The Causes and Consequences of Terrorism in the 21st Century: The Iraqi Case

Amer Adil HADI
Istanbul Aydin University
Social science: MA
Email id: hamerhadel@gmail.com

Abstract:
This thesis outlines main causes and consequences of terrorism in the world and specifically in Iraq. The hypothesis of the thesis is that terrorism is the phenomenon that created a lot of impacts in Iraq. Global terrorism in the 21st century has become one of the biggest domestic and international challenges for Iraq. It summarizes transformation of terrorism and the impacts that mark how it is evolved. Terrorism can backfire to a certain level in the political aims of terrorist factions and also reduce the willingness to make territorial and political concessions by targeted population. The evidence of terrorism effectiveness is somehow sparse. The nature of terrorism is being manifested clearly in our everyday life based on the number of victims it claims. The term “terrorism” stated since during the French Revolution in 1789, by the new region to consolidate its powers and intimidate all opponents. Most of the members of the regime were equally strong patriots of the old monarchy. The term was totally of a different connotation and was associated with the purpose of maintaining justice and democracy against the old order which was perceived to be tyrannical and corrupt. Terrorism for decades has always been a method in which the weak could use to overcome the oppressive and powerful. The researcher of this thesis is trying to identify the main causes of this terrorism that has increase so rapidly around world, especially Iraq after a War on Terror was declared by US and UK. Additionally, this thesis outlines how Iraq and international community policy-makers have responded to the challenges in the region. Terrorism poses a significant threat to the security in open societies and it inflicts grave harm upon modern economies and civilians. Problems in Iraq can bring tremendous consequences for the broader "war on terror".

Keywords: Terrorism, Iraq, Global War on Terrorism
Introduction:

The concept of terrorism is one which is very important, yet very complex and one of the main issues facing so many states throughout the world. In recent years, there have been many papers analyzing some of the causes and consequences of terrorism, likewise the various ways used by terrorist groups in pursuit of their main goals. Terrorism can backfire to a certain level in the political aims of terrorist factions and also reduce the willingness to make territorial and political concessions by targeted population. The evidence of terrorism effectiveness is somehow sparse. The numerous wars in Iraq and national security, taxes, immigration and drug trafficking are all inflected through the prism of terrorism.

Terrorism is a term that originated during the French Revolution since during the period 1789-1799, with its main purpose in consolidating its intimidate opponents and power by the new regime. Most of the intimidate opponents were the old anarchy supporters. For over 100 years, terrorism was used as a method whereby the downtrodden and weak could overcome the oppressive and the power. Terrorism was developed to a different meaning by the eve of the Second World War. All these were in respect to the Stalinist Russia, Fascist-Italy and Nazi-Germany. Many questions have always been arising in the minds of many scholars, citizens and some politicians regarding the issue of terrorism in the globe. Some of which are; what are the trends in terrorism? What causes it? What are the consequences? What can be done to abate it? The 'Person In The Street' (the PITS) views that terrorism is on the increase and believe that it is done by extremists often religiously motivated and that it has vital adverse economic consequences. This thesis gives an overview of the trends in terrorism and the general perception that it is increasing; investigate the geographical distribution of terrorist incidents, construct a simple theory of terrorism building and literature, the economic consequences of terrorism.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework: Terrorism

Definitions:-

1-Terrorism:

The term terrorism has become one of the main concerns of our present day societies and it is a little difficult to understand and study the real meaning of this term. The nature of terrorism is being manifested clearly in our everyday life based on the number of victims it claims. It is important to know that no international definition of terrorism has been set. Neither the United Nations (UN) Summit nor the Euromed Summit of 2005 adopted a tentative definition or terrorism. The summits strongly condemned the act of terrorism without giving any concrete definition of it. Cyrille (2006, p. 1989), explains that countries like Russia and China have a certain mentality that any act of violence that is carried out by irregular fighters against the state or government must be considered as “terrorist.” This however shows that terrorism is the sore enemy of the state. Other states have their own way of considering terrorist activities. Some states sees any act of violence against non-combatants or civilians as terrorist act, irrespective of the fact that the act can still be done by the state or by an official institution. This definition can be seen in other words that terrorism is the enemy of the society. The universal definition of terrorism remains elusive, regarding the fact that different organizations, government agencies and different bodies have totally different definitions that can authentically suit their purpose, particular role or bias.

According to the UN panel on March 17, 2005, terrorism was described by Kofi Annan, the then Secretary General of the United Nations, as an act “intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act” (Richards, 2015, p. 23). Many definitions of terrorism have been suggested by many philosophers, scholars, politicians and academicians, but it is rather unfortunate that none of them is uncontroversial. Just by pronouncing the name terrorism, it sounds intrinsically relative and has a very strong negative connotation.
Figure 1: Capturing the Impact of Terrorism from 2002-2011

Source: Global Terrorism Index (2015), Capturing the Impact of Terrorism from 2002-2011, p. 32,

Figure 1 above some fatal terrorist organization around the globe from the period of 2002 to 2011. The three organizations which are Al-Qaeda in Iraq, Islamic State of Iraq and Tawhid and Jihad were all headed by Abu Masab al-Zarqawi. The figure shows the order of fatalities caused by the organizations. For instance, Taliban tops the list with the highest number of fatalities, which amounts to 5000. The second is Al-Qaeda in Iraq, with a total of 400. The other organizations follow the list progressively.

Terrorism as term denotes, is a polemical word with a long provocative interpretation that discrepant in the international community. A terrorism expert by name Brian Jenkins once said terrorism “seems to depend on one’s point of view if one party can successfully attach the label ‘terrorist’ to its opponent, then it has inherently persuaded others to adopt its moral viewpoints” (Lindberg, 2010, p. 1). In order to throw more light concerning terrorism, Lindberg (2010, p. 2) explains that terrorism experts like Walter Laqueur and Bruce Hoffman list certain distinctions as follows:

- Terrorism is power: these experts believe that the main interest of terrorists is to gain power. They argue that terrorism is equally designed to create power in situations where there is none or better still, to consolidate it where there is very little.
- Terrorism is systematic: this implies that terrorist enterprise is a well calculated, planned and systematic act. The argument that goes here is that terrorism is rather a method and not a set of adversaries or the main causes they pursue. Brian Jenkins in this context said “Terrorism is theater”.
- Terrorism is design to have the ripple effect of fear: Lindberg (2010, p. 2) argue that terrorism tries to go beyond the target victims and tries to look for far-reaching psychological
repercussions. The main purpose behind terrorist attack is to instill fear in a high way so as to coerce others into giving in to their demands. Another importance issue regarding terrorist operations is its discriminate attacks against the masses with the evil intension of instilling fear; promote insecurity in the society and to create more havoc.

- Terrorism is non-state: the argument regarding this point is based on the point that terrorism is more useful to be used as a breach of peace that all non-state entities take part in. In the present century, what we see most is a networked, leaderless adversary, a sub-national group or non-state entity which is ideologically motivated. One of the most important things regarding terrorist narrative in this context is its sense of non-state essence. It is argued that terrorism fast growing into a form of asymmetric warfare which is mostly carried out by states in a demonstration of its chameleonic nature.

- Terrorism is rational: this concept shows that terrorists have a fundamental way of acting in an optimal way so as to achieve its goals in a demonstrative manner which is however a rational choice. Terrorists also consider the consequences of their actions with considerable reflection and debate, tries to look at the cost and benefits of it before undertaking any murderous journey.

2. International Relations/Terrorism:

International relations is a diverse program that welcomes all kinds of relations within other state boundaries, irrespective of whether there are cultural, legal, political private, religious or other character. It also welcomes all human behavior from one state boundary to another. Looking at terrorism, it turns to be the way a group of people or state react or behave in the society, especially when they desire for something that cannot be possible responded by the state. International terrorism simply means terrorism that involves citizens or territory of two or more countries. Terrorism is actually a multinational concept which is incorporate the use of force or better still violence, to set up in motion terror or fear. The interconnection between states though cultural, moral, social, political, economic and ideological goals has opened the gateway to international terrorism thus resulting to some international responses or repercussion. The case of Ed-Daylat-ul Islamiye fi’l Irak ve es-Sam (DAES) is a good example, constituting of members from many countries including Iraq and Syria. Unitng together as one to form such a movement is what we refer to as international relations, though their objectives are different from other political activities.

Scholars of international relations came up with definitions of international relations and pointing out that it has tremendous horizon that embodies varieties of relations such as economic relations, political relations, business and less relations between citizens and state to state. It could still be the positive or negative relations between one state and another, whereby, if it is negative, terrorist will try to invade the other state. Ghosh (2015, p. 3) outlines the views of Mathiesen by looking at International Relations as; “it all embraces all kinds of relations, traversing state boundaries, no matter whether they are of an economic, legal, political or any other character whether they are private or official and all human behaviors originating on one side of the state boundary and affecting human behaviors on the other side of the boundary.”

International Relations is more of creating either a positive or negative relations between a state and another state, for a common objective or purpose. These relations could bro from movements or organizations as well. Some terrorist groups are international and do operate in many countries with the aim of achieving a particular goal. The case of Al-Qaeda is an example, which has mounted a lot of attacks on civilians in many states. The bombing of the US Embassy in 1998, the Bali bombings of 2002 and the September 11 attacks are just examples of some of the main activities of terrorist internationally.

3. Diplomacy:

Several definitions of diplomacy are point out by experts and scholars. Many scholars look at diplomacy as the way official negotiations are being
conducted between states, as well as the methods apply in handling official affairs without arousing any hostility. According to Gambo (2016, p. 1), diplomacy came from the word ‘diploma’, meaning ‘a letter of credence’. Diplomacy however entails managing mediation or an entity. Within the 21st century, the same notion of diplomacy is narrowed and considered as a process of managing official foreign affairs of countries.

In addition to the aforementioned, diplomacy represents a powerful tool which enables every state to use in fighting against modern forms of terrorism which has escalated beyond state boundaries. Diplomacy however plays a major role in anti-terrorist activities in many dimensions such as in negotiations, agreements, and mediation processes which are basically aimed at seeking peaceful anti-terrorist solutions. Kiraz (2014, p. 6) argues that there are great roles played by top political and diplomatic figures in resolving diplomatic anti-terrorist activities. Some of the aspects that these top officials can do are:

- Make sure there is a standardized approach regarding modern terrorism, especially through timely activities abroad, and making sure other countries do not provide any material or political support to terrorist groups and activities.
- Maintain strong removal of the things that causes terrorism, irrespective of the intensity or scope of the terrorist activity
- Come up with data and more evidence that can be of use in confirming the presence of terrorist groups or organizations, so as to ensure international support for the fight against terrorism
- Execute timely consultations which have relevant European, regional, and global political stakeholders mainly to obtain for planned anti-terrorist activities.

It is however worth noticing that diplomacy is the filial dialogue between one country and another for its interest. Diplomacy is also regarded as the art of conducting negotiations between one state and another. Tarte (2014, pp. 125-130), says in his book “Diplomacy in Fiji: A Place Called Home” that diplomacy is the conduct of relations between one country and another by peaceful means. However, diplomatic activities can be of help in creating conditions conducive for aggressive criticisms of states considered to be benevolent towards terrorists.

4. Soft Power:

Soft power is viewed by most scholars as an emerging behavior. Trunkos (2013, p. 4) supports Joseph S. Nye’s argument of soft power, by agreeing that it deals with a nation’s national resources which is capable of affecting other nations so as to persuade eliciting positive attraction and framing agenda to have outcomes. The main cause of terrorism to an extern is tied to the interest of resources by a state, organization or group of people. The concept of power is centered on the capability of persuading others to do things that cannot be done otherwise. He presumes that power is either soft or hard. The main difference between the above researchers is that behavior-changing of the former is based on coercion, while the latter focus on persuasion and attraction. In line to this, Alshehri (2010, p. 8) argues that in order to deal with the acts of terrorism, power is needed, and this used of power is “the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants. But there are several ways to affect the behavior of others”.

There is a great difference between the use of soft and hard power in combating terrorism. The hard power method is full of destructive results, which still does not solve the problem in anyway, while the soft power method is focus on addressing terrorism roots. The failure to implement soft power policy effectively can be the main reason behind the constant escalation of terrorism.

According to Nye (2004), he focused his argument on the idea that soft power is a cultural power. His
reason for this is because power is the ability to alter other people’s behavior so as to acquire expectations. Nye suggested three approaches of power: 1) attraction (Considered as soft power), 2) coercion (considered as sticks) and 3) payments (known as carrots). A country can gain its soft power through three resources. That is through: foreign policies, its culture and political values. Nye, however conceived that soft power is the ability for a country or individual to get what it wants, through the method of attraction and not by the method of payment or coercion.

According to Pallaver (2011, pp. 89-96), soft power is based on influence. He however back up his argument by saying that soft power is not just based on influence alone, because “influence” itself is not affiliated to “legitimacy”. Most often, influence is confused to be equal to power. Pallaver went further saying that soft power is more of an autonomous form of power which is guided by rules, features, characteristics and an understanding of power in order to be able to efficiently employ it. It is important to know that many countries in the world have suffered a number of terrorist acts looking at contemporary history. A good example of such countries is Saudi Arabia. However, a lot of measures have been put in place to combat it. The use of soft power strategy in combating terrorism is so common nowadays and it has become an alternative strategy to hard power, regarding the fact that soft power policy helps to win the minds and attention of people to sort out the causes of terrorism and eliminate them.

5. Security:

The term security does not possess any consensual or stable meaning. A general definition of security can be that it is the protection of an organization, building, person, or a country against threats such as attacks or crimes by external groups, organizations or foreign countries. In other words, security is the protection from any harm or degree of resistance to any harm. This is applied to valuable assets or vulnerable assets like; dwelling, community, person, item, country or organization. Security is seen in two phases: negative phase which constitute risk, threat, danger etc. and it requires military equipment, police, and armies. The other phase is positive phase, which constitute opportunities, profits, interest etc. and it needs education, social interaction or social capital. Security in this paper is more focus on the negative phase, which is more of protecting the interest of the state and its citizens. Buzan (1997, p. 1) argues that due to the pressure of nuclear arms race, the Cold War witness a contraction of broad conceptualization of security which were in different terms such as; social, ideological, economic and military. The wider agenda of security re-emerged by the 1980s, thanks to the growing public opinion against the usefulness of armed conflicts or its effectiveness.

It is hard to believe that a tangible definition of security has not yet been offered by scholars, irrespective of numerous references of some security threats posed by non-state terrorism and numerous arguments for radical counterterrorism measures. Wolfendale (2007, p. 76) used the words of David Baldwin to describe the conditions of security as “the actor whose values are to be secured, the values concerned, the degree of security, the kinds of threats, the means for coping with such threats, the costs of doing so, and the relevant time period.”

According to Örmeci (2010, p. 1), security is an important concept in the discipline of International Relations regarding the fact that it is focused on protection and safety of nations and its citizens. He goes further with his argument that security is “freedom from danger, risk, etc.; safety” [1]. In line to this, Örmeci (2010, p. 1) also outlines that Edward A. Kołodziej looks at the word security to be a “special form of politics - a species of the general genus of politics” and a policy whereby some political affairs are different from security affairs. On the contrary, all security affairs are political problems. This discipline of security studies often involves macro actors such as corporations, associations, states, international organizations. Not all assaults and threats like criminal activities and
petty offences are included into the domain of security.

In order to throw more light on what security is all about, it is also seen as “a relative freedom from war, couple with a relatively high expectation that defeat will not be a consequences of any war that should occur” (Örmeci, 2010, p.2). Security is also a concept that “implies both coercive means to check an aggressor and all manner of persuasion, bolstered by the prospect of mutually shared benefit, to transform hostility into cooperation” (Örmeci, 2010 p. 2). However, security studies can be more focus on the prevention of wars and survival of humans, massacres and killings. Even though security cannot be the authentic solution in resolving or preventing all forms of threats but due to its developing strategies and managing power, much can be done to decrease the losses and threats. With the use of security, a country’s cultural, economic, military power and political relationships are secured from possible dangers.

Iraq:

Iraq is a country that is located within Western Asia and share borders with countries like; Kuwait to the Southeast, Turkey to the North, Saudi Arabia to the South, Iran to the East, Jordan to the Southwest and Syria to the West. According to Blanchard (2018, p. 3), Iraq has an estimated population of 39.192 million, where 595 are 24 years of age or under. The area surface is 438,317 square kilometers. By January 15, 2018 the country witness about 2.56 million internally displaced persons. Majority of the population are Muslims with 99% of the population (55-60% Shia, 40% Sunni), Christianity is another group, with just 0.1% of the population, and Yazidi with 0.1%. Blanchard goes further with his argument that the various ethnic groups include: Arab with 75-80%; Kurdish with 15-20%; Turkmen, Assyrian, Shabak, Yazidi, other all have 5%. The estimated Gross Domestic Product (GDP; growth rate) of 2016 was $192.7 billion, and -0.4% in 2017. The Budget (revenues, expenditure; balance) was $77.42 billion, $88 billion, -$10.58 billion respectively, by 2018. According to Katzman and Humud (2016, p. 1), that the territory of the present date Iraq was once under the rule of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th Century and was divided into three main provinces: Mosul Province, Baghdad Province and Basra Province. Britain took over Iraq which was at that time called Mesopotamia, under the League of Nations mandate but administered via Faysal I. He was a leader of the then Hashemite family (Katzman and Humud, 2016 p. 1), which still have autonomy in the present modern-day Jordan. In a nutshell, Iraq is located on a land known in the ancient world as “Mesopotamia. This territory came as result of Iraq’s position while lies within two rivers. That is, Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Many advantages within Iraq made it to be considered as a key site conducive enough for human civilization development. The good aspect of this location drew the attention of many outsiders and this led to the repeated invasions over the course of its history. A lot of activities happened in the region after this period in invasions, for instance, the experienced of several forms of rule and many formal and informal legal systems.

Iraq has a variety of ethnic groups and the main ones are Arabs and Kurds. The other ones include Assyrians, Yazidis, Mandaeans, Turkmen, Armenians, Shabakis Kawliya and Circassians. The official languages are Arabic and Kurdish, with the main religion being Islam. The system of government there is based on Federal parliamentary republic, and the legislature is composed of council of Representatives. The area land surface is estimated to 437, 367 square kilometers and has about 950 square kilometers of water, thus ranking it the 59th largest country in the world. It also has a total area of about 438,367 square kilometers (Janssen, 2018). It is important to know that Iraq gained its independence in 1932 as sovereign state, from Turkey.
Theoretical Framework

1. Instrumental approach:
According to Özdamar (2008, pp. 91-93), instrumental explanation of terrorism shows that terrorism is nothing other than a deliberate choice performed by political actors.

2. Organizational approach:
This approach suggests that the main goal of any terrorist organization is ‘survival’, just the same as any other organization (be it state institution or commercial enterprise). It is portrayed that terrorism occurs as a result of organization struggle to survive, usually in an environment that is highly competitive (Özdamar, 2008, p. 93).

3. Political communication in terrorism:
Analysis of this approach shows that terrorism is based on communicative purposes. This implies that terrorism uses political violence for communication purposes. It is generally perceived that terrorist movement is aim at spreading messages of politics and making segments of the society or pursuing the state do what is needed to be done.

4. Anarchy as a theory of terrorism:
According to Abbasi and Khatwani (2014, p. 103), anarchy is regarded as the nineteenth century roots of terrorism. It is assumed that most of the major political assassinations and casualties of the ending nineteenth and early twentieth century were...
instigated by anarchist ideas thus labeled as anarchy terrorism

**Historical Framework: Development of Terrorism:**

**The Rise of Terrorism:**

Terrorism is one of the most influential used words in this 21st century. Most of the numerous obstacles such as national security, taxes, immigration, and corporate power and drug trafficking are all considered to be prism of terrorism. The term “terrorism” stated since during the French Revolution of 1789-1799, by the new region to consolidate its powers and intimidate all opponents. Most of the members of the regime were equally strong patriots of the old monarchy. Terrorism became so alarming in Iraq after its invasion by US and United Kingdom on March 20, 2003.

It is obvious that after the September 11 incident, US-led coalition invaded Iraq in the name of War on Terror and overthrew the Iraqi regime led by Saddam Husain. This however unavoidably escalated the rate of terrorist groups in Iraq and beyond.

**Approaches of Terrorism:**

1. **Domestic approach:**

   It is perceived that the responses to terrorism at domestic level turn to be more reactive than proactive, and there is a high probability that states with experienced or having signs of witnessing some sort of terrorist activity obviously respond with the legislation.

2. **Bilateral action:**

   In respect to bilateral level, the ability of a state to apprehend or alleged terrorists is a test of a state’s political, security, and judicial capacity. In order to tighten a state against terrorist attacks, there should be a good structure of well-trained security forces, a good understanding between governments, and likewise a strong judicial system to enshrine the rule of law and to make sure it is put in place.

3. **International approach:**

   The possibilities of addressing terrorism issues saw a marked improvement on what happened in 1972, when the United Nations made the first attempt to reach an agreement on the issue. Some measures have been to put in place to resolve the issue of terrorism. For instance, about twenty international agreements exist to look into the issue of terrorism, among which five of them are from the United Nations, eight multilateral agreements, and seven of which at the regional level.

**The Causes and Consequences of Terrorism in The 21st Century**

**Causes of Terrorism:**

- The 11 september attacks on the world trade center in US and pentagon by AL Qaeda.
- Dominance of group dynamics, group or state leader, and other psychological factors.
- Unemployment, poverty, inflation.
- Socio economic and demographic strain, economic deprivation, political and institutional order, political transformation and instability, global economy and political order, identity and cultural clash, and contagion.

**Consequences of terrorism:**

- More death rate. Countries like Iraq, Nageria, Pakistan, Afganistan and Syria, with the highest level of terrorist attacks have witness more dwath rate and high level of refugees, likewise internally displaced people around the globe.
- High rate of injuries.
- Terrorism reduces governmental stability. Terrorism may negatively impact capital flow and trade and thus economic development.
- Destruction of properties. The damage on citizen’s infrastructure, roads, power plants, hospitals, etc.
- In respect to the political consequences of terrorism, terror activities have a lot of outcomes within countries. Terrorism often affects the voting procedure and behavior of electorates.
- Terrorism has dampening psychological effect at the individual level. On the other hand,
research at the level of the state shows that terrorism can contribute to counter-productive outcomes for terrorist. Terrorist activities can cause effects among political parties and lead to a unified front in all the opposition parties to the demands of the terrorist groups.

Terrorism in Iraqi Case:

US Invasion of Iraq:

After the 9/11 incident, U.S invaded Iraq with the belief that it was a possible way to ensure that Iraq was not a comfortable zone for terrorist. It is rather seen on the contrary that with the US invasion of Iraq since March 2003, more doors of terrorism acts within the Iraq’s borders has rose precipitously. Little or no terrorist act cause by DAES was witness in Iraq from the beginning of 2001 till the end of 2002. Stern and McBride (2003, p. 1), points out that a total of over 372 incidents was seen as from 2003 to 2010 in Iraq and associated with DAES.

Responses to the Challenges of Terrorism in Iraq:

Several attempts have been put in place to try to resolve terrorism activities in Iraq and in the world at large. One of such attempts is the application of diplomacy to help increase global anti-terror coalition. . The United Nations Security Council also urges the stop of terrorism in the Middle East. From the reports of the Security Council 7419th Meeting of March 27, 2015, an Iraqi Lawmaker voiced out saying “We Are Being slaughtered”. In line to this, the formal Secretary General Ban Kimoon told the Council that “The members of this Council – and all those with influence – must help the people of this region reclaim its history diversity and dynamism,” “I condemn in the strongest terms all persecution and violations of the rights to life and physical integrity of individuals and communities based on religious, ethnic, national, racial or other grounds”.

Conclusion:

This thesis sought to brief the history of terrorism, and embody the internal and external causes of terrorism, the outcome of rampant terrorist acts, the impact of US-led invasion of Iraq, the contributions of the international community in alleviating terrorism in the world and in Iraq to be specific. The term terrorism is often terminologically contradicted for the use of terrorist activities as a tool by criminals, freedom fighters who fight for self-determination rights and likewise the states in order to legitimize orders and suppress their opponents. The main aim of terrorism is to have power. Most political ideologies we see today and some that happened in the past were practiced through terrorist activities.

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