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Global Governance of Terrorism and Transnational Organized Crimes: Challenges and Complexities

Halil Peçe[1]

Abstract

In today's world, it is hard to mention domestic problems due to globalization. Besides, technological improvements provide new opportunities such as accessibility and social media. Under these circumstances, terrorist groups easily make propaganda to seek support and mobilise their followers against states. Since the 9/11, terrorism is being discussed heavily and continuously. Unilateral actions against terrorism make global governance more complicated as legitimacy is ignored and no consensus occurs. Terrorism and transnational organised crimes have many aspects that must be analysed to understand contemporary global issues. In the case of authority gaps, international organisations have to take action to create a solution. Otherwise, new terrorist organisations might emerge from conflictual areas and transnational organised crimes can fund their illegal activities. Although the United Nations (UN) is supposed to be mainly responsible for solving global problems, it is hard to say that UN bodies generate respectable solutions on global issues including terrorism and organised crimes. Furthermore, there is no clear definition of terrorism which enables sovereign states to

[1] Araştırma Görevlisi, Kocaeli Üniversitesi, halilopo53@gmail.com

interpret terrorism and terrorist groups according to their interests. Generally, states tend to be part of the problem rather than being part of the solution. Thus, global governance faces severe challenges in managing conflicts. This article focuses on these challenges.

Keywords: Terrorism, Transnational Organized Crimes, The United Nations, Global Governance, The September 11 Attacks

Terrörizm ve Ulusötesi Organize Suçların Küresel Yönetişimi: Zorluklar ve Karmaşıklıklar

Öz

Küreselleşme nedeniyle artık problemlerin yerel olarak nitelendirilmesi mümkün olmamaktadır. Bunun yanında, teknolojik gelişmeler, erişim kolaylığı ve sosyal medya gibi yeni imkânlar sunmaktadır. Bütün bunlar göz önüne alındığında, terörist gruplar daha önce görülmemiş bir kolaylıkla propaganda yapıp, **takipçilerini yönlendirebilmektedirler.** 11 Eylül saldırılarından bu yana, terörizm tartışmaları ve çalışmaları üzerine yoğunlaşma devam etmektedir. Terörizme karşı tek taraflı çabalar meşruiyet eksikliği ve meselelere çözüm bağlamında uzlaşma olmaması dolayısıyla küresel yönetişimi daha karmaşık hale getirmektedir. Güncel küresel meselelerin daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi adına terör ve sınır aşırı organize suçların etraflıca analiz edilmesi gerekmektedir. Oluşabilecek otorite boşluklarına çözüm üretme adına **ulus**lararası örgütler harekete geçmek zorundadır. Aksi halde, yeni terörist örgütlerin tartışmalı bölgelerden ortaya çıkacak ve sınır aşırı organize suçlar dolayısıyla elde edilen gelirlerin bu örgütlerin eylemlerini finanse edecektir. Her ne kadar Birleşmiş **Milletlerin** küresel problemlere çözüm üretmesi gereken kurum olduğu düşünülse de, BM organlarının terörizm ve sınır aşan suçlar özelinde etkili olduğunu söylemek zor olacaktır. Bunun ötesinde, terörizm tanımının ne olduğu noktasında netliğin olmaması, egemen **devletlere** çıkarlarına göre bir terörizm tanımı yapmalarına imkân sağlamaktadır. Genellikle devletler çözümün parçası olmak yerine problemin bir parçası olma eğilimindedirler. Böylece, küresel yönetişim çatışmaların çözüme kavuşması noktasında ciddi **zorluk**larla karşılaşmaktadır. Bu çalışma bu zorluklar üzerine odaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Terrörizm, Ulusötesi Organize Suçlar, Birleşmiş Milletler, Küresel Yönetişim, 11 Eylül Saldırısı

Introduction

It is undeniable that both terrorism and organised crimes are currently global issues. Violence and illegal activities have a background that can be traced back to human history. However, globalisation has changed the magnitude of illegal activities on a global level. It is also noteworthy to indicate that there are other reasons behind the support on terrorist groups such as human mobilisation from national borders and poverty but not counted as crime promoting terrorism. Hence, it is evident that different aspects have existed in this issue. The United Nations is the primary actor tackling this global issue which is multidimensional. It is questionable to advocate that international organisations are successful in struggling with terrorism. Instead, it is easily seen that violence gradually increases especially in particular areas of the world. As proof of this, the number of books, which have the main topic and title as "terrorism" began to increase dramatically just after the Cold War, particularly following the 9/11 attacks.

Furthermore, new terrorist groups emerged such as ISIS and YPG after the invasion of Iraq and the longstanding Syrian civil war. Although these terrorist groups fight each other, as well as the fight against states so they learn tactics and terrorist methods from each other. These terrorist groups afford the expenditure of their terrorist actions mostly by having transnational crime links. The struggle against terrorism will not be instrumental as long as the revenue of terrorist groups is not cut off. It is suspicious that international organisations and international law (mainly the UN and its organs) can overcome terrorism and transnational organised crimes adequately due to the lack of capacity. Another problem is the structure of the UN; in particular, the UN Security Council. Permanent members of the Security Council have veto power and

This paper is aimed to indicate whether global governance is successful or not regarding the relationship between transnational crime and terrorism. Moreover, it will be criticised via the historical method. There are some sections to explain the global governance of terrorism. In the first two section, terrorism and organised crimes are strived to analyse; the difficulty of making a generally accepted definition of terrorism is endeavoured to highlight, and the relationship between terrorism and organised crimes is aimed to illustrate. Then, 9/11 and its consequences are discussed. In the following section, the UN and its organs are sought to examine in terms of their effectiveness. Finally, the challenges to the global governance of terrorism are explained. The primary argument of this

paper is that global governance of terrorism and transnational organised crimes is insufficient.

1) Terrorism

Terrorism is shallowly considered as an act of violence against innocent people or non-combatants. However, it is more than violence as people or groups who take part in terrorism have an agenda to "achieve political goals by using coercive intimidation" (Primoratz, 2004, p.16). Thus, terrorism has to be seen as a method and tactic. Furthermore, it should be underlined that not every violence is terrorism. Although terrorism contains violence, some violent acts such as civil war and banditry cannot be described as terrorism (Laqueur, 2000, p.8). Moreover, it is worth mentioning that making a definition of terrorism is difficult and changeable according to various perspectives. Similar events might be described in different ways. For example, PKK is widely known as a terrorist organisation due to its bloody attacks on civilians; however, its militants are called as "Kurdish rebels" especially by Western media (Raghavan, 2007). Likewise, Bush preferred to call people who attacked the Twin Towers "Islamic terrorists" and "Islamofascists" to display his position and express his mood toward the extremists. Others have analogically called them "suicide murderers" and "suicide terrorists". Despite all, people from the Arab/Islamic World who have sympathy for those "suicide murderers" use the term "martyrs" to describe those people (Gupta, 2008, p.6). Therefore, it can be said that terrorism and terrorist groups could be named and approached variously according to different perspectives and interests.

Terrorism is a kind of "unique form of violence" (Guelke, 2009, p.18). It does not make a distinction between victims. Terrorists are just focusing on their targets what they have in their minds (Coady, 2004, p.7). Terrorism as a method does not discriminate between the innocent and the guilty. Ignoring any discrimination while using violence is the most diagnostic feature of terrorism. However, this does not mean that terrorist attacks are being made randomly, these attacks are indeed quite selective. Terrorism and its tool, violence, are not against people or the innocent all the time, the destruction of property may also be counted as terrorism (Primoratz, 2004, p.17-21). Terrorism includes several methods, furthermore, it renews its tactics to manipulate public opinion and achieve political goals.

According to Kiras (2011), as terrorism has various subjective definitions, types of terrorism vary from one interpreter to another. Nevertheless, it is possible to divide terrorist groups into four classes, which are leftist terrorists, rightist terrorists, separatist terrorist, and

religious extremist terrorists. However, this kind of classifications might not be useful always. Terrorist groups can be shaped by many effects such as region, regime, political history, and even climate.

It was the first time that the term "terrorism" is mentioned in a study conducted by the League of Nations. The term "terrorism" is originated from the Latin word "terror", which means the emotional state of extreme fear (Crenshaw, 2011, p.21). Nevertheless, it is not enough to make the term clear, "terrorism" is still a confusing and controversial subject (Gupta, 2008, p.7). Each terrorist act contains violence. However, violence can also be used for other reasons. Therefore, any action needs to be considered much more than violence. Terrorism can be conducted for political reasons but also as a result of criminal and extreme psychological motivations (Primoratz, 2004, p.24). Terrorist organisations can place easily in the region where tragic situations had occurred as it is seen in Iraq and Syria. Consequently, it can be said that people without political motivations might support terrorist organisations due to their psychological situation.

Terrorism, as a new threat, "posed by non-state actors" (Heywood, 2007, p.137). By the globalisation process, the distinction between global and local has been less critical. States need to have international support to overcome problems even if they seem domestic. Because the security problem is currently a global issue; in other words, it is beyond the state (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011, p.217). Moreover, terrorism is beyond interstate relations. The experience of two world wars showed that international peace and security is the essential precondition of the stability of international organisations. As a result of World War II, the League of Nations failed. Terrorism currently is the biggest threat to international peace and security. Hence, the UN is struggling against terrorist activities to make the international system more sustainable. There are three main UN actors concerning international peace and security, which are the General Assembly, Security Council, and Secretary General (Boulden, 2007, p.427).

Many terrorist groups improve their financial capability through illegal and criminal activities. The main aim of these groups is not to make much money and have comfortable lives, they are rather trying to survive and acquire weapons to pursue their activities. There have been organised crimes for centuries, but it has reached unprecedented levels as the drug trade and other new forms of crimes regarding economic gains increase dramatically. Moreover, the earnings from illegal activities give opportunities to terrorist organisations to spread their objectives all over the world (Laqueur, 2000, p.210-11). The technical capabilities of terrorist groups have

been increased by globalisation. Technological improvements have given opportunities to terrorist groups to plan and conduct their operations worldwide (Kiras, 2011, p.372). Indeed, terrorist groups use social media as a weapon to spread their propaganda around the world. Thus, it can be advocated that states and international organisations have to cooperate against terrorism due to the difficulties in struggling with a new phenomenon that does not have borders and limits.

The research about terrorism is, almost inevitable, based on the variety of crimes (Madsen, 2009, p.62). Terrorist organisations and similar groups who use terrorism as a tool to achieve political goals benefiting from transnational organised crimes, which can be considered as a global security threat (Berdal & Serrano, 2002, p.197). This relationship shows that organised crimes feeding terrorism and both of them threaten global security. In this context, the emerging essential question is whether the international community and international organisations, in particular, the UN, are successful or not?

2) Transnational Organized Crimes

Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (CATOC) was adopted by General Assembly resolution 55/25 on November 15th, 2000. It is the leading international instrument to respond to transnational organised crime. The CATOC focuses on international cooperation to battle against transnational organised crime and its global networks (Williams & O'Hayon, 2002, p.136). Furthermore, it is supported by three further supplementary protocols that aim at specific areas to prevent crimes. These protocols are planning to fight mainly three kinds of organised crimes, which are human trafficking, especially women and children; illegal manufacturing and trafficking in firearms; and the smuggling of migrants by land, sea, and air. Being parties to the convention is a precondition to be parties to the protocols (UNODC, 2012).

Globalisation is the main contributor to organized crime as the drug trade, human trafficking, and human mobilisation are facilitated by the globalization process. On the other hand, there are other reasons such as civil wars and state failures that give opportunities for criminal actors as well as terrorism (Berdal & Serrano, 2002, p.198). It is not surprising that one illegal actor might use the methodology of the other one, so terrorism and the organised crime have similarities. Terrorism uses illicit ways such as drug trafficking, extortion, criminal abduction, and armed robbery, which can be called organised crime to fund their operations, while organized crime uses the terrorist methodology to "send messages" as intimidation.

Besides, there are many samples where terrorist organisations and organised criminals may cooperate. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) in Colombia, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka, and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in Turkey are some of those examples (Madsen, 2009, p.64). According to the UN CATOC, organised crime, which is committed by a structured group of three or more people, is a serious crime and offence that targets to obtain, directly or indirectly, financial or other kinds of benefits (Madsen, 2009, p.127). Defining the problem is a precondition to resolve the problem. However, it is questionable that the UN and its organs are able to define problems comprehensively. It cannot be thought that trouble can be solved without determining its borders precisely. International law might be successful as much as its capability in response to international conflicts. At the moment, the main challenge that the UN faces is the definition of the problems efficiently.

Organised crime networks and terrorist groups are increasingly supporting each other. Their ability to damage law-abiding communities is strengthened by conventional weapons currently. Furthermore, it might not be a prophecy that nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction will be used by these illegal groups in the future. The destruction of the criminal network is crucial to fight against terrorist groups before they have opportunities that states already have. It is known that particularly in South Asia and the Middle East, a range of criminal and terrorist organisations have collaborated in transnational operations. In the Middle East and South Asia, criminal groups are firmly related to terrorist groups through drug trafficking. Earnings from illegal drug trade encourage both criminal and terrorist activity. The connections between the crime and terrorist organisations let terrorist networks expand their operations globally through criminal sources, money laundering and transit routes (Lal, 2005).

It might be beneficial to mention the term "narcoterrorism" to symbolise how terrorism and transnational organised crime networks complete each other. The term that swiftly became very popular was coined by Peruvian President Belaunde Terry in 1983. "Narcoterrorism" provides a more critical and specific study of drug links among terrorist and rebellious groups (Schmid, 2004, p.3). Apart from conspiracy theories, such as intelligence services feeding these groups, it is impossible to clarify funding of terrorism without mentioning drug trade. Moreover, a voluntary contribution cannot be the sole reason that sustains terrorist groups.

Organised crime can be considered as a global problem. Almost half of the US citizens see organised crime as a serious

problem to public safety much more than terrorism (Jagel, 2013). Organised crimes feed all kinds of crimes affecting the society as well as feeding terrorism. Therefore, it is understandable that people comprehend organised crimes as an obstacle to maintain public peace. According to the UN's estimation, more than 100 countries are involved in the illegal drug trade either in terms of cultivation, processing, trafficking, or distribution. As of today, in many countries where drugs are produced, trafficked or consumed, there is a causality to crime, including violent crime, which is not necessarily a terrorist crime. Mostly, there is only rare empirical evidence for some of the often cited cases of pontificated connections between illicit drugs and terrorism (Schmid, 2004, p.2). Although the connection between organised crime and terrorism is supposed to be indisputable, more empirical data are needed to support this view.

According to the findings of a UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) pilot study surveying 40 groups in 16 countries, for one-third of the cases, there is some degree of cooperation with transnational organised crime groups outside of the country where the survey of the criminal group itself was conducted. For around one-fifth of all cases, both external and internal cooperation are indicated (Schmid, 2004, p.8). Within the supply chain, criminals and terrorists work together to fund their activities. From Africa and the Middle East to Europe, there has been a large number of transnational criminal networks and also individuals. According to Rob Wainwright, who had been the director of Europol for a long time, around 30,000 people might be part of these criminal activities. In Turkey, PKK has been known as a terrorist group that based on organised crime and engage in several illegal economic activities such as human trafficking, drugs smuggling and other forms of organised crime, including tribute (tax) and money laundering in which ways ISIS earns money. Although ISIS is a relatively new terrorist group in contrast with PKK, which has existed for a few decades, it is identified as the richest terrorist organisation in the world. It is estimated that ISIS earns almost 2 billion USD per year from the range of criminal activities. It is merely speculated that ISIS has earned around 20-45 million USD per year from the ransom obtained from kidnapping victims. Furthermore, ISIS gains a great deal of money through its exploitation of the oil and gas sector that brings 3 million USD in a day (Reitano, 2017).

3) The September 11 as a Milestone

The September 11 of 2001 as a phenomenon confirms a reality that the most challenging contemporary issue is terrorism. The US, after the September 11, defined terrorism precisely and tried to

underline the global characteristic of terrorism as far as possible (Berdal & Serrano, 2002, p.201-202). Nearly 3000 people died because of the 9/11 attacks. The emergent Bush Doctrine had a language that is harsh against terrorism and its supporters as well. According to the Doctrine, the US counter-terrorism initiates "global war on terror".

Furthermore, it sent a message to the entire world that "you are either with us or against us" as Bush said. Even, this new policy is described as the modern-day "Crusade". It is assumed that if any government had been suspicious to support a terrorist organisation, which perceived as an enemy by the US, it could be possible that the US military responds by oneself disregarding any question of international legitimacy (Gupta, 2008, p.1).

It is clear that planning "war against an abstract term" is problematic (Heywood, 2007, p.137) because one cannot determine the rules clearly against an arbitrary concept like terrorism. Another consequence of the 9/11 indicates that terrorist people are not always poor and uneducated people opposed to as popular belief. The 9/11 is the proof that indicates these people are equipped and informed about combat tactics, besides they have a strategy to lead mainstream media organs and global public opinion as they wish to. Otherwise, it is impossible to mention such power even it could change the US strategy sharply.

Fighting against terrorism without any legitimacy and arbitrary invasion might have dangerous consequences. Consensus on conflict is crucial to solving a problem. Finding unilateral solutions might become part of problematic issues. After September 11, the US forced the international community to support its efforts. Although the majority of international society did not support the US actions, the US take initiatives under the rationalisation of "war on terror". This kind of unilateral efforts might result in authority gaps as it is seen in Iraq and Afghanistan. Authority gaps enable the terrorist organisation to spread quickly. ISIS took advantage of this authority gap in Iraq and expanded its power into Syria as well. Then, many other terrorist organisations such as YPG (PKK's sister organisation) burst and a suitable region for transnational organised crimes came to exist.

4) The UN and its Organs against Terrorism and Transnational Organized Crimes

The attack on Israeli athletes in 1972 was the first discussion topic concerning terrorism in the General Assembly. After that time, almost during three decades, the General Assembly dealt with terrorist attacks alone. Because of the conjuncture of the Cold War,

permanent members of the Security Council had little interest in this kind of issues. The General Assembly had annual resolutions to condemn terrorism within this period and prepared thirteen international legal conventions against terrorism. It was the aim that the General Assembly resolutions and the conventions work together to frame the rules in order to encourage states to take measures to tackle violent activities. Besides, the Assembly created an ad hoc committee on terrorism in 1996 to develop a convention on terrorist bombings and then establish an inclusive treaty on terrorism (Boulden, 2007, p.418-19)

The Security Council, by the early years of 1990, began to react to a new upsurge in terrorist activities. The General Assembly has tried to establish a general framework against terrorism while the Security Council has tackled with terrorism by focusing on single cases to maintain international peace and security. The reaction of the Council to those cases was punitive with heavy sanctions. For example, Libya faced strengthened sanctions in response to the Lockerbie bombing. The Council maintained the same kind of implementations toward similar cases. Taliban government was considered responsible for al Qaeda bombing of the US Embassy in East Africa.

Consequently, the Security Council condemned the attacks and imposed severe sanctions on the Taliban in Afghanistan where Osama bin Laden could have the opportunity to lead his terrorist organisation, al Qaeda. Moreover, the Council created a committee, called the 1267 Committee to check the implementation of the sanctions (Boulden, 2007, p.419-31). Generally, permanent members of the Security Council take a position in every single case according to their strategical priorities. As a result, permanent members tend to act arbitrarily by contrast with solving conflicts that feeding terrorism.

The UN's main response to terrorism is based on two permanent committees under the Security Council, which are the 1267 Committee and the Counter-Terrorism Committee. The 1267 Committee aims to follow specific criminals of Taliban and al Qaeda members and prohibits states from activities which help terrorist organisations by providing funding and arming. However, the effectiveness of the 1267 Committee is ambiguous since it is difficult to measure the extent of prevented terrorist activities. The Counter-Terrorism Committee is responsible for confronting terrorism and creates rules so that member states could follow legal ways while tackling terrorism. The CTC has no authority to penalise and identify terrorist groups (Shirkey, 2010, p.278-79).

The International Court of Justice is the most well-known and prestigious institution of international justice. However, the ICJ could deal with issues in which case states take part (Shirkey, 2010, p.276-78). The International Criminal Court is a part of the UN. The main difference between the ICJ and the ICC is that the ICC can prosecute specific criminals while the ICJ cannot. In general, the ICC judges people who are supposed to commit crimes against humanity. However, the US is not a member of the ICC, and thereby, it can be considered as a significant limitation for the ICC. Although states achieve reputation and reciprocity by obeying international law, they might ignore the rules due to their interests. If states are reluctant to act in accordance with the international community, international laws are useless. For example, in 2004, the ICJ decided against Israel policy of building a construction wall to separate Israel border from Palestinians. Though there was a decision of the ICJ, Israel ignored it (Duncan, Webster & Switky, 2006, p.377-78). Sovereignty is "unrestricted power" (Heywood, 2000, p.37). As one of the main challenges for effective global governance is sovereignty, similarly states perceive international laws as less important than their national interests. Thus, the international system and global governance become more complicated and then struggling with terrorism might be more difficult.

The Secretary-General is another actor of the UN to motivate member states to negotiate issues relating to terrorism. The Secretary-General could take the initiative in reaction to terrorist activities to struggle with. For instance, following the attacks of 9/11, Kofi Annan established a Policy Working Group (PWG), including staff members of the Secretariat and experts from outside of the UN, to investigate the implications of terrorism. Then, PWG offered a broader strategy to work closely and provide international cooperation in countering terrorism (Boulden, 2007, p.432-33). Even though the Secretary-General is the head of the UN, it is unrealistic to expect the elimination of terrorist activities and transnational crimes by him or her.

5) Challenges of Global Governance of Terrorism and Transnational Organized Crimes

One of the most critical challenges that the UN faces is the definition of terrorism. Defining terrorism is an ongoing discussion (Martin, 2013, p.35). The reason for the absence of a comprehensive convention on terrorism is related to a disagreement over its definition (Karns & Mingst, 2010, p.377). An unbiased interpretation of terrorism is needed. Otherwise, describing a group as a terrorist organisation is compelling. One considers a group of people as a

terrorist organisation, while the other one calls them "freedom fighters". It is seen in the cases of FARC and Hezbollah. Hugo Chavez of Venezuela refused to recognise Revolutionary Army Forces of Colombia (FARC) as an illegitimate organisation (which organisation made a deal with Colombian Government in 2016). Similarly, Iran does not see Hezbollah as a terrorist organisation (Shirkey, 2010, p.276-77).

In some cases, the situation is more complicated due to the various dimension of the problem. Hamas, the government of Gaza Strip of Palestine, is mostly known as a terrorist institution by most of the Western states and their ally Israel, although it has been elected by Gazan people that give it legitimacy to rule them. The reason that some states perceive Hamas as a terrorist group since they launch rockets into Israel side in response to Israeli air strikes on Gaza. In that respect, although Hamas is a legitimate government, its actions threaten Israeli peoples' lives with their rockets, which might be considered as tools for their terrorist actions. However, Hamas is a legitimate organisation in the eyes of Gazan people. Accordingly, it can be dangerous to describe an organisation which is supported by people as a terrorist organisation. In the early 1970s, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which was seen as a terrorist group by Western ones, as well as Hamas, obtained observer status (Shirkey, 2010, p.277). In the late of 2012, the state of Palestine achieved non-member permanent state status. 138 states voted in favour of recognition; 9 states were against, and 41 states were abstentions (UN, 2012). The dilemma is that Palestine has international recognition of being a state though it is a non-member. On the other hand, most of the officials of Palestine are the executives of the terrorist organisation according to some Western states that have strong relations with Israel. The debate inevitably turned into the definition of terrorism. The problem is beyond the definition of terrorism. The difficulty that the international community, in particular, the UN, is to provide a legal framework, at this point, the UN is not successful. Generally, the UN prefers to provide such forces on an ad hoc basis that reduces the effectiveness (Shirkey, 2010, p.276).

The effectiveness of global governance has direct links with decisive strategy. Although many initiatives have been taken by the UN and states, an overall strategy has not been established (Williams & O'Hayon, 2002, p.142-43). The best way might be the effectiveness of international organisations to fight terrorism. However, the UN, the leading global security organisation, cannot be seen as the world's police. There are also limitations in legislation. As a result, the UN could not be effective to prevent violence in some countries such as

Kosovo, Rwanda, and Chechnya. Furthermore, the US intervened in Iraq without the UN's approval (Duncan, Webster & Switky, 2006, p.375). The invasion of Iraq by the US-led operation was not successful and had catastrophic results in terms of humanitarian and environmental consequences. The main reason for these catastrophes could be the lack of legitimacy (Bobbit, 2008, p.489).

States have tried to improve global governance devices to overcome transnational organised crimes (Williams & O'Hayon, 2002, p.129). Although the US has opportunities to make operations globally, failure is unavoidable since there is no international community support. The active participation of states, developed or developing, is essential to combat transnational organised crime (Vlassis, 2002, p.94). Otherwise, it will be more challenging to deal with terrorism, because the international community will have to struggle with rough states as well.

Collecting intelligence is crucial for states to cooperate. Counter-terrorism attempts could be much more formidable and inevitably less effective for states and the international community without any cooperation (Shirkey, 2010, p.275). The US is the unique power of the world that can afford its defence sources globally. Problems such as transnational crime, crimes against humanity and global terrorism network cannot be eradicated without the US. The other states which can be seen as regional powers could respond to regional catastrophes, not global ones (Bobbit, 2008, p.487).

Nevertheless, it is hard to say that the US undertook positive actions to reduce terrorism globally. Instead, Bush doctrine created new "enemies". It was not new. In the second Clinton period, he said: "multilateral when we can, unilateral when we must". The US actions have gained legitimacy as a result of the absence or weakness of international law (Bobbit, 2008, p.489). As a result, the effectiveness of global governance has been weakened.

The other challenge that the international community faces is some states have cooperated to reduce and eradicate global criminal networks while other states have been a part of these global crimes (Williams & O'Hayon, 2002, p.139). Terrorism is a tool of the weak people against strengthened ones. State terrorism that undermines international law as a particular form of terrorism is wielded by the strong against the weak (Chaliand & Blin, 2007, p.203). In the case of Mavi Marmara Flotilla, on 31st May 2010, Israeli commandos killed 9 unarmed activists in international water (Berkowitz, 2011). Moreover, according to the body of law, it is forbidden to use lethal force against civilians who have no direct participation in hostilities (Barnidge, 2011). It is clear that such a state, supposed to be democratic and an ally of Western States, could violate international law.

Conclusion

There is no clear definition of terrorism. Hence, international law cannot be sufficient to solve such problems as violent actions and transnational organised crimes. Moreover, terrorist activities are increased in an unprecedented way due to globalisation. Conflicts feed violence, and thereby, new terrorist groups have emerged. These groups might influence on people globally by using technological opportunities like social media. Therefore, struggling with these groups should be decisive, global and cooperative. International organisations could not improve their organs to combat terrorism; they even make it more complicated. Global issues have to be overcome on a global scale. However, intergovernmental cooperation has remained at very low levels.

Furthermore, some states are not respectful of international law, and this situation reduces the effectiveness of global governance of terrorism. The UN, the primary international organisation, is not sufficiently equipped to tackle terrorism and organised crimes.

Moreover, the US as a superpower cannot lead states to cooperate and fight against these global problems. Instead, it becomes a part of the problem. Thus, it is difficult to eradicate these global issues with current approaches. There is no local problem anymore in a "global village". Almost every conflict has a global impact, therefore, the UN has to be structured as accurate as possible so that conflicts can be solved and terrorism can be eradicated.

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