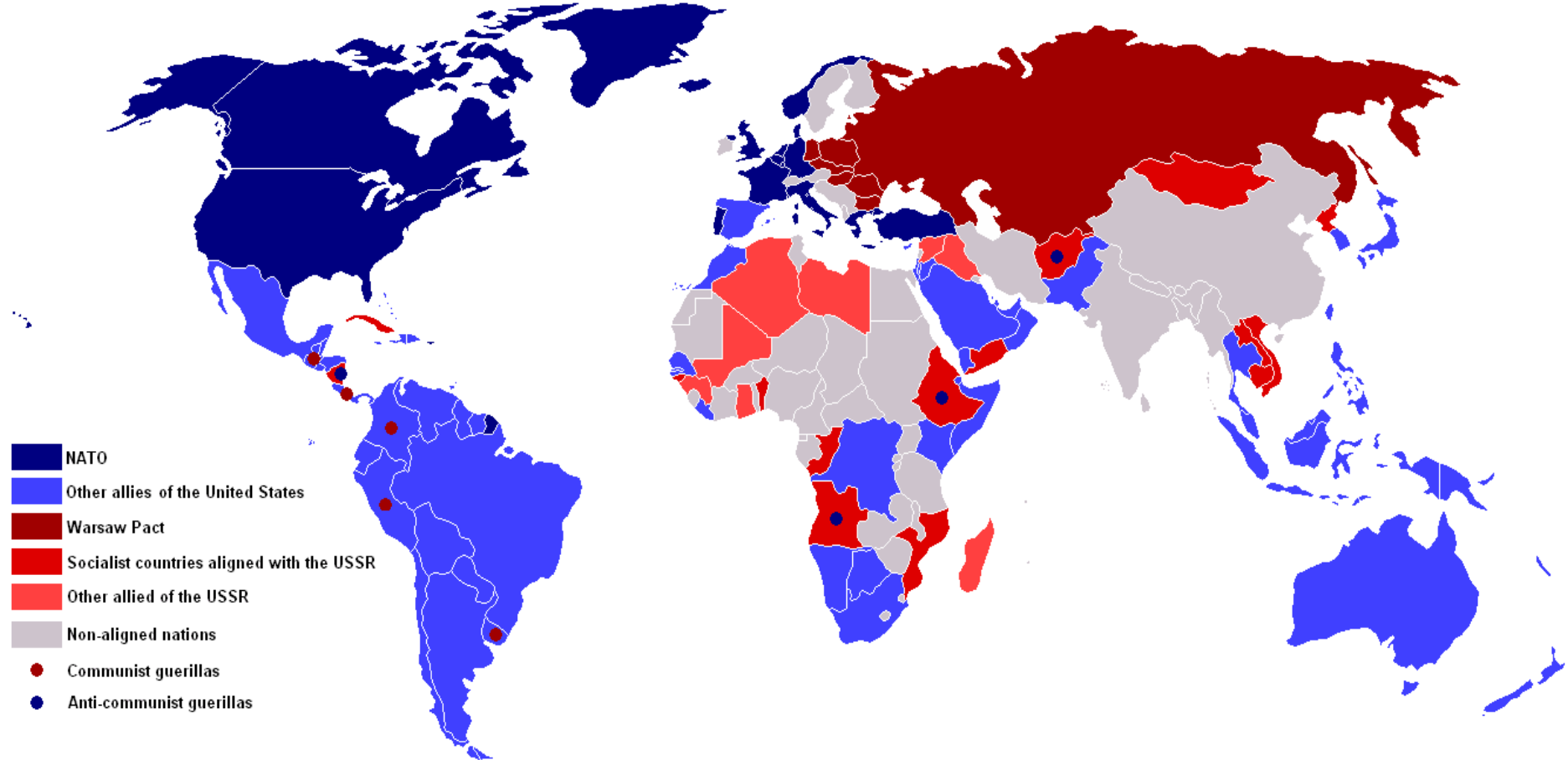




# **Globalization, al Qaeda, & Modern Terrorism**

Worldview Program  
UNC-Chapel Hill  
June 16, 2009

# Old Order



# Old Order Terrorism



# Functioning Core



## MAPPING AMERICA'S WAR ON TERRORISM: AN AGGRESSIVE NEW STRATEGY

The maps on these pages show all United States military responses to global crises from 1990 to 2002. Notice that a pattern emerges. Any time American troops show up—be it combat, a battle group pulling up off the coast as a reminder, or a peacekeeping mission—it tends to be in a place that is relatively disconnected from the world, where globalization hasn't taken root because of a repressive regime, abject poverty, or the lack of a robust legal system. Draw a line around these military engagements and you've got what I call the Non-integrating Gap. Everything else is the Functioning Core. The goal of this new strategy is simple. Shrink the Gap. Don't contain it, shrink it.

—THOMAS P. M. BARNETT

### MAP KEY

#### U.S. MILITARY RESPONSES SINCE 1990

- Combat
- Show of force
- Contingency positioning, reconnaissance
- Evacuation, security
- Peacekeeping

○ Future hot spot

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### THE EAST



EMERGENCY AIRBORNE  
 DATA FROM 87 BY  
 SCALE 1:100,000  
 ONE HORIZONTAL DEGREE

Response data source: Department of the Army, Air Force, and Navy via Dr. Henry H. Gaffney Jr. / The CIA Corporation

Source: Barnett, The Pentagon's New Map (2004)

# 21<sup>st</sup> Century National Security Threats



Terrorism & Non-State Actors



Nuclear Proliferation



Pandemic Flu & Emerging Infectious Disease



Food & Water

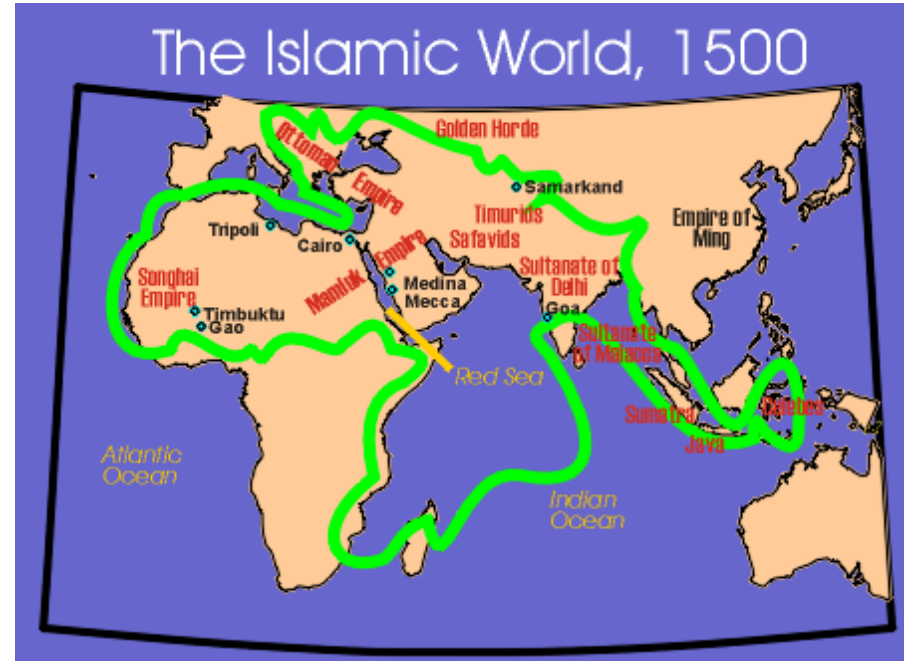


Human Migration



Energy

# Rapid Spread of Islam



# Islamic Decline



# Salafism

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- Rejects foreign influences in religion adopted as Islam spread (like venerating graves of Islamic prophets and saints)

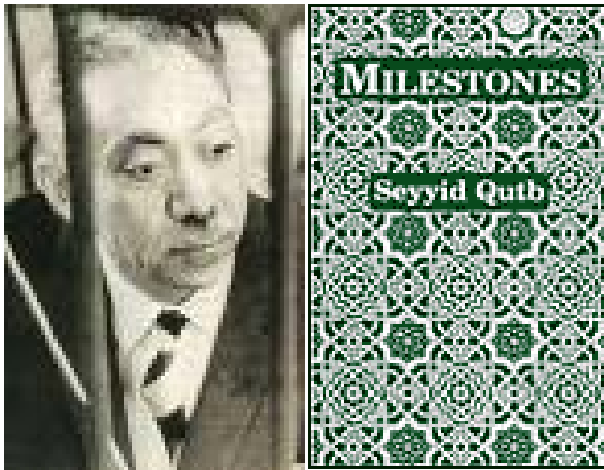
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# Salafism

- Return to original practice of the Prophet
- Rejects foreign influences in religion adopted as Islam spread (like venerating graves of Islamic prophets and saints)
- Rejects concepts like economics, politics, democracy, scientific theory as both impure and foreign influences
- Muslims should be governed by shari'a law (law derived from God, not from man)

# Salafi Jihad Intellectuals



Sayyid Qutb  
1906-1966

The umma must “become an active, harmonious, and cooperative group ... working under a leadership which is **independent from jahili leadership** and directs them to **abolish the influences of the jahili life.**” (Qutb)

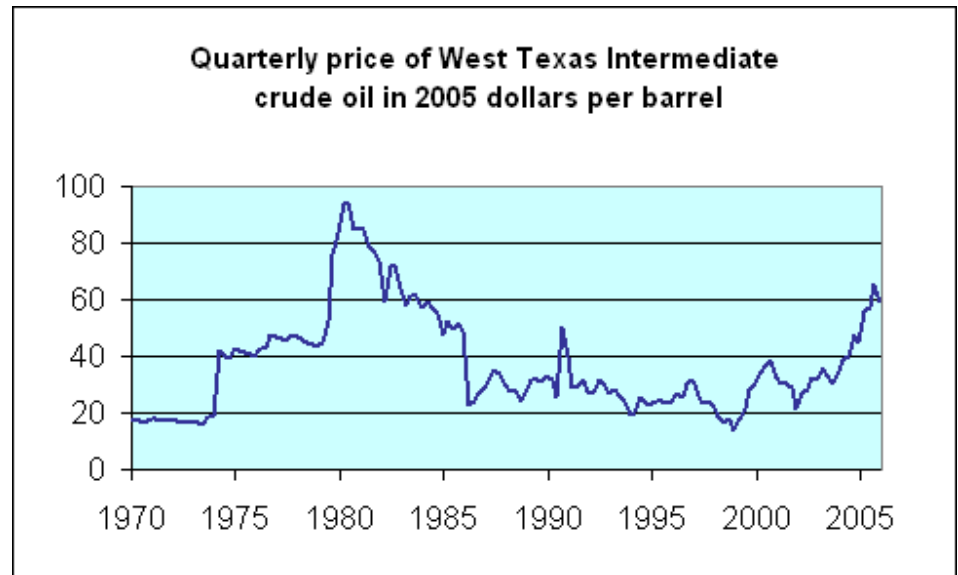
“We have to establish the Rule of God’s Religion in our own country first, and to make the Word of God Supreme....**There is no doubt that the first battlefield for jihad is the extermination of these infidel leaders** and to replace them by a complete Islamic Organization.” (Faraj)



Muhammed Abd al-  
Salam Faraj  
1954-1982

Islam is not a heritage of any particular race or country; this is God’s religion and it is for the whole world. **It has the right to destroy all obstacles in the form of institutions and traditions which limit man’s freedom of choice.**”

# State of Islamdom – 1970s & 1980s



# Afghan Mujahideen



# Key Features of Globalization

- Integration of World Economy



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- Mass, Instantaneous, Global Communications



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- Emergence of Networks



# Key Features of Globalization

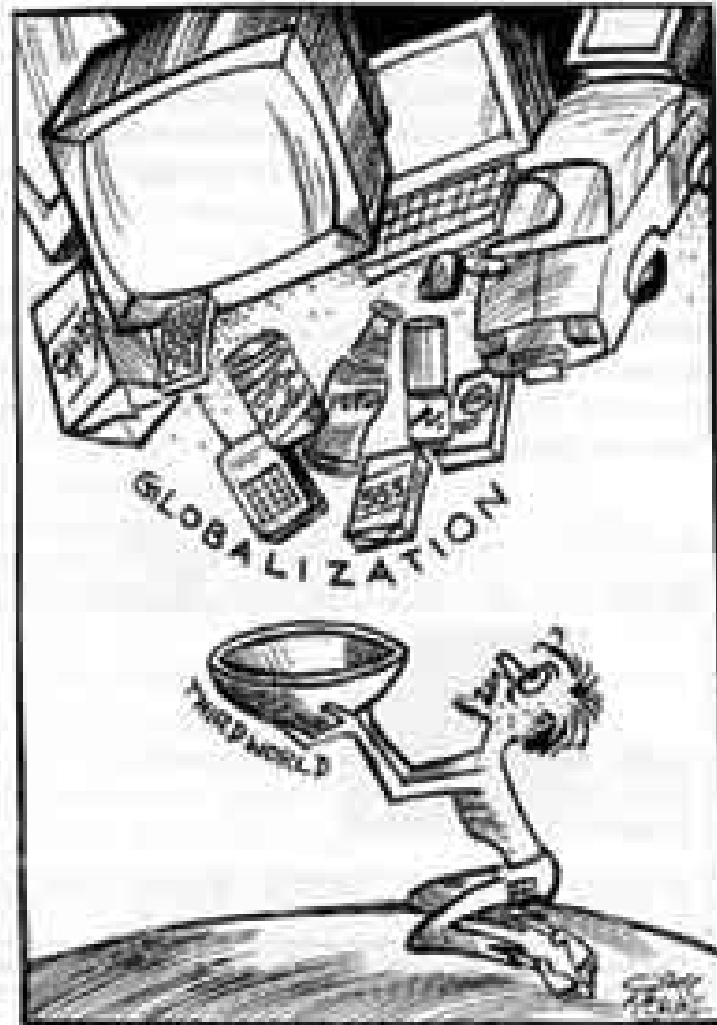
- Integration of World Economy
- Mass, Instantaneous, Global Communications
- Emergence of Networks
- Diminished Significance of Nation States



# Globalization & Grievance



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# From the Near Enemy to the Far Enemy



Declaration of War  
Against The Americans  
Occupying the Land of  
The Two Holy Places  
(Expel the Polytheists From  
The Arabian Peninsula)

August, 1996

“It is no secret to you my brothers, that the people of Islam have been afflicted with oppression, hostility and injustice by the Judeo-Christian alliance and its supporters. This show our enemies’ belief that Muslims’ blood is the cheapest and that their property and wealth is merely loot.”

# From the Near Enemy to the Far Enemy



Declaration of War  
Against The Americans  
Occupying the Land of  
The Two Holy Places  
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The Arabian Peninsula)

August, 1996

“The situation cannot be rectified ... unless the root of the problem is tackled. Hence it is essential to hit the main enemy who divided the *Ummah* into small and little countries and pushed it back, for the last few decades into a state of confusion.”

# From the Near Enemy to the Far Enemy



Declaration of War  
Against The Americans  
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The Two Holy Places  
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August, 1996

“I say to our Muslim brothers across the world: your brothers in Saudi Arabia and Palestine are calling for your help and asking you to share with them in the *jihad* against the enemies of God, your enemies the Israelis and Americans. They are asking you to defy them in whatever way you possibly can, so as to expel them in defeat and humiliation from the holy places of Islam.”

# From the Near Enemy to the Far Enemy



“Cavalry of Islam, be mounted!”

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August, 1996

# Al Qaeda & Globalization

- Non State Actor – Unconstrained
- Al Qaeda -- A Networked Organization
- Al Qaeda as a Brand
- Al Qaeda Marketing on the Internet
- The Caliphate as an alternative global institution
- Targets: Infrastructure of Global Economy  
(US & EU, Transportation, Divide US from Allies)

# Counterterrorism Strategy

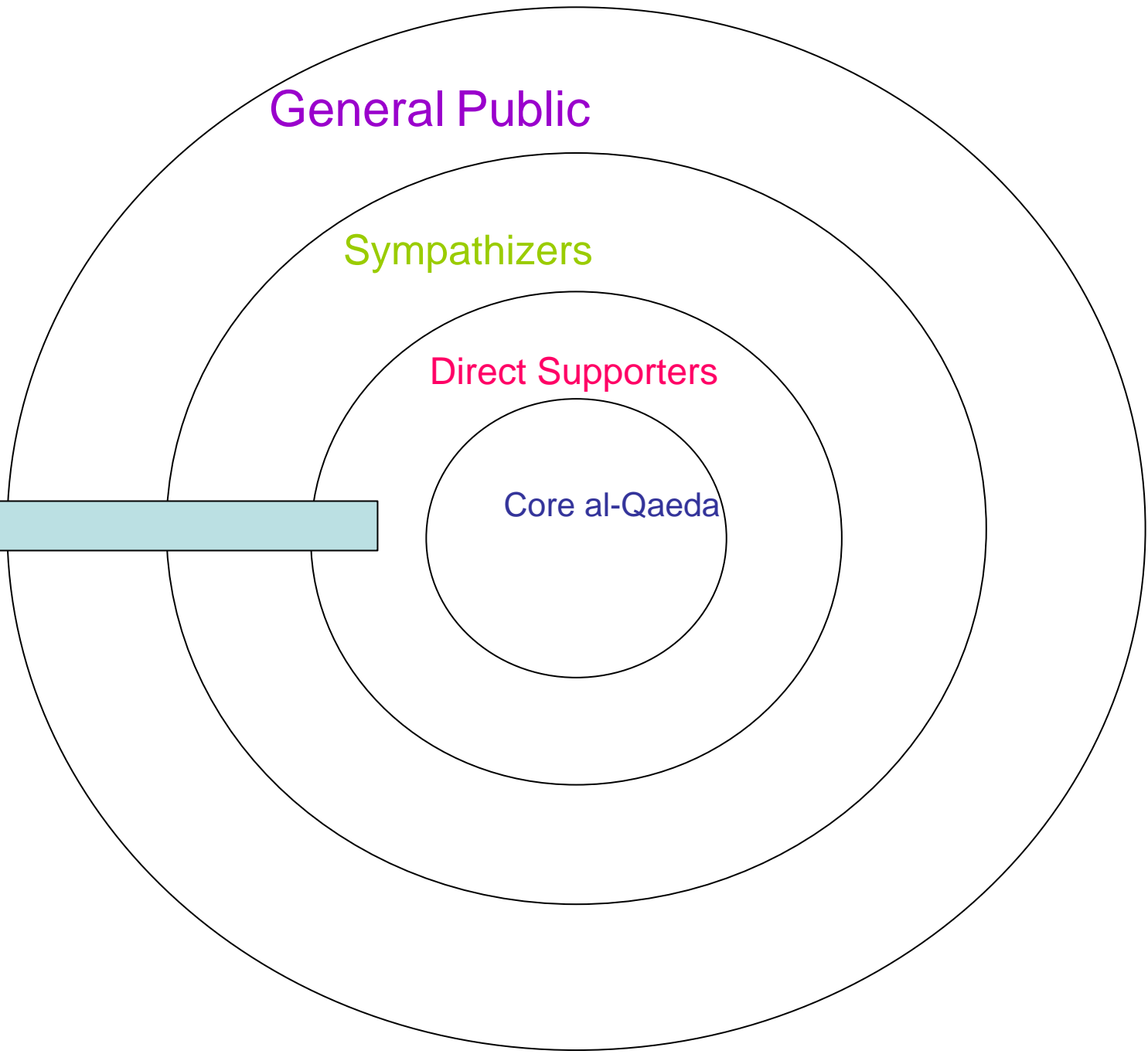
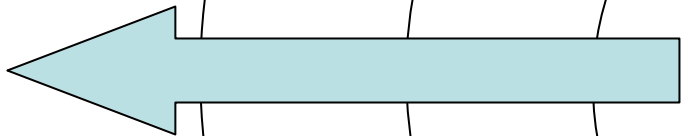
- Islamist extremist terrorism is based on a deeply held ideology with religious foundation
- This ideology is a reaction to the decline of Islam and rejection of our global, modern world
- Combating terrorism requires development of an equally powerful, global ideological response

General Public

Sympathizers

Direct Supporters

Core al-Qaeda



# Counterterrorism Strategy

- Offensive Tools
  - Direct Action Against Leaders
  - Cut off Finances
  - Thwart Plots Through Intelligence & Law Enforcement
- Ideology
  - Integrate Muslim Nations Into Global Economy
  - Drive Wedge Between al-Qaeda and Muslims
  - Use American Muslims to Promote America
  - Promote Modernism
    - Build Libraries w/ Translated Works & Internet
    - Cultural Exchanges
    - Global Effort to Promote Secular Education

“[N]ations are either with us or against us in the war on terror.... Every nation actually committed to peace will stop the flow of money, equipment and recruits to terrorist groups seeking the destruction of Israel -- including Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Hezbollah.”



Source: Rose Garden Speech, June 24, 2002



*Obama in Cairo*  
*A Commemorative Transcript*

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ON A NEW BEGINNING

Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt, June 4, 2009



United States Department of State / Bureau of International Information Programs

“So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those who sow hatred rather than peace, those who promote conflict rather than the cooperation that can help all of our people achieve justice and prosperity. And this cycle of suspicion and discord must end.”

*Obama in Cairo*  
*A Commemorative Transcript*

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ON A NEW BEGINNING

Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt, June 4, 2009



United States Department of State / Bureau of International Information Programs

“I've come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world, one based on mutual interest and mutual respect, and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive and need not be in competition. Instead, they overlap, and share common principles -- principles of justice and progress; tolerance and the dignity of all human beings.”