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The Fight against International Terrorism: A Cambodian Perspective

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Abstract:

Due to the importance of the study on terrorism, this paper attempts to examine the possible approaches, from an international community perspective, to deal with terrorism, not domestic but global terrorism, by looking through several perspectives such as idealism (norms and institutions), realism, and meliorism. This study mainly focuses on the Islamic-related terrorism rather than non-Islamic related one because the former is increasing dramatically important after the cold war and especially after September 11 event.

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The Fight against International Terrorism: Cambodian Perspective

By

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1. Introduction

Terrorism has been existed since long time ago in the human history. Since the late 19 century especially after the second half of the 20th century.¹ Terrorism has been a concern of the international community since 1937² yet it just has been gaining a strong momentum and attention after the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001. These events have come to the point that everyone is affected by terrorism or the threat of terrorism as Kofi Annan stated “terrorism is a global threat with global effects...”.³ “Terrorism is a threat to all states, to all peoples, which can strike anytime, anywhere”⁴, and terrorism is unpredictable and no country or community is immune to terrorism.⁵ These concerns led to the global attention on how to react and response to future terrorist attacks. However, there has been little creative thinking about how to confront the growing terrorism. “Terrorism is a complicated, eclectic phenomenon, requiring a sophisticated strategy oriented toward influencing its means and ends over the long term.”⁶

Due to the importance of the study on terrorism, this paper attempts to examine the possible approaches, from an international community perspective, to deal with terrorism, not domestic but global terrorism, by looking through several perspectives such as idealism (norms and institutions), realism, and meliorism. This study mainly focuses on the Islamic-

¹ Ben-Dor, Gabriel and Pedahzur, Ami “The uniqueness of Islamic Fundamentalism and the Fourth Wave of International Terrorism”, *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol.4, NO. 3, December 2003, p.83

² Schreier, Fred R., “Combating terrorism and its implications for intelligence”, in Theodore H. Winker (ed.), Ebnother, Anja H. (ed.), Hansson, Mats B. (ed.), *Combating Terrorism and Its Implications for the Security Sector*, Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), January 2005, p.129

³ United Nations, Press Release, SG/SM/8518

⁴ United Nations, Press Release, SG/SM/9757

⁵ Schreier, Fred R., “Combating terrorism and its implications for intelligence”, *Ibid.* p.130

⁶ Cronin, Audrey Kurth 1958- "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism" *International Security* - Volume 27, Number 3, Winter 2002/03, pp. 30-58 available online at http://muse.jhu.edu/cgi-bin/access.cgi?url=/journals/international_security/v027/27.3cronin.html&session=8911154

related terrorism rather than non-Islamic related one because the former is increasing dramatically important after the cold war and especially after September 11 event.

2. What is terrorism?

This is the most important and extremely difficult question needed to be asked before taking any action against terrorism because if we cannot define it, we cannot know what and where the target is. One problem in the fight against the terror is the lack of the universally accepted definition of terrorism. One of the main challenges is the demarcation between terrorists and freedom fighters. “One person’s terrorist is another person’s freedom fighters”⁷. In response to this, Stepanova (2003) emphasizes the target of the operation or attack. The freedom fighters or guerrilla groups target a military and security while terrorism deliberately target civilians but there are some difficulties in separating these two groups since sometimes they use both types of attacks- guerrilla and terrorism.⁸

There have been a lot of discussion about this, yet they cannot reach a conclusive answer. Said provides that “terrorism is the use of violence by states and by non state actors for political purposes”⁹. Gunaratna says that although there is no universally accepted definition, there is wide consensus that terrorism is the threat or the act of politically motivated violence deliberately targeting non-combatants¹⁰ while Schreier provides that “Terrorism is not a weapon of the poor rather terrorism is a way for the weak to wage war”¹¹ Stepanova defines terrorism partly depends on which type of terrorism it refers to by giving two types of terrorism. First, “conflict-generated terrorism” which has a nexus to armed conflict, locally or regionally, has a certain political cause and goal, and the use of ordinary weapons, not very advanced weapons, as a means. Second, “Super-terrorism” which has been

⁷ In Brostrom, Per and Amneus, Diana, A lawful fight against terrorism?, in Winker, Theodore H. (ed.), Ebnother, Anja H. (ed.), Hansson, Mats B. (ed.), *Combating Terrorism and Its Implications for the Security Sector*, Ibid., pp. 230-1

⁸ Stepanova, Ekaterina, *Anti-terrorism and Peace Building during and after conflict*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Stockholm, June 2003, pp.6-8

⁹ Said, Abdul Aziz, *Concepts of international politics in global perspective*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1979, p.253

¹⁰ Gunaratna, Rohan, *international terrorism: what kinds of responds?* Available at “http://www.un-globalsecurity.org/pdf/Gunaratna_paper_terrorism.pdf”

¹¹ Fred R. Schreier, *Transnational Terrorism: The Newest Mutation in the forms of warfare*, in Theodore H. Winker (ed.), Anja H. Ebnother (ed.), Mats B. Hansson (ed.), *Combating Terrorism and Its implication for the security sectors*, Ibid., p.45

coined after September 11 attacks. This kind of terrorism does not need local or regional armed conflict but it has very broad agenda challenging global order and it is aimed at developed world and other targets directly related with it.¹² However, this definition is not clear and questionable since it mentions only about developed world, what about other world?

Wilkinson defines “Terrorism is not a synonym for political violence in general. It is a special kind of violence designed to create a climate of fear among a wider target group than the immediate victims, usually for political ends”¹³. Nee defines terrorism as “the attacks on the facilities of a state, assassinations, hijackings, hostage-taking, kidnapping and mass disruption and destruction.” Terrorism is different from other crimes because it demands some kind of “political concessions”.¹⁴

To be more pragmatic, Badey mentions that “there are factors which individually and in combination distinguish terrorism from other types of violence: repetition, motivation, intent, actors, and effect. These and additional factors must be sought and identified. Once identified, they must be collated in such a way as to foster and enhance political agreement rather than to promote continued definitional discord.”¹⁵ Badey suggests defining terrorism based on the “fresh pragmatic approach” which means that to be effective, we, the international community, should concentrate on “the realities of international terrorism, not on myths propagated by the media, politicians or terrorists.” He urges governments not focus only on the current politics but the future policy development in dealing with the definition of terrorism.¹⁶

¹² Stepanova, Ekaterina, *Anti-terrorism and Peace Building during and after conflict*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Stockholm, June 2003, pp.3-5

¹³ See Wilkinson, Paul, “Track II : Security and Terrorism in the 21st Century, January 13 The Changing International Terrorist Threat”, Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, January 1996

¹⁴ Nee, Ong Yen, “International Responses to Terrorism and the limits and possibilities of legal control of terrorism by regional arrangement with particular reference to ASEAN”, Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies, Singapore, July 2002, p.1

¹⁵ See more discussion in Badey, Thomas J., *Defining International Terrorism: A pragmatic approach*, Terrorism and Political Violence, Spring 1998 pp. 90-107, <http://www.dushkin.com/text-data/articles/30791/body.pdf>, retrieved October 11, 2005

¹⁶ Badey, Thomas J., *Ibid*

3. Causes of Terrorism

Internal causes

Over the last two decades the Islamic related terrorism has increased dramatically while the non-Islamic connected terrorist acts are quite staggering¹⁷. That is why it is important to study the causes of terrorism from inside the Islamic world. Islamic fundamentalist terrorism has become the single most influential phenomenon of the first years of the new millennium. The reasons why this phenomenon is spreading so fast, Ben-Dor provides several points such as “activist makeup” and “totalistic character of Islam” which means that Islam religion teaches people have only one social morality and people joint together in promoting Islam. Moreover, these ideas of Islam easily penetrate inter-state boundaries, and the total loyalty of believers to specific behavioral doctrines “leading both to and from a strong orientation to things collective”. This phenomenon leads to the main cause of terrorism.¹⁸

Serafim does agree that religion is the major component of terrorism but he broaden to “cultural” factor which he includes beliefs, values, and lifestyles. He argues that “modern terrorism has significant cultural aspects in its objectives causes, methods, and consequences.”¹⁹ He further mentions that “terrorists are not fighting against the Christianity as a religion, but rather against the products of Christian culture, which are Western values.”²⁰ He thinks that terrorist agenda is not political but social and cultural attempting to “reject and destroy Western culture”, “defeat globalization”-globalisation is viewed by Muslim as a tool of Western culture, “fighting the infidels unifying the ummah”-punishing the wrongs, changing the current order, and creating Islamic states under the *Sharia* law, and target the societies of the western world/culture.²¹

Weak states also can be considered as the cause of terrorism because they don’t have a strong institution in monitoring and curbing terrorism, especially in the age of globalization. For example, according to the study by Chernykh in central Asian discourse, it argues that the weakness of central Asian states and the absence of the basic structures of a regional security

¹⁷ See more details in Ben-Dor, Gabriel and Pedahzur, Ami “The uniqueness of Islamic Fundamentalism and the Fourth Wave of International Terrorism”, *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol.4, N0. 3, December 2003, pp. 83-86

¹⁸ See Ben-Dor, Gabriel and Pedahzur, Ami ,Ibid, pp.71-90

¹⁹ Serafim, Ana, “Terrorism-A cultural phenomenon?”, *The Quarterly Journal*, Spring 2005, p. 62

²⁰ Serafim , Ana, Ibid., p.67

²¹ See more details in Serafim, Ana, Ibid., pp.61-74

complex create the space necessary for terrorism to operate. So he urges for a strong authoritarian government.²²

External Cause

Since the end of the Cold War and the new development of international trade, technology, travelling, and cultural exchanges have been contributing to build a global village. This globalization has a great influence on nation states in the context of transformation- some to better position and some to become worse. In respect to the Islamic world, they don't view globalization as good for them but on the other hand make them become worse in terms of social morality and cultural maintenance. "As globalization creates alienation and relative deprivation, those who are alienated and marginalized may act out their discontent and grievances through terrorism."²³

The development of new technology creates a favorable condition for terrorist groups to stay in touch, spread the ideology/indoctrination, exchange secret information, and plan the attacks through internet or mobile phone, etc...In addition the financial market also makes them easy to transfer money from one place to another. This money transferring helps them to continue financing their terrorist attacks anywhere in the world. Moreover, the rapid growth in mass media helps them to demonstrate their attacks to the world, especially Islamic world for religious and ideological motivation.

Besides that, the aggressiveness of the US's foreign policy towards some Islamic countries, the support of Israel in the Middle East, and so on also can be considered as a propellant igniting terrorism.

²² See more details in Chernykh, Irina and Burnashev, Rustam "Conditions for secularization of international terrorism in Central Asia", the Quarterly Journal, Spring 2005, pp.131-142

²³ Castro, Renato Cruz De "Addressing international terrorism in Southeast Asia: A matter of strategic or functional approach?", Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vo. 26, No. 2, 2004, p. 196

4. Responses to terrorism: Some Traditional Theories

Idealism

Idealism believes in solving all issues through ideas which can include rule of law, strong institutions, and other measures- peaceful rather than aggressive means.

The Human Security Agenda, a result of the seminar on human security and terrorism in Japan in December 2001 provided a “soft-power” strategy to deal with terrorism which can be counted “*not by force but by force of ideas*”.²⁴ (Emphasized by the writer) The force of ideas here can include international law, ideological war, human rights and democracy, and other social and cultural means.

International law

Kofi Anan urges to have a convention countering terrorism.²⁵ He believes that the law is the first steps needed to carry the fight against terrorism²⁶. For example, the bilateral or multilateral framework of agreement between or among states can increase and promote the cooperation in intelligence exchange, security cooperation, law enforcement, and other necessary elements in creating a favorable condition for tracking or tracing and curbing terrorism.

Creating, implementing, and enforcing the legal procedure to fight against terrorism is very important and this can be realized through the international law- conventions, treaties, and declarations- and international cooperation through regional and international organizations and institutions, especially the United Nations²⁷. Such as the international convention for the suppression of the financing of terrorism in 1999, international conventions for the suppression of terrorist bombings in 1999, international conventions for the suppression of acts of Nuclear Terrorism in 2005...Besides the conventions the United Nations created the Counter Terrorism Committee (CTC), pursuant to resolution 1373, in

²⁴ In Brostrom, Per and Amneus, Diana, A lawful fight against terrorism?, in Theodore H. Winker (ed.), Anja H. Ebnother (ed.), Mats B. Hansson (ed.), Combating Terrorism and Its Implications for the Security Sector, Ibid., p. 233.

²⁵ It has not been possible to reach agreement in the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly on a draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism. See Secretary-General, SG/SM/102442/Rev.2

²⁶ United Nations, Press Release, SG/SM/802.

2001, the United Nations Monitoring Group (the Group), originally established pursuant to Security Council resolution 1363 (2001) and which subsequently has been monitoring the implementation of sanctions against Al-Qaeda, the Taliban and their Associates. In S.C. Resolution 1373, adopted on September 28, 2001, the Security Council stated that the acts committed on September 11, 2001, “like any act of international terrorism, constitute a threat to the peace and security” of the international community. Resolution 1373 raises the possibility that the Security Council could establish an ad hoc tribunal to prosecute acts of terrorism. Such a tribunal would exercise “peremptory jurisdiction” over individuals suspected of committing these acts. Invoking its Chapter VII powers, the Security Council could also compel UN member states to cooperate with the tribunal²⁸.

The role played by the regional security arrangement is also important. After September 11, NATO, in history, created/invoked article 5 accepting collective defense against external threat.²⁹ ASEAN Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorism, which undertakes to strengthen cooperation at bilateral, regional and international levels in combating terrorism in a comprehensive manner.³⁰

Goldstone and Simpson suggest that in dealing with terrorism, the International Criminal Court can play an important role. ICC can be used as an effective tool in prosecuting terrorists because ICC can provide a fair trials and justice while the domestic court may have difficulties in its jurisdiction. ICC also plays the role in preventing terrorists from immunity in the national courts.³¹ In addition, Oakley suggests a stronger international legal cooperation against terrorism and one of the key areas is extradition.³²

It goes beyond the law enforcement in order to response to the international terrorism notwithstanding the intelligence services, police and law enforcement, and the military have proved to be effective in the short term. To cope with the wide spreading terrorism demands a

²⁷ See the role played by UN in response to terrorism in Symposium: “Combating International Terrorism: The contribution of the United Nations, Vienna International Center, 3 and 4 June, 2002.

²⁸ See Eekelen, Willen F. Van, Terrorism and parliamentary control, in Theodore H. Winker (ed.), Anja H. Ebnother (ed.), Mats B. Hansson (ed.), Combating Terrorism and Its Implications for the Security Sector Ibid., p. 79 ; See also U.N. SCOR, 56th Sess., 4385th mtg., U.N. Doc. S/RES/1373 (2001)

²⁹ Eekelen, Willen F. Van, Terrorism and parliamentary control, Ibid. p. 79

³⁰ Available at US Department of State homepage <http://www.state.gov/p/eap/rls/ot/12428.htm>

³¹ Goldstone, Richard J. and Simpson, Jannie, “Evaluating the role of the International Criminal Court as a legal response to terrorism”, Harvard Human Rights Journal, Vol. 16, pp.13-26

³² Oakley, Robert, “International Terrorism”, Foreign Affairs, Vol.65, Issue 3, 1987, p. 614

multi approaches, multi-agency, multi-national and a multi-jurisdictional response³³ and the acceptance of the international community in choosing what kind of legal procedure should be used.

Fight against Terrorist ideology/indoctrination

Terrorist network somehow is a kind of decentralized structure which is difficult to stop since it is developed through the spread of ideology- extreme nationalism and religious fundamentalism. The Anti-West ideology or indoctrination among the Islamic world has strongly contributed to the strengthening and development of the international terrorist networks³⁴.

Adamson mentions terrorism is a strategy that appears within the broader context of “political mobilization by terrorist groups”.³⁵ Therefore, it is necessary to stop such spread of this ideology or political mobilization in countering terrorism. Yet, it is not an easy task. It takes long time and big investment in redirecting the fault indoctrination of terrorism. For instance, Gunaratna discusses about how to deal with terrorism in Europe by focusing on the development of “a proactive mindset to target both support and operational cells” of the Al Qaeda cells. Moreover, he mentions that now the terrorist threat goes beyond individuals or groups to ideology which is difficult to stop its widespread although one can arrest the leaders of the terrorist networks. Coping with the fight against the ideology of the terrorist groups, we need to promote public awareness by saying that the terrorist groups are violating the Koran through misinterpretation and misrepresentation of the Koran.³⁶

³³ Gunaratna, Rohan, international terrorism: what kinds of responds? Available at http://www.un-globalsecurity.org/pdf/Gunaratna_paper_terrorism.pdf

³⁴ For example Osama Bin Laden made some statements periodically such as “The people of Islam have suffered from aggression, iniquity and injustice imposed by the Zionist. Crusader alliance and their collaborators . . . It is the duty now on every tribe in the Arabian Peninsula to fight jihad and cleanse the land from these Crusader occupiers. Their wealth is booty to those who kill them. (1996). Terrorising the American occupiers [of Islamic Holy Places] is a religious and logical obligation. (1996) We, with God’s help, call on every Muslim who believes in God and wishes to be rewarded to comply with God’s order to kill Americans and plunder their money whenever and wherever they find it. We also call on Muslims. . . to launch the raid on Satan’s US troops and the devil’s supporters allying with them, and to displace those who are behind them. (1998). Acquiring [chemical or nuclear] . . . weapons for the defence of Muslims [is] a religious duty.(1998)” In Schmitt, Michael N. “Counter-terrorism and the use of force in international law”, The Marshall Center Papers, No.5, pp.4-5

³⁵ Adamson, Fiona, “Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC)”, Stanford University International Terrorism, Non-State Actors and the Logic of Transnational Mobilization: A Perspective from International Relations, available at http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/gsc_activities/adamson.page , retrieved October 11, 2005.

³⁶ Gunaratna, Rohan, “ The Post-Madrid Face of Al Qaeda”, in Theodore H. Winker (ed.), Anja H. Ebnoother (ed.), Mats B. Hansson (ed.), Ibid.,pp. 65-66

Mass media can also be an important element in fighting against terrorism indoctrination because media can spread very fast and effectively to every community through television, radio, newspaper, and internet...Mass media can even ignite the ideology of terrorist groups if it is not controlled or monitored properly. Many of the terrorist acts were mainly directed to the media for the purpose of gaining grievances from public opinion.³⁷ Therefore the government needs to build a good relationship with mass media companies in terms of coverage of terrorism.³⁸ Moreover, education and cultural exchanges can play an important role in dealing with redirection of the fundamentalist Islamism.

However, as mentioned in the definition of terrorism, we need to define who terrorist is before taking actions because it may otherwise create serious misunderstanding among people, especially Muslim, of religious discrimination which causes more trouble to international security. Combating terrorism should not be used as a pretext for discrimination against any segment of society.³⁹

Socio-Cultural Approach

Social-science research suggests that “intergroup conflict is reduced when members of each group are equal in status and are mutually dependent on one another. At the level of nations, those conditions can be strengthened by addressing legitimate grievances and developing fair-trade agreements, joint investments of venture capital, cultural-exchange programs, and respect for human rights, sovereignty, and international law”⁴⁰.

Education in the Islamic world and Islamic Moderate groups in the West can help promote mutual understanding between the two civilizations. Serafim puts more emphasis on reformation of education in the Islamic world by confirming that “a crucial element of the cultural front in the fights against terrorism is reforming the education system in the Muslim world.”⁴¹

³⁷ Ben-Dor, Gabriel and Pedahzur, Ami, *Ibid.*, p. 83

³⁸ See Oakley, Robert “International Terrorism”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.65, Issue 3, 1987, p. 616

³⁹ Report of the National Commission on Terrorism on countering the changing threat of international terrorism, available at <http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/commission.html>, retrieved on October 4, 2005

⁴⁰ See Plous, Scott L., Zimbardo, Philip G., How Social Science Can Reduce Terrorism, *Chronicle of Higher Education* Vol. 51, Issue 3, October 2004

⁴¹ Serafim, Ana “Terrorism- A cultural phenomenon?”, *The Quarterly Journal*, Spring 2005, p. 72

Democracy and human rights

There are some people believe that democracy and human rights can contribute to dealing with terrorism and some countries, especially the United States use the term “democracy and human rights” as the tool to prevent terror as the Bush administration contends that the push for democracy in the Muslim world will improve U.S. security. This is questionable as Gauge argues this hypothesis is faulty: there is no evidence that democracy reduces terrorism⁴².

On the other hand, they, the counter-terrorist operators, must respect human rights and other social-cultural values when they are conducting their actions against terrorism. In selecting a tool to fight terrorism, all governments respectful of human rights should be vigilant in ensuring that they do not sacrifice the very ideals that they are claiming to protect⁴³. The international community should have more knowledge about the Islamic world.

Realism

Political realism considers a rational foreign policy to be a good foreign policy; for only a rational foreign policy minimizes risks and maximizes benefits.⁴⁴ The main signpost that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power.⁴⁵ Therefore to deal with the international terrorism, they need to use all necessary measures to cut off the roots of terrorism.

To defeat terrorist organizations, we need to “identify and isolate terrorist organizations at each level, disrupt support infrastructure and sanctuaries, discredit ideology or reasons for committing acts of terrorism, and destroy networks and leadership”; deter future acts of terrorism by deterring terrorist organizations, state and non-state actors, and individuals;

⁴² See Gauge III, F. Gregory, “Can Democracy Stop Terrorism”, <http://dev.foreignaffairs.org/20050901faessay84506/f-gregory-gause-iii/can-democracy-stop-terrorism.html>, retrieved March 12, 2006

⁴³ Goldstone, Richard J. and Simpson, Janine, “Evaluating the Role of the International Criminal Court as a Legal Response to Terrorism”, *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, Vol. 6, Spring 2003, p. 14

⁴⁴ Morgenthau, Hans J. (1993). *Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace*. Boston: McGrawHill, p.10

⁴⁵ Morgenthau, Hans J. (1993). p.5

diminish the underlying causes of terrorism; and finally “defense the state on the home front”-which state must stay vigilant and ready to deal with terrorism⁴⁶.

War as a tool

In order to cut the roots of terrorism, some countries use military force attacking governments supporting terrorism for example the United States used force against Libya in 1986, Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003. The attack on Libya, considered of terrorist state supporting terrorist attacks, created a lot of controversy along the transatlantic countries and proved not effective⁴⁷. Besides, Afghanistan was considered as the sponsor state of Al Qaeda terrorist group which was believed to carry out a series of attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001. Pursuant to these attacks, as the right of self defense, the US and its allies invaded Afghanistan under Taliban regime on October 7, 2001. The US and its allies invaded Iraq on March 20, 2003 to disarm Saddam Hussein accused of possessing weapons of mass destruction which is possible to fall into the hands of terrorist groups. The invasion of Iraq was considered as “preemptive strike” deterring the future terrorist threat. But Russia, the People's Republic of China, and France did not support US's invasion because they needed a resolution from the Security Council. US's war in Afghanistan is generally thought as success while US's war in Iraq is generally considered as failure. There must have a legal background, largely accepted or approved by the Security Council, before carrying out military operations against terrorism. Iraq is a clear example for this.

However, it is hard to say that using war as a means to anti terrorism is effective because many studies claim that “large-scale military responses to terrorism tend to be ineffective or temporarily to increase terrorist activity”. Moreover, Researchers have found that “military responses to international terrorism can unwittingly reinforce terrorists' views of their enemies as aggressive, make it easier for them to recruit new members, and strengthen alliances among terrorist organizations”.⁴⁸

For the case of South East Asia, Castro suggests that “The best way to counter terrorist organizations is through the cooperative security or functionalist approach rather

⁴⁶ Schreier, Fred R., “Combating terrorism and its implications for intelligence”, in Theodore H. Winker (ed.), Anja H. Ebnother (ed.), Mats B. Hansson (ed.), *Combating Terrorism and Its Implications for the Security Sector*, Ibid., pp.134-137

⁴⁷ Ray, James Lee *Global Politics*, (4th edition), Geneva: Houghton Mifflin, 1995, p.522-523

⁴⁸ See Plous, Scott L., Zimbardo, Philip G., “How Social Science Can Reduce Terrorism”, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Vol. 51, Issue 3, October 2004

than the strategic/military mode, which tends to generate conflict among states actors who are faced with a common security challenge-international terrorism.”⁴⁹

Military and intelligence Strategy

During the war, military strategy will become necessary in the battlefield. There are some experiences in the Afghanistan and Iraq wars suggesting that the use of minimum forces, good cooperation with civilians, and the understanding of the historical and cultural environments described as “British way” would be necessary in dealing with insurgencies and terrorism.⁵⁰ Moreover, Schreier provides four methods of defense including the intelligence service⁵¹ among states and organizations, balanced response by taking the attitude of the people (local citizens) into consideration, mixture of law enforcement with military operations which assisted and facilitated by diplomacy, the cutting or reducing the support network of terrorist groups such as financing, recruitment of new fighters, ideological and political legitimacy.⁵²

Military operations must be careful with human rights violation. There were many violations of human rights in the US military campaign in Afghanistan and Iraq since some civilians were killed by the American troops. These violations ignite the anti-American feeling among the Islamic world and other human rights activists. Therefore military option should be carried out in tandem with respecting human rights as much as possible.

In the war against terrorism, the factor and changing behavior of the nation states should also taken into account for example in the last few years was a there is less tangible or

⁴⁹ Castro, Renato Cruz De, “Addressing International Terrorism in Southeast Asia: A matter of strategic or functional approach?”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol.26, No.2 , 2004, p.193

⁵⁰ See Rod Thornton, Historical origins of the British Army’s counterinsurgency and counterterrorist techniques, in Theodore H. Winker (ed.), Anja H. Ebnother (ed.), Mats B. Hansson (ed.), *Ibid.*, pp. 26-44

⁵¹ Intelligence includes: 1. Identification of the threat – to find out the threat or target of terrorist attacks. 2. Counterintelligence - to prevent terrorists from gaining access to information that could help in target selection. 3. Intelligence gathered from human sources. 4. Psy Ops - Psychological operations involving the intelligence community should be directed not only against the public relation efforts of the terrorist organization, but should also aim to disrupt the flow of communications within the different levels of the terrorist organizations. This kind of activity can help to keep the terrorist organizations busy preserving their own structures, and may lead to mistakes on their part. 5. Multinational intelligence community. 6. Thermostat - Intelligence agencies need to establish sensors within ideological, religious, and political movements in order to gauge the "temperature" of the more radical elements and take preventive measures where necessary. (In the research done by the Institute for Counter Terrorism, “ <http://www.ict.org.il/>”)

⁵² Schreier, Fred R., “Transnational Terrorism: The Newest Mutation in the forms of warfare”, in Theodore H. Winker (ed.), Anja H. Ebnother (ed.), Mats B. Hansson (ed.), *Ibid.*, pp. 55-57

nonexistent factor in the dynamics of the military transformation of the Eastern European states which now there is a growing involvement of Eastern European states in international military operations, like those in Afghanistan and Iraq⁵³. This needs the support from stronger states such as the US to support them consistently in military operations.

There are some challenges for military and intelligence strategy. They need to have a better cooperation in the fields between military from different countries in fighting against terrorism and the lack of exchanging intelligent information because of political reasons- CIA vs. FBI, cite just one example. How far military and intelligence can go, depending on how far they can cooperate within one common goal among stakeholders.

Finance Warfare

Terrorists use money to pay for those who commit terrorist attacks such as suicide bombers. Without money they cannot get equipments and necessary means to prepare, plan, and attack. For example, to carry out such grand attacks like the tragedy of September 11, it requires a long investment in training those suicide hijackers and money to operate their activities with a careful, clear and accurate plan. Therefore cutting their financial supply, closing their bank accounts and freezing their assets, is like cutting the vein of terrorist body, which is necessary to stop terrorism. Navias did a study on this. He argues that attacking on the terrorists' economic infrastructure and assets, anti-money laundering is one of the necessary strategies to deal with terrorism. This requires the strengthening of financial law and monitoring system and cooperation among countries.⁵⁴

Meliorism

Meliorism is the way between idealism and realism but it more emphasizes on national interest of the nation state in cooperation. Cooperation for self interest is common sense which interstate cooperation can only be built on mutual interest and trust. Moreover, Meliorism uses dialogue/negotiation as a method for solving problems.

Gareth Evans, president of international crisis group, former foreign minister of Australia from 1988-96 suggests that it is required to build a "front line of defense" in the

⁵³ Karkoszka, Andrzej, "Combating terrorism and its implications for the Polish armed forces", in Theodore H. Winker (ed.), Anja H. Ebner (ed.), Mats B. Hansson (ed.), *Ibid.* P. 104

⁵⁴ See more details in Navias, Martin S., "Finance Warfare as Response to International Terrorism", *The Political Quarterly*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002

“country of origin”-country from which terrorism come from- by providing all kinds of assistance such as capacity building and financial assistance and especially *diplomatic tool* to gain the willingness and authorities of the “country of origin”⁵⁵. Therefore, the priority need to cope with terrorism is the cooperation stakeholders. Assistance, institutional building and development should be provided to the country which the terrorists come from. Yet, there are a lot of difficulties in reaching this strategy unless they take into account seriously the cultural, social, historical, and political framework of the country of origin.

Before talking about international cooperation, first of all, one must think about the national interest. Therefore, it needs to show to the international community that “counter-terrorism” is within their national interest not only for Western interest. For example, when the US helped financing Cambodian in destroying land-to-space missiles, Cambodian government strongly support this initiative because it is also a national interest for Cambodia for the sake of stability and peace. Moreover, based on the cooperation between the US and Cambodian government, 3 people, two from Thailand and one from Egypt, suspected of having connection with al-Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah, were arrested in 2003.

Terrorism is not the only threat to the international security and the threat should be coped with “in a way that is consistent with the fundamental values including freedom and human rights of our society.”⁵⁶ This means that we need to respect human rights and other values during the anti-terrorism campaign in one country.

State needs to balance between national priority or interest and the fight against terrorism. Which one is more important for the nation? Bailes provides tool to response to transnational terrorism, identification of the causes of terrorism is the trade-off between terrorism against the West and terrorism against all human kinds and other issues including environment, deadly disease, poverty..., balance between the human physical protection and human freedom and rights.⁵⁷

Negotiation and dialogue with the terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda seem impossible because of strong ideology imbedded in their minds and they don’t have legal entity to negotiate. Thus we should concentrate on negotiation and dialogue with states.

⁵⁵ See Evans, Gareth, “Building International Defenses against Terrorism: A comprehensive strategy”, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Winter/Spring 2002, pp.129-135

⁵⁶ Landerholm, Henrik, “Introductory Remarks”, in Theodore H. Winker (ed.), Anja H. Ebnother (ed.), Mats B. Hansson (ed.), *Ibid.*, p.6

5. Cambodia and the fight against terrorism

It is very difficult to provide definition of *terrorism* in Cambodia. It is a very new concept, especially after the country integrated in the regional and global communities in the middle of 1990s. Cambodia has played its role in the fight against terrorism. In fact, Cambodia has been also the victim of terrorist attacks as well, although on a smaller scale. Terrorism acts in Cambodia probably were created during the wars from 1970 to 1975 while the warring factions did whatever they can to kill to destroy and to humiliate their opponents. In November 2000, Cambodia was attacked by a group of terrorists, the so-called Cambodian Freedom Fighters (CFF).

Since the September 11th terrorist attacks, Cambodia has been fully cooperating with the United States in sharing information and intelligence, in controlling financial transactions which may lead to the terrorist networks, and in providing U.S aircraft's access to its airspace to aid in their mission in the region. Cambodia's commitment to combating terrorism has been unequivocally clear.

In addition, Cambodia had ratified four international conventions, which are relevant to the fight against terrorism and signed one convention on the suppression- of financing for terrorism. Cambodia is also in the process of acceding to seven other key international conventions, which are essential steps in combating terrorism, not only in Cambodia but also in the region. Cambodia also believes that the win-win policy in combating terrorism at national, regional and international levels could be a solution to eliminate terrorism. We should explore all other possible options in the crusade against global terrorism. An overall Convention on terrorism derived from the World Summit organized by the United Nations, is absolutely necessary for the whole world to join hands and combat terrorism. Cambodia adopted the law against money laundering and terrorism in April 2007.

Respected by about 90 percent of total population, Buddhism is constitutionally recognized as the national religion. However, Cambodia also allows the people with freedom of belief. Other religions such as Muslim and Christianity are free to promote and practice. For its part, Muslim community live in harmony with Cambodian people without any problem.

⁵⁷ Bailes, Alyson J.K., "Terrorism and International Security Agenda since 2001", in Theodore H. Winker (ed.), Anja H. Ebnother (ed.), Mats B. Hansson (ed.), Ibid., pp. 18-19

The win-win strategy of the Prime Minister Samdech Hun Sen led to Cambodia resulted in it taking more than 500 years for Cambodia to become unified. The Civil Service and the Armed Forces were only established as a unified and coherent branch of the State in 1999, with the amalgamation of Khmer Rouge Armed Forces and administrative services. In the past year, the security outlook of the Kingdom of Cambodia has changed due to the evolving regional and global security situation. The national reconciliation has ended the internal crisis that troubled and destroyed the nation for the decades. However, Cambodia still faces the need to address other major non-traditional issues that threaten the national security and development such as international terrorism and transnational crime.

In its efforts to integrate into the international community, Cambodia has undertaken duties for the common interests of the nation in the region as well as in the world. Cambodia has fully cooperated in many areas including security. The Royal Government of Cambodia has shown its strong determination to combat terrorism. This is revealed through a number of major measures taken by the Royal Government of Cambodia not only for security and harmony of the people of Cambodia but also for the wellbeing and common interests of people in the region and the world. In the peaceful period, the Royal Government's policy in the defence sector focuses on security and development throughout the Kingdom of Cambodia. These objectives are set based on three main factors such as the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia, the Royal Government's Political Agenda and assessment of threats to security of the Nation, demanding the full contribution and commitment by the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces (RCAF).

In accordance with the United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1368 (2001) of 12 September 2001 and 1373 (2001) of 28 September 2001 relating to collective efforts to combat international terrorism, the Kingdom of Cambodia has been committed to working together with the international community to combat all acts of international terrorism. This commitment is in conformity with the DWP and other security policies in Cambodia.

In order to fight terrorism, the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces (RCAF) is trained with ICT skills for following tasks:

- Further strengthen control measures for weapons and explosives, in particular, greater attention must be paid to the great danger of using chemical substances to make improvised explosives.
- Regular strengthening of the implementation of security measures for various potential targets which are vulnerable to any possible attacks such as international airports, tourist destinations and important resorts, international educational

establishments, supermarkets, foreign embassies, etc.

- Strive to deny access by external terror networks, especially infiltration of terrorist networks, ideological indoctrination, and the transfer of technologies by the internet, and financial transfers by terrorists.
- Enhance international cooperation in order to further seek technical capability, expertise and resources and information.

As concrete examples, many small armed were destroyed. Moreover, in April 2004, the Cambodian government, in cooperation with the United States, 233 destroyed surface-to-air missiles known as “Man-Portable Air-Defense Systems (MANPADS)” as part of an effort to fight terrorism.

6. Conclusion

In response to the international terrorism, international community must take into account all measures including, legal framework such as the creation of globally accepted definition of terrorism, establishment of international, regional conventions or treaties to bring the perpetrators to justice; reduce global socio-economic unfairness; control financial network over suspected terrorist networks; reduce and stop the spreading of terrorist ideology which is the main tool of terrorists; strengthen intelligence services to find out the plans and targets of the terrorists and try to effectively decommission those plans. These acts can be fulfilled unless there is a strong cooperation among states, international, regional, and local organizations and institutions. In addition, institutional and capacity building of the state is needed to prevent terrorism.

The Western countries should help those poor countries, especially the Islam countries, to develop economically not spreading the ideas of democracy which violate the social and cultural value of those Islamic countries. Building a mutual understanding between the West and Islamic world through education or other methods would be useful in preventing future terrorism. But, if those soft approach can not be reached, tactics to disarm and destroy terrorists through military means, if necessary, can be taken into account but in the campaign against terrorism, it requires an acceptable definition of terrorism in different circumstances according to the realities and it must have a clear goal and objective to avoid

misunderstandings, respect human rights, social and cultural values. Moreover, the support from the country of origin of the terrorism is necessary in cooperating to deal with terrorism.

In Cambodia, terrorism has been considered as inactive after the country has recovered from civil war, political strife and international isolation for many decades. However, we should not be too optimistic about the absence in terrorist attack in the country. More action and cooperation in anti-terrorism with other stake holders including people, NGOs, civil society, law enforcement officers, neighbouring countries, countries in region, superpowers and international organization should be done because as proverb says “Prevention is better than cure”.

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