

Systemic Frustration Paradigm: A New Approach to Explaining Terrorism

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The ranging balance of terror exercise across different segments of the global society at the turn of the 21st century, exemplify a seeming unequal relationship between the North and the South^[1], which is nevertheless based on the formal socio-politico-economic inequality of the global system. The terrorist attacks are reflection of the changing clout of the various local and International actors, emanating out of our social life, political firmaments, economic sphere of different social classes and national states, and in our practice of democracy, rule of law, which underscores dangerous centrifugal trends and the deeply contradictions which global structural imbalance continue to prop up.

The trend of Terrorism is a basic subject of sociological inquiry. The world is increasingly becoming a dangerous place to live in. Already, the world is worried over Iran and North Korea's nuclear intent. While, the outbreak of Israeli - Hezbollah war and the United State war on terror, which has so far claimed thousand of lives, especially those of children and women.

The subject matter of terrorism has stimulated a good deal of interest among social scientists. Thus, far more research has been of a descriptive nature of demonstrating who actually terrorizes whom. No substantial theory in the way of explanation has yet been developed. This paper is an attempt to explain the trend of terrorism using “*systemic frustration approach*”. Its adequacy will be demonstrated by two important factors. First, it seeks to explain who is a terrorist? Second, it is devoted to mapping terrorism in sociological perspectives taking into consideration its pattern across societies.

It is the hope that social scientists especially sociologists will find it useful to link the connections between everyday life and large social forces and understanding how and what responsible for the increasing trend of terrorists acts and to understand why actors do (resort

to terror) what they do, and to provide a painstaking and relevant action towards discouraging the tendency between the two actors. Even when full numerical data are missing the abstract approach presented here should, if it stands up under further research, serve to provide a cue for explaining the tendency of different actors in particular social situation.

Systemic-Frustration Approach to Terrorism

The appreciable ways of understanding the nature and trend of terrorism cannot be fully understood without first deepening our knowledge of the world situation or International events and how this sharpens social relation, and as such produces terrorism at the local or community level. The major bane of terrorism of all kinds is as a result of the systemic conflicts, midwives by the internal contradictions of global capitalism, which pitched actors against each other whenever their interest is being frustrated. In other words, terrorism stems from the systemic conflict which ushered conflicting interest between actors, in which the gain and dominance of an actors, spur reaction and terror from another actor who felt threatened over their acute frustration of desire and interest. In this regards, frustration of actor's interest and desire, resulting from the systemic conflict and crisis is the major factor influencing the degree of terrorism that characterized the social world. At every level of society, conflict of interest abound between two actors but the extent to which such conflicting Interest degenerate into terrorist act is when the interest of an actors, threatens and frustrate the desire and interest of another actor. In view of the great concern over the fate of humanity as a result of the catastrophic crisis inherent in terrorism, it becomes pertinent to explain that, no problem could be permanently solved except its root cause is known. The major underlying factor which makes the conflicts interest of actors to produce terrorism is the systemic conflict. However, before the definition of key terms, the paper seeks to explain the act of terror stressing, that terrorism is a social action emanating out of the systematic conflict and crisis, which has its specific dysfunction arising out of the multiplicity of pressure ensuing from the interaction and relationship between actors, and seeks to elucidate more in addition to existing literature by providing a conceptual framework for attacking the problems of terrorism, and to provide a classical explanation that *terrorism occur as a result of systemic conflict and crisis, which made actors to be at loggerheads whenever their interest is at stake, and are being frustrated.*

To put theory in proper perspectives, the key terms “**Systemic conflict**”, “*frustration*”, “**Interest** “ has to be properly explained and defined.

Here, the concept of systemic conflict is borrowed from two words “systems” and ‘conflict’ which represent or takes the shape of both structural functionalism and Marxism respectively in theoretical sociological analysis. The systems notion is often employed in the social system analysis popularized by Talcott Parsons who has it that:

“A social system consists of a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, actors who are motivated in terms of a tendency to the optimization of gratification, and whose relations to their situation including each other is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols”. (Parsons, 1951).

Important features that may define a system include interrelatedness or interconnections, independence or reciprocity, a network of roles and, or interactive relationships. (Onyeonoru, 2002). Implicit in the concept of systems, therefore is of patterned relationship between a number of elements, which enable the system to form a related whole. By implication, the effectiveness of a system and the degree of its sustenance as well as its survival depend largely on the level of compatibility of the parts with themselves – in their relationship to the whole. This further implies that there must exist a minimal degree of integration between the parts if there must be harmony. These, however represent the world system. It is the overall whole, while the part of the overall whole (each country or society) can be treated as microcosms of the overall system. That is, each level of analysis of the microcosms can be treated as having relative sovereignty, independence and autonomy, while exploring how its meet the functional requirement of the larger whole (world system). Systemic relations, which characterize a world system, therefore consist of interdependent constituent parts (microcosms). World system has a striking resemblance with the concept of society and at the same time identical with the concept of a world society. World system comprises the constraint of interacting actors and units within the system or society. In the world system, there is a difference in actors’ perception, interpretation; interest and reaction to the system social demand of them. The component or parts of the world system are the microcosms. Each microcosm is an actor within the world system. Each microcosm is interrelated and interdependent on the other. World system established a patterned or structured relationship between microcosms, which in turn forms a whole. The world society itself is the macrocosm.

However, the world system as a unit of analysis subscribes to the functional imperatives of a system as clearly enunciated by Talcott Parsons. This paper, the analysis employed three out of the four functional prerequisite, in spite of its fundamental contradictions. According to Parsons, the functional imperatives are the Adaptation, Goal attainment, and Integrative function. While Latency as a functional imperative is not practically feasible with the realities of modern world system.

In Parsonian view, a system must be able to adjust its activities and resources to meet the prevailing objective of the system. Those who came into the system have certain personal or individual interest that they intend to achieve. According to Parsons, adaptation refers to the relationship between the system and its environment. In order to survive, the system must have some degree of control over its environment. This however come slightly to scrutiny, given the fact that an all-encompassing world society has no boundaries in time and space; in a sense a world society has no “address” and no other societies in the environment (Ritzer, 2000).The world system have no business with the environment but it is only the microcosm that have to maintain boundary maintenance with the environment. However, at the level of the World society, this function is performed by the world economy through the production of economic resources by various microcosms who constitute themselves as class of actors or member states.

Also, Goal attainment function tends to explain the need of the system to set goals towards which activities in the system are directed. In world system, procedures for establishing goals are institutionalized in the form of political systems. In other words, World politics under the auspices of United Nations and other international organizations perform the functional prerequisite of goal attainment. Moreover, in the world society, through the capitalist system; world economy is regulated and directed by laws enacted within the political system.

It is a known fact that he who controls the economy, will definitely controls the politics. The world economy is being controlled by the advanced capitalist societies or countries. This gives them the unflinching strength to control and dictate the pace of the economic relation, and manipulate and influence the course of international politics in their favor. Thus, making other microcosms (Developing Countries) to be at their mercy in international politics. Consequently, the third functional prerequisite posits that the system is expected to be integrated into the norms and values of the society. This refers primarily to the adjustment of conflict-the control and inhibition of deviant tendencies through sanctions, the sustenance of effective coordination between the parts of the whole and the aversion of fundamental crisis and conflict. Once learned and internalized, values are maintained as a medium through which

deviants or erring member states are brought back into the dominant values (Onyeonoru, 2002). The economies of microcosms are fully integrated into the world system such that economies of each microcosm are interdependent on each other. “African economies are integrated into the very structure of the developed capitalist countries; and they are integrated in a manner that is unfavorable to Africa and ensures that Africa is dependent on the big capitalist countries. Indeed, structural imbalance and dependence are one of the characteristics of underdevelopment (Rodney, 2005). It is obvious that the present day socio-economic realities and conditions force all countries to be mutually interdependent in order to satisfy the need of their citizens. However, in the world system, Integration connotes economic interdependence with structural imbalance and exploitation of the microcosms. “At the social and cultural level, there are many features which aid in keeping underdeveloped countries integrated into the world capitalist system and at the same time hanging on to the apron strings of the metropolis (ibid)^[2]. However, the integration of each microcosm’s economy into the world system produces inequalities and unfavorable balance of relationship among actors. This, invariably portend, a great deal of conflict and crisis within the world system. Therefore the political system especially the politics of international relations through the enactment of law is the sole determinant upon which this responsibility or functional prerequisite is performed. The world politics under the institution of United Nations (UN) and other international organization with their respective judicial system standardize relations between the microcosms thereby reducing the potential for conflict in order to adjust the microcosms to the social demand of the world system and the maintenance of social order in world society.

However, world system stood in sharp contrast with the Parsonian position that is could be described by employing structural – functional perspectives rather it could be analyzed by using conflict perspective. A society like world system can be observed only from a paradigm within the society that is, through conflict perspective in the society.

The **conflict** here stems from the conflict perspective in sociological analysis of society which emphasized the importance of structure (microcosm) within the world society. Each microcosm is an actor seeking to achieve particular set objectives, desires and interest. In the world system, the balance of power, inequality and struggle are the major bane for conflict .in the world system, is composed of distinct microcosms pursuing their own interests. The existence of separate or divergent interest and dissimilar goals means that the certain microcosms will benefit more than others. In fact, there will be tension between dominant and disadvantaged actor within world society. In the world system, the dominant actor is the

developed countries who imperially controlled the world economy through less than 200 multinationals corporations which dictates the pace of economic activities in virtually all the microcosms. While the disadvantaged actors are the Third world countries who are perpetually dominated by the former in the scheme of things-economically and politically. There is wide inequality between the dominant actor and the disadvantaged actor as economic policies and programmes of the latter are being teleguided by the former, while the former is living in affluence and abundance, the latter are suffering from abject poverty and underdevelopment as indicated in their various economic indices.

The core of conflict within the world system is the each microcosm's needs and desires. When their needs and desires are not being met or needs and desires that are inconsistent with the needs of others, they engage in conflict. Some of the needs and desires are survival needs such as foods, shelter, health or security. The needs that motivate the action of each actor or microcosm are being propelled by interest.

At every level of the systems, conflicts of interest abound between actors, thereby causing or producing a strain within the system. Such strain is the systemic conflict, which emanate out of the systemic relation between various constituent parts constituting themselves a class of actors. World system in its entirety is inherently enmeshed in conflict in that, some forms of struggle between actors trying to achieve dissimilar goals and divergent interests. Conflicts of interest within the system is not an unfortunate and temporary aberration from the norm of perfect cooperation and harmony but it arises from the very nature of what the system (capitalism) stands for and the condition under which the actors themselves live. Actors live together and seek to relate socially. The need of actors to relate and interact is the need for conflict. Robert Dohl (1966) posits that conflict is "a situation in which one individual actor wishes to follow or pursue a line of action that could make it difficult or impossible for someone else to pursue his own desires". Conflict ensues when an actor is subject to a particular condition which makes him or her difficult to achieve set goals and desire (means of existence), when relating with another actor or while relating in the social world.

The nature of conflict within the system goes beyond disagreement between actors. The disagreements between actors' goal, desire and interest usually translate into conflicting spheres of interest. The conflicts within the system however result into crisis when compromise, agitation, confrontation and negotiation fail. At such, the system is plunged into crisis while each actor goes on offensive desperate to achieve their desire and protect their interest without minding whose ox is gored. In this case, personal and class interest are the real motive or motivating factor forcing actor to embark on terror rather than their collective

or state interest. At this period “a treaty- whether it is a contract or a diplomatic settlement between nations – is only a reflection of the balance of force between contending groups at a given moment. No rational person would imagine that the signing of a piece of paper resolve any serious issue! The moment the balance of forces has changed, the treaty is form up while both actors-nation-states go to war” (Woods and Grant, 1999). This however caused commotion within the system as one actor engaging or waging war with another actor. The first and second world war are quick reminder that the inability of actors within the system to resolve its conflict will degenerate into crisis, which will ultimate affect the microcosms of the system and determine the course of events within the microcosms. The world system as it is presently constituted is composed internally of a variety of social structure and member groups (Ritzer, 2000). Each of the social structure constitutes a state or society which forms a unit of analysis. In the world system, since every country or society is a microcosm of the whole system. Every society of the world has a largely self-contained social system with a set of boundaries with environment coupled with large bureaucratic machine in which its activities are being coordinated. Just as Marx explained that the economic structure of the society is the super-structure in which all other sub-structures like family, religion, education, law, medicine, are erected, this is quite true that economy is the major structure upon which the survival of any social system in the world depends. Therefore, the social system of any society is being dictated by the economic structure, which its operation is being controlled by the economic system to which the society chooses to be identified with –whether it is capitalism or socialism.

In the similar vein, The world economy is the major force and structure dictating the major pace of the events within the world system. While international politics becomes the basis upon which the economic interest of various microcosms (nation-states or countries) are being protected. The world economy has a major influence on the economic structure of its sub-system such that the course and pace of events is being dictated by the event outside the microcosms. It must be emphasized that systems- microcosms (nation-states) and world systems are held together by a variety of forces that are inherently in tensions and constant conflict, which may lead to crisis. ‘The forces always have the potential for tearing the system apart’ (Wallerstein, 1974). The irreconciliatory contradictions and conflict ensuing within the world system are the real forces fuelling tensions and crisis within the microcosms or social system of any society. In other words, it is not only the internal contradiction and forces within the system that generate crisis that would eventually spark off terrorist action, but it is the external force mounting from outside the society that determine the course of

event within the social structure of any society. Since the world economy is being dominated by capitalism, it can then be argued that the world system is directly influenced by the world capitalist system.

At the world system, it is some few countries that dominate the pace of socio-economic relation, thereby making them to be coercing and forcing others into their lines of socio-economic dictates. Whenever there is conflict between these actors over bargaining, the system (world capitalism) is at crisis, thereby causing global economic downturn. When this occurs actors (countries, organizations, corporations) struggle to survive this onslaught by dealing with the symptoms or effects rather than unraveling the cause.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, capitalism has become order of the day, thus bring Wallerstein (1980) position to the forefront that indeed, there is only one world, the capitalist world economy. In this world economy, third world nations occupy a subordinate position to the developed capitalist world. The strongest economic power in the world – the United States of America now dictates their pace of development. “Possible areas from which they can get assistance outside the United States are blocked through various international means. For instance, China is being distracted to have access to the World Trade organization (WTO) – a country that has one – fifth of the world population. The admission of Russia, along with other nations, is also being jeopardized (Castro 1998). In spite of the so-called free market economy, the agricultural products of the developing nations are not freely allowed into the developed world. Yet, the developing nations are told to open their market freely for imported products even when imported technology often has untold effects on unemployment, income security, and so-on. Where they refuse, sanctions are pronounced against them but the developing nations have no such power to sanction the developed nations” (Olutayo and Bankole, 2002). The advanced capitalist countries, being the controller of the world economy scrambled for markets in the developing countries. They plundered the economies of these poor countries at will and obtained the raw materials (agricultural and mineral products) at very cheap rates. The developing countries were the ‘hewers of wood and drawers of water’ for the advanced countries. In return for the cheap primary products of these countries, they sold manufactured goods to them at exorbitant price. The world economic system is bedeviled with myriads of conflicts, as major actors – the Developed nations and Developing nations are struggling to find their feet within the system. The Developed ones are apt to dominate market, to generate more profit and income using their investment in different part of the world with a view to dominating the sphere of influence.

The developing countries, too, are struggling to have favorable balance of payment and trade relation with the former.

The quest for profit markets, profit or income by the Advanced or Developed countries using different Multinationals Corporation as Proxy without considering the overriding interest and needs of the collectives (masses) in the developing countries are the real cause of systemic conflict.

Systemic conflicts are the internal contradictions of the world capitalist system which pitched actors against each other in an effort to competitively struggle for sustenance and survival in quest of achieving a particular course of interest. Systemic conflict is the crisis, pressure, tensions, contradictions and disagreement within the system being propped up by the changing challenges of capitalism, being determined by the activities of actors involved whose major objective is to protect their interest from being frustrated and threatened. The systemic conflict finds its expression more glaring when the World capitalist system is heading for one shock after another. The crisis of global capitalism expresses itself in Universal instability: stability on the stock market, and in economy, stability in relations between the nations and instability in the relations between the classes and reflect a profound change in the psychology of masses who borne the hardship and suffer the onslaught gallantly.

In world system, the strength of any country's economic structure determines the balance of political forces at its disposal as well as endowment – technology, wealth, natural resources and Agricultural activities within its eclipse. In any society today, the crisis that usually generate tensions and pressure within it are the crisis of unemployment, economic exploitation, acute poverty and inequality, political marginalization, racism and ethnicity, environmental degradation, cuts in social spend and the under funding of public institutions and host of other social problems. These are the challenges being thrown up by the internal contradictions of the world capitalist system, which is of course, a critical and potent force, creating conflicting interest and pitching actors against each other, creating a frustration of hope, survival and “debarment” of gratification to some sections of the society. The international socio-economic order (world capitalist system) dictates the pace within the microcosms. As this order affects the microcosms, it translates into suffering for individual, group and the community at the local level within the microcosms. This however, creates an avenue for few (out of majority) who are disadvantaged and as such not satisfied with the objective reality to resort to terror as the crooked way of expressing the frustrations and

grievances. However, it is the systemic conflict emanating from the world system that clear the coast for terrorism in the society.

Systemic conflict becomes more evident when the recent attempt by OPEC to raise the price of oil met with retaliating measures by the advanced countries. Many of them reduced their oil imports, and made greater use of substitutes such as nuclear energy and coal despite the fact that these energy sources may be more expensive to them. This resulted in a world oil glut in the early 1980s. The economy of an oil-based economy such as Nigeria suffered a recession. In order for Nigerian government to extricate her from this crisis, she introduced Structural Adjustment Programmes under the supervision of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank whose stringent conditionalities generate massive protest and chaos from the generality of Nigerians, who actually who bear the full brunt of the harsh reform programmes.

In a nutshell, systemic conflict occurs when the world economy is experiencing crisis. At this period, the social system of each society or microcosms will definitely experience the hitch in equivalent proportions. The economic crises stimulated by the systemic conflict, are the economic depression, recession, slump and retrogression. The great depression of 1930s was a major onslaught that affects every society or country within the world system, as there was deep stock market crash, chronic debt, huge unemployment and depression of the highest order. This depression being the product of capitalism is the major force ravaging the world system, which later affects all other nations. This however cause crisis within the microcosms as problems of unemployment, economic slow down, protracted plunge of stock prices, the savage cuts in business capital spending and the shrinkage of consumer income growth – being a consequence of the profit carnage of the capitalist world system that pitched actors against each other whenever their desires are frustrated, and interests are threatened. *“The great recession of 2001 onwards is a product of the desperate efforts of capitalists and then banks to keep the boom going even though profitability was falling. That has produced a huge credit bubble that is now bursting as profitability starts to fall, share prices fall and companies cut back investment; as sales slow, competition drives prices down, which in turns pushes profits down even more. The boom turns to shrimp”* (Roberts, 2001). These problems are caused by the activities of free market economy where every actor are struggling and competing to survive and dominate the sphere of influence. This portends a great risk of terror as one actor becomes frustrated when its desire and interest are threatened by the activities and dictates of other actor who is making headway in the scheme of things- socially, economically and politically. *“The bottom line throughout 300 years of capitalism is that*

economic expansion, no matter how handled, is, at the end of the day, competition drives down prices and squeezes profits. When production has filled warehouses with unsold goods, when credit is at its limit, when the consumer is mired in debt when big media advertising can no longer beat the consumer into spending more money and the most ambitious marketing plans have gone away, the balloon bursts or is rapidly deflated; (Ibid)^[3]. At this stage, there is economic crisis causing a kind of conflict within the world system, which equally affects its microcosms and cause major actors within the microcosms to be at loggerhead or to resort to terror whenever their gratification is blocked. The systemic conflict of the world system has a direct effect on American society-economic structure. “The American consumer has been living in an increasingly smaller and more lonely world shielded from reality by credit cards, where they spend \$7 out of \$6 earned, home equity loans, a couple of SUVs, and the nearest shopping malls. United States corporations are quickly burning through cash. Nervous lenders have already cut back sharply on leading to upstart companies and those with heavy debt loads. Companies are sinking on their own debt. The leading Air Lines in America were equally cashless. They were estimating losses of \$2.5 billion for the year before the September 11 tragedy. (Ibid)^[4]. The economic effects of these crises are continuing to ricochet around the globe. “In the United States, over 100,000 lay offs were announced in the airlines alone. Delta Airlines cut its workforce by 13,000, some 16 percent of its workforce. Alitalia announced the sacking of 17 percent of its workforce. Air Canada will shed 5,000 workers and so-on. To these figures we must add a large numbers of derivative jobs in Hotels, catering, Airports, tourism and so-on. The cumulative effect on economic activity must be significant aggravating the fall. (Alan Woods, 2001). This recession in United States signifies inevitably a world economic downswing which is likely to be severe. “The United States is alleged to be the most powerful nation in world history; its military and economic footprints determine the life chances of people everywhere” (ASA, 2006). The United States is not only the microcosm or country that will be affected. The extents to which the consequence or incidence of that systemic conflict and crisis will be borne by the economic muscles of such society to cushion the effects. In order for the government of different states to extricate itself out of the crisis, many economic reforms may be initiated. The developing countries are going to be worst hit as the incidence of crisis is going to be more brazen and severe on them. The process of the implementation of reform programmes may bring more conflict with those who will not subscribe to the measures imposed. Thereby forcing them to react and revolt when they were unable to hold again series of frustration and hopelessness they would have suffered from the reforms. The developing societies will in order to

overcome the economic crisis, will seek for foreign assistance, particularly from the developed one and the International Organization (being under the foot of the developed countries) for assistance, in which aids, grants and loan will be granted with stringent conditionalities attached to it. In the new economic climate under the world system, government of the different states are rapidly scaling down their spending emphasizing the idea of tightening of economic belt through various austerity measures. The talks of austerity everywhere are plans being perpetrated to place the burden of the crisis on the shoulder of the people. However, conditionalities of international organization is line with the state “reform” agenda or programmes, would be imposed and implemented on the largest segment of the society. Meanwhile, the dominant actor is not directly affected by this systemic conflict rather it is only the masses that would suffer and bear the brunt of the whole crisis. This is an attempt by the dominant actor to extricate or excuse itself from the crisis of the system. While doing this, it tramples and threatens on the interest and desire of the disadvantaged actors the more and in the long run, the disadvantaged actors will be compelled to unleash or resort to act of terror, as a means of expressing their frustration and grievances. For instance, whenever, there is an accumulation of wealth and prosperity at one pole, and scarcity and want at the other, people will divide along the superficial lines of races, religion, genders as a method of resistance to their oppression. Lenin explained that it is a question of bread-if there is not enough to go round, then people will fight over the scraps which capitalism throws up. As long as these problems remained restricted to the poor and minorities, and wallowed in despair, degradation and poverty in isolation from the rest of “decent society”, they will have no option than to burst onto the scene in a spree of arson, vandalism and confrontation with the dominant actor.

Apart from the economic austerity, the developed nations would want to extricate her selves or cushion the negative effect of her economies by looking outside her territories to her former colonies and other regions that they considered as the ‘backyard’ or sphere of influence, with a view of repatriating profit, income, expand trade and market. However, the developed countries seek to achieve this by first formulating its state policies which will be anchored on such economic direction. At this period, terrorism starts when the dominant actor (Developed Countries) wishes to pursue a line of interest expressed in its various state policies, and is often imperialistic in nature, may conflict with the disadvantaged actor. The dominant actor, in its bid to rescue its own social system from the quagmire and the crisis of the world system, will coerce the aggrieved actor (Developing Countries) into subjection, given their mechanism of the dominance of power, technological prowess, influence and

military might, with little or no resistance from the disadvantage-aggrieved actor. In fact, any state that does not shares or oppose the developed country's view, especially the US views and policies is open to terrorism – sanctions, invasion, and Jackboot of United States Military Intervention, to show them the “error of their ways”. This and others are the real agony of the Developing Countries. The fear of what might be the outcome of the rejection of the ‘offer’ of the Developed Countries, would force them to accept the deal, and at least, be ready to unleash the onslaught of the latter on its people. It must, however, be stated that in spite of all odds and intimidation, not all countries accept the dictate of the Developed countries in a piece – meal fashion. However, the extent to which terrorism will occur is when the imperialistic policies being supervised under the auspices of the international organizations, has a dire consequences on the economies of the developing and invariably translates into miseries in the lives and psyche of the people. At this point, the policies are deliberately imposed on the people with brute force and cynical manipulation, by the government of the Developing countries in conjunction with the external world. It must be explained that some of these imperialistic policies such as opening of border, cut in social spending, privatization, liberalization, devaluation of local currency----- are the real form of terror on the people. At this stage of cushioning the harsh economic realities of the Developed Countries on the Developing world, there may be two forms of reaction, which may result to terrorism or terrorist act whenever the material condition for such occur.

First, if the governments of the Developing Countries reject such proposals or policies from the Developed Countries, this non-compliance will generate stiff penalty from the latter, and subsequently have an adverse effect on the former social structure. This action of the Developed Countries will generate more opposition reaction, dissatisfaction and hatred from the people or groups of people as well as the state(s) in general. The government of such state(s) in order to free themselves or herself from the shackles of the Developed Countries' oppression may connive, support and provide logistics support for some the group or organizations that were perceived to have had preconceived hatred and dissatisfaction with the action, decisions and policies of the Developed countries to sponsor and unleash terror on any member of these group (Developed Countries), with a view to intimidating or coercing them to modify their behavior and reverse their decision.

Secondly, if the government of the state(s) concerned seek to be the allies or who do not want to incur the wrath of the Developed nations, will accept the terms and conditions, and be willing to implement some of their polices and measures on her people. It must however be stressed that such government of such state(s) is or are implementing some of

these policies against her wishes but she has no option. And she must implement it at all cost even if it takes brute force and cynical manipulation on its own people. Under this situation, the developing countries themselves launches onslaught on its people via these policies. This would however, propel some groups or organizations who are not comfortable with the policies, given harsh and the negative effects and consequences of these policies on them. The leaders in various segment of society more especially the labor and local leaders mobilize their members and subjects to react against this policies, by forming armed factions to challenge the policies of the government, and translating the grievances of the poor into a nationalist anti-foreign message or anti-peoples agenda. In this case, the government and some international organizations are the dominant actor executing, monitoring and supervising these onslaughts (policies) on the people. While the group of individuals fighting this are the aggrieved disadvantaged actor. The extent to which these actor resort to act of vandalism, violence and terrorism is the extent to which the negative consequences of these policies are telling on them and are such making them to be frustrated..

However, the main cause of this tension, instability, terrorism and war hysteria is the intense socio-economic crisis that has been aggravated by the impact of the recession or crisis in the world economy, where the imperialist powers used their muscle to open up their market (Developing Countries) and denationalizes their utilities, using all forms of terrorism over the century to safeguard its interests, from the bombing of Vietnam to the oppression of the Palestinians and the bombing of a defeated and bleeding Iraq as well as the Anglo-American war in Afghanistan, all in the name of civilization, democracy, freedom, and humanitarianism, even though their real motive is the lust for profit, and the strategic and military advantage and sphere of influence, without taken cognizance of the worsen socio-economic condition of the Developing nations are the royal road to terrorism. The roots of terrorism lies in the chaos and crisis that capitalism has created on the world scale; particularly in the last ten or twenty years which reflects itself in the stagnation and deep organic crisis of a system, in which local industry is fast forming into ruins as factory after factory faces closure, war, death and suffering on a colossal scale, imposition of austerity measures, factory closure, wage restaurant and sacking under the pretext of the world situation, attack on civil rights under the disguise of anti-terrorist legislation (Lai Khan, 2002); worsening state of agricultural sector in ; unemployment and other imperialistic policy are the springboard on which religious, communal, ethnic, nationalist and regional conflicts festers, which provide enabling or fertile ground for various parties or group to resort to terrorism as means of demonstrating their pent-up anger and frustration of decades of acute poverty, under- development and oppression.

While in the Middle-East, pocket of problems created by long-drawn war years and unemployment has fed upon the masses of dispossessed and unemployed youths, like the thousands who have passed through the madrasses of Pakistan and end up in Bin Laden's camps of terrorist.

The whole of Central Asia is extremely unstable. American imperialism, by its chimy intervention in Afghanistan has further aggravated this instability. Financial time of 30th July 2001 describe Central Asia as “ a region plagued by poverty, deteriorating health care and social services, serious environmental degradation and authoritarian government”.

It is important to clarify that American's war on Iraq has nothing to do with religion and so must not be interpreted as war on Islamic as some religious fanatics would have us believe but rather as a result of systemic conflict brought by the internal contradictions of world capitalism, which is making American to quest for more wealth as a means of extricating her society from the crisis of the world system. Millions of people across Europe, Africa, Latin America and Asia who protested against the war are not necessarily Muslims. It is all about the economic interest of a tiny clique, who have held on to the wealth of humanity, who controls big oil estates and multinationals corporation and whose quest for profit has made it to be blind to the wishes of world's populace. The reason for the on-going invasion of Iraq has nothing to do with weapons of mass destruction, institutionalization of genuine democracy and solution to the national question, as they will like the whole world to believe but rather as a result of the internal contradictions of capitalist world system, which makes war on Iraq to be economic-driven, annexationist and complete imperialistic in nature, having as its main objective, cruel domination and control of the country's vast natural resources, being the world's second largest crude –oil exporter.

These imperialist wars on the world scale as well as the mad rush for nuclear arm race is a product of systemic conflict being propel by some few advanced capitalist nations. With the development of nuclear weapons, there has been a change in the nature of war. The Advanced capitalist countries does not wage war for fun or patriotism but to wage war for profits, for markets, for raw – materials and for sphere of influence. They do not wage wars to exterminate people but to conquer and enslave them and do extract loot and tribute from them.

It must be stressed that the problems and crisis within a particular country is not peculiar to that country alone but equally present in other societies or countries. This occurs as a result of the systemic conflict brought out by the crisis of capitalism which is causing tension and crisis within the world system.

Frustration here means the losses; pains, injuries, defeat, denial or deprivation, victimization and Marginalization suffered by an actor as a result of its interaction (competition and struggle) with another actor in a specific sphere of interest which is being caused or are the product of the contradictions of capitalism that characterized the world system. It is a psycho-social condition which reflects a situation where individuals, group or organization are being blocked from reaching a highly desired goal. It is a state in which an actor is kept from gratifying certain desires. When the mean of gratification of an actor is being blocked or prevented, it results into losses, pains, injuries and marginalization that will subsequent lead to frustration.

An **interest** here represent what or something with which actors desire for, concern themselves with or have importance to them, which they want to achieve. Interest is what concerns actor, in what they have desire for. It is the aims and objectives, goals and desires in which actors seeks to achieve when embarking on particular course of action. Interest here also implies social, religious, political, economic, and emotional and others, to which actors are striving to protect, achieve or gratify. The interest and goals of actors are divergent and dissimilar respectively but has the propensity to be contradictory.

However, the systemic conflict are the real culprit which conditioned the social system of a society to be prone to civil disobedience, protests, agitation and tensions, violence and terrorism whenever the interest and gratification of the actor aggrieved or at disadvantage are threatened and blocked. In other words, Terrorism is an offshoot of systemic conflict, forcing two actors in a competing conflict of interest to resort to violence when the gains and dominance of a social-economic-political situation by an actor, spurs reactions and terror from those that are aggrieved and at disadvantaged, who felt frustrated over its acute losses, pains and series of defeats they had suffered in quest of achieving specific objectives and protecting certain interest in a particular course of action.

The appalling case of graduates who roam about the street daily looking for job or suffering from the hemorrhage of unemployment in a country is a bye-product of the social problem created by world capitalist economy, which may lead the actor (graduates) into an acute frustration, and of as such stimulate them to unleash terror on neighborhoods or community via armed robbery as a means of wanting to achieve the institutionally defined goals. It must be stated that economic violence is the greatest of all violence to which the dominant actor subject the disadvantaged actor, which will later caused the latter to react by unleashing terror as norms but not normal to other dominant actor, whenever they are deprived and frustrated over threatened interest.

In the light of the foregoing, the underlying problems of terrorism lie in the socio-economic backwardness of third world societies. The profound reason for this socio-economic backwardness in the third world are not found inside the microcosms of third world, neither are they caused by factors within the microcosms but as a result of the internal crisis of capitalism which is producing threatening systemic conflict on the world scale. In other words, it is the external factors of global capitalism that is fuelling internal problems within the microcosms. This invariably causes terrorism.

. It is clear that terrorism or terrorist act stems from the crisis and conflict of world system which made the microcosms or social system of societies to experience the effect of the global economic downturn, and is such created a conflicting interest and class struggle between both actors in the society. An attempt by an actor to supplant the interest of another actor, purposely to excuse or extricate itself out of the crisis of the system, is an attempt of frustrating the desires and interest of the latter. This may attract still resistance, anarchism, and violence.

In the world today, terrorist acts or terrorism cannot occur in isolation of the socio-economic situation that stimulated it. The conditions under which terrorist act can occur has been clearly spelt out in this paper. They are as follows.

- (i) There are or must be two actors the dominant and the aggrieved actor. Each of the actors represents different shades of opinions and interest of individual, group, class, society or country. Each actor has its own allies.
- (ii) The action of actors is motivated and propelled by interest.
- (iii) How far an actor would go in resorting to terrorist act or in defending their interest is subject to the peculiarity of their interest and desires.
- (iv) No actor can hold perpetually to the mechanism of influence, dominance and terror without being challenged by another actor. There is no indispensability of an actor in holding constantly and perpetually to the dominance of social situation.
- (v) The condition of time, place and social milieu to which the actors are conditioned actually determine their response to particular act of terror.

AN EXPLANATION OF WHO IS A TERRORIST

In the last few years, the world is being confronted with crises, violence and oppression, emanating out of the catastrophic crisis of global capitalism which is giving actors an excuse of calling or labeling each others as terrorist. The question of who is a 'terrorist' often beg for

explanation as the term is frequently subject to misgiving, biases and value judgment depending on the subjective frame of reference of actors involved, who are quick to label each other terrorists, the moment they suffer as 'victims' or whenever they consider other actors, as threat to their aspirations, interest, desires and survival. To be a terrorists means a different thing to different actors, as the term find its expression in relation to particular social condition to which actors find themselves. The old adage that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" still fresh in our memory as many terrorists are seen as martyrs in the eyes of their people. North Korea as an actor may see United States as terrorist while the United States may equally see North Korea as a terror to its interest or desires. This is relative to the two actors, as the term is ebbing out of the ideals of what the two states believe in. The North Korea who felt that her ideas and programs of state monopolies and political sovereignty has to be protected, may see United States as terrorists wanting to impose its ideas of freedom of enterprises on them. In this paper, Terrorist is define *as those actors who ignore or who do not take into consideration the consequences of their action on others whether it hurts, injurious, or harmful to the well-being of others*. Terrorist are those who do not pay attention to the consequence of their action whether it causes havoc on others or not. They are concerned about their action and objectives on what they stand to achieve only. In this paper, effort was made to categorize those who are terrorists on the basis of this definition into two basic categories. The first category is the real terrorists and the second are the destructive terrorist. In making course to the category of terrorist enunciated above, many might consider both as the same but underlying intention of both categories of terrorists are different.

Real terrorist are those who want to achieve and realize certain objectives (vision, goals, aims and motives) at all cost without minding whether it affects others or not. The real terrorists are ambitious terrorist who are always eager and ambitious about a particular aspiration or interest to be employed and wanted to achieve it at all cost, whether it wrecks havoc or not. In this case, they are terrorist because they do not consider the aftermath and the consequences of their action on others neither do they estimate nor give room for the likelihood of others' reaction. The appalling nature of how European underdeveloped Africa through the conquest of slavery and colonialism, which ushered exploitation of African and the dearth of their productive base, is a clear indication of real terrorism being exercised by the European. However, any individual, group or society that uses aggressive, devastating annihilation, means or mechanism of power and influence at its disposal to pursue its aims, goals or ambition irrespective of the consequences it will amount is a terrorist. The unbridled

aggression of United States in unholy alliance with its British counter-part, in its resolute attack on the helpless people of Iraq (over the purported possession of weapons of mass destruction, war on terror and institutionalization of genuine democracy) despite protests, pleas and appeals by millions of people across the globe is Terrorism .The United States and Britain are terrorists because they failed to take into consideration the danger their action will pose to the world peace in general and flagrant dehumanization of the already pauperized Iraq people in particular. In other words, any individual who attempts in the killing, or infringing injuries destruction of properties of opponents or opposition to their course, is a terrorist. Here, they do not consider the likelihood of the violence (consequences) that might erupt if the 'sympathesizers", accolades or allies of the slain opponent react to terror act as revenge or reprisal attack nether do they consider the precious life of the slain. Any individual or group, organization and society who is hell-bent in achieving their interest without minding whether they are infringing pains, injuries, losses on others is a terrorist. The United States and European monopolies and companies, who are acting the script of various western imperialist interests around the world, are terrorists. This is because they tend to explore to the fullest every natural endowment to their own advantage at the detriment of the people who owned the resources, or community of operation. A case in point is the Niger-Delta crisis in which multinational corporation especially the oil firms operating in the region are hell-bent at making quick return without considering the environmental factors or impact on the community of their operation. In this situation, they are terrorists because they do not consider the negative consequences and impact of their action on the lives of the people in the community of their operation. It must however be noted here, that the dominant actor are the perpetrator of this act of terror. They are the real terrorists because they make the effective use of the dominance of mechanism of power, influence through state machines and apparatus all in her bid to protect their interest all at cost whether it causes or wrecks havoc on others or not but they making sure that the effective and smooth enforcement of the decision and achievement of their interest are not challenged by those who are affected or 'victims'.

However, the *Destructive Terrorists* are those actors (individual or group who are hell-bent in employing massive destruction measures in achieving their desire or interest, without minding whether the consequence of their action wreck havoc on others or not. They are terrorists who are hell-bent on reacting at all cost to their frustration through destructive means of terror, with a view to causing harms, wanton destruction of lives and properties, pains or injuries to another actor, who are the targets or victims of the attack or onslaught. The basis of the reaction of destructive terrorists hinges on the action of the real terrorists.

Destructive terrorists do react to socio-economic condition to which they are subjected. They are however apt to terrorist act due to the series of frustration they had suffered from the dominant actor (real terrorist). In this case, they are terrorists because they fail to see beyond the immediate by considering the negative consequences and effects of their action on target victims. A destructive terrorist are certain set of (actors) that usually employed massive destructive methods in the pursuance of their aims and objectives regardless of the effect on widest segment of the society. The groups of actor that usually employ this method are the aggrieved disadvantaged actor. They are hell-bent at causing commotions, havoc, pandemonium, wanton destruction of lives and properties, and damages of all kinds that will be injurious to the target and the victims as a means of giving back to the society or as a means of setting scores and expressing grievances, and paying back to their perceived enemies, without taken into cognizance the aftermath and the negative consequences of their action on the broadest segment of the society (target victims inclusive). In this situation, Al-Queada, Hamas, Black Jackals and other ethnic militias and guerillas, Hezbollah and the suicide Bombers are destructive terrorists.

However, it must be clearly stated that both categories of terrorists (real and destructive terrorist) do not engage in terrorism for the sake of doing it but they unleashed act of terror in pressing home and achieving their desire and to protect their interest from being threatened. The real terrorists exercise act of terror in its desperate bid for profit, income, and to expand business and sphere of influence around the world or to be a voice (political or economic) to be reckoned with, within and / or outside the society or country. While the Destructive terrorists respond and react to unleash terror as a mechanism of relieving the pains or series of frustration they had suffered and to transfer their aggression and frustration on the real terrorists whom they perceived as the architect of their problems. This act of terror is not without consequences to the disadvantage/aggrieved actor. It is a reward to the actor because it gives them the opportunity of long time pent up grievances that has formed the bulwark of their psychological 'molten magma' or internal urge to be discharge through an act of terror. If the urge to be discharge, the aggrieved actor would not be comfortable, and as such he or she will be looking for a right time or when the material condition for them to exercise the act of terror is ripe. The discharge of the series of an accumulated instinctual derive stemming from the frustration of actors interest, would relieve the psychological pain of the actor. Such a release would be pleasurable in that the actor would be fulfilled by staging a fight back and are such giving them a good sense of self that they are fighting a worthy cause.

However, in everyday life, actors both at the local or international scene, must be informed that in a quest of striving to achieve one's goals or desires in an exchange or interaction characterized by contending force of interests, they must remember that the consequences of any action taken in the quest of achieving their aims, goals or desires will depict in the court of public opinion whether they are terrorists or not.

PATTERN OF TERRORISM ON THE WORLD SCALE

We human beings have long interested in explaining and understanding the nature of behavior and structural changes happening around us. One of the ways of doing this is to categorize or explain a particular social phenomenon in relation to its forms or pattern within which it occurs. As a social scientist, the sole essence of studying terrorism is to explain the social content of terrorism in an effort to identify and describe the social forms or patterns through which the act is being carried out, and then to find cause and effect relationship that explain the pattern. Just as we have explained that a great deal of action (terrorism) actually lies with the systemic conflict. This has inevitably acted as a springboard on which pattern of terrorism formed its basis. In this paper, we have highlighted five form of terrorism, which emanate out of the systemic conflict. They are as follow:

PERSONAL TERRORISM

Terrorist act becomes personal when its occurrence stems from or within the larger structure of the society. In this act of terror, it is the social system itself or the pressure and crisis within the social system that paved way for terrorism. Terrorism does not occur only within the international scene, it equally occurs within the microscopic aspect (structure) of the society. Personal terrorism is microscopic because it occurs at the individual level of the social group or social unit such as assault, harassment, intimidation and domestic violence. It is the pressure arising or emanating out of the social system of the society that conditioned or forced people to engage in personal terrorism, against each other, as a quest for striving to achieve a specific set of goals, desire and interest which are obviously dissimilar and divergent in content. The inability of the people to achieve such a goal or its gratification being blocked, will lead to frustration, which could eventually spurs an act of terror against each other. The assassination of the oppositions or opponent chiefly because of the economic or political motives, religious crisis that resulted into killings and burning of churches and mosques, ethnic violence and civil war, Genocide..... are all forms of personal terrorism?

REAL TERRORISM

An act of terror is said to be real when the external events or influence determine the course of event within the social system, which compels the entire political economy of the society to carry out some policies, decisions and actions, which may conflict with some interests, or its consequences are disapproved by the broadest segment of the society. In this type of terrorism, it is the exigencies or necessity of the social system, which stems from the influence of the external factor outside the system that conditions terrorism. The scramble for the partition of African by the European nations in 1885 Berlin conference was borne out of economic interest propelled by the individual revolution that rocked Western Europe which created the need for new markets and manpower through slave trade. It was the industrial revolution that characterized Western Europe and North American that conditioned a strong competition and penchant for expansion of territory by major European power. The world economic system at that time which was spearheaded by industrial revolution which responsible for the annexation of African, Asia and Latin America by Major European power.

The imperialist domination of the world in the 19th century constitute a form of terrorism on the people of the colonies as the economic activities of the people were paralyzed and sabotaged by the operation of the foreign companies who in actual fact were saddled with the task of production, extraction, processing of raw materials abroad, and reselling the goods or commodities produce to the colonies at a higher price. Real terrorism is usually exercise by the dominant actor as a means of achieving its motives or aspiration as well as suppressing revolt or aggression from those which have disadvantaged and frustrated. When exercising real terrorism, the dominant actor possesses or has the backing of the state instrument of coercion, as a means of achieving its goals and protects its interest. It must be emphasized that in real terrorism, the key players in the economic and political sphere, are the dominant actor who forces or imposes its policies on the people without considering its negative effect on the people concerned. These leaders are not evil but their policies effect on the people makes them to be terrorists. The act of using brutal force, naked power as a means of enforcing its desires on others, and subjugating the interest of others all in a bid to achieve their aspirations and objectives real terrorism. The dominant actor does not exercise terrorism out of personal volition but in order to extend their sphere of influence, power, income and profit. The act of using international law, sanctions, threats, military might, aids, grants and loans as a means of coercing countries or societies to whom they have vested interest into stiff compliance is real terrorism.

In this paper, real terrorism takes two forms to which it occurs. They are the state terrorism and non-state terrorism. State terrorism occur when a particular state policies is being pursued or pushed by its government, in another country's without considering the effect of such policies on the people of that society or country. In other words, state terrorism becomes real terror when a particular state pursues its various policies vigorously in another country, without considering the negative consequences of such policies on the people of that country is terrorism. The United States, Britain and other allied forces (NATO) attack and Invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq is state terrorism. The continued Israeli attack and occupation of West Bank and Gaza city, which was believed to be owned by Palestine is a clear veneer of state terrorism. Woods and Grant (2001) while condemning with equal vigor the state terrorism that seeks to take vengeance on innocent men, women and children posited that:

The hypocrisy of the American ruling class is truly breathtaking. They warn the world that no country can assist terrorist force to kill! American citizens, destroy American property and sabotage the American economy with impunity. But it was the United States that organized, armed and financed the contras in Nicaragua to conduct bloody acts of terrorism, sabotage and mass murder in order to bring down a regime they disapproved of. That apparently was ok. So was the US backing the Noriega in Panama, and of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, when he launched his attack against Iran. I was Britain who sells arms to Israel, when the latter is killing and maiming Palestinians everyday. Before that, they sold arms to the monstrous regime of Suharto who slaughter one and half million communists in Indonesia with the active involvement of the CIA, which provided lists of prospective victims to the death squads of Suharto and then ticked them off as they were murdered. The USA waged a merciless war against the people of Vietnam, destabilized the democratically elected government of Chile, and backed the bloody Argentine dictatorships. At present it is organizing and illegal blockade against Cuba. Near to one million innocent civilians-600,000 of them children—have died of as a result of the monstrous sanctions leveled by the Christian civilized west against the people of Iraq. Yet these ladies and gentlemen have the effrontery to speak about terrorist attacks. (Alan woods et all, 2001)

However, non-state terrorism occurs when a state expressed and defends its interest in another country without considering the negative consequences being posed to the interest of the people of that society. In this case, the state is not directly pursuing its interest in another country, but some of the businesses and interest of its citizen and the government itself are

doing the bidding, and as such paying up-service (the state) to the negative effect and consequences of the environment. The continuous operation of multinational corporations like Elf, Shell, Mobil and Chevron, (who had been the custodian of interest of France, Britain and United States respectively) in Nigerian oil industry, who tend to explore and exploit to the fullest every available crude-oil in Niger Delta to their own advantages at the detriment of the people who owned it, that is, without considering the environment factors and effect on the people of its operation is terrorism. In fact, it is a clear case of non-state terrorism acted in its real sense.

It must however, be noted that the effect and consequences of real terrorism takes gradual and minute process, but it get to a time that the negative effect reaches a nodal point or crescendo in the psychological molten magma of those people that are disadvantaged and aggrieved as a result of the series of frustration and defect been suffered, will react by resorting to individual terrorism. As long as real terrorism continues, there is tendency to have individual terrorism.

INDIVIDUAL TERRORISM

This is the most prominent form of terror being unleashed or exercised across different societies of the world today, contrary to the widespread belief that it only takes place in Middle East. Individual terrorism has indeed constituted a social problem. An act of terror unleashed by individual, group or organization, as a means of expressing their grievances against the actions and policies of the state or another state without the support of the mass of the people they are fighting for is Individual terrorism. Individual terrorism usually reflects itself when the collective interest of the people or actor's interest is being frustrated by the dominant actor in a guest of cushioning the effect and failure on its activities. Before individual terrorism takes place, there must be a specific social problem- poverty, political victimization or marginalization, economic exploitation in which the largest segment of the society are feeling the hit. Individual terrorism starts when a particular individual or group who are either a voice, an important figure, a rebel or guerillas are championing the course of its society and as such lending their opposition and resistance to some of the problems confronting the society, without minding what will cost them. The existence of Al-Queada as well as its networks around Western and Middle East countries is a clear testimony of the way they (Al-Qaeda) are not comfortable with the problem of economic subjugation via imperialism ravaging their society as well as the way the various states in their region are going about their interest in the international scene, and as such offer themselves as Martyrs

and better platform to which they can ventilate their grievances and protect the interest of their people in a manner that would generate world attention. An act of terror been unleashed by a group of individual or organization who felt frustrated through several policies and action of the dominant actor, against a particular institutions who are perceived as the architect of their frustration, without active support of the larger segment of the people of the community or society is individual terrorism. The individual terrorist do not wage war for the sake of unleashing terror but as a result of the series of the frustration and defeat they had suffered in relation to their interest, precipitated the need to act in a deviant way. Individual terrorism uses various forms of methods aimed at modifying the behaviors and for unleashes terror on their perceived enemies. This method includes threats of force, physical attacks of all kinds (like Nuclear Bombing, Suicide Bombing of embassies or foreign missions, hijacking of opposition plane causing disaster, kidnapping, and political killings. Any attempt to physically resort to threat, destruction of article of trade, bombing of Cars and territories, attack on individual, organization, group or nation-state by a group of individual as a means of ventilating their grievances is individual terrorism.

However, it must be stated that apart from threat, the implication of some of the methods used by individual terrorist are grievous and its consequences are monumental given the extent of vandalism or damage done to the dominant actor. The dominant actor will not fold its arms and allow this assault of vandals on its to go scot-free without putting any resistance but will equally respond by going for the singular of the perpetrators of this act of vandals, unleashed brute force and unleash much more a corresponding proportion of terror on the (its) perpetrators.

It must be clearly emphasized that the disadvantaged-aggrieved actor, usually finds solution in individual terrorism when they cannot longer comprehend and accommodate series of frustration they had suffered personally, psychologically, politically and socially (economic inclusive) in relation to the frustration of its interest as a result of its prevailing social condition and situation, to which is being dominated by the dominant actor.

HISTORY AND CRITIQUES OF INDIVIDUAL TERRORISM

The social, political and historical event which ushered individual terrorism cannot be divorced from the systemic conflict and crisis brought by the increasing wave of real terrorism on the world scale. Although the existence of real terrorism goes back to 19th

century when Western Imperialism, through its conquest of colonialism were introduced to the African, Asian and Latin American societies. While, that of individual terrorism became more apparent aftermath of the Second World War; given the struggle for sphere of influence between the western imperialism and Russian Stalinist bureaucracy.

The aftermath of the Second World War witnessed intense economic slump and depression across major European countries that took part in that war, as some of these countries are the worst hit and they are decreasing recuperating from the anguish and devastation that characterized these war-ranged states. In this epoch, the United States and Soviet Union emerged as the two major and formidable world powers, with strong economic base which triggers massive development of nuclear weapon and arm race or expenditure programmes between the two countries, purposely for the quest of competing domination of sphere of influence around the world. The parasitic weight of Stalinist bureaucracy as well as the over-aching effect of arm race on the soviet society actually caused the economy to seize up. The US on its own, was growing in wealth and affluence. The urge to accelerate and maintain that economic tempo was the major catalyst that speeds up the imperialist domination of the economic sphere of influence. The economic situation between two countries created a changed balance of force that stimulated a great deal of conquest for annexation of colonies to which they could further advance their economic interest. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in the 1980s coupled with the stiff resistance and opposition to this among major player groups and actors who have strategic economic interest in the region (Middle-East) actually provided a fertile ground for the emergence of individual act of terrorism. Alan wood (2001) while chronicle the development of the quagmire created by the activities individual terrorist opines that *“the source of the present mess of individual terrorism is to be found during the war against the soviet union in Afghanistan, when the USA deliberately United the different strands of Islamic fundamentalism, and armed and organized and funded them in the war against the Soviet Union. Bin Laden was part of the anti-Soviet mujahideen group that received at least \$10m from the US. The Taliban regime grew directly out of the generous funding that the US gave to Islamic Mujahideen group in the 1980s”*. In the similar vein, Rob Lyon (2004) also takes a critical appraisal of the historical account of individual terrorism, insisted that individual terrorism can be traced to the former US president Reagan Ronald administration. *“The Reagan administration actually developed terrorism, and actually created the US’s public enemy number one-Osama Bin laden. It was the Reagan administration that pumped billions of dollars and military equipment into Afghanistan to support the Mujahideen against the Soviet Red Army. It was this policy that*

actually led to the growth and development of Al-Qaeda – who even at that time were openly hostile to the US. The CIA armed them, gave them millions upon millions of dollars to fight the “evil empire” and then promptly left them on their own to solve the problems created by years of war and social collapse – with training camps intact and technical know-how to fight their second greatest enemy – US and Western Imperialism” (Ibid). It must however be stated that the development which triggers individual terrorism was borne out of the conflict and crisis within the world system at that time, which propelled the two actors (the Soviet Union and US and the force in Afghanistan) to unnecessarily overheat the system, in the pursuit of the economic interest between the two actors which is divergent in values. Indeed, it is quite clear that all political sense of belonging is motivated primarily by economic interest. Individual terrorism still exists as a threat just as it was a major threat before September 11, 2001 (exists from time immemorial). “In the early 1980s the Reagan administration launched its own war on terrorism. US forces launched “precision” strikes in Libya, and sent expeditionary forces into the Lebanon, and of course, sold weapons to Iran, fund guerrillas in Nicaragua. Who could forget the picture of Donald Rumsfeld shaking the hand of Saddam Hussein after making a business deal as Iraq was using chemical weapons against the Kurds and Iranians. We should not forget that the Reagan supported the Apartheid regime in South Africa, and funded the UNITA killers in Angola. The invasion of Grenada can also not be forgotten” (Ibid). Having watched patiently the event that ushered in individual terrorism, it is clear that the individual act of terror was an affront on the part of the disadvantaged-aggrieved actor to challenge the dominance of the dominant actor using intimidation, threat and physical attacks..... as a means of ventilating their resentment and coercing the latter to tread softly while relating with others.

Ever since the cold-war ended in 1990s, individual terrorism has taken an increasing turn and dreadful adventure as some of its methods poses fear, spur violent attack and wanton destruction of lives and properties. This method of individual terrorism has really done more harm than the ‘good’ intention of the perpetrators. ‘Their methods constitute a longest suicide note in human history, while its effects and implication of the actions is grievous and dreadful. While critiquing the incorrect nature of the tactics and methods of individual terrorists in ventilating their grievances and positions, it must be generally noted that the course, struggle and demand of the individual terrorists (disadvantaged-aggrieved actors) are genuine and fundamental.

Leon Trotsky while critiquing the tactics of individual terrorism opined that:

in our eyes, individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it belittles the roles of the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes towards a great avengers and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission. The anarchist prophets of the 'propaganda of the deed' can argue all they want about the elevating and stimulating influence terrorist acts on the masses. Theoretical considerations and political experience prove otherwise. The more 'effective' the terrorist acts, the greater their impact, the more they reduce the interest of the masses in self-organization and self-education. But the smoke from the confusion clears away, the panic disappears, the successor of the murdered minister makes his appearances, life again settles into the old rut, the wheel of capitalist exploitation turns as before; only the police repression grows more savage brazen. And as a result, in place of the kindled hopes and artificially aroused excitement comes disillusionment and apathy" (Leon Trotsky), 1909).

Trotsky was quick to admit and argue that nothing worthy while or fundamental will change at the level of the microscope societal superstructure, whenever individual terrorist strikes. The state will continue as before. The oppression and clamp down on the opponent or those perceived to be the perpetrators of the terrorist act will be more severe. In other words, the action of the disadvantaged-aggrieved actor in resorting to individual terrorism will generate reaction-public outcry and condemnation, given the extent of the damage done. This will however, give the dominant actor the impetus to justify their initial argument, acted their already prepared scripts, and be motivated to go on offensive and fight the 'enigma' to a standstill. "Individual terrorism is extremely harmful to the anti-war movement. They will not stop the war but only provide the state with a convenient excuse to crackdown on the anti-war movement (socialist appeal, 2003).

Consequently, the idea of substituting bombs, and physical attacks and violence for protest and barricade is not correct. The 'disadvantaged-aggrieved individual terrorists have succeeded in isolating broadest layer of the society from their struggle, and agitations. This will not make their struggle to be externalized to the public or to be narrow to the group championing the course. And as such gives the dominant actor opportunity of quashing insurrection and throw them into disarray, and further oppress or subjugate them. But if they could have involved the mass of the people, their struggle and agitation will take shapes or forms and further emboldened them to fight the dominant actor collectively using common front and banner. This will however earn or fetch them some concessions (as a result of much pressure on the dominant actor) and middle-of-the road relief to their yearnings or problems.

In another way, if they are not satisfied with the concessions given, rather than resorting to terror they can use their collective front as a means of rescuing political power, either through polls (election) or revolution, from the state, and smash the systemic structure that is entangling them into crisis. In spite of the fact that individual terrorists die as “Martyrs” or are seen as Messiah carrying the cross of their people, without through consultation or information to their people, those who are yet to be convinced about their demand or those who are sympathetic to their course, may end up rejecting or not supporting them again. Disadvantaged-Aggrieved individual terrorists will end up losing much the support and respect accorded them from their people and sympathizers to the course, the moment their people and the sympathizers see the extent of damage done or the havoc wrecked and other negative consequences of the terrorists acts (havoc) unleashed on their perceived enemies. This situation will alter the existing balance of force between the disadvantaged-aggrieved actor and the dominant actor. The balance of force which was in the favor of the disadvantaged-aggrieved actor ab Initio, will change automatically and immediately in the favor of the dominant actor. This will then propel the latter to clamp and crack down on the former with brute force and naked power. The case in point is the war on terror in Afghanistan between the Al-Qaeda group and Taliban regime on one side and the US-UK with the alliance with allied forces, in which the latter was able to smash the latter and install puppet democratic government.

However, the balance of terror between the two actors will not stop at this epoch but will continue in another form. At this form, it will eventually slide into counter balance of terror between both actors.

COUNTER TERRORISM

This emanates out of the reaction to terror. It is being exercised by both the dominant actor and the disadvantaged-aggrieved actor. Just as we have explained that the individual act of terror unleashed by the disadvantaged-aggrieved actor, will raise a reasonable level of hatred from the public. Apart from the fact that the dominant actor will get public sympathy, they will equally use the situation to appeal to the emotion of the public, using press and moral indignation to wipe up sentiment in order to engage in a showdown with the a disadvantaged-aggrieved individual terrorist. The dominant actor will eventually wage a war and a decisive blow at the disadvantaged-aggrieved individual terrorist as a reprisal attack on the terror or havoc the latter had wrecked. However, the disadvantaged-aggrieved individual terrorist in spite of all odds, will not give up fighting the ‘invaders’ to a standstill neither will they shy

away from what is rightly belongs to them. They will be firm and resolute to defend the 'conquest' of terror they have unleashed on the dominant actor, even with the last pinch of their blood. The method they have been making use of in the past, will still be employed by both the disadvantaged-aggrieved and the dominant actor against each other.

In this case, the act of terror between the two actors will be counter-balance in that the dominant actor will not give up in fighting the 'monster' to a logical conclusion by wanting to smash and crush the apparatus of the disadvantage-aggrieved individual terrorists, and equally dominate them. The disadvantaged-aggrieved individual terrorists in reacting to the action of the dominant actor, will do everything within the limit of their ability to defend the 'conquest' of its victory or justify the attack unleashed and resist all forms of attacks and intimidation being mounted on it, and will equally challenged with threat of force the encroachment of its jurisdiction as well as the sphere of influence being dominated by the dominant actor. The reaction of US to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack, led to the attack and war on terror in Afghanistan. The current 'war on terror' being spearheaded by the US on the world scene especially in Iraq is a Counter-Balance terrorism, as the dominant force of actor (the US and the allied NATO forces) go on offensive and attack those they perceive as enemy to their threat and terror to their goals and aspirations. While the disadvantaged-aggrieved actor, some of who are the 'perceived or' supposed enemy of the former – the religious zealots, Al-Qaeda, suicide bombers and other terrorists group in the region) will fight back in a more terrible and dangerous manner with the dominant actor purposely to defend the conquest of the 'victory' of terror they have unleashed and seek to counter-balance the dominance and invasion and encroachment of the dominant actor in their domain. They will be counter – attack as the two actors battle to defend their dominance, interest, dignity, and desires.

It must however be stated that the counter-balance of terrorism being unleashed and waged by both actor is motivated primarily by interest. The quest and frustration of these actors' interest conditioned terrorist act of all kinds on the globe.

In counter-balance terrorism, the dominant actor will usually have upper-hand and 'unweilding' power not only to sustain the tempo but to subdue, strike a decisive and terrible blow at the disadvantaged-aggrieved actor, won the conquest and war and dominate the sphere of influence given the sophisticated intimidating instruments (power, arsenals of weapon - military might, and ammunition) at their disposal. As in case of Afghanistan and Iraq, the dominant actor was able at to overcome and subdue the force of reaction and install a puppet government and control the affairs of the state. Whereas the disadvantaged-aggrieved actor will not be totally subdued and dissolved. They will only retreat for some time

especially when the balance of force is no longer in their favor (when their instrument of resistance is warning and cannot pose convenient attack on the dominant actor) but resume to strike back again when the material condition for them to attack is ripe. At this time, the extent of the damage to be done will be more monumental and widespread than the previous strikes because they have gathered much physical, social, economic and psychological momentum to strike at the time the chain of the dominant actor is weak. That is, they will strike a big and terrible blow at the dominant actor and the dominant actor is caught unawares. This form of terrorism(counter-balance) will generate tension, conflicts and crisis within the world system as the social, political, and economic situation such as oil price hike, the US huge budget on war, economic recession, and other crisis within the system, will determine social condition in the microcosms, which will in turn form the basis for the determination of the balance of force between both actors as the dominant actor will tend to undo ,manoeuvre and extricate themselves from the crisis and put the burden on the disadvantaged-aggrieved actor. Consequently, in spite of the challenges and reactions to the dominance of the mechanism of influence, power and terror of the dominant actor by the disadvantaged-aggrieved actor, it is quite clear that the dominant actor is still will be the force dictating the pace and trend of events in any society. And they will on the basis of their dominance employ their methods – the use of laws, sanctions, state instrument of power and force all in a bid to achieve their strategic economic interest. At this point, the disadvantaged-aggrieved is battered to the foreground but not conquered and subdued, but they will definitely come when the need arises. But the dominant actor will still be controlling and dictating the pace of the social situation in that particular society and as a result, real terrorism set in and the trends and circle of terrorism will start all over again. This can be demonstrated in the vicious circle of terrorism below

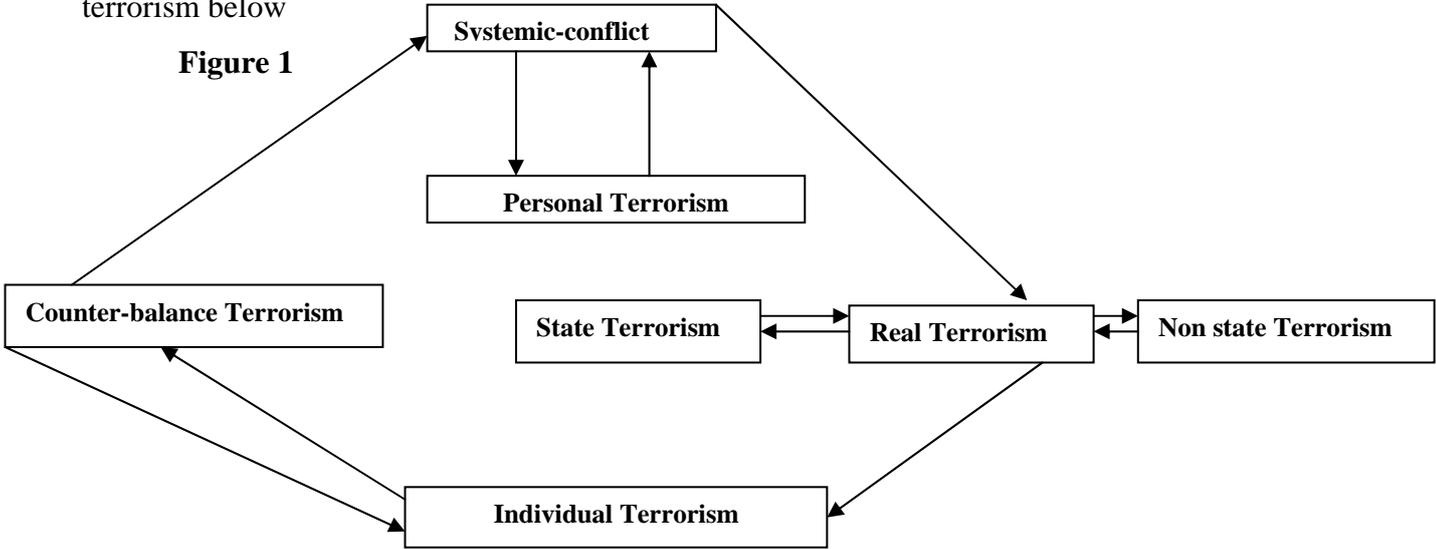


Figure 1. Vicious Circle of Terrorism

The vicious of terrorism captures succinctly the pattern and forms of terrorism or terrorist tendencies and act across the globe. The event in the international scene however creates tensions, conflict and crisis within the world system, which is having effects or as such determines the event and social situation in the microcosms or social systems of the respective societies. However, the systemic conflict experienced within the social system of society will condition each microcosm or microcosms to take step towards cushioning or minimize the effect of the crisis. In this epoch, in order to cushion the incidence of the crisis, the actors within the social system will resort to personal terrorism as a means of extricating or dodging the consequence of the crisis and blaming and labeling each other as opponent or terror to their goals, desires and aspiration. In the similar vein, within the international scene, the developed nations in order to survive and extricate themselves out of the crisis and quagmire will resort to unleashing real terrorism on the Developing nations as a means of repatriating profits, income and cushion the effect of the crisis on their economy. However, the approach and method used by the Developed countries will pitch them against the aggrieved disadvantaged actor with the countries. This will cause the latter to resort to individual terrorism, as a meaning of ventilating their grievances and frustration. However, the dominant actor will not fold their arms and watch the aggrieved actor striking a big blow at them but will equally resort to war on terror especially on the “perceived enemies”. This situation will raise a serious pressure and tension within the world system and the dominant actor will manoeuvre their ways and continue another round of real terrorism in the world . The circle is hereby completed and the ruts of real terrorism, starts all over again.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have analytically examined the subject of terrorism vis-à-vis global capitalist system using sociological perspectives. We have through this perspective highlighted that terrorism is a form of social action being propelled by the activities of actors in relation to particular course of interest in the world system. There is no doubt that the social and economic condition plaguing the Third World especially Middle-East crisis, are the springboard on which terrorism festers. The increasing and dangerous trends of terrorist act across the globe is conditioned by the systemic conflict initiated by the catastrophic internal contradictions of global capitalist system which is placing the current socio-economic order on the profit of the few and not on the need of the people, which is nevertheless, pitching actors with varying interest against one another.

It has been emphasized that the venom of terrorism is still plaguing the world system till today, positing that nothing good can come from a disease system which put the profit of a few super-rich individuals and big corporation before the lives, jobs and living standard of the many.

It must also be emphasized that actors in the world system should tread softly in encroaching others' interest and rights, and they must seek to understand and respect individual's(actor) perspectives whenever there is conflict of interest.

However, mechanism must be put in place to ensure or take into consideration the aggrieved voice, which is yearning for redress. The only way to effectively starve off violence and terrorism is to take every grievance in the world seriously and attend to it and in attending to it; we must ensure justice and fair play.

The current war on terror is "unwinnable" as long as poverty, inequality and economic oppression continue in the Third world societies. The bird that pinches on a rope will not be at rest as long as the rope itself is never at rest. The battle and war on terror is like the hare and the hound's game; if the hound has not stopped hunting, the hare must not stop running; otherwise there will be fatal consequence. The more we realize and appreciate this, the better for the sustenance of World peace.

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NOTES

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[1] North and South. The North connotes the advanced capitalist societies or developed countries. Whereas, the South represent the Third world societies or the Developing countries. Interestingly, the

income gap between the latter and the former has continued to widen(WDR,1991).The South countries were bedeviled with myriads of crisis ranging from extreme underdevelopment, acute poverty, huge debt profile, civil wars, malnutrition, high rate of unemployment, and are largely agrarian in its economic activities.

[2] Rodney Walter, How Europe underdeveloped Africa (Panaf Publishing inc.Nigeria, 2005) p.134

[3] Robert Michael, The great recession (Socialist appeal, November 2001) P.14

[4] Robert Michael, The great recession (Socialist appeal, November 2001) P.15

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