New Paradigm of Terrorism in the 21st Century

Novo Paradigma de Terrorismo no Século 21

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ABSTRACT

The emergence of armed groups, the nature of the terrorist threat and the increasing number of weak or failed states that are incapable of controlling or enforcing the laws within their territories bring about new circumstances and dangers that cannot be explained by the old security paradigm. A paradigmatic shift is occurring in the global security scenario today. This new paradigm is witnessing changes which are attempting to shake-up the entire world order. There has been an almost complete disappearance of distinctions between foreign and domestic threats and the manner to confront these. This paper makes an endeavour to examine the state of the next chapter of global jihad, which is driving the threat calculations for 2015 and beyond. It examines the ongoing transformations in the current world order and its efficacy in the backdrop of the threat of a new paradigm of terrorism. The postscript concludes with a likely scenario emerging consequent to the changing paradigm of terrorism and its impact on future world.

Keywords: New Paradigm. Terrorism. Global Order.

RESUMO

O surgimento de grupos armados, a natureza da ameaça terrorista e o número crescente de Estados fracos ou fracassados que são incapazes de controlar ou fazer cumprir as leis existentes em seu território, trazem novas circunstâncias e perigos que não podem ser explicados pelo velho paradigma de segurança. Uma mudança de paradigma está ocorrendo no cenário global de segurança atualmente. Este novo paradigma está testemunhando tentativas de mudanças na ordem mundial. Houve um desaparecimento quase completo das distinções entre as ameaças estrangeiras e nacionais e a maneira de enfrentá-los. Este artigo emepenha-se em examinar o estado do próximo capítulo da jihad global, que está dirigindo os cálculos de ameaças para 2015 e além. Também examina as transformações em curso na ordem mundial atual e sua eficácia no contexto da ameaça de um novo paradigma de terrorismo. O posfácio conclui com um cenário emergente provável, consequente com o paradigma de mudança de terrorismo e seu impacto no mundo futuro.

Palavras-chave: Novo paradigma. Terrorismo. Ordem Global.

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1 INTRODUCTION

"Everybody's worried about stopping terrorism. Well, there's a really easy way: stop participating in it".

Noam Chomsky

After the end of the Cold War, conflicts between civilizations struggling for influence on a new world order pose the greatest danger for international stability and peace (NEUMAYERA; PLÜMPERB, 2009). A paradigmatic shift is occurring in the global security scenario today. This new paradigm is witnessing changes which are attempting to shake-up the entire world order. There has been an almost complete disappearance of distinctions between foreign and domestic threats and the manner to confront these. Besides the threat of rapidly growing transnational terrorism, the proliferators of weapons of mass destruction, transnational serious organized crime, and malicious cyber-actors has become almost entirely global, operating as if in a borderless world (O'BRIEN, 2008).

In 1993, Samuel Huntington published a sensational essay in Foreign Affairs called "The Clash of Civilizations?" The essay argued that the post-cold war would be marked by civilizational conflict. Huntington wrote – "Human beings are divided along cultural lines — Western, Islamic, Hindu and so on. There is no universal civilization. Instead, there are these cultural blocks, each within its own distinct set of values. The Islamic civilization is the most troublesome. People in the Arab world do not share the general suppositions of the Western world. Their primary attachment is to their religion, not to their nation-state. Their culture is inhospitable to certain liberal ideals, like pluralism, individualism and democracy."[2] There are wars and tensions where the Muslim world comes into conflict with other civilizations. Even if decrepit regimes fell, he suggested, there would still be a fundamental clash of civilizations between Islam and the West (BROOKS, 2011). Huntington mentions terrorism, as in the clash of "Rest versus West", or even explicitly emphasizes the use of terrorism, as in the clash of "Islam versus Rest" and "Islam versus West". However, this may be a partially correct hypothesis as with the existing pattern of the

spread of terrorism it seems to be engulfing the world at large and not just focused against only the "West" (NEUMAYERA; PLÜMPERB, 2009).

This paper looks beyond the 9/11 paradigms to examine the state of the next chapter of global jihad, which is driving the threat calculations for 2015 and beyond. It examines the ongoing transformations in the current world order and its efficacy in the backdrop of the threat of a new paradigm of terrorism. The Postscript concludes with a future perspective hinting at expecting the unexpected.

2 CURRENT GLOBAL SECURITY TRENDS

a. Current World Order

In the current order of a polycentric world where no single pole controls all dimensions of power, global leadership is in short supply as new power centers emerge and drive political fragmentation. The transformation of the international system continues and gives rise to challenges at various interrelated levels. As a consequence of the on-going global financial crisis, the West's relative economic clout has deteriorated. Meanwhile, China's growing assertiveness against the backdrop of its economic success has both global and regional implications, as reflected in the area of maritime security in East Asia. There are signs that the US, as the only nation with worldwide interests and the capability to project power on a global scale, has begun to adjust to new realities. The Obama administration has sought to complement military power with a greater focus on effective multilateral diplomacy and a flexible 'smart power' toolkit. Furthermore, the US is trying to consolidate old alliances such as NATO. In addition, the often cited 'rebalancing towards Asia' can be seen as part of a new leadership approach by the US. Other centres of power are becoming more significant, but cannot be expected to play in the same league as the US and China. Meanwhile, Europe continues to be preoccupied with the fiscal and euro crises.

Hence, the global governance is facing deep crisis. Important international institutions are losing leverage. Permanent membership in the UN Security Council does not reflect the realities of the 21th century. Moreover, discussions within the Security Council are increasingly characterized by a split between Western democracies (US, France, UK) on one hand, and authoritarian regimes (China, Russia), on the other. Other forums such as the G-8 also are becoming less important, while newer circles like the G-20 are hampered by too many voices. Against this background, important international challenges remain unresolved: An on-going international economic crisis; failed and fragile statehood as well as civil wars; climate change; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems; international terrorism and piracy, to mention only some.

b. New Terror Trends

In the current order, the world at large faces a growing and fundamentally different threat from terrorism, a threat aimed not only at undermining the stable system of peace and prosperity we currently enjoy but at destroying countries, cultures, or all of humanity. Some of the best-known analysts of terrorism have stated the case for the new paradigm in fairly strong terms. Bruce Hoffman, Director of the RAND Corporation's Washington Office, states that the new terrorism "represents a very different and potentially far more lethal threat than the more familiar, 'traditional' terrorist groups" and that this "shatters some of our most basic assumptions about terrorists" (BAUMANN; GRÄTZ; MAHADEVAN, 2013).

Three trends in terrorism can be identified: first is the emergence of smaller, more amorphous groups of actors capable of independent operations, which are more difficult to trace and detect. Second is the trend toward sophistication by terrorists' exploitation of the global flow of information, finances, and ideas to their benefit, often through the internet. And third is an increasing overlap of terrorist activity with transnational organized crime, which may expose the terrorists to a broader range of law enforcement countermeasures. In addition, an overall increase in suicide bombings can be noted (SCHREIER, 2010).

With the onset of the Arab revolt and the death of Osama Bin Laden in 2011, some obstacles to the local manifestation of international jihadist activity have been removed. Regional jihadist groups have developed ties with Al Qaeda and ISIS. The result has been an increase in the lethal nature of regional terrorist activity. Shia leaders in Iran, Lebanon, and Iraq see the fighting through the same sectarian lens as their Sunni counterparts in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Turkey, and Qatar and across the Sunni-dominated Middle East and North Africa. The September 11, 2012 attacks on U.S. facilities in Benghazi, Libya, are reminders of the fragility of newly formed democratic societies juxtaposed with better-formed local militias that are networked regionally with like-minded extremists and global jihadists. Northern Mali, eastern Libya, Syria, northern Nigeria, and the Sinai contain terrorist elements operating with newfound partners on localized agendas.

The violent entrance of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) onto the world stage, despite painstaking engagements by the U.S. into the security of the Middle East, once again placed into doubt the assumption that the Western powers still hold significant control over the affairs of the Middle East. In just 16 months, ISIS has captured a territory the size of Great Britain. The jihadist

group currently controls approximately a third of Syria and a quarter of Iraq. Its territorial claims are not just massive but also strategic. It currently controls most of Syria's oil and gas production, as well as crucial oil fields and infrastructure in Iraq. It is known for killing hundreds of people at a time and carrying out public executions, crucifixions and other acts. It may be apt to conceive of ISIS as the latest manifestation of a dangerous ideology that has finally found its wings (GREEN, 2014).

There has not been a single war among democratic nations, but the escalation of conflict between states and groups within states challenging its legitimacy has increased dramatically. And so have organized crime, transnational criminal networks and, the threat from terrorist groups (ZUGRAVU, 2010).

c. Decline of US Dollar

For years now, the collapse of the dollar has been on the cards (MIGCHELS, 2013). The threat to the US Dollar have been emerging rapidly with free floating Bitcoin, Rubles and Yuan, which can all become significant competitors to the US currency. This in the backdrop of America having overplayed its cards, borrowing too heavily, ignoring fiscal discipline and then endeavouring to bully the rest of the world to maintain its erratic standards (YOUNG, 2014), is a situation good enough to cause turbulence and an atmosphere of conflict in the coming years.

d. Depleting Energy Sources

Because current global trends in energy supply and consumption are unsustainable, the future of human prosperity depends on how successfully the two central energy challenges will be solved: securing the supply of reliable and affordable energy; and effecting a rapid transformation to low-carbon, efficient and environmentally benign system of energy supply. The implications for future conflict are ominous. If the major developed and developing nations do not undertake a massive expansion of oil production and refining capabilities, a severe energy crunch is inevitable. An economic slowdown would, moreover, exacerbate other unsolved tensions, push fragile or failing states further down the path toward collapse.

e. Food Supply

In a world with adequate global supply but localized food shortages, the real problem is how it is distributed. How quickly the world reacts to temporary food shortages inflicted by natural disasters will also pose challenges. In a society confronted with starvation, food becomes a weapon as important as ammunition.

f. Water

Water is essential for socio-economic development and for maintaining healthy ecosystems. Freshwater is a renewable resource, but the world's supply of clean and fresh water is steadily decreasing. Water demand already exceeds supply in many parts of the world. As population increases, and development calls for increased allocation of groundwater and surface water for the domestic, agriculture and industrial sectors, the pressure on water resources intensifies, leading to tensions, conflict among users and excessive pressure on the environment.

g. Climate Change

Climate change will be intensified and accelerated by the diminution of natural carbon-capture processes, such as forests and marine life, and the reduction of the polar ice-caps and glaciers. Uncertainty remains as to the precise rate and character of expected changes. Therefore, the consequences of climate change will vary in their impact in time, incidence, and geographical extent. It may be a very unstable and unpredictable process, involving both progressive evolution and sudden instabilities.

h. Demography

The world's population – 1.6 billion at the beginning of the 20th century – will reach 8 billion by 2030, and top 9 billion in 2050. The population of the forty-nine least developed countries is the fastest growing in the world at 2.3 percent per year. The tensions that arise from a growing divide between rich and poor in a developing nation already driven by a multiplicity of races, religions, and ethnicities could seriously impact on its potential for further economic growth. One billion people, one-sixth of the world's population, now live in shanty towns. The slum population is growing more rapidly than the overall urban population. Slums are seen as breeding grounds for social problems, such as crime, drug addiction, alcoholism, poverty and unemployment. In regions where the youth bulge will reach over 50 percent of the population, there may also be fewer inhibitions about engaging in conflict.

Humanity is on the move around the world. Africans are moving to Europe, ethnic Chinese move into Siberia, Mexicans and other Latin Americans are moving north to the US and Canada, and Filipinos, Indians, and Pakistanis provide the labour and small commercial backbones of the economies of the Gulf States. Skilled workers (especially doctors and engineers) are leaving the developing world to make a living in the developed world. Increasingly, these global Diasporas connect via modern communications to their home countries. The money they send back to their families' often forms major portions of

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the local economies in their home communities. Equally important are the migrations occurring in war-torn areas in Africa, such as the Sudan and Somalia. These migrations disrupt patterns of culture, politics and economics and, in most cases, carry with them the potential of further dislocations and troubles.

3 EMERGING TRENDS LEADING TO RAPID TRANSFORMATION OF TERRORISM

a. Globalisation

Global Interdependencies

Globalization has increased the reach of transnational organizations, be they criminal or terrorist in nature. As global connections continue to expand, the reach of these organizations will also have the opportunity to expand. Globalization has allowed terrorist organizations to become largely independent of former state sponsors (KARACASULU, 2006).

The aspect of security has become so complex and multi-dimensional that the traditional national border-setting type of security perception is not capable of recognizing new threats that transcend the national borders. The threat of international terrorism has been recognized not only by one nation but as a threat to international security. Today, global terror is a giant problem for all humanity (KARACASULU, 2006).

Today the term widely used is the asymmetrical strategy (asymmetric power) by which a smaller power would attempt to defeat the largest powers in the globalized international system by striking against its perceived vulnerabilities. The technological dynamics of globalization makes asymmetrical power especially dangerous with the use of WMD.

As globalization created negative consequences and marginalization of some groups and global social and economic inequalities, terrorism gained more support from many marginalized people in different nations, and became more global. Especially people at the lower end of the social and economic spectrum realized that they cannot have equal shares in the global world, their demands are not recognized by the strong nations and started to show reactions. These reactions became threatening as they have started to give support to terrorism against globalization.

b. Technological Revolution

Technological innovation is a double-edged sword in the world of terrorism. Networked video cameras, nanotechnology, and software designed to identify important intelligence information could become powerful tools for counterterrorism operations, increasing the effectiveness of anti-terrorism counter measures. However, terrorists will also benefit from technological innovation. The diffusion of advanced technological capabilities could facilitate their access to CBRN materials, as well as advanced technologies such as guided missiles.

Democratization of Science and Technology

i) The Pull Concept

The increasing democratization of science and technology down to the individual level is playing an important role in redefining citizenry in a world where neither nation-states nor other institutions are well constructed to deal with identity pattern shifts to transnational citizens who view borders and networks in a whole new way. In their 2010 book The Power of Pull, John Hagel, John Seely Brown, and Lang Davison sketched out the impact of the shifts underway in the world as moving from push to pull concepts (BLAKE, 2012a).[3]

ii) Transformational Times

Combine that with Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg's observation that "the amount of information shared digitally will double every year" and the argument made by Google's Eric Schmidt that "every two days now we create as much information as we did from the dawn of civilization up until 2003," and it becomes clear we are living in transformational times (BLAKE, 2012a). The increasing ability of individuals to employ pull platforms to access, attract, and achieve across virtual networks that redefine borders will be an important development in the next chapter of global jihad. Technology transfers, identifying new technologies, linking with those who share similar passions, hatreds, ideology and grievances will increase the number of individual and multinational clusters and ecosystems seeking creative approaches to further their global jihadist goals.

iii) Rising Threat Calculus

Fundamental changes in the last few years are altering the threat calculus in a way never seen before. The expected quadrupling of global communications between 2010 and 2015 will include more than two internet connections for every person on earth. One million minutes of video - the equivalent of 674 days - will traverse the Internet every second. This interconnectivity revolution is contributing directly to the identity pattern shifts of citizens of nation-states to transnational citizens who rely on networks much more than bureaucracies and markets. This rise of the global citizen class has implications

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3 Push involves programs, products, and processes set up in advance by those who know how best to help us succeed. They treat all individuals as consumers who are supposed to consume resources according to a forecast. Pull focuses on the individual's ability to find and access people and resources and then attract those that are relevant and valuable to effectively achieve a greater result. This platform treat individuals as creators with the opportunity to tailor products or services to meet their needs.

for the increasingly connected horizontal global jihad movement where terms like lone wolves lose currency as everyone has a voice and a chance to be heard by and connect with someone. How global jihadists embrace these fundamental shifts in the human experience will drive their expectations of their own capabilities and limits (BLAKE, 2012a).

iv) The advent of this 24/7 online revolution cuts across all age categories but is most pronounced in the age group most susceptible to terrorism recruitment, radicalization and mobilization. The messenger, message, new media, and operations are now linked together in a dynamic never seen before in human history. The late Wi-Fi terror celebrity ideologue Anwar al Aulaqi, whose English-language sermons are still widely available online, is a case in point.

v) Afghanistan, Somalia, and Yemen rank near the bottom of GDP per capita income, literacy rates, and online connectivity yet host three of the most active terrorist propaganda media machines. In 2011 the Afghan Taliban and the Somalia-based al Shabaab even started their own Twitter feeds. The 24/7 online world is a "publish-then-edit" enterprise where grievances are transmutable and values and social mores are increasingly becoming bottom-up driven and fungible. In this form of digital direct democracy one can shift from a reader of extremist material to a producer or, more worrisome, to a violent jihadist in just a few clicks.

vi) Technologist Kevin Kelly has noted that in every technology's lifespan, there is the period described by computer scientist Marvin Minsky as the "haves and haves-laters." (BLAKE, 2012b) The Internet began as a tool focused initially on improving itself. But it was not until its price equated that of a TV that the have-laters came onboard in record numbers. The increasing democratization of science and technology down to the individual level has emerging implications for the have-later terrorist. In several areas of technological advance, the have-laters – aided by the increased democratization of science – have come onboard.

vii) Nanotechnology and the New Terrorism
Advances in nanotechnology are anticipated to further marry the successful characteristics of availability, affordability, mobility, lethality, and durability that drove the proliferation of conventional weapons like the AK-47 (KOSAL, 2014).

viii) Universal Access to and Use of Information
During the Mumbai terrorist attacks, social networking websites Twitter and Flickr were initially reporting the events more quickly than western news outlets. This raised several concerns, including public access to gruesome news and images, as well as the

possibility that terrorists conducting the attack were able to follow the actions of emergency responders through Twitter (STRATEGIC..., 2011).

c. Trans-national Actors

Nearly forty thousand International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) are active in the world today. The remarkable flourishing of these organizations has given the impression that they constitute a sort of "global civil society" that ostensibly advances democratization processes, protects human rights, and assists peacemaking efforts in regions of conflict. Unfortunately, in some cases, this image has little to do with reality. INGOs are not elected bodies, are not founded on the principle of representation, and are not accountable to the public. In recent years, these facts raise serious concerns regarding the legality and legitimacy of INGOs' activity. Experts point to the possibility that some INGOs are being widely exploited by terrorist networks as easy points of infiltration into the civic space. In the future, the extensive involvement of INGOs in the local arena will be greatly influenced by the understandings and perceptions that will characterize the general debate on their status and cross-border activities (BEN-ARI, 2013).

d. Transnational Crime and Corruption

The newer transnational crime groups, often originating in post-conflict situations, thrive in a state of chaos and ongoing conflict. In these regions the crime groups are dominant actors in the shadow economy. The new groups in ungovernable regions are now forging alliances with terrorist organizations; because the crime groups and terrorist organizations do not possess long-term financial strategies or long-term political horizons, neither the criminals nor the terrorists need fear ineffective and corrupt law enforcement regimes in conflict regions. Established crime groups have developed in Asia, Latin America, Africa, Europe, and the United States; no region of the world, nor any political system, has prevented their emergence, or succeeded in suppressing them. Therefore, international crime groups based in China, Japan, Colombia, Mexico, Nigeria, Russia, Italy, and the United States have endured despite the repressive governments of fascist Italy, the Soviet Union, and Chinese communist systems, and the FBI in the United States. They have survived because they often are of service to the state, having corrupted or developed collusive relations with state institutions, or evolved to serve specific functions within the community.

These new groups, most often linked to terrorism, have no interest in a secure state. In fact, they promote grievances, because it is through the prolongation of conflict that they enhance their profits. There is no disincentive for them to cooperate with

terrorists because they want neither stability nor a state that can control them. The milieu into which transnational crime, terrorism, and corruption merge is extremely threatening to the international order. The embedded nature of network crime structures in local communities and the inability of both domestic and international militaries, as well as law enforcement agencies, to control their activities make them a growing danger.

Narco-terrorism is the face of 21st-century organized crime. Far-flung groups like Hezbollah, Al Qaeda, Hamas, Al-Shabab in Somalia, and Boko Haram in Nigeria are two-headed monsters: hybrids of highly structured global drug-trafficking cartels and politically motivated Islamic terrorists. The drug trade in Afghanistan funds the Taliban and organized crime activity has sustained the Chechen conflict (SHELLEY, 2005). Increasingly, the sale of narcotics is the first-line of financing for acts of terror; the March 11, 2004, coordinated train bombings in Madrid that killed 191 people cost relatively little—an estimated $70,000—and were financed through the sale of hashish and ecstasy. ISIS, perhaps the greatest current threat to stability in the Middle East, is also engaged in narco-terrorism.

e. Illegal Immigration : Societal Security

The concept of societal security primarily deals with the issue of collective identity. As explained by Ole Waever (1993), societal security "concerns the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats". In relation to international migration, it refers to the ways in which members of a state perceive their cultural, linguistic, religious, or national identity to be threatened by immigrants. (WEINER 1992-1993, p.103). It is immigration in general, whether voluntary or involuntary, legal or illegal, that constitutes this threat, as long as the immigrants pose a challenge to the identity of the receiving state through their different language, culture, or religion.

In the post- cold war era, most European states have undergone a transformation from fairly homogeneous states, whose members have been generally bound by a common sense of cultural and ethnic identity, to heterogeneous states made up of several national groups (158). In these cases, immigration may be seen as a societal security threat as it challenges a state's traditional national identity and core values (HEISLER; LAYTON-HENRY 1993, p.158). Another way in which immigration has been argued to pose a threat to a state's national interest is through its impact on the state's economy (TALLMEISTER, 2013).

f. Public Diplomacy

The increasingly intersecting nature of the world means that the well-being and security of one country are linked to the lives of people thousands of miles away, as seen in the realms of terrorism, insurgencies, organized crime, drug trafficking, crimes against humanity, and infectious disease. This intertwining of the globe has led to a rise in the elusive phenomenon called "public diplomacy." This is a diplomacy that cultivates the power of the people through strategic communication among the state, non-state actors, and the people; a diplomacy that recognizes the power of public voice and uses it to achieve a policy change that can cross borders and arbitrary divisions.

One of the fundamental aspects of public diplomacy is the evolution away from classic diplomacy of state-to-state actors to include non-state actors. This change is due to instantaneous global communication, rapid growth of democratic institutions and market centered economies, close connections between foreign and domestic politics, growing mass participation in foreign politics, and the mediatization of politics. Formal political relations are becoming more closely connected with actors other than national governments, signifying a transition from traditional state-level diplomacy to public citizen-level diplomacy. This exemplifies the shift away from focusing on territory, access, and raw materials on the world stage, to focusing on the achievement of a favorable image and reputation gained through attraction and persuasion. Non-state actors such as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), multinational corporations, and cultural institutions have become essential for public diplomacy. They are gaining power in world affairs as they are "actively attempting to influence governments and multilateral institutions development policies" (AUDETTE, 2013).

g. Economic Terrorism

There is an economic "complex," created by radical groups that feed the ideological narrative which in many cases has lost relevance but is sustained by acts of terror. The drug economy sustained by the Taliban is a contemporary example. Islamist guerrillas have established an entire industry by coercing farmers to plant poppy, setting the price for purchasing it, and creating a network of factories for refining raw produce into marketable opium. This economic terrorism network in Afghanistan is sustained by a corrupt nexus of security personnel and tribal leaders and oiled by Taliban. The impact is to keep the people at the mercy of the guerrillas and disrupt counter insurgency operations. Another form of economic coercion is large-scale disruption of the currency of a state through counterfeiting. This has the potential to undermine credibility of the monetary system and create fear in the minds of the people even while transacting day-to-day business .

Evidence outlined in a Pentagon contractor report suggests that financial subversion carried out by unknown parties, such as terrorists or hostile nations,

contributed to the 2008 economic crash by covertly using vulnerabilities in the U.S. financial system. While economic analysts and a final report from the federal government's Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission blame the crash on such economic factors as high-risk mortgage lending practices and poor federal regulation and supervision, the Pentagon contractor adds a new element: "outside forces," a factor the commission did not examine. Suspects include financial enemies in Middle Eastern states, Islamic terrorists, hostile members of the Chinese military, or government and organized crime groups in Russia, Venezuela or Iran. Chinese military officials publicly have suggested using economic warfare against the U.S. (GERTZ, 2011).

h. Conflict over Environmental Issues

The post-Cold War era marked an ideal window of opportunity for environmentalists to convince policymakers that environmental security should help fill the void in a new definition of national security policy. It is possible that this new national security framework, which now adds environmental security to the military and economic security pillars, can "muddy the waters" and actually increase conflict in a fragile, and largely directionless, new global arena.

4 THE NEW PARADIGM

Before we ask how dangerous it really is, we must first know as to what the new paradigm of terrorism is. In order to understand it, we have to probably take a close look at the old form of terrorism.

a. The Old Form of Terrorism

The "old" terrorists were generally motivated by left-wing ideologies (i.e., Marxism) or ethno-nationalism and separatism (e.g., Irish, Basque, and Palestinian). The goal of Marxist terrorist groups was to use violence to politicize the masses and incite them to revolt against the capitalist system. Ethno-nationalist separatists wanted either independence for their ethnic group or merger with another state, often using a long-term strategy of violence meant to force the "foreign" government out of a given country (such as the British out of Palestine and Ireland). Whether Marxist or nationalist, these groups were also predominantly secular in orientation. The specific demands made by the "old" terrorists were often negotiable. Even where the demands would have been difficult to meet (such as the reunification of a divided country, the reestablishment of an ethno-national homeland, or fundamental changes in the capitalist system), they were usually stated publicly in relatively clear and understandable terms, and there seemed to be room for dialogue or negotiation in many circumstances.

Terrorists wanted maximum publicity for their acts, playing for an audience and soliciting audience participation, in order to communicate their ideological message. An attack was nearly always followed by a communiqué taking credit for the act, laying out demands, or explaining why it was carried out against that particular target. The media obliged the terrorists with constant coverage and friendly reportage of their demands, validating terrorism as a tactic. The violence that they perpetrated, and the publicity they craved, were key facets of the terrorists' broader strategy of building power to force political change.

b. The New Face of Conflict

A visible transformation of armed groups is a key aspect of a newly emerging security paradigm for the 21st century. Empowered by economic and technological consequences of globalization, armed groups have now acquired means and weapons available until recently only to state actors and national armies. Taking advantage of the revolution in communications, of the weak nature of failing states, capable of inflicting damage that far exceeds national borders, armed groups are one of the biggest threats to the international system.

The Cold War doctrines such as deterrence and mutual self-destruction no longer apply to armed groups. They do not have an address to locate them, and they do not have a territory nor a population to protect. Moreover, they are decentralized, operating in networks in various areas of the globe and have a significant degree of freedom in choosing their "programs". They operate among civilians and not in a large terrain where national armies have overwhelming advantage. In addition, terrorist cells and criminal organizations have arranged "marriages of conveniences". In exchange for a small part of the profits, armed groups offer protection to organized crime units, thus getting their hands on enormous amounts of resources, weapons and soldiers: al-Qaeda transferred $30 to $300 million in commodities working with the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone. According to Jeremy Weinstein, a professor at Stanford, when a rebel group gains access to natural resources, the incentive for getting rich becomes the main motivation that keeps its members united throughout time: "Resource-rich groups attract opportunistic joiners and must maintain their organizations through a consistent flow of material payoffs or through the use of force". This is very much evident in the recent strategy that is being used by the ISIS in Iraq and Syria. Weak states, due to their administrative incapacities, are unable to protect their monopoly of force across their territory, leaving huge portions ungoverned that become safe havens for armed groups (ZUGRAVU, 2010).

If we look back in history, one thing which was common in the first three generations of warfare was that

the battle lines were defined and the enemy distinguishable. The emerging war which is ambiguous and irregular is now being fought within and beyond land borders, in the physical and psychological domains. On one side, it is asymmetric, and on the other, it is hybrid in nature, a combination of conventional and sub-conventional warfare. The targets are nations, institutions, individuals and even the psyche of the Diaspora. The means are kinetic and non-kinetic in character. The emerging security environment is radically different from what it was even a decade ago. The new security challenges are products, not of conventional inter-state rivalries, but of economic, demographic and societal tensions that are trans-national in nature (KUMAR, 2013).

c. The New Paradigm of Terrorism

Impact of Globalization

The rise of globalization and the mobility of people and money create opportunities for terrorists to diversify their income sources through criminal enterprise. Terrorists are no longer able to depend on the superpowers to sponsor them as proxies, but have found new wealth in crime. Some terrorist groups are cooperating with transnational criminal organizations, either trading with or providing protection for them, such as the Shining Path with Peruvian drug traffickers and FARC and M-19 with Colombian drug cartels.

Asymmetric Warfare, Suicide Bombers and Technology

The word 'asymmetric' has multiple interpretations. Here asymmetry has special connotations for the insurgents. These operations in the 21st century show the capacity of the ISIS, the Taliban and the Al Qaeda fighters to employ tactics making full use of improvisation of available technology. Besides, the smart use of information technology and improvised devices, one phenomenon that has emerged is suicide bombers as precision guided munition. The youth, including women, are motivated (or brainwashed) to lay down their lives.

Drug Trade

The new emerging link between illicit drugs trade and terrorism (and human trafficking) is about more than financial motives and evidence of a closer link, even cooperation. The relationship can take many forms depending on the goals and needs of each party. Sometimes hybrid criminal-terrorist organizations form in which terrorist groups become involved in the drug trade to fund operations, purchase equipment, and pay foot soldiers. In return, they provide safe passageways for the drugs and give traffickers tips for circumventing customs and security forces. Other times a localized criminal organization or terrorist group lacks expertise, so increased contacts and business with major drug cartels

helps advance the sophistication of their operation. Ultimately, though, both have logistical needs and working with or even talking to each other allows the groups to share lessons learned, important contacts to corrupt officials, and operational methods (ULSTEIN, 2010).

CBRN Threat

The threat of the use of Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN), or 'weapons of mass destruction' by terrorist organizations is something that is ever present in the 21st century. While the number of cases of attacks using one of these types of weapons is actually rare, the ability of groups to acquire or make these types of weapons is ever present, and arguably becoming simpler (TERRORISM…, [2010?]).

Religion Factor

Research and policy on terrorism in the 21st century seems to assume a strong link to religion and that this somehow makes 21st century terrorism unique in comparison to terrorism from previous historical periods. Nearly thirteen years after 9/11 the world community seems to acknowledge that these attacks marked an end to the promising 'end of history'. Follow up wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, extensive and sometimes dubious counter-terrorism efforts, as well as terrorist strikes all around the world have tremendously shaken the relationship between Muslim, Christian and Jewish culture. To make things worse, the proclaimed Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) of former US president George W. Bush has in parts demonized Islam and brought massive turmoil into the Middle East as well as South Asia. As such, representations of "Islam" as a key factor in the perceived increase in terrorism in the 21st century often ignore or overlook the complex ways in which religion is entangled with political, economic, social, cultural and ecological dynamics that contribute to tension and fuel resistance and opposition, occasionally manifesting in acts of terrorism. Prominent scholars claim that terrorism today is mainly driven by religion and the belief in spreading the word of faith through the method of undiscriminated violence. It has, in fact, become obvious that the resurgence of the 'religion factor' within international relations has smoothly replaced the communist ideology which was dominant during the days of the Cold War. As postulated by the Marxist historian Mike Davis, it is the faith in god which has filled the gap of social space in the 21st century, a space that in the 20th century was occupied by the Marxist-Leninist ideology (FRANK, 2014).

The new terrorism is increasingly networked, more divers in terms of motivations, and security consequences. Technology has enabled terrorist organizations to reduce sizing and signature. Today, the means and methods of terrorism can easily be gleaned from the Internet, obtained from bookstores, and mail-order publishers. More generally, terrorism

has become accessible to anyone with a grievance, an agenda, a purpose, or any idiosyncratic combination of these. Relying on commercially obtainable bomb-making manuals and operational guidebooks, the amateur terrorist could become just as deadly and destructive, and even more difficult to track and anticipate than his professional counterpart. And the absence of a central command authority may, moreover, result in fewer constraints on the terrorist's operations and targets, and, when combined with a religious fervor, fewer inhibitions about indiscriminate casualties (SCHREIER, 2010).

d. Characteristics of the New Terrorism

The new terrorism exhibits a number of unique characteristics that contrast with traditional terrorism.

Motivation

In the new paradigm, the terrorist motivations are shifting with the growth of religious fundamentalism. It is fair to suggest that the rage and despair seen in the recent violent incidents involving killing of innocent civilians, attacking religious places, and school mass murders and kidnappings is a sign of a growing fascination with nihilism on the part of young, educated, middle class youth.

Strategy

i) Looking at the strategy of terrorist groups, they have both political and terrorist wings, so they have the opportunity to disassociate political leadership from practicing terrorists if something goes wrong. Their operations also have changed their targets - widened their targets from political and economic elites of a nation to financial centers, media, energy infrastructure, etc. Rather than attacking a specific target the global terrorists have started more indiscriminative killing against the civilians. Furthermore, the terrorists are interested in publicity and violence, and they do get a lot of publicity in the recent years (KARAKASULU, 2006).

ii) New terrorist organizations are based on two main columns: The first one is ideological/political base. Terrorist organizations exploit mistakes of states, areas where there is no state authority; the more these exploitation facilities continue, the more these organizations grow fast. The second important column is the economic infrastructure. Money is requested for weapons, explosive materials, daily needs of terrorists etc. The new paradigm suggests that terrorists are changing the source of their financing to organized crime and private financiers. However, in some cases like India and China (both affected by ISI sponsored terrorism from Pakistan), the state sponsorship still remains vital (LAÇINER, 2008).

Tactics

There are several ways that terrorist tactics are likely to evolve in the coming decades:

i) Terrorists may favor attack methods that exploit perceived vulnerabilities, such as adopting active shooter tactics and finding new methods of concealing dangerous materials.

ii) Terrorists will continue to pursue opportunities to inflict mass casualties.

iii) The nature of the threat from international Islamic terrorist groups is likely to change, particularly considering the Arab Spring and spread of ISIS.

iv) Home grown violent extremism is likely to continue to emerge as a significant threat.

Trans-national Networks

The new terrorist groups are more likely to form networks, rather than hierarchies or cells; this is particularly true of the groups emerging from decentralized radical Islamic movements organized around charismatic clerics. These networks are transnational, amorphous, and diffuse, permitting the groups to engage in a wider range of activities, to consider new strategies like net war, and to come together for one-time operations like 9/11.

Increased Strength

New groups are much larger in size than their predecessors. Whereas the Abu Nidal Organization may have had four or five hundred members, ISIS has between ten and fifteen thousand trained men.

Deadly Amateurs

New groups are more likely to include amateurs, "part-time" terrorists who do not have professional training but who can access the resources and methods of terrorism through informal (often Internet-based) sources - and who therefore can be as deadly as professionals. With these large, networked, amateur organizations, target and tactics selection are more indiscriminate.

Greater Lethality

New terrorist attacks exhibit greater lethality, perhaps the greatest danger in this increased lethality is the likelihood that new terrorists will use weapons of mass destruction. The threat of mass destruction (or mass casualty) by terrorists is a fundamental part of the new paradigm (COPELAND, 2001).

5 FUTURE IMPACT OF THE CHANGING NATURE OF TERRORISM

a. Dangerous Evolution of Terrorism

In the future, we may witness a more dangerous evolution of terrorism. Terrorism in the modern context may no longer occur in the form of fringe groups

terrorizing the populace. Rather, terrorism may manifest itself in the competition between strong non-state groups and the nation-state over economic control – by terrorist groups that are formed around lucrative business interests. This is happening in Mexico, where the Sinola cartel, one of Mexico's big drug-smuggling organizations, is engaged in systematic assassinations of law enforcement officials in defense of its economic interests. It can also be witnessed in Nigeria, where a contract militia is attacking oil platforms operated by Shell as part of a larger disruption campaign to shut down Nigeria's oil production.

b. Trans-National Risks and Trans-Sovereign Problems

Security challenges become even more complex when one turns to those issues that may not directly challenge the viability of the state, in traditional terms, but that may nevertheless undermine the sovereignty of the state, compromise its ability to control the penetrability of its borders and exacerbate relations, whether between groups within the polity or between states within the regional or global system. Increasingly, it is argued that individual and collective security is dependent on our ability to confront the new challenges. Trans-sovereign problems – problems that move beyond sovereignty and traditional state responses – fill the contemporary international relations agenda and make a mockery of state borders and unilateral state responses.

The new paradigm of terrorism transcends boundaries and threatens to erode national cohesion. Such a trans-sovereign problem can be difficult for states to address because effective action requires greater international co-ordination. Responding to this new paradigm will require greater coordination among states, NGOs, IGOs, MNCs and other state and non-state actors, and groups which have different interests, capabilities and constituencies, and in any case it will be an important dimension of preventive defense.

The simple recognition of this problem, however, has not always elicited effective responses from the international community. Instead, nations have frequently opted to focus their energies on the more manageable manifestations of pending conflicts, such as arms build-ups, that result from disagreements between nations over non-traditional security issues. Because the world faces so many difficult security challenges and promising opportunities, all of which compete for attention and resources, it will be difficult to tackle this kind of non-traditional threat.

Like drug traffickers, nuclear smugglers and international crime cartels, terrorist groups take advantage of the infrastructure that open societies, open economies and open technologies afford. They are more easily able to move people, money and goods across international borders thanks to democratization, economic liberalization and technological advancements. Terrorists also take advantage of weaker or developing states to serve as a base of operations for training and carrying out attacks. This multifaceted conception of security entails a multifaceted approach to security. The axes of conflict in the shadow of the Cold War will probably be more complex and more difficult to manage.

Outsourced War

Estimates of the numbers of outsourced security personnel in Afghanistan vary from 130,000 to 160,000. Private military contracted personnel account for nearly two-thirds of all the Pentagon's personnel in Afghanistan. It is believed that this kind of strategy to fight a war is cost effective and comes with the least amount of liability and accountability.

Mind as a Weapon/ Perception of Just Cause

The kind of warfare where the mind is a weapon system has been in practice since time immemorial but its potency has increased recently and the boundaries of the conflict have become unrestricted. Such warfare poses a serious challenge to states as it is difficult to anticipate the time and location of the next engagement.

c. Impact on Global Business

General Impact

i) More spending on security technology - communications, computers, military and police, and surveillance at local, regional and global levels.

ii) Increased spending and monitoring of economic and financial transactions resulting in increased cost of doing global business and reduced speed of transactions.

Impact on Business Operations

i) Decrease in the productivity and efficiency of global business in the short- run.

ii) More cautious and less trusting attitude toward cross-border business future.

iii) Multilateral organizations such as the UN, WTO, World Bank, IMF will restructure to fit into the new paradigm.

iv) New paradigms of government and political structures at regional and global levels will emerge - more information sharing and a hierarchical structure among countries and global authorities.

6 CONCLUSION

The new form of terror in the 21st Century is a clear and present danger and cannot be just wished away. There is a need for carrying out a detailed analysis on the issue thus highlighting all necessary aspects that must be addressed in the times to come. The issue must be

addressed at its core taking into account all the related factors responsible for its furtherance or avoidance in the form of a grave danger to the future world.

Future challenges will present a more complex array of alternative structures and strategies. In the case of future conflicts, adversaries – states, state-sponsored groups or non-state self funded actors – will exploit access to modern military capabilities including encrypted command systems, man-portable air-to-surface missiles, and other modern lethal systems, as well as promote protracted insurgencies. This could include states as well as non-state actors blending high-tech capabilities with terrorism and cyber warfare directed against financial targets. Their principal approach will be to avoid predictability, and seek advantages in unexpected ways, with asymmetric and ruthless modes of attack, combined with unanticipated tactics. Thus, irregular or unconventional warfare will become normal, but with greater velocity and lethality than ever before.

Finally, it has to be emphasized that content of terrorism has changed and has become more challenging. With its changing content, global terror affects directly or indirectly more countries in the global village. Furthermore as Kaldor, Held and Mc Grew and Beck advise, there is a need for cosmopolitan approach in the worldwide struggle against global terror in the 21st century - where all human beings will have equal moral respect and concern, pushing towards extended governance by international law and towards the common acceptance of international human rights standards. Rather what we need to adopt is a holistic approach addressing the root causes and the linkage between domestic and trans-national terrorism. As a last but not least, the emphasis on national sovereignty and the reluctance of states to be involved when the threat did not seem to be in their homeland would jeopardize the cooperation among states. What will make all of us secure are the collective activities that are directed against the new paradigm of global terror (KARACASULU, 2006).

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