

Non- State Actor of Terrorism: The Emergence of Islamic State (IS) in the Global Politics

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Abstract

This paper evaluates the actual causes of appearance of Islamic State in the global politics. How it was circulated the entire world, is a broad question. To find out answers of these questions, my key findings are non-uniform. It is considered that, the wrong policies of the USA and its western allies, especially NATO is responsible for the emergence of this barbaric terrorist actor. Other reasons were Secondly, misperception and misinterpretation of Islamic scripture (The Holy Quran and Hadith, the Practical life of prophet Mohammad), Thirdly; Hostilities between Shia and Sunni and regional politics of Middle East, fourthly; Neoconist policies of the USA and its Indiscriminate drone attacks to destroy terrorists, Fifthly; Role of western media and Finally; corruption, feud and power hunger of the Middle East political leaders. Islamic State also the outcome of the dissatisfactions to the western culture, society and politics. Globalization has helped IS to reach globally, especially social site networks. To collect data, secondary sources have been used such as books, newspapers, international organizations reports, online news portals, renewed journal articles and so on.

Key Words: Terrorism, Non-state actor, Islamic State, Global Politics, Globalization.

Introduction

It is a common phenomenon to the people of present world to read newspapers, to listen and watch television about deadly terrorist attacks across the world. Hundreds of people, moreover, most of them were civilian killed by terrorist through the suicidal bomb blast or by the use of other lethal weapons. Writer Yuval Noah Harari has written in his recent book '21 Lessons for the 21st Century' they kill very few people but nevertheless managed to terrify billions and shake huge political structures such as the European Union or the United States to their core. Since September 11 of 2001, every year terrorists have killed about 50

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people in the EU, about 10 people in the USA, about seven people in China and 25,000 people globally, mostly in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and Syria (Harari, 2018)., Concern about terrorism, therefore, is very important matter of discussion to the policy makers, experts, intellectuals and civil societies for a peaceful and stable world where we are living now.

Non-State Actor of terrorism can be defined by the reverse way of state terrorism. State Terrorism frequently carried out by government bodies such as the police, military or intelligence agencies (Heywood, 2011). In this sense, non-state actor of terrorism means terrorist activities carried out by a non-state actor, local organizations, local movements, religious institutions and so on. Al-Qaeda, ISIS, Boko Haram, AQI, Hijbut Tahrir, for instances, are some sort of non-state actor in nature of terrorism. Today, most of the terrorist's activities done by non-state actors and it has been intensified after the 'Nine-Eleven' (9/11) attack on twin tower by Al Qaeda, a non-state terrorist actor.

The upsurge of the Islamic State (IS), previously called the ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) or the ISIL (Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant), is not just an event, rather more than horrific, brutal in the world politics. Islamic State, proclaimed on 29 June 2014, which captured and controlled then huge swathes of territories straddling northwestern Iraq and eastern Syria, (Nuruzzaman, 2015: 68). Throughout the history, we have seen terrorism in different dimensions and different perspectives and it carried out by both state and non-state actors.

In the early second decade of twenty-first century non-state terrorist actors, Islamic State (IS) has been emerged in the global politics. Since then, it has committed terrorist activities around the world, especially in the Trans-Jordan of Middle East regions. This Islamic State is the symbol of personified terrorism of that moment.

How and why Islamic State has been emerged in global politics and what it wants is a considerable business to the both Scholars and Politicians. Many Scholars and Experts on this issue already have examined the reasons but they were indifference to cover many important issues. My aims to find out of these issues which were responsible for the emergence of Islamic State in the global politics. To find out answer of my question and examine the reasons, I have used secondary method such as books, journal articles, newspapers, social media especially YouTube. Therefore, I heavily depended on newspapers, books review and others secondary resources.

In this context, the introduction part forecasts the summary, methodology and structure of the paper. The second part of this paper discusses about what is terrorism. "Although" there is no complete

definition that cover the everything of terrorism. In this paper, I have taken one from those of diverse definition of terrorism.

Third part describes a short story of IS how it has emerged in the world politics. Fourth part is the soul portion of this paper. Here the reasons that are responsible for the emergence of IS in the global scenario having been asserted. In the concluding marks, paper has completed by the expressing concern of our indifference to terrorism.

Understanding Terrorism:

It is said that there are over 200 definitions of terrorism in existence within broader terrorism studies literature; that many terrorism scholars have given up on the definitional debate and use the term unreflectively; and that such a state of affairs hampers theoretical progress and skews terrorism research in unhelpful ways (Jackson, R, 2008:25-32). The central feature of terrorism is that it is a form of political violence that aims to achieve its objectives through creating a climate of fear and apprehension (Goo din, 2006). In addition, Jackson and Sorensen defined Terrorism is the unlawful use or threatened use of violence against civilians, often to achieve political, religious or similar objectives (Jackson, R. and Sorensen, G., 2013: 278). According to Andrew Heywood (2011), terrorism, in its broadest sense, refers to attempts to further political ends by using violence to create a climate of fear, apprehension and uncertainty. That means, there have no consensus definition about terrorism among the scholars that created a confusion what is the actual meaning of definition. This applies, in part, because of confusion about the basis on which terrorism should be defined. Heywood opinion is it can be defined by the nature of: (Heywood, 2011: 284)

- a. The act itself: clandestine violence that has a seemingly indiscriminate character. However, the nature of terrorism is not inherent in the violent act itself, because it rests, crucially, on intentions, specifically the desire to intimidate or terrify.
- b. Its victims: innocent civilians. Some terrorists, moreover, have viewed civilians as ‘guilty’, on the grounds that they are implicated in, and benefit from, structural oppression that takes place on a national or even global level.
- c. Its perpetrators: non-state bodies that are intent on influencing the actions of governments or international organizations. In this sense, definition means spread fear or threat among the nations by the use coercive violence to attain political or religious goals.

Emergence of Islamic State in the Global Politics

Terrorism and terrorists are not a new phenomenon, moreover catchwords in the contemporary global politics. In the early second

decade of twenty-first century non-state terrorist actor, Islamic State (IS) has been emerged in the global politics. Since then, it has perpetrated hundreds of terrorist attacks around the world, especially in the Trans-Jordan of Middle East regions.

To know the history of ISIS emergence, we have to go back Soviet invasion in Afghanistan in 1979. In the 1980s, the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan's Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) helped the Afghan Mujahideen to fight against the Soviet forces. It had successfully increased their confidence in the war with the Soviet forces, and these freedom fighters later became Taliban. Two leaders emerged from this war, one was Osama bin Laden, the second was Abu Mosab al-Zarqawi who went to Saudi Arabia after the removal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan in 1989. In 1996, Taliban came to the power and ruled in Afghanistan until the overthrown by the USA due to allegation of terrible twin-tower attack, popularly known as 'Nine Eleven attack in September 2001.

When the United States attacks Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden fled to Pakistan and Abu Musab al-Zarqawi to Iraq. Many angry Iraqi soldiers and Sunni Muslims joined several rebel groups after the fall of Saddam by the US attack in 2003. Later, Zarqawi's party became stronger and fought against Shiites and the Maliki government in Iraq. Al-Qaeda then formed a coalition with Zarqawi's party, and then its name was Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). In 2006, Zarqawi was killed in a US attack, and Iraq was led by the Al Qaeda leadership. In October 2006, US President George Bush announced of its soldiers to leave Iraq. In December 2006, Saddam was hanged. The death of Saddam and Zarqawi could not reduce the ongoing violence in Iraq. It was also impossible for the US to solve Iraq's communal conflict, and it would have been more dangerous in this day. So, the Americans had to leave Iraq.

US forces left Iraq in 2011. Arab spring spread among the most Middle East countries in the same year. Movement sparked first In Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Morocco and the wave of spring touched in Syria in 2013. The United States and other major European countries, together with such regional players as turkey and Saudi Arabia, called for Syrian president Bashar al-Assad's removal from office, as illustrated by President Barak Obama's statement that 'Assad must go (W. Scott and W. Joby, 2011)

Assad denial of surrendering, however, to regional and international groups and their pressures and set upon a strategy of resistance to growing internal and external challenges to his authority. He was supported in this decision by Syria's long-time ally Iran, the Lebanese Shia group Hezbollah, Russia and China. Meanwhile, adopted a position

of low-key support for Assad. The Syrian conflict soon acquired a sharp sectarian dimension, despite the fact that Bashar al-Assad's regime is essentially secular (Hunter, S. T. 2015). These groups included such entities as the Jabhat al-Nusra. AL Nusra shared the ideological outlook of Al-Qaeda, including a visceral hatred of the Shias, and later officially joined the organisation. And finally, Islamic State emerged in the world politics.

Reasons of Islamic State Emergence:

Scholars and Pundits are divided to explain how and why the IS emerged? How it circulated in the entire world, is a broad question. To find out answers of these questions, my key findings are nonuniform. Such as-

Political Economy: War of Oil and America's Wrong Policy

It is considered that, wrong policies of the USA and its western allies, especially NATO is responsible for the emergence of this barbaric terrorist agent. When scholars were invested their time to explore the reasons of emergence of ISIS in the global politics, then the confession of two great figures, Tony Blair and Michael Flynn, who alleged that the American's wrong war policy in Iraq is responsible for the emergence of ISIS was not only surprising but also fuelling in the debate.

Bush war policy supporter in Iraq, Tony Blair the then prime minister of United Kingdom (UK), Who intensified the bush false propaganda not only in his country but also united Nations (UN) to recognition of Bush policy. Many called it war of oil (Ahmed, I. and Liton, S. 2018). To Blair, ISIS would not have seen the light of the day had the Iraq war not been fought – a shameful confession coming from a man who was thoroughly convinced, at least in public, that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. A dozen years later, he is come forward and explained how the war led to destruction of institutions and antagonized groups that put them on a warpath with each other thereby encouraging Islamist extremism (Hasan, A.S. 2015).

The other prominent individual to condemn the US's Iraq policy and accusing it of having an indirect hand in the mushrooming of ISIS is Michael Flynn, a retired general and former head of Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). He blames the Bush administration of 'strategically marching in the wrong direction' and acting in a 'dumb' manner.

Before 2003, the Middle East region was silent and there had less sectarian conflicting compared today. But when the USA and its allies attack Iraq to ousted dictator Saddam Hussain in 2003 then the tension, conflict erupted among the entire region, especially in Iraq. Therefore,

soon after Saddam Hussein's fall, Iraq's Sunnis organized militias and other armed groups in order to undermine the new Shia-dominated political setup in Iraq. Meanwhile, various Shia militias, such as the Mahdi Army of Muqtada al-Sadr, were also formed. These were, however, largely for the purposes of intra-Shia competition for power (Hunter, S. T. 2015: 153)

Many scholars blame the USA for creating the IS by the invasion of Iraq. They said, foreign military occupation breeds the ISIS. In Faluja, later occupied by ISIS and strengthen themselves US troops opened fire on the peaceful protesters, killing and wounded dozens of Iraqis. Obviously, it was angered them (The New York Times, 2003). The US detective branch, moreover, brutally tortured hundreds of innocent Iraqis in the Abu Garib cell. Dismantled from their jobs of hundreds of thousands, not less than half million of Iraqi soldiers overnight by the use of its puppet government. But Stern and Berger in their book, estimate that more than 100,000 Baathists were removed from their posts (Al Jazeera, 2017) This jobless soldiers and staffs were not just fully unemployed and pissed off at the Americans well trained and heavily armed, prime recruitment of ISIS emergency. Even, much of top ISIS leadership was the members of Saddam's armed forces or former army.

Significant number of scholars, commanders and staffs of the USA, such as James Gerrond, former camp Bucca compound commander and Ali Khederi, former US ambassador and Michell Gray and others alleged, Camp Bucca was the factory to produces the extremists (Al Jazeera, 2018). Not coincidentally but true, Abu Bakar al Baghdadi was the detainee of camp Bucca. According to David Kilcullen, former counter insurgency advisor, 'if we had not invaded in Iraq, there undeniably would be no ISIS. Even Barak Obama also said, 'ISIL is the direct outgrowth of Al Qaeda in Iraq that grew up of our invasion, which was unintended consequences' Al Jazeera, 2018). But Donald Trump claimed, due to the withdrawal of US forces from Iraq, ISIS has emerged.

Misinterpretation of Islam

Misconception, misinterpretation and misunderstanding of Islam is the important cause behind the emergence of 'Islamic State'. Khilaphate and Jihad, in fact, are the two important concepts of Islam and these two terms revealed many times in the holy Quran, the scripture of Islam and the messages of prophet Mohammad. These verses of the Quran and messages of prophet are wrongly misinterpreted by the Jihadists groups, especially Islamic State (IS) to misguide the general people those who had not accurate knowledge about these two important terms. IS and other Jihadists, moreover, groups emphasized on loyalty to the Emir, the

leader of Islamic Khilaphate. They said and understood the general people, ‘without loyalty to the emir and taking oath to hand to establish the God’s guidance in the entire earth a Muslim cannot be success in the both worldly and spiritual life.

The concept Islamic Khilaphate or Islamic State system is the essential concern of Islam. According teaching to Islam, Muslims are bound to forbid the others Muslims and non-Muslims to avoid evil activities. in contrast, they have to duty to inspire people to do good activities to be a good Muslim. According to the Quran,

‘You are the best nation produced (as an example) for mankind. You enjoin what is right and what is wrong and believe in Allah. If only the people of the scripture had believed, it would have been better for them. Among them are believers, but most of them are definitely disobedient’ (Al- Quran, 3: 64,110)

From this Idea, Muslim feels political ideas and Islam mandates political engagement as part of religious practice, and Islam will continue to play a role in politics and public policy (Khan, A.M, M.2015: 198). This is the spirit of the emergence of so-called political Islam. But in reality, it was not a new idea, rather it is the part of parcel of Islam. Heywood wrote, Fundamentalism in Islam does not mean a belief in the literal truth of the Quran, for this is accepted by all Muslims, and in that sense all Muslims are fundamentalists. Instead, it means an intense and militant faith in Islamic beliefs as the overriding principles of social life and politics, as well as of personal morality. Islamic fundamentalists wish to establish the primacy of religion over politics (Heywood, 2011: 198)

In practice, this means the founding of an ‘Islamic state’, a theocracy ruled by spiritual rather than temporal authority, and applying the Sharia’s. The Sharia’s lays down a code for legal and righteous behavior, including a system of punishment for most crimes as well as rules of personal conduct for both men and women.

Shia-Sunni Conflict

Shia-Sunni conflict is another reason for the emergence of IS. The Sunni-led by Saudi Arabia and the Shia by Iran, each has intense of different political and ideological purposes. The Iranian revolution of 1979 launched a radical Shia Islamists agenda that was perceived as a challenge to conservative Sunni regimes, particularly in the Gulf region.

Today, many conflicts in the region have strong sectarian overtones. In Syria, Iranian troops, Hezbollah fighters and Iranian backed Shia militiamen have been helping the Shia-led government battle the Sunni-dominated opposition. Sunni jihadist groups, including Islamic state (IS),

have meanwhile been targeting Shia and their places of worship in Syria and neighboring Iraq. In January 2016, the execution by Saudi Arabia of a prominent Shia cleric who supported mass anti-government protests triggered a diplomatic crisis with Iran and angry demonstrations across the Middle East.

The KSA want to maintain the monarchical ruling system which has criticized from different angles. KSA thinks, Islamic Republic of Iran is the main culprit of Saudi undemocratic system. Historically, Shia -Sunni divided made them enemies for one another. In addition, KSA and Iran have made alliance with two ideologically different power the USA and Russia respectively.

According to Patrick Cockburn, marginalization of Sunni people by Iraqi Shia backed government increased conflict between two rival groups and IS properly utilized that opportunities to strengthen itself. He wrote, I saw women and children with military weapons; local people offered the soldiers dishdashis to replace their uniforms so that they could flee (Khan, I. 2018). They killed the boys, soldiers and destroyed everything.

Indiscriminate Drone Attack of the USA

Terrible 9/11 attack induces the USA to unroot terrorism. That time Bush's administration announced war on terror policy. They started to fight against terrorist group such as Al Qaeda and Taliban Government in Afghanistan in 2001. Indiscriminate military assault to via Drone and military weapon killed hundreds of Al Qaeda terrorists. But it also did not kill many innocent civilians who were neither terrorist nor they had any relationships with Al Qaeda. Civilians killing via lethal weapons persuaded many young to indulge with terrorism. The United Kingdom-based Bureau for Investigative Journalism estimates that 'US Unmanned Air Vehicle (UAV) strikes in Pakistan have killed between 416 and 951 civilians, for instance, including as many as 200 children,²² and reports by human rights nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have used similar estimates.' (US Drone Attack Policy, 2015:19) So, revenge may sometimes be the reason for people to involve to the terrorism.

Just imagine, sudden US drone attack killed your all the family members or most of them but unfortunately you are alive due to absence in your home that time. Now you are alone and you have lost your lovable family members who were the source of peace to you. Then what will you do? Obviously, not all but many among them will try to take revenge at any way. The terrorist group copiously utilizes this opportunity to take them into their group by the use of sympathy.

You might think this argument is just absurd? If you think then you are wrong. Let's describe few arguments. Faisal Shehzad, a Pakistan born us citizen was arrested for terrorist attack at the time square in the USA in 2010. In the trial, judge asked him, why you wanted to attack and kill the civilian people including children, women and others? In reply Shehzad said, The USA drone attack killed the children, women and civilians, don't they see women, children and civilians? They killed everybody. They killed Muslims. He also added, I am part of the answer to the US terrorizing the Muslim nations. I am 'avenging the attack'.

In the blowback section of the recommendation and report on US drone policy, committee said, "Civilian casualties, even if relatively few, can anger whole communities, increase anti-US sentiment and become a potent recruiting tool for terrorist organizations. Even strikes that kill only terrorist operatives can cause great resentment, particularly in contexts in which terrorist recruiting efforts rely on tribal loyalties or on an economically desperate population. UAV strikes by the United States have also generated a backlash in states not directly affected by the strikes, in part due to the perception that such strikes cause excessive civilian deaths, and in part due to concerns about sovereignty, transparency, accountability and other human rights and rule of law issues". (Ibid, 2014:10-11). Even, in the Al Jazeera's program 'Head to Head' with Mehedi Hasan, Pakistani former foreign minister Hina Rabbani Khar said, drone attack has fueled and attracted more people to merge into terrorism in the Pakistan (Al Jazeera, 2015)

Corruption and Role of Western Media

Kleptocracy in the politically turmoil country like as Iraq, Syria, for instances, breed terrorism. That time terrorist expanded their activities in the corruption prone countries because of the weak political institution. Weak political institution failed to manage to halt the people involvement in terrorism. According to Transparency International (TI), it is found that organizations including ISIS take advantage of corruption in their efforts to recruit and retain disillusioned members, even as they use corrupt practices to channel funds and smuggle arms, drugs, and people. Corruption also can dramatically weaken state institutions, rendering them ineffective in the face of the threat from extremist groups (Transparency International; 2018). Cockburn wrote, moreover, the frequent demand for bribes has not in itself crippled the state or the economy. The highly autonomous Kurdistan Regional Government is deemed extremely corrupt, but its economy is booming and its economic management is praised as a model for the country (Khan, I. Ibid). Western media, On the other hand, played significant role to emergence of IS.

According to Patrick Cockburn, In Iraq and Syria, the Jihadis who were becoming so powerful inside were ignoring media and politicians. However, one of the reasons is that Western policy makers only considered Al-Qaeda and 'core' as big jihadist power. All of them were always on Al-Qaeda's eyes. And thus, they were also proud of their success on War on terror. Westerners thought that Jihadist power would not be a big threat without Al-Qaeda support and coalition. So, Al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri has criticized ISIS's atrocities, they think ISIS has Al-Qaeda support. In this unconcern of Western media and politicians IS has taken opportunity to make its black flag. By the use of social media (Dubik) IS has run its brutal propaganda around the world.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has investigated to reach the conclusion that multiple reasons are responsible for the emergence of IS in the global politics. Not a single factor intensified this brutal, barbaric and uncivilised terrorist group that occupied the vast territory of Iraq and Syria. IS is not just a team, rather it is a norm. It is more than the Taliban in Afghanistan. Different countries are using them for domestic, internal, international or regional reasons. Although they are planning to use them as an international militant party, they are not satisfied with this identity only. Because, in order to achieve their purpose, they must feed the people in their team, which they do through the propaganda of their ideology. It has spread their ideology around the world, which had to be closed before hard times were necessary unless the world will suffer that may be out of our thought. Further work needs to be done to find out the reasons which were responsible for the emergence of Islamic state in the global politics.

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