tendency of the government to misuse resources and tackle several if not all the ills that disconnectedness can cause as described earlier. Friedman (2000) supports this view when he says that nation must have a good governance “plug” to integrate into the global economy. Thus, emphasis on any one aspect can only yield partial success. It has to be a comprehensive package of the political, economic, social and philosophical.

The Philosophy behind Humanitarian Preemption

Devising a comprehensive strategy to address security issues arising out of disconnectedness requires a comprehensive understanding of the problem. The international community has to first and foremost acknowledge that a problem of great magnitude exists. Only then can a solution be devised. It also requires avoiding the temptation of holding seemingly obvious but secondary factors such as religion or hatred for the West responsible for terrorism. Such attempts to blame these factors amount to shirking the responsibility or avoiding the effort of understanding the primary causes of the problem.

The problem may, often, not represent the immediate interests of external powers. As scholars such as Robert Kaplan (2000) argue, the moral responsibility of an individual and state are not comparable because states are not bound by Judeo-Christian ethics. Hence, a state can be expected to intervene in another state's inhumane actions only when citizens of the first state are at risk. Nonetheless, the moral obligation to act forms a strong foundation on which humanitarian preemption rests. This point is highlighted by Gray's Maxim discussed by Michael Walzer, which states that "the more one can do, the more one must do." (Walzer, 1997 pp. 301) Also, even though the problem might not represent the immediate interests of external powers and may not put their citizens in harm's way as discussed above, disconnectedness creates problems which are bound to spillover, threatening the rest of the world and eventually causing harm beyond boundaries. Thus, even though moral obligations may not ensure the protection of self interests in the short term, the potential of the problem to hurt us in the long run makes it necessary to address it.

Once the decision to act is made, this effort will demand magnanimity on our leaders' parts to cede authority to an international organization such as the UN and avoid unilateralism. In a struggle that requires efforts on several fronts and resources that exceed fire power, even the mighty US military, with its massive ability to project power, is inadequate. It is evident from recent events in Iraq that bringing a nation back onto its feet is not as easily done as razing it down to the ground. Often lack of support for UN action, as in Rwanda, and resulting lack of resources have led to failed interventions. The conditions that are to be achieved undoubtedly demand a concerted global effort. Thus,

all nations strong and weak, will have to work together to tackle what is definitely a cause for collective concern.

The approach of humanitarian preemption can easily be dismissed as a utopian and impractical one. To the naysayer, I would like to posit that this approach does require a certain measure of idealism. If the endeavor is to bring the most deprived and disconnected places of the world into the mainstream as we know it, nothing short of a comprehensive approach backed by an ability to think beyond the conventional will succeed. Also, this is no exercise in philanthropy or overzealous social work. It is an investment in a solution to tackle a grave global security problem. It is also an attempt to redeem hundreds of thousands held hostage by lack of opportunities, lawlessness and radicalism. Finally, given that traditional approaches such as use of military force, distribution of aid among others have failed to make an impact, it is time to rethink our strategies toward ensuring global security.

Political Dimensions of Humanitarian Preemption

Politically, short term interests have to make way for a long-term approach. Several states, predominantly in Africa, have not received sufficient attention despite endless civil conflicts, famines and innumerable deaths. Lack of domestic political constituency, economic interests, and so-called strategic importance has resulted in a gross devaluation of human life in these less fortunate countries. For instance, 800,000 people were massacred in a span of a few weeks in Rwanda while the international community debated the definitions of genocide. Such callousness is unthinkable if the affected region would have belonged to the developed world. The international

community simply needs to dedicate more attention, time and resources to these states so that they stop living in a lesser world devoid of any prospects for the future.

In regions such as the Middle East, which are perceived as strategically important, the international community has failed to rise above its self-interests and demand accountability from regimes. Authoritarian regimes have ruled with an iron fist with vital support from Western powers. Political expediency and economic benefits are responsible for such support which has to end. For instance, Saddam Hussein received US support for a long time during the 1980s before he fell out of favor and was ousted from power. Hosni Mubarak has ruled Egypt for over two decades with support from the West. Similarly, the Saudi regime has ruled with an iron fist and has suppressed any signs of opposition. This has been facilitated by the good relations enjoyed by the regime with the West. The world's reliance for its energy needs on Saudi energy resources has also led us to overlook many of the excesses of the regime.

Local institutions, such as a judiciary independent of political pressure, a free media, and apolitical security agencies have to be developed so that they are capable of providing governance and internal security. Abdelmattlep (2003) has discussed the modernization of Arab institutions to ensure that they are more effective. Fukuyama (2003) laments the lack of development of institutions in Africa and Middle East and argues that development of such instruments is the crucial difference that makes the other parts of the world better places. Concentration of power in the hands of one family or few people constituting the ruling class has alienated the people. Extremism and violence in the region are clear examples of this alienation. Jennifer Windsor (2003) discusses ways to counter such alienation when she highlights the benefits of democracy, peaceful

change of regimes, channels for dissent and political discussion, civil society, and free flow of information among others. She emphasizes the importance of democracy to achieve sustainable development. Political participation has to be promoted by pressing the regime to conduct elections starting from the level of the smallest administrative units such as villages. Robert Orr (2003) discusses the mobilization of disenfranchised sections of the population and argues that enabling such groups to play an active role not only spurs development but also provides the means to successfully undermine armed combatants, warlords, and other disruptive elements.

Fareed Zakaria (1997) argues that the Middle East is not prepared for elections and should instead be encouraged to undertake gradual reforms. However, there is bound to be resistance from the ruling class toward even such small measures. To counter this resistance it is important to impress upon the regime that the international community has the will to set aside immediate interests and even resort to regime change in the event of non-compliance or resistance. A combination of international pressure and incentives such as a continued role in the form of a constitutional monarchy should be used to overcome resistance. It should be made clear that resistance would result in the regime risk completely losing power. The safety and continuance of the regime should be ensured by the UN and made contingent upon the fact that executive power is delegated to civilian institutions. They have to be convinced that delegation of power is in their long term interests as well as that of the country and world at large. The evolution of absolute monarchies to constitutional ones has to be facilitated by such gradual steps so that stability is not compromised and the interests of the incumbent regime are also addressed. Such gradual steps would include elections at the lowest level and setting up

of a judicial process that gives the people a right to be heard. Political discussion and choice should be encouraged and the royals should be pressured to take the lead in showing that they favor these developments rather than opposing them.

Local NGOs should be permitted to function freely and report human rights abuses to the UN. The UN should deploy personnel to monitor and review the actions of the NGOs and ensure that there is no political interference. Any concerns should be reported to the world body so that further pressure can be applied to the regime. Windsor (2003) discusses one such method of encouraging political reform with the establishment of the Millennium Challenge Account to provide up to US \$5 billion to countries that “rule justly, invest in their own people, and encourage freedom.” Freedom of the media has to be encouraged and ensured. Of the eighteen countries in the Middle East, thirteen have been rated as “not free” by Freedom House in their annual survey.²⁶ The international community has to hold the regime responsible for proper compliance with all suggested UN programs or face UN sponsored collective military action that may result in complete loss of power. The states have to be welcomed into regional and global political groups and engaged in collective regimes. Organizations such as the Arab League and the OPEC should be pressured by the international community to use their leverage with member countries such as Saudi Arabia. States should be designated authority as well as held responsible for their actions toward their people as well as the rest of the world.

In states such as Pakistan, *madrassas* have often performed the role of NGOs apart from their role as educational institutions. A *madrassa* plays a complex role in the

²⁶ Online at: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/freeworld/2002/countries.htm>
Downloaded on January 15 2005

modern Pakistani society. In addition to imparting instructions to young uninitiated students, these seminaries also serve as sanctuaries for the have-nots. Most of students of these institutions belong to very poor families. Though they have the option to go for a life of crime, they opt for religious education. Seen in this context, these *madrassas* are playing positive role in the society by preventing a vulnerable section of the population from joining the ranks of criminals.²⁷ However, *madrassas* have also often been prone to inculcate religious extremism and the vulnerable section of the population has found in such religious indoctrination an escape route from its woes. It is here that the international community has its task cut out. It has to ensure that the government pursues reforms of *madrassas* such as implementation of standardized syllabi, inculcation of values of moderation, development of employable skills as opposed to a strictly Quranic curriculum, and producing students that can contribute toward a moderate civil society. The government should issue licenses for *madrassas* working within the specified framework to operate. A common criterion in terms of the minimum level of facilities for students should be established. It has to enforce adherence to a moderate curriculum and non-compliance should be punished with cancellation of licenses and closure of facilities. In addition to *madrassa* reform the international community along with the government should develop a viable and affordable education system that can substitute the *madrassa* system in the long run. An adequate education system and social relief mechanisms to help the impoverished will counter the inflow of *recruits* for *madrassas*.

²⁷ Online at: <http://pakistantimes.net/2004/01/11/guest1.htm>
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Economic Dimensions of Humanitarian Preemption

Political reforms alone will not help matters if they are not supported by economic measures. Blinken (2003) mentions the role of technology and trade for countries to succeed in a globalized economy. Friedman (2000) talks about the increasing inclination toward development of the countries which are undergoing globalization while others who are not focused on their well being in the globalized economy are drawn toward violence. Employment has to be generated by helping setup local industry and manufacturing enterprises. Initial implementation of food programs has to be backed by developing indigenous food resources and self-sufficiency. Situations such as the one in Saudi Arabia, where a quarter of the population is unemployed, are bound to cause social unrest. There has to be a concerted effort to help develop 'core competency' whereby the target state has the capability to make at least one significant contribution to the global economy. Saudi Arabia does meet this criterion on the basis of its enormous energy resources. However, the increasing demand and dependence on a non-renewable resource resulted in growing problems of unemployment thus, making it obvious that alternative employment options have to be developed. The government could encourage establishment of knowledge-based industry such as software development which can create a demand for an educated workforce, thus raising the standards of education, creating new employment opportunities as well as contributing to the globalized economy. The target state should be absorbed in small trading blocks so that it boosts local business. This will foster interdependence and generate employment. Economic vitality and political security attract foreign investment which is crucial for development of infrastructure and greater industrial capacity. International corporate investment should

be promoted with UN sponsored guarantees for investment. Development contracts should be executed in favor of industries to promote local employment and industrial infrastructure. Firms should be provided the incentive of first entry, larger share in profits and UN protection. The UN has to tackle money laundering and other financial means used by terrorists. Drug trade and other sources of funding such as blood diamonds have to be countered. Only an economically stable state, with sufficient opportunities for its people, can strike a vital blow at the forces of radicalism.

Social Dimensions of Humanitarian Preemption

In the event of a disaster or a humanitarian crisis, doling out money or deploying military power are the most common responses. Rarely, if ever, is attention focused on the social dimensions of the problem. Education is an important aspect that is often ignored. It is interesting to note that even terrorist organizations, instead of always relying on force, use social reengineering methods by establishing schools that indoctrinate people to their radical methods. However, little is done by the state or the international community toward using education as solution. The political aspects of *madrassa* reform have been discussed earlier. Here, the social effects of *madrassas* are explored. Hamre and Sullivan (2003) have discussed the importance of essential services such as education in promoting a program of sustainable development as opposed to a short-term humanitarian initiative. Similarly, Desker and Ramakrishna (2003) urge the creation of educational agencies and moderate Muslim religious authorities in countries such as Indonesia that can develop modern Islamic curriculum. They argue in favor of education in science and technology and a greater exposure of the youth to well-

articulated modern alternatives to Wahhabi-inspired exclusionary worldviews. The younger generation is a potential victim as well as the foundation of a possible strategy against terrorism. Attention has to be paid to ensure that young minds are not swayed by extremist rhetoric. The socio-economic conditions have to be bolstered such that poverty and lack of opportunities should not drive helpless youngsters toward religious escape routes. Moreover, there should be an extensive effort to establish a modern education system capable of developing skills helpful for survival in a globalized world.

Health care is another important factor that has immense impact on the social structure of a country. Diseases such as AIDS are not mere health problems as they have the capacity to destroy a society. Africa is a region plagued by AIDS with entire workforces facing elimination. Numerous other diseases turn into massive killers when basic healthcare is absent. A global health consortium has to be instituted to counter social damage by these diseases by providing affordable medicines, promoting disease control programs with help from the private sector. Presently, poor countries are deprived of medicines because the pharmaceutical industries in developed countries argue that costs of research and development of medicines is too high which makes it impossible to subsidize drugs for poorer countries. It has to be realized that this is not merely a problem of affordability or a localized issue. Diseases such as AIDS have social and economic dimensions in addition to health issues. They have the potential to spread rapidly. Thus, the same steps that would have been taken if the problem were to affect the developed, has to be taken when it is ravaging the poorer countries.

The international community has a history of coming together without prejudice when faced by a tragedy of immense proportions. The recent wave of support for the

Tsunami victims of Asia is an example. The AIDS epidemic is no less a problem in magnitude and in fact poses greater danger given its ability to spread silently and take a huge toll on human life as well as the social and economic conditions of the survivors. If ignored, this problem is eventually bound to affect the rest. The free movement of people in this interconnected world renders the developed countries equally at risk. Hence, international companies, both public sector as well as private, have to be brought together under the proposed global health consortium to draw up targets or production of medicine depending upon the requirement and have to be financed by their pooled resources as well as the UN.

The presence of an independent media, monitoring of human rights violations, training and maintaining a capable law enforcement agency are all factors crucial to ensure the well-being of a state. Modern technology such as internet resources and communications should be used for education and law enforcement. This approach of humanitarian preemption, an effort that provides a stable political system, economic opportunities and also endeavors to inculcate an ability to discern ones social responsibilities, is bound to strike at the heart of terrorism.

CHAPTER 4

DISCONNECTEDNESS AND HUMANITARIAN PREEMPTION IN PRACTICE

The cases examined below will show how disconnectedness has affected the following states and forms the root cause for the problems faced by these states. The cases illustrate why disconnectedness is a bigger factor than any other rival explanations. I choose these cases because these states have been vulnerable to terrorism at varying degrees. The citizens of these states have in the past either been victims or perpetrators of terrorist activities. These states have different systems of governance in place and different past experiences. They also enjoy varying levels of affluence, global or regional influence, and connectedness with the rest of the world thus providing a spectrum of situations on the basis of which comparative analyses can be performed. The cases also demonstrate why these states qualify for humanitarian preemption rather than any other approach to address their problems.

4.1 Case I: Somalia

Political Background

Somalia is arguably the most disconnected state in the world at present. While Afghanistan may also be considered a candidate for this unflattering position, the proximity of US forces and US-led intervention has marginally changed things in Afghanistan for the better. Somalia has not had a functioning national government for the past 14 years, since the fall of the Siad Barre regime in 1991. Left to its own devices by the international community over the past ten years, Somalia has seen destructive civil

war, lawlessness and localised conflicts between smaller clan-based factions and warlord militia groups. The disconnectedness of Somalia, though, finds its roots in a period much earlier than the past decade and a half. Siad Barre came to power in 1969, displacing the parliament-based government in a military coup. Faced with shrinking popularity and an armed and organized domestic resistance, he unleashed a reign of terror carried out by the Red Berets, a dreaded elite unit recruited from among the president's *Mareehaan* clansmen. This ensured that his grip on power was secure. In this process, political institutions were undermined and factionalism received a boost. As various clans and power brokers vied for power, the country sank into a seemingly irretrievable situation. Barre was deposed in 1991 but the country continues to be plagued by his legacy (Phillips, 2002). The exit of Siad Barre brought no respite to the Somali people. The warlord most responsible for ousting the Barre regime, General Mohammed Farah Aideded, gained a precarious dominance over rival warlords Muse Sude Yalahow and Ali Mahdi Mohammed (Phillips, 2002). By 1992, chronic factional fighting had exacerbated the growing humanitarian crisis. According to 2004 estimates the number of internally displaced people was 375,000 due to the clan-based competition for resources.²⁸

The Somali Economy

Living in Somalia, one of the world's poorest and least developed countries, roughly 7.5 million people have suffered through intermittent drought, economic chaos,

²⁸ Online at: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/so.html#Issues>
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and political violence. Somalia ranks 161 out of 163 on Human Development Index.²⁹ A GNP per capita of US\$ 150, consumer price inflation of 12% and an absurdly high inflation rate of 360% indicate the harsh conditions faced by the Somali people.³⁰ Agriculture is the most important sector, with livestock normally accounting for about 40% of GDP and about 65% of export earnings, but Saudi Arabia's recent ban on Somali livestock, because of Rift Valley Fever concerns, has severely hampered the sector. They have seen the depletion of their livestock herds and slashed agricultural production, the mainstays of the economy. Somalia's small industrial sector, based on the processing of agricultural products, has largely been looted. In the absence of a formal banking sector, money exchange services have sprouted throughout the country, handling between \$200 million and \$500 million in remittances annually. Limited local attempts at economic recovery and restoration of the rule of law have been put at risk by the escalation of conflict between opposing factions. The ongoing civil disturbances and clan rivalries have interfered with any broad-based economic development and international aid arrangements.³¹ Foreign Direct Investment net inflows (Balance of Payments, current US\$) stood at zero dollars in 2001 and negative 200000 dollars in 2002, showing that the climate was not conducive for investment.³²

²⁹ Online at: <http://www.sacb.info/HIVAIDS/Briefing%20Kit.pdf>
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³⁰ IMF, *Direction of Trade Statistics Yearbook 1999*

Businesses have been printing their own money so current estimates of inflation cannot be determined (CIA Fact Book 2005)

³¹ Online at <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/so.html#Econ>
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³² Foreign direct investment is net inflows of investment to acquire a lasting management interest (10 percent or more of voting stock) in an enterprise operating in an economy other than that of the investor. It is the sum of equity capital, reinvestment of earnings, other long-term capital, and short-term capital as

One of the very few and surprising success stories has been the telecommunications revolution which has taken place despite the absence of any functioning national government since 1991. In a strange turn of events, the absence of a government has meant that there are no taxes to be paid and enterprising businessmen have reduced prices resulting in this internet boom. There is no government backed monopoly and intense competition among the operators has resulted in extremely low prices for the customers. With a huge Diaspora, e-mail exchanges have boomed and businessmen have gone to the extent of trading goats on the internet³³, a truly enterprising people! Another interesting development is the extensive use of mobile phones. Companies have the tacit support of the warlords as nobody desires trouble which may result in the stoppage of services. However, people fear being attacked by gunmen if they are seen carrying their phones around, underlining the importance of security.

Businessmen discuss the potential growth that can be achieved if a functioning government could provide security and could regulate the flow of money through a central bank. Currently, all transactions are made through the *hawala* channel, an illegal method used by money launderers worldwide. People are open to paying taxes to a moderate government as long as it does not impose punitive tax rates or state control in a sector which obviously needs very little help to thrive.³⁴ People have found enterprising

shown in the balance of payments. This series shows net inflows in the reporting economy. Data are in current U.S. dollars.

Source: International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics and Balance of Payments databases, and World Bank, Global Development Finance

³³ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4020259.stm>
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³⁴ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4020259.stm>
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ways to earn their living and grow even when constantly under the barrel of the gun. A functioning representative government would be able to greatly affect the standard of living by providing security and streamlining processes.

Somali Society

Somalis are divided into many clans and sub-clans. These hierarchical descent groups, each said to originate with a single male ancestor, are a central fact of Somali life. Understanding how Somali people relate to one another requires some knowledge of the clan system. In Somali society, clans serve as a source of great solidarity as well as conflict. Clans combine forces for protection, access to water and good land, and political power. The Somali clan organization is an unstable system, characterized by changing alliances and temporary coalitions. Somali culture is male centered although women play important economic roles in both farming and in business in the cities. However, women have suffered from a medieval mindset prevalent in the society as they expected to keep the family's honor by remaining virgins until marriage. An example of this is female circumcision performed on 98% of Somali girls between the ages of 8 and 10 represents an effort to control women's sexuality. Many women suffer all of their lives from a great variety of medical problems stemming from this practice.³⁵

Before 1991, the education system in Somalia had four basic levels--preprimary, primary, secondary, and higher. The government controlled all schools, private schools having been nationalized in 1972 and Quranic education having been made an integral part of schooling in the late 1970s. The preprimary training given by Quranic schools

³⁵ Online at: <http://www.culturalorientation.net/somali/ssoc.html>
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lasted until the late 1970s. Quranic teachers traveled with nomadic groups, and many children received only the education offered by such teachers. There were a number of stationary religious schools in urban areas as well. The decision in the late 1970s to bring Islamic education into the national system reflected a concern that most Quranic learning was rudimentary at best, as well as a desire for tighter government control over an autonomous area. The number of students enrolled in the primary level increased each year, beginning in 1969-70 but many, especially girls, did not attend school, and some dropped out, usually after completing four years. In the late 1980s, the number of students enrolled in secondary school was less than 10 percent of the total in primary schools, a result of the dearth of teachers, schools, and materials. In the societal chaos following the fall of Siad Barre in early 1991, schools ceased to exist for all practical purposes.³⁶

Disconnectedness as the Root Cause for Terrorism

The fractured state of the Somali society has made it a fertile operating ground for terrorists. Failed states hold a number of attractions for terrorist organizations such as the opportunity to acquire territory on a large scale. Such territory is enough to accommodate entire training complexes, arms depots, and communications facilities. Generally, terrorist groups have no desire to assume complete control of the failed state but simply to acquire de facto control over specified areas where they will then be left alone. Second, failed states have weak or nonexistent law-enforcement capabilities, permitting terrorist groups to engage in smuggling and drug trafficking in order to raise funds for

³⁶ Online at: <http://countrystudies.us/somalia/52.htm>
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operations. The "brown zones" represented by offshore banking centers further facilitate the interconnection of terrorist groups with the narcotics trade by allowing terrorist groups to deposit funds and ensure their availability to their operatives. Third, failed states create pools of recruits and supporters for terrorist groups, who can use their resources and organizations to step into the vacuum left by the collapse of official state power and civil society³⁷ (Takeyh and Gvosdev, 2002). Somalia appears to be a magnet for terrorists due to its characteristics as a failed state, which makes it attractive for hard-to-trace financial transactions, transshipment of goods, personnel and efforts of social reengineering to suit terrorist causes.³⁸ For instance, small groups of extremists, some with ties to Al-Qaeda and possessing operational experience in Afghanistan and Iraq, have already moved into the region. While they are now largely focused on spreading their ideology, the officials argue that Al-Qaeda has traditionally been very patient, making small inroads that can accumulate over time. As described by one US defense official, the problem involves terrorists using these areas to hide, plan and conduct limited recruitment rather than seeking to establish large fixed training camps as in Afghanistan. They are seeking to spread their ideology by feeding off high unemployment and illiteracy rates, especially among young people. The counterterrorism officials said that terrorists have already made inroads into many areas of Africa.³⁹

³⁷ Takeyh and Gvosdev (2002), "Do Terrorists Need a Home?"

Online at:

http://www.cfr.org/pub7348/ray_takeyh_nikolas_k_gvosdev/do_terrorist_networks_need_a_home.php

Downloaded on January 20 2005

³⁸ Online at: <http://www.somali-civilsociety.org/downloads/ICG%20-%20Somalia%20&%20terrorism.htm>

Downloaded on March 2 2005

³⁹ Online at: <http://www.ocnus.net/cgi-bin/exec/view.cgi?archive=57&num=14921>

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It is sufficiently clear that explanations for terrorism such as the theory of religious motivations, the theory clash of civilizations and theory of political and ideological factors such as secessionist movements are weak at best in the Somali case. True, Islamic movements have been active in the country and terrorist elements have used Somali soil for their activities, but they took root as a result of the lack of governance, strong institutions and the lawlessness that followed. Religious radicalism has not been integral to Somali society but has sought to take advantage of its weakness. Somali society is thus a victim rather than a perpetrator of radicalism.

The factionalism and fighting among clans is also the direct result of absence of a strong national government and lack of public participation in the country's politics. It is a case of wielding power and profit maximization among factions rather than some kind of politically or ideologically based secessionist movement. Finally, the Somalis, troubled as they are by their chaotic conditions, are hardly in a position to harbor notions of hatred for Western civilization. They are more concerned about surviving another day. Thus, the plight of the people, the total chaos ruling the society, the attractiveness of this fractured state to terrorists, terrorists' attempts to penetrate and manipulate the institutions are factors that point in the direction of one factor responsible for all the misery: disconnectedness.

Somalia is a highly disconnected society and an entire generation has grown up without knowledge of governance. Its performance on the indicators of disconnectedness as discussed in Chapter 3 is evaluated here. Political participation in Somalia has been absent for nearly four decades due to authoritarian rule and domestic political instability. There are no recognized political parties and various clans vie for power. The borders are

porous and can be easily infiltrated, making Somalia an easy target for weapons smuggling, drug trafficking and infiltration of terrorist elements escaping the law elsewhere. With no functioning national government to lead the way, the state is isolated from the international political and economic system and has been left to fend for itself. Somalia does not even have an embassy in the US and vice versa, another example of disconnectedness. It exports only basic materials such as livestock, bananas, hides, charcoal, scrap metal and fish which are not of critical value and can be purchased elsewhere. Thus, there is little interaction between the international community and Somalia and, little interdependence and scope for international pressure to effect change. The infrastructure in the country is in a dilapidated state, damaged by continuous civil war. The public telecommunications system was almost completely destroyed or dismantled by the civil war factions and private wireless companies, notable exceptions whose success has been discussed earlier, offer service in most major cities.⁴⁰

With total absence of governance, the situation is a virtual free for all that leads to violence and gross violations of human rights by human rights. For instance, the use of child soldiers, including some as young as ten, is widespread by all forces involved in the conflict.⁴¹ Recurring droughts and famines have added to the misery of the war-ravaged average Somali. Infrastructure and local industry required to sustain oneself are totally absent. Matters are complicated by the large number of refugee movements in response to famine and clan warfare. A Transitional National Government formed in August 2000 had a three-year mandate to create a new constitution and hold elections, but this goal

⁴⁰ Online at: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/so.html#Comm>
Downloaded on February 12 2005

⁴¹ Online at: http://hrw.org/doc/?t=africa_pub&c=somali
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was not achieved and the process is still ongoing (Michael, 2003). Meanwhile, *Al Qaeda* backed Islamic extremists have established presence in Somalia to help the *Itihaad al-Islami* organize an armed militia, establish schools and clinics, and prepare to seize power (Phillips, 2002). The radicals have engaged themselves in the long-term infiltration of regional institutions, promotion of fundamentalist Islamic education institutions. These efforts demonstrate an uncanny ability among terrorist groups to identify troubled regions and convert them into breeding grounds for terrorism. Apart from the few attempts during the mid-nineties discussed below, the international community, especially the UN and the developed states, has chosen to let this country fend for itself and in the process slide deeper into the state of disconnectedness.

Ineffectiveness of Previous International Action

As stated earlier, the international community did make a few attempts to help Somalia tackle its situation. The United Nations Security Council launched an emergency food relief operation in August 1992 but was unable to assure the distribution of food supplies because of the deteriorating security situation, particularly in the south. Somali warlords ruthlessly plundered relief supplies to feed and subsidize their own militias. The floundering UN food relief operation was rescued by the US Operation Restore Hope which marginally succeeded in alleviating famine conditions (Michael, 2003).

General Aideed had initially welcomed the United Nations intervention, which he sought to exploit to strengthen his domination over southern Somalia. However, he grew hostile after U.N. peacekeeping troops sought to disarm his militia and were perceived as favoring his arch-rival, Ali Mahdi Mohammed. Aideed launched a guerrilla war to drive

out U.N. peacekeeping forces. The Clinton Administration dispatched US Special Forces to arrest General Aideed in Mogadishu, but the mission backfired, when Aideed's gunmen shot down two U.S. Black Hawk helicopters and killed 18 Army rangers. The footage of Somalis dragging the body of a dead American soldier through the streets of Mogadishu was too much to bear and forced the Clinton Administration quickly reversed course. The nation-building experiment in Somalia was abandoned and Washington withdrew the U.S. forces from Somalia by the end of March 1994, and the U.N. peacekeeping mission was terminated in 1995 after failing to restore law and order (Phillips, 2002). Even today, Somalia is a broken society disconnected from the rest of the world and the consequent conditions in favour of terrorism remain as real and fertile as ever. The international community is guilty of either underestimating the magnitude of the problem and taking inadequate measures or totally abdicating responsibility, for which it might have to pay a very high price in the future.

Somalia is a country where, if the international community has to act, any half-hearted or one-dimensional approach (economic or military) will not suffice. Purely humanitarian action such as aid in the form of food or money has been misused or disrupted by rival factions and clan-leaders, with little relief reaching the suffering population. It may be easier in military and geo-strategic terms to conduct counterterrorist operations in Somalia than in Afghanistan, but Somalia's tumultuous internal politics make any sustained military operation a risky proposition, as the Clinton Administration discovered in 1993. A comprehensive multi-dimensional strategy aimed at alleviating the political, economic and social conditions has to be implemented.

Humanitarian Preemption in Somalia

Taking into account some of the unique problems faced by Somalia, three strategies, revolving around governance, economics and education, specifically addressing these problems are discussed here. Somalia's biggest problem is clearly the lack of a central authority and the resulting lack of law and order. As a result, internecine warfare has been the order of the day, leaving the country in total chaos. Second, the industrial and financial apparatus of the country is in total disarray and the economy is in need of systems on the basis of which it can grow. People are unable to find work and earn their living respectably. This is especially damaging for the youth as they are unable to positively channel their energies. Third, the decrepit state of the education system has left the population, especially the youth vulnerable to the influence of radicals. A combination of these factors has created conditions favorable for terrorist elements. The following steps will form the components of the humanitarian preemption strategy in Somalia:

1). Strengthening the Political System

The first step toward the goal will be to bring the warlords to the negotiation table and offering them a role in an elected government. It should be emphasized that they would be faced with the might of the international community and face elimination if they decide to indulge in disruptive activities. The UN should be empowered to raise troops capable of fighting and peacekeeping operations. Soldiers from neutral countries should be used to avoid possibilities of bias for or against conflicting groups. The UN should use force if required and make it clear that their days in unbridled power are over. The

primary goal should be create a situation where order is restored in the country. The UN forces should be gradually replaced by local law enforcement agencies, with the UN forces overseeing recruitment and training activities, so that the locals become self-reliant in maintaining law and order.

The restoration of law and order has to be followed by holding local elections and bringing a representative government to power. For instance, the case of East Timor provides a good precedent for such action. In 1999, with an UN-supervised popular referendum, an overwhelming majority of the people of East Timor voted for independence from Indonesia which had occupied East Timor since 1976. Indonesia tried to instigate trouble in East Timor. Between the referendum and the arrival of a multinational peacekeeping force in late September 1999, anti-independence Timorese militias - organized and supported by the Indonesian military - commenced a large-scale campaign of retribution. The militias killed approximately 1,300 Timorese and forcibly pushed 300,000 people into West Timor as refugees. The majority of the country's infrastructure, including homes, irrigation systems, water supply systems, and schools, and nearly 100% of the country's electrical grid were destroyed. However, the international community acted and deployed the Australian-led peacekeeping troops of the International Force for East Timor (INTERFET). This force brought the violence to an end and East Timor was internationally recognized as an independent state in 2002. Soon a popular government was elected and the country is slowly overcoming its violent past. Similarly, the elected Somali government should be guaranteed support in its initial days by the UN so that it is not vulnerable to being overthrown by renegade elements and eventually held responsible for implementing the UN program. Another aspect that needs

attention is the strengthening of institutions such as the judiciary. Again, East Timor provides a good example. An UN-drafted legal system based on Indonesian law was put in place in 2002 and was replaced by Timorese civil and penal codes in 2004. Finally, the international community should facilitate establishment of embassies and joining of regional and international organizations. This would be with the aim of increasing involvement for the international community and promoting a sense of responsibility toward the world on the part of the Somalis.

2). Economic Revival

A comprehensive corporate-funded industry and infrastructure revitalization program should be undertaken. International tenders should be invited with a stake for all interested parties in the growth of the Somali industry. For instance, Afghanistan has established the Afghan-American Chamber of Commerce (AACC) in 2002 to promote an open-market economy in Afghanistan. This association aims to accomplish its mission by forming partnerships with business associations, think tanks, universities, local chambers of commerce, and other business organizations that have vested interests in an open economy and a democratic political system. The broad goal should be to create sufficiency in critical products such as food and also generate competence in producing more products that can be traded with others. This approach will create interdependence and enhance economic connectedness. Local entrepreneurs should be encouraged with subsidies, technological knowledge and access to trade with other countries. The next obvious step is to create capability for the economy to absorb the people in jobs. People should be provided with low interest loans to encourage entrepreneurial activity. Small

scale industries should be encouraged by providing technological knowledge, machinery, and contracts abroad to supply the produced goods. The revitalization of the industry should lead to generation of employment. This will be the first step toward alleviating poverty and create stakes for the people to stay connected and not fall prey to extremist propaganda. The next logical step would be to focus on the education system which should be able to generate a qualified workforce.

3). Establishment of a Strong Educational System

Somalia's educational system is in a state of collapse and educational institutions need to be revived. Terrorists have attempted to indoctrinate people by penetrating institutions and exploiting the hapless population. Terrorists have chosen to work through local affiliates in many cases to avoid attracting attention to their activities in the early stages. For example, Algeria's Salafist Group for Call and Combat (GSPC) is one such affiliate group, a local insurgency that started out as opponents of the government but was susceptible to *al Qaeda* recruitment and funding.⁴² The group eventually became responsible for carrying out *al Qaeda's* agenda in Algeria. Such groups have found it convenient to recruit young, gullible men to execute their fundamentalist ideologies. This strategy has to be countered by ridding the institutions of political or religious affiliations and mandating them to function in line with predetermined standards under a national education policy. Syllabi for schools and recruitment of teachers should be formulated and closely monitored by governmental committees. Funding for educational institutions should be centrally regulated so that the financial influence of radicals does not cast a

⁴² Online at: http://www.cfr.org/pub7716/esther_pan/africa_terror_havens.php
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shadow on the educational system. Joseph Siegle of the Council on Foreign Relations points out that radical ideologies thrive on skewed world views developed in isolation. Access the information and promotion of a greater understanding of the lifestyles from different parts of the world through educational packages on television are very important for the development of a balanced world view among the youth. However, the biggest task would be to increase enrollment and attract children to schools. Even prior to 1991, when there was a central government in place, schools had faced problems with retaining students and were plagued by high dropout rates. The government can take a cue from China, which has undertaken a massive English teaching program for its citizens so that its citizens are able to meet the challenges of a growing market economy.⁴³ With help from developed countries and the international private sector, technical colleges should be setup. The broad long term goal should be to develop a pool of qualified personnel who can work in the indigenous industries that are discussed in the previous section. This would not only energize the economy and industry but also address the unemployment problem.

These three steps will be the beginning of a slow process to bring this war torn country back into the connected world and make it difficult for terrorist elements to exploit the disenfranchised population. The state, boosted by its revitalized population, will be stronger and in a much better position to control activities on its soil and avoid situations where it is vulnerable to being used as a haven by terrorists.

⁴³ Online at: www.yaleglobal.yale.edu/display.article?id=4441
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4.2 Case II: Saudi Arabia

Political Background⁴⁴

The modern state of Saudi Arabia was created in 1932 by King Abdel-Aziz al-Saud and has been ruled as an absolute monarchy by the Al Saud royal family ever since. Saudi Arabia is the world's largest oil producer, with output of around 8m barrels per day which gives it enormous political clout internationally. Since its emergence in the 1930s, Saudi Arabia's foundation has rested on the authority of the ruling al-Saud family, the championing of puritan Islam and the riches earned from oil. Given the energy needs of the world and the lack of alternatives to oil, Saudi Arabia will continue to retain its influence and wealth for quite some time to come. Since its emergence, the country has also benefited from its unquestioning backing of American power and the benefits thereof.

Saudi Arabia's financial might and global clout, however, have not been able to address the trouble within. The glaring fact that fifteen out of the nineteen hijackers involved in the events of 9/11 were Saudi citizens put things in perspective. In retrospect, it is easy to distinguish a pattern of events which underline the fact that the 9/11 hijackers

⁴⁴ Background Information Source: The Economist <http://www.economist.com/countries/SaudiArabia/>
Downloaded on 20 January 2005

BBC Country Profile: Saudi Arabia http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/country_profiles/791936.stm
Downloaded on 18 January 2005

The Daily Telegraph www.telegraph.co.uk
Daniel Johnson (Filed: 07/22/2003) "How Saudi Arabia Spreads Terrorism and Hatred of the West"
Downloaded on 25 January 2005 from <http://www.politikforum.de/forum/showthread.php?threadid=34200>

were not fringe elements. They represented the frustrations of a majority of Saudis, who continue to struggle under an increasingly repressive regime.

Saudi politics and society are highly conservative. *Wahhabism*, a conservative interpretation of *Sunni* Islam, has been a cornerstone of the *Al Saud* family's legitimacy since the 18th century. The establishment is represented by the 10,000-odd princes of the *Al Saud* family and their pampered traditional allies, the *Wahhabi* clerics. Osama Bin Laden's brand of religious extremism was incubated in these conservative Saudi heartlands and was employed against the Soviets in Afghanistan.

For a regime that prides itself at being the guardian of Islam's holiest sites, the regime found it difficult to explain support for US military action against Iraq, another Islamic nation. Under pressure from religious arch-conservatives at home for its support to the US, the Saudi regime increasingly felt the need to buy Islamist approval by funding and encouraging the private financing of Islamic causes, and by exporting religious zeal. Saudi money has sponsored the building mosques across the world in the past decade, as well as dozens of Islamic colleges and schools. The Saudis have also financed what they saw as Muslim liberation struggles in Kosovo, Palestine, Kashmir and Chechnya to name a few (Gold, 2003). Thus, the Saudi's have tried to pacify the radicals within by funding their causes abroad. The Saudi regime has also had to perform a balancing act vis-à-vis the West, with increasing international pressure on the regime to implement political reform and clamp down on radicalism. However, this pressure has accounted for little so far in terms of tangible political reform.

Due to the nature of Saudi politics, media control is extremely high. Criticism of the government and royal family and the questioning of religious tenets are not generally

tolerated. The state-run Broadcasting Service of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (BSKSA) is responsible for all broadcasting in the kingdom. The minister of culture and information chairs the body which oversees radio and TV operations. Private radio and TV stations cannot operate from Saudi soil. Saudi newspapers are created by royal decree. There are 10 dailies and dozens of magazines. Pan-Arab papers, subject to censorship, are available. Newspapers tend to follow the lead of the state-run news agency on whether or not to publish stories on sensitive subjects. The government has invested heavily in security systems to block access to websites it deems offensive, ranging in subject matter from religion to swimwear.

Recent events have shown that domestic stability is under threat in Saudi Arabia. The first wake-up call came on 12 May 2003 when a coordinated suicide bombing of three housing compounds for foreigners in the capital Riyadh left 35 people, including at least nine bombers, dead. Six months later, 17 people were killed when another compound very close to one of the royal palaces in Riyadh was bombed. Since then the Saudis have rounded up more than 600 Islamic militant suspects and seized large quantities of arms but attacks by suspected al-Qaeda supporters have continued, and seemed to be gaining sophistication. Attacks on the US consulate in Jeddah, the Riyadh police headquarters, a petrochemical company in the Red Sea port of Yanbu were followed by the most high profile attacks, in Khobar in which 22 civilians were killed. Thus, domestic security has clearly become a cause for concern in the last few years and further escalation of violence can have serious implications for the regime.⁴⁵ From the above discussion, the emerging pattern is clear. The Saudi situation is a direct

⁴⁵ Online at BBC: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4071677.stm
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consequence of a repressive regime, encouragement for religious radicalism and extreme attempts at maintaining control. This situation is compounded by the economic and social conditions discussed in the following sections.

The Saudi Economy

Saudi Arabia is a rich country with vast reserves of oil. Saudi citizens enjoy a per capita GDP of US \$11,800 and a low consumer price inflation rate of 0.5%. The oil-based economy is regulated with strong government controls over major economic activities. Saudi Arabia has the largest reserves of petroleum in the world (25% of the proved reserves), ranks as the largest exporter of petroleum, and plays a leading role in OPEC. The petroleum sector accounts for roughly 75% of budget revenues, 45% of GDP, and 90% of export earnings. About 40% of GDP comes from the private sector. Saudi Arabia, due to its enormous resources, has built good transportation and communications infrastructure and hence enjoys high connectedness in this sense. It engages in high volumes of trade with the rest of the world and hence interdependence is high. This enormous wealth, however, seems to be misused as the unemployment rate is an absurdly high 25%, betraying gross mismanagement of wealth and resources by the government.⁴⁶ There is increasing dependence of the country on oil, a fast depleting natural resource and the country faces an urgent need of diversification in its sources of income. Oil income has hit a plateau while the population has increased, thus, leaving the kingdom with a swelling pool of jobless youngsters who are prey to radical ideas. The joblessness has created resentment among the people toward the lavish lifestyle of the royal family.

⁴⁶ Online at: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/in.html#Econ>
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Economic reforms have not proceeded at a required pace because of deep-rooted political and social conservatism. Thus, despite the abundance of resources, the economic situation of Saudi Arabia clearly contributes to its disconnectedness.

Saudi Society

Saudi Arabia is the home of Islam's holiest sites and millions of believers around the world look up to this holy land for their spiritual needs. Islam itself is an inherently conservative religion and hence, an average Saudi citizen is a product of an extremely conservative social environment. The education system plays an extremely important part on the average Saudi and is a critical factor responsible for many of its problems with radicalism. Unlike Somalia, Saudi Arabia does not suffer from a lack of educational institutions or resources. The problem is more about the approach taken to utilize the resources rather than the availability of resources. For centuries, Islamic *kuttab* schools have existed in the Western region of present day Saudi Arabia in or near mosques presided over by a Muslim preacher. The function of these schools was to promote the study of the Quran and other religious texts. Rote memorization of basic texts continues to be a central feature of much of the educational system of Saudi Arabia even today.⁴⁷

Public education, at both the university and secondary-school level, has never been fully separated from its Islamic roots. The education policy of Saudi Arabia included among its objectives the promotion of the "belief in the One God, Islam as the way of life, and Muhammad as God's Messenger." At the elementary-school level, an average of nine periods a week is devoted to religious subjects and eight per week at the

⁴⁷ Online at: http://www.mepc.org/public_asp/journal_vol9/0206_rugh.asp
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intermediate-school level. This concentration on religious subjects is substantial when compared with the time devoted to other subjects: nine periods for Arabic language and twelve for geography, history, mathematics, science, art, and physical education combined at the elementary level; six for Arabic language and nineteen for all other subjects at the intermediate level.⁴⁸

For women, the goal of education as stated in official policy is ideologically tied to religion. The purpose of educating a girl is to bring her up in a proper Islamic way so as to perform her duty in life, be an ideal and successful housewife and a good mother, ready to do things which suit her nature such as teaching, nursing and medical treatment. Inequalities of opportunity existed in higher education that stemmed from the religious and social imperative of gender segregation. Gender segregation is required at all levels of public education, and is also demanded in public areas and businesses by religiously conservative groups as well as by social convention. Because the social perception was that men would put the knowledge and skills acquired to productive use, fewer resources have been dedicated to women's higher education than to men's education.⁴⁹ This bias against women is not just restricted to education. Sex ratios in Saudi Arabia between the ages of 15 to 65 are at an outrageous 136 males per 100 females as compared to US figures of 100 males per 100 females. This skewed ratio displays an extremely high level of discrimination against women and can have an adverse impact on marriages and

⁴⁸ Online at: [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+sa0048\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+sa0048))
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⁴⁹ Online at: [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+sa0048\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+sa0048))
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fertility in the future, a potentially grave social problem, as the percentage of women shrinks rapidly compared to men.

The expansion of the university system in Saudi Arabia in the past two decades has enabled the kingdom to limit financial support for study abroad. Such restrictions had long been the desire of some conservatives, who feared the negative influences on Saudi youth from studying abroad. Since the mid- to late 1980s, the number of Saudi students going abroad to study has dropped sharply.⁵⁰ Thus, a system with abundant resources is being plagued by religious conservatism and is denied the much needed vitality that can be gained by greater emphasis on science and technology and greater student interaction with the rest of the world. The level of emphasis on religion borders on the counter-productive and makes it easier for religious fanatics and extremists to find minds receptive to their radical ideologies.

No discussion about Saudi society is complete without focusing on the country's dismal human rights record. Punishments for crimes can be extremely harsh including medieval methods such as beheading, amputation of limbs and flogging in public. Human rights are often challenged amidst frequent reports of torture. Prisoners have stated that they were forced to sign false confessions. Methods of getting prisoners to sign include electric shock, cigarette burns, nail-pulling, beatings and threats to family members. The prisoners frequently know nothing about their cases, do not attend their trials and often are not even informed when they have been convicted. Court hearings are held in secret which means that the families of the defendants as well as the general public are denied

⁵⁰ Online at: [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+sa0048\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+sa0048))
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the right to be present. The hearings last between five minutes and two hours even for the most serious cases. Defendants have no right to a lawyer and have little opportunity to mount a defense. Many are denied the right to call witnesses and evidence that may have been gathered during the investigation is hidden from the defendant. The judge acts as the defendant's lawyer and questions the prosecution. According to Amnesty International, while some laws in Saudi Arabia refer to detainees having lawyers, it is rare. Defendants can be convicted solely on the basis of confessions which may have been extracted by torture.⁵¹ Such harsh methods obviously have political dimensions and do not reflect well on the regime, thus further alienating the common people.

Recent Positive Developments

That Saudi politics is clearly in need of reforms is an understatement. Greater participation, openness in the political process, freedom for public debate, and stronger public institutions are clearly the need of the hour. The regime has taken the first tiny step with the nationwide municipal elections in February, 2005, something unimaginable only a few years ago. The election results, of course, are not a true representation of the people's mind as women, who make up more than 50% of the population, are banned from participating in the polls. Also, only half the municipal council will be elected while the other half will still be appointed. In a country not used to democracy or distrustful of its usefulness, only 25% of the population actually registered to vote despite getting the

⁵¹ Online at: <http://www.cbc.ca/fifth/saudi/justice.html>
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long yearned opportunity.⁵² Nevertheless, it is an important first step which has to be followed up by other similar measures.

The Saudi regime has long been engaged in suppressing political opposition within the kingdom. They have pressured foreign governments to stop providing platforms to groups in exile and have refused to acknowledge such groups as the “opposition”, claiming that they have no support within the kingdom.⁵³ While a strong and broad-based political opposition movement is nowhere on the horizon, there have been small but significant steps taken since late 2003 in the form of petitions calling for reform.

Another big issue in Saudi Arabia is the restrictions imposed on citizens and the violations of human rights as discussed earlier. Some positive developments can be seen in the recent past when the government permitted the first visit of an international human rights organization, Human Rights Watch, and held its first human rights conference. The Government met with organized groups of reform advocates, and in public statements, committed to political, economic and social reforms. The government established a National Dialogue Center to address differences between different Muslim traditions in the country. Foreign journalists were issued visas, and permitted to travel and report freely within the country. However, journalists were also sanctioned for criticizing the religious police and for questioning certain religious dogma.⁵⁴ Thus, among the stifling restrictions, minor positive developments have taken place recently.

⁵² Online at BBC: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4252305.stm
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⁵³ Online at BBC: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4252305.stm
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The Dilemma

This reluctance toward reform presents the royals with a strange situation where on the one hand disconnectedness feeds into their power while on the other hand it increases resentment and swells the support for radicals such as Bin Laden. The situation also places the average Saudi citizen in a situation where continued submission to the royals will increase the disconnectedness of the country, thus perpetuating their misery and helping radicals while weakening the regime through an internal struggle would help radicals.

The international community faces its own share of dilemmas regarding the Saudi situation. Forcible regime change is not a viable option given that Saudi Arabia is too crucial a country for the world economy, considering the high degree of dependence of the world on Saudi oil. Hence, maintaining political stability is vital. In addition, the Saudi regime enjoys cordial relations with the US. However, ignoring the situation or continued support for the regime in its present form would further aggravate the situation by sending a wrong message to the disenchanting population. Such an approach and the resulting disconnectedness would play into the hands of the radicals and lead to the creation of a breeding ground for terrorism. Hence, whatever measures are adopted have to take into account the intricacy of the Saudi situation.

Saudi Arabia: A Clear Victim of Disconnectedness

Saudi Arabia clearly is not a victim of internal secessionist movements based on political or ideological factors which is one theory for the causes of terrorism. Saudi

⁵⁴ Online at: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2003/27937.htm>
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Arabia has also enjoyed considerably good relations with the West in general and the US in particular since its emergence as a modern nation state. The US has been equally appreciative of the importance of good relations with Saudi Arabia due to its resources and its dominant position in the Arab world. With such bonhomie in the recent past, there should be no strong basis for a ‘clash of civilizations’ argument. The third theory about the role of religion is an important one, but it cannot be considered the primary cause for terrorism because its effects are amplified only because of the political, economic and social conditions prevalent in Saudi Arabia as discussed earlier. Despite its enormous wealth and a lifestyle that is infinitely higher than that of states such as Somalia, Saudi Arabia suffers from an astonishing level of disconnectedness from the outside world. As discussed in the previous sections, Saudi Arabia’s woes stem from its lack of political institutions, an absent civil society and increasing economic problems rather than the other explanations mentioned above. The strategy of humanitarian preemption aimed at providing solutions to address the specific problems that Saudi Arabia faces are discussed in the following section.

Humanitarian Preemption in Saudi Arabia

The problems faced by Saudi Arabia are distinct and completely different from those of Somalia. Saudi Arabia’s biggest problems stem predominantly from the top. Political reform offers the regime the best chance of overcoming these problems. Jennifer Windsor (2003) has written about the increasing credibility gained by democratization as a counterterrorism strategy in the aftermath of 9/11. Gradual political reform leading toward democracy will allow greater freedom for the people and also help the Saudi

royals reduce disenchantment and retain their power over the long term. Fareed Zakaria (1997) has highlighted the fact that the Middle East represents an extremely unusual reversal of a global pattern in that every Arab country is less free than it was for decades ago. This trend, to a great extent, explains the frustrations and violent reactions in the region. Thus, increasing freedom, in the political, economic and social sense, should be the goal. Saudi Arabia's second biggest problem is the radicalism and high level of religious influence in its society. Educational reform will be required to address this problem. The economic difficulties and rising unemployment form the third biggest problem for the kingdom. If such political change is implemented, Saudi Arabia possesses sufficient wealth and resources to address its other problems such as unemployment. However, in order to do so, it has to be special attention to the diversification of its industrial output and sources of income. If the above suggested reform is resisted by the regime, there is a risk of the country imploding and becoming completely disconnected much to the pleasure of the extremists who seek to exploit disconnectedness. This may lead to a situation where the regime is challenge or overthrown and the country overrun by radicals. Thus, Saudi resistance to reform or international apathy to the Saudi situation can have dangerous consequences. Based on the specific problems that Saudi Arabia faces, three steps to address these problems are discussed below:

1). Political Reform

The political system of Saudi Arabia is in need of immediate reform. The Saudi regime, in many ways, presents the best chance for a peaceful transition. The regime, as

discussed earlier, has already initiated a minimum level of political reform by holding municipal elections in February 2005. It should be encouraged to build on this process. The next step should be to hold elections at the provincial levels so that popularly elected governors can take office. The municipal elections in February were marred by an extremely low turnout. For a country that has been deprived of political participation for decades, this lack of enthusiasm came as a surprise. However, careful examination of the conditions show that many common people viewed the elections as a farcical exercise with no long term tangible changes to the Saudi political system. Thus, provincial elections would establish the belief that the municipal elections were not an isolated exercise but a sign of the winds of change sweeping the country's political landscape. Finally, the aim should be to establish an elected government at the center. The *majlis* could evolve into a directly elected parliament, with an assembly of princes (and princesses, which would require emancipation of women) serving as a senate. In this way, the people could find representation in the highest echelons of power. They would also harbor less resentment toward the royals due to the increased opportunity to participate in the making of policy. The regime should evolve into a constitutional monarchy akin to the British system and establish civilian rule. In doing so, it will retain the status as the head of the state as well as international support, both of which will be risked increasingly if disconnectedness is allowed to grow among the people leading to its violent overthrow.

The West should use its good offices with the Saudi regime to lead the international community and let it be known to the Saudi leadership in no uncertain terms that political reform is the only method by which the people's aspirations can be met and

their power maintained. Resistance to reform has to be effectively countered by international pressure. Reforms should not be negotiable and the regime should be warned that the international community is prepared to enforce its will to ensure that radicals do not overrun the country, even if it is at the cost of using force against the regime in the long term. The involvement of the international community is also important from the point of view of the risks that any untoward public reaction can have on the world economy. Increased participation and control of governance by the common people will lead to greater civil liberty and an improvement in the outrageous human rights record of Saudi Arabia will be a natural outcome. Institutions of governance have to be so that they perform the functions of the government which are currently done on an ad hoc basis. An example for this would be the present judicial process. A politically independent judicial process should be constituted with the common man having access to the judicial process. Modern laws have to be promulgated in keeping with the times so that dastardly practices such as amputation, flogging and beheading are done away with. Such a process in phases of provincial elections followed by national elections with a combination of judicial reforms will give the Saudi people the much needed respite from a stifling political system. The increased freedom will alleviate conditions that the forces of disconnectedness feed on.

2). Reforming the Education System

Ideally, the government should formulate a policy by which religion, although important, should be delineated from the government. However, the role of religion in Saudi society, the centuries-old importance that religion assumes in the country and the

influence of the strong *Wahhabi* clergy make the direct separation of religion from government is an implausible task. However, this goal can be achieved by a gradual transformation of the value systems and thinking of the people and hence the people in power. Such a transformation can be achieved by reforming the education system which has an enormous role in molding the Saudi mindset. This will be the first step toward countering religious radicalism and violence in the name of religion.

Previous discussion about education clearly reveals an extremely high level of emphasis on religious studies at the cost of other forms of training such as mathematics, science and technology beginning from primary school to the university level. A change in the syllabi monitored by the UN, where there is greater emphasis on modern science and other employable vocations should be implemented right from the earliest levels of the educational system. Such changes if implemented will be easy to sustain given the strong network of schools, universities and the sheer strength of the resource-abundant system.

The more liberal products of such a changed system should be encouraged to pursue higher education at the university level with greater potential to travel abroad and interact with the best students from scholars worldwide. Saudi Arabia does possess the financial resources to finance such interactions. This will produce a new breed of young, well-travelled and liberal minded generation that will be difficult to deny for the radicals in the old establishment. One might argue that the Saudi youngsters involved in the events of 9/11 were also educated in the liberal West. However, it has to be remembered that they were essentially products of the closed and radical Saudi socio-political conditions. Not just the men involved in 9/11 but even Sayyid Qutb, the spiritual and

ideological inspiration to the likes of Osama Bin Laden and Ayman al Zawahiri lived in the West in the early 1950s. However, this did little to change their outlook. Qutb felt revulsion at the ways of the West, considering it morally and culturally bankrupt. He returned to his native Egypt frustrated and ever more convinced Islam is the complete way of life. Sayyid Qutb recommended that a revolutionary vanguard should first establish an Islamic state and then impose Islamization on Egyptian society from above.⁵⁵ Eventually, the writings of Qutb inspired a generation of radical Islamists and the men who presently head *al Qaeda*. Thus merely living in the West is not sufficient alter ones conservative bent of mind unless the seeds of a liberal outlook are sown at a young age. This is why education has an immensely important role to play in countering the disconnectedness in Saudi Arabia.

3). Change in Economic Policies

Given Saudi Arabia's economic might and global influence, it should not be a victim of problems such as unemployment. However, mismanagement of resources and reliance on oil has led to such problems. Nonetheless, a solution for Saudi Arabia's economic problems is much less complex than its political and social problems. The government only needs to make comparatively minor changes to its economic and industrial policies and allocate the necessary resources to achieve the desired results. The availability of such resources is not under doubt and proper management will easily

⁵⁵ Online at: <http://www.brookings.edu/views/articles/fellows/khan20030728.htm>
Downloaded on March 3 2005

Online at: <http://www.islam101.com/history/people/century20/syedQutb.htm>
Downloaded on March 3 2005

redeem Saudi Arabia of its economic problems. The government should develop alternative sources of income and employment by diversifying its industries. Products other than oil should be added to the industrial output of the country. An example of success is the case of Indian software enterprises which have used high technology and lower labor costs to their advantage and developed world renowned information technology services. Companies from around the world have relocated operations to India and the information technology industry has earned millions of dollars in foreign exchange. Saudi Arabia possesses the strong network of educational institutions needed to produce technologically equipped personnel. With the required focus on diversifying investment and greater interaction with international firms, Saudi firms will be in a position to provide viable substitutes for income from oil. This will also provide greater avenues of employment. Most importantly, such diversification of industry will work in tandem with reformed educational system to provide greater incentives to pursue technical education, a symbiotic relation between the education system and the industry.

These steps, if implemented, lend hope for a more liberal, tolerant society with power belonging to the people who have ample opportunities to maintain satisfactory standards of living in a civil society. None of these developments are expected to appease the likes of Bin Laden who will continue in their efforts to find victims for their radical agenda. However, it will be successful attempt at bring down the numbers of embittered Saudis who fall prey to xenophobic Islamist fundamentalism and diminish the levels of disconnectedness in Saudi society.

4.3 Case III: Pakistan

Political Background

The situation in Pakistan is a unique one. It is neither as impoverished as Somalia nor is it as wealthy as Saudi Arabia. It has had democratic experiences and it does not suffer from a total lack of institutions or decades of overbearing rule by one dynasty. However, its political institutions have been frequently undermined and its society has been sown with seeds of extremism for political gain. This situation has left it less disconnected compared to Somalia and Saudi Arabia but has made it a hub of terrorist activity. Thus, Pakistan's situation is both a cause for concern as well as an opportunity to address its problems.

In 1947, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan came into existence. However, over fifty years since independence, the story of Pakistani politics is punctuated with numerous coups and extra-constitutional rulers. After independence, Mohammed Ali Jinnah served as governor-general, and his lieutenant, Liaquat Ali Khan, as Prime Minister. In practice, Jinnah held power, continuing the precedent of strong, centralized rule seen under the British vice-regal system. Thus, democracy never really took root in Pakistan. In 1956, Pakistan adopted its first constitution, which provided for a federal, parliamentary structure. However, democracy was frequently undermined by numerous military rulers until Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to power. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's democratic government combined a mixed bag of political and economic reforms with a rule that was personality-driven and vice-regal in style. Though he was not affiliated to the armed forces he functioned with a highly authoritarian style. The Army Chief of Staff Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq deposed Bhutto from power in a military coup in 1977.

Zia's years in power may be considered as the most important in terms of shaping the Pakistan that we know today. A devout Muslim, Zia announced a series of measures aimed at conforming Pakistani law to Islamic law (Jalal 1995). He ran the country as martial-law administrator and then as president for eleven years, often maintaining that his reign was legitimate as long as he governed under the principles of Islam. His Islamization program fostered a strengthening of radical, militant Islam. Zia severely restricted political activity, relying on members of the military and loyal bureaucrats to help him govern. His rule left Pakistani politics with numerous problems including the country's lack of stable political institutions, its growing regional and religious tensions, and the largely unconstrained role of its military. The Islamization of politics under Zia is taking its toll on Pakistan even today. After Zia's death Pakistan had another stint with democracy for a few years under Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif before General Pervez Musharraf came to power in a coup and the country reverted back to military rule.

President Musharraf has had to walk the tightrope between Pakistan's radical Islamist constituency which routinely engages in anti-US rhetoric and the US-led war on terrorism in neighboring Afghanistan. Pakistan had long been aligned with the radical Taliban regime in Afghanistan. In the wake of US resolve to effect a regime change in Afghanistan, General Musharraf was left with little choice but to cut ties with the Taliban and align with the United States. Sectarian violence has plagued the country. The radicals in Pakistani society as well as some within the army establishment are clearly unhappy over the policy of breaking ties with the Taliban and aligning Pakistan with the US, making Musharraf a very unpopular man. He has already faced at least two assassination

attempts from within the army. He is neither in a position to get rid of the radicals nor in a position to support them.

Given the numerous problems of governance and instable political structures in Pakistan, successive governments have found it convenient to paint pictures of threats from across the border. Pakistan's four decades of military rule has made its army the most powerful and uncontrolled institution that tends to threaten the state from within. Pakistani leadership has played to the galleries consisting of radical Islamic clerics. As a result, terrorism and extremist activities have been on the rise. The military has been hand in glove with the radicals making it difficult to bring about reform and change. Intense poverty, rampant corruption, weak political institutions, a history of military rule, religious and ethnic tensions, growing Islamic militancy, and edgy foreign relations pose major obstacles to Pakistan's progress. In summary, neither the elected nor the military rulers did enough to strengthen the institutions in Pakistan, thus, leaving it in a state of disconnectedness and making it a fertile ground for terrorist activity.

The Pakistani Economy

Pakistan has suffered from decades of internal political disputes, low levels of foreign investment, and a costly, ongoing confrontation with neighboring India. Pakistan's political woes have resulted in widespread poverty with 35% of the people living below the poverty line. However, IMF-approved government policies, bolstered by generous foreign assistance and renewed access to global markets since late 2001, have generated solid macroeconomic recovery the last two years. Pakistan has enjoyed enormous amounts of debt relief and aid from the US in exchange for its support to the

US in Afghanistan since 9/11. The government has made substantial inroads in macroeconomic reform since 2000, although progress on more politically sensitive reforms has slowed. For example, in the third and final year of its \$1.3 billion IMF Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility, Pakistan has continued to require waivers for energy sector reforms. It has a range of industries namely textiles and apparel, food processing, pharmaceuticals, construction materials, paper products, fertilizer and shrimp. It has a diversity of exports such as textiles (garments, bed linen, cotton cloth, and yarn), rice, leather goods, sports goods, chemicals, manufactures, carpets and rugs. It also imports a variety of products such as petroleum, petroleum products, machinery, plastics, transportation equipment, edible oils, tea, paper and paperboard, iron and steel. Thus, it is integral part of the international system with a high level of political and economic dependence.

While long-term prospects remain unclear due to political uncertainty and doubts regarding persistence with reforms, given Pakistan's low level of development, medium-term prospects for job creation and poverty reduction are the best in nearly a decade. However, the unemployment is at 8% with a substantial number of people with jobs being underemployed. Pakistan has raised development spending from about 2% of GDP in the 1990s to 4% in 2003, a necessary step towards reversing the broad underdevelopment of its social sector.⁵⁶ From US \$3260 million in 2001, foreign exchange reserves have tripled to US \$10,941 million in 2003. The current-account surplus in 2004 is estimated at 4.3% of GDP the average annual consumer price inflation

⁵⁶ Online at: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/pk.html>
Downloaded on January 25 2005

in 2004 is at 7.4% and is expected to decline moderately in 2005 and again in 2006.⁵⁷ Persistence with reforms and backed by political stability over a long period of time will ensure that the benefits of the recent economic upswing will be sustained and will percolate to the poorest section on the country. The indicators discussed above show that Pakistan does have the capability to implement reforms, and getting its act together in the political and social spheres will further enhance its already improving economic growth. It enjoys enormous US support and it needs to generate adequate political will to initiate the necessary change.

Pakistani Society: The *Madrassa* Culture and Radicalism

Pakistan's recent economic upswing apart, it is a country with deep social divisions, which if not addressed, will totally negate the positives of the growing economy. The *madrassa* culture and the radicalism it breeds is one of the major factors responsible for Pakistan's disconnectedness apart from the frequent challenges to institutions and democracy. Pakistan is a diverse society with a unique mixture of conservatism and modernity. While modern outlook in cities has resulted in a part of the country being attuned to the rest of the world, extreme conservatism has had adverse effects on Pakistan. Radicalism, in many ways, has been institutionalized in Pakistan. This is the most prominent legacy of the late Zia-ul-Haq who gave religious color to his style of governance. This problem has been compounded by poverty and the lack of a viable educational system. *Madrassas* or Islamic seminaries have taken the place of

⁵⁷ Online at:
<http://www.economist.com/countries/Pakistan/profile.cfm?folder=Profile%2DEconomic%20Data>
Downloaded on January 25 2005

schools in Pakistan. The elite manage to send their children to expensive private institutions first and then abroad for higher education. However, a large section of the poor population that is untouched by the economic growth and is unable to afford food and education finds the lucre of the *madrassas* too hard to resist. These seminaries attract students from regions as far as Africa and South East Asia. The recruits are usually from among the lower classes and lower-middle classes, people who do not have access to any other kind of education.

Madrassas admit children at a very young age and bear the responsibility of their living expenses while training them mostly in Quranic studies. There are *madrassas* doing a great deal of social service and good for Pakistani society by offering viable substitutes for the lack of educational facilities. However, for these few do-gooders, there are thousands of Saudi-financed *madrassas* in Pakistan that teach *Wahhabism*, the austere and rigid form of Islam which is rooted in Saudi Arabia.⁵⁸ Saudi wealth and charities contributed to an explosive growth of *madrassas* during the Afghan *jihad* against the Soviets which Pakistan supported under General Zia's rule. During this period, a new kind of *madrassa* emerged in the Pakistan-Afghanistan region which was more concerned about making war on 'infidels' than on scholarship. It gave birth to the Taliban and the Al-Qaeda leadership. The enemy then was the Soviet Union and today it is the US, Israel, India or anyone who qualifies as an 'infidel'. The Saudi Arabia-backed network of charities completes a full circle in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region where young *jihad*-minded radicals are spawned by the thousands, exploiting the region's disconnectedness to the full. The Pakistani politicians, civilian and military have in turn

⁵⁸ "Terrorist Sponsors: Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, China"
Online at: <http://www.cato.org/dailys/11-16-01.html> Downloaded on 28 December 2004

exploited these Madrassa-trained youth for cross-border insurgency in Kashmir, thus, legitimizing the *madrassa* culture and motivating the disconnected youth in the name of Islam and patriotism. Thus, *Madrassas* represent both the cause and effect of the deep-rooted socio-economic problems that confront Pakistan and these problems are further exacerbated by the compulsions of *jihadi* politics. Economic growth alone cannot solve this problem and specific steps have to be taken so that this problem is addressed simultaneously with efforts to improve the economy.

Disconnectedness: The Root Cause of Terrorism

Since its creation in 1947, Pakistan has been aligned with the West in general and the US in particular. It stood beside the US throughout the Cold War. Despite anti-Western rhetoric by some sections of the society, there is no entrenched national sentiment of opposition to the US or the West in general, thus, rendering the ‘clash of civilizations’ argument void. There are political factors such as the Kashmir issue as well religious motivations such as the presence of Islamic radicalism in the society. However, the growth of these factors can be clearly observed over the years in conjunction with the failure of successive regimes to provide good governance. It can be traced to the failure of institutions and the choice of the rulers to use religion as a tool to mask misrule. Thus, large sections of this disconnected society have been routinely distracted by aggressive rhetoric on Kashmir, Islam and at times the evil designs of the US. The leaders have been successful in finding constituencies for their propaganda only because they have carefully cultivated disconnectedness over the years. This disconnectedness makes it very easy for them to sway the people using whatever issue they please, be it hatred for the West or the

US, political issues such as Kashmir or waging *jihad* in the name of Islam. Thus, all the theoretical explanations are valid only as long as they are based on the premise that they are a product of one factor: disconnectedness.

The Role of the International Community

The international community, especially the US-led alliance has been pursuing its own agenda in the region. As the US requires Pakistani support in its war on terrorism in neighboring Afghanistan, it has backed the military dictator in Pakistan in lieu of his support in Afghanistan. While Musharraf's support may be vital to the Afghanistan operation, support for his authoritarian regime also means that democracy is being undermined. There is no effort to restore civilian rule and strengthen institutions and no international pressure to do so either. Thus, for purposes of self-interest or political expediency, the international community shares the blame of undermining the institutions of Pakistan and providing impetus to the forces of disconnectedness.

One might argue that, given Pakistan's political stability at the top since Musharraf took over and the economic progress achieved by his regime, it is a possibility that democracy may not be the best solution for an unstable country like Pakistan. As eminent journalist and scholar Fareed Zakaria points out that when Musharraf took power in Pakistan, there was widespread denunciation of him in just about every major American publication. It was labeled as a hijacking of democracy. However, the Pakistani press, which is reasonably free, reacted very differently. It was by and large in

favor of the coup because they believed the democracy they had was a sham. Eventually the US also decided to work with Musharraf.⁵⁹

Zakaria argues that Musharraf has been extraordinarily brave and courageous, a reformist in almost every dimension— economic, political, religious, cultural. He contends that liberal democracy may not be the ideal solution for countries such as Pakistan or the ones in the Middle East countries as there are large segments of the population that are illiberal and often violent and extreme. He questions whether every such country is willing to undergo its own version of the French Revolution and the Terror to achieve liberal democracy or whether troubled societies can have another path to liberal democracy like the one shown by Musharraf.⁶⁰

I beg to differ with Zakaria's views. Assuming that Musharraf's rule is the best thing that happened to Pakistan in a long time, the question the international community as well as the Pakistanis should consider is whether we are willing to wager on every authoritarian leader turning out to be like Musharraf. They might as well face another General Zia which would mean another decade or more lost to religious fundamentalism and radicalization. The issue is not about whether Musharraf is good or bad for Pakistan. The issue is about establishing long lasting institutions and political systems that outlive individuals. This cannot be achieved without empowering the people and letting democracy to thrive without frequent interventions by the military. If there is a way toward liberal democracy very different from the French Revolution, it is certainly not

⁵⁹ Online at: <http://hir.harvard.edu/articles/index.html?id=1022&page=2>
Downloaded on February 10 2005

⁶⁰ Online at: <http://hir.harvard.edu/articles/index.html?id=1022&page=3>
Downloaded on February 10 2005

through a lineup of unconstitutional leaders or dictators, however benign. This is where the international community has the opportunity to set the record state and express its complete intolerance and unequivocal stand against overthrowing democratic elected governments and military interventions. It should be made clear that no unconstitutional leader will be able to get away with such attempts at regime change. Only when such precedents are set by the international community will democracy be able get the time to survive and thrive in countries such as Pakistan.

Humanitarian Preemption in Pakistan

A comprehensive effort to bring Pakistani society into the connected mainstream alone can help preempt terrorism in the region. Pakistan's biggest problem is its institutions, some very weak and some excessively strong. Second, the issues such as poverty and unemployment should be addressed so that people, especially the youth have opportunities to earn their living and are kept from falling prey to radicalism. Third, Pakistan has to strengthen its education system and engage in a massive program aimed at *madrassa* reform to strike at the root of radicalism in its society. Last but not the least; Pakistan has used radicalized *jihad*-minded youngsters as instruments of military and foreign policy, especially in Kashmir. Such policies may win it a few battles but causes greater harm to its society from within. Hence, there needs to be a basic rethink of such policies. In order to achieve the above goals the following strategies are recommended:

1). Return to Democracy

Pakistan has the opportunity to move away from a military dominated authoritarian system dominated by religious radicals towards a more moderate democratic system as it has the advantage of having had spells of democratic rule. Institutions have been active in the past and reviving them is easier than having to establish them anew as has to be done in Saudi Arabia. If the leadership desires to make an earnest attempt to cleanse the system it will have global support considering the fact that terrorism is a global concern. The powers presently in control have to realize that Pakistan cannot remain the same by the time significant success has been achieved in the war on terror. Since the association between Islamic radicals and perceived terrorists is so strong that distinction is difficult, eventually the war on terror in Afghanistan will develop into a war on the radicals within Pakistani society. The government support for the US campaign, the capture of terrorists and the assistance received in the process will not wipe out Pakistan's fundamental problems arising from authoritarian rule, weak institutions, the resulting disconnectedness and radicalism in its society. Despite being a dictator, Musharraf does not evoke widespread resentment in Pakistani society. It is argued that the last democratically elected regime was a sham and General Musharraf's authoritarian rule was a necessarily evil. The General has clearly done a commendable job. He has invigorated the economy and realigned Pakistan with the international efforts against terrorism while cutting ties with the Taliban. He has not attempted to control the media. Despite opposition from some quarters he enjoys a reasonable level of popularity.

Given his domestic circumstances and the international support he enjoys, he is in an ideal position to effect change if he can muster the political will and set aside self

interests. After all, the General as well as the people should recognize the fact that one benign dictator does not guarantee benevolence from the next one. A precedent needs to be set in favor of democracy and the international community should pressure Musharraf to set the process into motion. It should be made clear that challenging elected governments will not be tolerated. In order for civilian rule to achieve long term success, the military's role has to be redefined. The military in Pakistan has at times assumed extra-constitutional authority and its powers have to be curtailed so that sundry generals do not think they can get away with undermining democracy.

Pakistan has previous experience with election and already has a parliament in place and a decision to revert back to civilian rule would be relatively easy to implement. The executive powers should be vested in the publicly elected officials while the President assumes his role as the constitutional head of the state. Decisions to put these above changes into effect will be possible with considerable international pressure. It should be let known that international intervention and regime change are options in the event of non-compliance or military overthrow of civilian rule.

2). Madrassa Reform and Strengthening the Education System

The *madrassas* in Pakistan clearly present a major problem as they cause disconnectedness among the masses by exploiting the poor as well as feed on it. President Pervez Musharraf announced plans to reform the *madrassas* almost two years ago. He said that the move was necessary because some of the private Islamic schools had become breeding grounds for "intolerance and hatred." Pakistan's government approved more than \$100 million for *madrassas* participating in the modernization program. About

80 percent of an estimated 10,000 *madrassas* are to receive those funds, meaning that that 20 percent of the *madrassas* have not met the government's reform criteria. According to a World Bank study, that is about the same number of *madrassas* that were sending their students to camps for military training when Musharraf's reform program was launched.⁶¹ Efforts should be taken to bring these institutions from the fringes into the mainstream education system. This can be done by implementing a uniform nation-wide curriculum and education policy requiring compliance by all institutions without exception. The government should closely monitor the textbooks and place emphasis on subjects that would generate a future workforce capable of strengthening the economy rather than producing disillusioned, radicalized youth with violent tendencies.

3). Rethink of Military/Foreign Policy

The government backed recruitment drives in the *madrassas* for *jihadi* causes have to be stopped which will require a fundamental change in the method of conducting foreign policy. As International Crisis Group terrorism expert Najum Mushtaq says:

To associate militancy with *madrassas* is only to avoid the real issue, which is that the Pakistani State has been promoting religious extremism itself -- initially with the help of the West [to stop the spread of communism from Afghanistan during the 1980s], and then on its own as a tool of Pakistan's military strategy and defense strategy. *Madrassas* were, at best, a pawn in the game of religious extremism.⁶²

⁶¹ Ron Synovitz "Musharraf's Madrassa reform has not moved in Two Years"
Online at: http://www.satribune.com/archives/feb29_mar6_04/P1_schools.htm
Downloaded February 14 2005

⁶² Ron Synovitz "Musharraf's Madrassa reform has not moved in Two Years"
Online at: http://www.satribune.com/archives/feb29_mar6_04/P1_schools.htm
Downloaded on February 14 2005

The onus is on the government to desist from conducting foreign policy by pushing fourteen year old misguided children into conflict. Such policies can only bankrupt the younger generation and alienate them from the connected mainstream.

4). Economic Measures

The international community should help Pakistan with poverty elimination programs and international corporate participation. The national capacity to contribute to the world economy and generate employment should be improved. Only a strong economy will be able to sustain and build on the political and social changes that are suggested. With reformed educational institutions producing qualified graduates, the industry has to be able to absorb them. Pakistan enjoys cordial relations with big powers such as the US and China. Instead of merely bargaining for debt-relief and aid it can also request help with interaction between industries, investment in new sectors, development of the manufacturing sector which could utilize its cheap labor costs, opportunities for employee training abroad and trade agreements enabling the export of domestic produce. Such pro-industry policies will serve Pakistan well by providing greater employment opportunities, more foreign exchange and a stable economy. Most importantly, they will provide a good remedy for social problems such as poverty and radicalism. Overall, these are some steps that will target the factors responsible for disconnectedness in Pakistani society and in the process address the issue of terrorism.

Likely Problems for the Humanitarian Preemption Approach

The humanitarian preemption approach will encounter several problems that have to be overcome for it to be effectively employed. Some of the problems anticipated are discussed here. The problems are broadly categorized into four categories, namely the problems of vision and political will, the problems of prioritization and decision-making, the problems of legality of interventions, operational problems, and the problems of finite total capacity.

Problems of Vision and Political Will

First, the theoretical and practical components of the humanitarian preemption strategy depend upon the collective political will of the international community. Most important is the will to acknowledge that terrorism is a problem of enormous proportions that confronts all of us. Such an acknowledgement should be supported by the required level of action on the ground with contributions from every member of the international community. For instance, the opposition of Russia and China to action in Sudan is an important current example of a situation where the international community has not acted even in the face of genocide and blatant violation of human rights. Millions have become victims of political expediency and self interests. Thus, it will require the will to look beyond national interests, current policy and political expediency. It will require the broader vision of thinking in terms of collective interests that will obviously serve individual interests in the long term. Only when an agreement in principle is achieved regarding enormity of the problem and the need for collective action will discussion of other problems be relevant.

Problems of Prioritization and Decision-Making

Once there is agreement as discussed above, other problems will assume significance. The decisional problem of setting priorities on which countries or regions require immediate attention and help will be a critical hurdle to surpass. Again, regional politics and geo-strategic considerations are likely to cloud the debate. Countries are likely to lobby for action in places that are important for their individual interest. The previously suggested plan of deciding the location of action based on a simple or two-thirds majority seems an appropriate democratic way of solving possible deadlocks. Also, there is likely to be a lack of support for actions in regions that some might deem less important to their interests. Again, this will require an understanding of the working of the globalized world. Zaghari-Mask, Tomshinsky, and Fernandez (2004) aptly summarize this thought when they say that the consequence of globalization is that:

It has made states progressively more dependent on each other for the preservation of their respective economies, environment and a stable outward-looking political climate. Therefore, even in the absence of the aggregate effect, the relationship between states in the modern era is such that a humanitarian crisis in any region of the world can infect any state's *modus operandi*.

Thus, any apparent individual loss in stakes is only a virtual setback which will eventually be the foundation for collective gain.

Problems of the Legality of Interventions

This problem represents one of the most vigorously contested issues, namely the sovereign rights of a state. As discussed earlier, the humanitarian preemption strategy strongly depends on the acknowledgement of the problem by the international

community at large. Also critical to its success is the acknowledgement of the problem by the target state. It should be willing to subject itself to this strategy which might lead to long periods of instability and risks to the existing regime among other problems.

Sovereignty grants that each state is the master of what happens within its territory and external powers should respect this right. Any intervention that violates the sovereignty infringes on the basic rights of the state and hence is illegal. This principle has helped curb abusive intervention by strong states in the affairs of weaker states. However, there have been many instances when governments have sought refuge behind this legal principle and used strong handed methods against their own citizens. They have used torture and killing as tools of the state to retain power with the comfort of the knowledge that they are protected by the principle of sovereignty. Such states have indulged in the impoverishment of their people and caused disconnectedness. They should be brought under the domain of *ius cogens* whereby their actions violate the peremptory norm by acting in ways that violate basic human rights, create disconnectedness and facilitate terrorism.

In such situations, the international community should not allow sovereignty to be used as a tool by the regime. Such instances demand strong collective action and liberation of the disconnected people. As former UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said in his annual report in 1991:

...the case for not impinging on the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States is by itself indubitably strong. But it would only be weakened if it were to carry the implication that sovereignty, even in this day and age, includes the right of mass slaughter or of launching systematic campaigns of decimation or forced exodus of civilian populations in the name of controlling civil strife or insurrection.

Similarly Stanley Hoffmann (1996) argues that distinction between domestic and international politics is crumbling. Attempts at insulation are increasingly futile as most states are affected by events beyond borders. In these circumstances, Hoffmann argues that the challenge today is to maintain and even raise barriers to illegitimate intervention while defining the areas, conditions and procedures for legitimate ones. In essence, while territorial sovereignty has to be safeguarded, the international community should not let states to use sovereignty as a tool to violate human rights.

Operational Problems

After a decision has been made regarding the focus of efforts, actually implementing these efforts can pose serious problems. Prominent among these would be issues such as generating resources like manpower, training for personnel, deploying people in remote areas where their services might be required, logistical issues of delivering relief and issues such as winning local support for such interventions. Furthermore, there will be a need for effective bodies that can manage the above issues, plan operations of great magnitude, coordinate activities between personnel of diverse expertise. Complex operations requiring some level of military engagement followed by relief and construction work will pose problems of jurisdiction among the different agencies. Overall, operational problems demand that the UN have a definite blueprint in mind about the goals to be achieved, the methods to achieve them, the resources that will be required and the time for completion. Only when such minutiae receive adequate attention will complex operations involving lives of millions be successful.

Problems of Finite Total Capacity

The problem of finite capacity is both a philosophical as well as practical one. Despite the possibility of contributions from every member of the UN toward a collective cause, the total capacity remains finite. This implies that there is only so much that one can venture into. This problem, on a philosophical level, underlines the limitations of the international community and highlights the need to utilize resources judiciously. It also presents a rather humbling thought that even if everyone was on board in principle, challenging the disconnectedness that rules three quarters of the world may be a task beyond us. Yet, it provides the possibility of some of the presently disconnected states seeing a change in their conditions and being able to contribute more to the collective cause. There is a possibility of the connected eventually outnumbering the disconnected after sustained efforts and in such a situation even the seemingly finite resources may be adequate after all. Thus, persisting with humanitarian preemption despite the enormity of the task is in our best interests.

Practically speaking, this problem draws attention to the importance of the process of identifying the most pressing problems and engaging the states or regions that require immediate attention. Focusing attention on few states at a time until a fruitful conclusion is reached will yield better results. Multiple theaters may be beyond our capacity and possible failure raises the specter of greater disconnectedness. Second, it again underlines the futility of unilateral action in the face of the enormous limitations that even broad-based multilateral action encounters.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

My thesis set out to establish that the numerous theories used to explain the motivations behind terrorism are inadequate and it is important to properly understand the factors responsible for terrorism if one has to devise an effective solution. As opposed to the various explanations provided, I establish that the disconnectedness of states and people from the process of globalization is the factor responsible for creating such security threats as terrorism. The threat is not just from the hardened terrorists' ability to attack us but also emerges from their ability to continually add to their numbers new recruits from the vast pool of disconnected people. While military strikes and other aggressive strategies might be useful in eliminating terrorists and destroying their infrastructure, it is also important to focus on the problem of disconnectedness. Without such a focus, long term success against terrorism will continue to elude us. To address this fundamental problem, I suggest the method of humanitarian preemption, a comprehensive strategy aimed at tackling disconnectedness and hence terrorism.

The cases of Somalia, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan are examined to challenge other explanations and establish the importance of tackling disconnectedness to address terrorism. From the cases, it is clear that though factors such as poverty, religion or hatred of the West are contributors, it is the disconnectedness of the people that makes these factors more important. Without disconnectedness, these other factors would not be as relevant. Thus, to counter terrorism it is imperative that the problem of disconnectedness be addressed.

The humanitarian preemption strategy works on multiple levels namely the social, economic and the political. It demands a change in the philosophical outlook of scholars, policymakers and leaders to ensure success against a global problem of humungous proportions. Considering the magnitude of the problem, the success of the humanitarian preemption approach rests squarely on the ability of the community of nations to set aside their differences and recognize the scale of the effort required. It rests on the ability of nations to make a concerted effort by pooling resources and be prepared for a lengthy process of spreading connectedness and interdependence throughout the world. It has to be realized that a one-dimensional or unilateral approach will not suffice as the problem is a complex one. Taking into account all the above requirements, unique solutions for the unique problems of the Somalia, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan are suggested.

The humanitarian preemption method is not without its share of problems. It places a huge responsibility on the states and leaders to look beyond immediate self-interest. The problems, however, stem more from the complexity and magnitude of the issue rather than the method itself. Hence, this solution is an effective one to tackle the identified problem of disconnectedness if the enormity of the task is acknowledged and addressed.

This study sets the tone for numerous avenues of interest that can be explored to enhance capabilities of countering disconnectedness. A detailed study of UN reforms is beyond the scope of this paper and can be pursued. Such efforts will be useful in making the UN more effective. Creating a military unit capable of fighting as well as peacekeeping under the UN umbrella would be one such useful reform. It would also be interesting to study with the help of models as well as real cases how once disconnected

states contribute to tackling disconnectedness after being subjected to the humanitarian approach. In other words, it would be a study of the results of the approach as well as the impetus that the fight against terrorism would receive due to these efforts. Another interesting study will be an investigative comparison between politically motivated actions of powerful states and actions that are taken with the long-term collective interest in mind. If it can be firmly established that collective action that goes beyond the notions of national interests of individual states can indeed be beneficial to the national interests of the states in the long term, humanitarian preemption would be easier to implement.

Overall, my thesis provides a comprehensive understanding of the issue of terrorism and the factors responsible for this problem. It provides an equally comprehensive solution that can ably serve the goal of providing security to the community of nations by neutralizing the primary factors that are responsible for the scourge of terrorism.

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