THE CHANGING WORLD ORDER AND THE NEW WAVE OF TERRORISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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Abstract - The structure of the international system until the nineties worked in the form of a "distributive order pattern". In the framework of this pattern, states were the major actors forming the existing order and the exclusive distributor of power. However, after the nineties, with the changes created in the class structure of the central states due to the demands of the capitalist system, another type of pattern of order was established in the structure of the international system that the article refers to it as the "pattern of proliferative order" or new global governance. In the context of this new pattern, the central reasons of the structure, i.e. the concept of power was proliferated in such a way that its monopoly of distribution and institutionalization came out of the yoke of states, and non-state actors were able to independently benefit not only the power but also the capacity to institutionalize it. Because of the requirements of capitalism as a system, this new pattern has spread in the entire world. In this regard, the question that arises is what impact has this new pattern created in the Middle East and the issue of terrorism? In response to this hypothesis, it has been outlined that the requirements arising from the pattern of proliferative order (new global governance) have shaped the grounds for the formation of the fifth wave of terrorism with seven distinct features in the Middle East.

Keywords - Proliferative Order, New Actors, the Middle East, the Fifth Wave of Terrorism

I. INTRODUCTION

The core of the current crises can be attributed to a new wave of terrorism in the Middle East. The wave that can be intended to be different from the four former waves. Indeed, if we consider the anarchist, ethnic, new left and Islamic waves as the former main waves, a major share can be found in all of them, i.e. riot against the existing order, yet empowerment within the order and reproduction of the order. These four traditional waves, which emerge from the traditional functions of structure, have had both imbalance and facilitation functions within the framework of distribution function, structure, which still continues. Peripheral societies lacking basic class structures have been shaped in the form of an imbalance function and religious and ethnic identities have become the most common dominant forms of loyalty. Influenced by the facilitation function of the structure, two cases have also occurred. First, grounds of foreign occupation are facilitated. Second, numerous groups of resistance based on ethnic and religious identities have been formed against the occupation in a temporary and dependent manner (Bahrami, S, 2017). But another new function took place within the structure that was added to the previous functions and it had different influences on both the terrorist groups and the quality of the waves of terrorism. This new performance of the structure is the proliferative order or new global governance that will be explained below.

The main question of this study is what impact has the pattern of proliferative order created in the middle east and the issue of terrorism? In response to this hypothesis, it has been outlined that the requirements arising from the pattern of proliferative order (new global governance) have shaped the grounds for the formation of the fifth wave of terrorism with seven distinct features in the Middle East.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THEORY OF NEW GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

In this section, we try to employ the quantum mechanics to the establishment of a research theory in the discipline of international relations. Quantum mechanics has founded rules, in which matter can be more comprehensively analyzed and examined (Hoffman, B, 2011: 11-17). International relations is influenced by Classical mechanics and its Meta-theoretical model on state-centeredness, structuralism and group-centeredness puts stress on materialism and attracts a significant amount of critical interest becomes the main subject of analysis and explanation of the mainstream theories of this discipline. However, in the framework of quantum mechanics, international relations experience a trend from the analysis of merely large, objective and absolute inputs to the analysis of small, valued and relative inputs (Mirmohammadi, M, 2011: 92-94). Since the 1990s, power at the structural level has been proliferated. We refer to this structural rule as the proliferation of authority and the resulting state as the "New Global Governance" or the "Pattern of Proliferative Order". This paper rejects the former approaches to global governance from both theoretical and Meta-theoretical dimensions and offers the establishment of a new approach that is more compatible with our quantumized world. The author attempts to outline global governance as a defining, coherent, and generalizable system featuring an evolutionary relationship between the system and agents. Moreover, it claims that actors in such a system share a larger domain and new global

governance is not restrained to cooperative processes (Bahrami, S, 2015, 36-40). This makes the quantumized international relations more prominent. We will rely on the five principles of Ba and Hoffman to expand the proposed approach. (Ba & Hoffman, 2005, p. 249-255). First, the system and the agents are considered. The present study sticks to the tenets of radicalism but empathizes on a unified structure of rules. The basic rule that forms the unified and coherent system is proliferation of authority in the world. The second important element in our analysis is the world foundation, which has undergone dramatic changes both at material and normative levels. Mere material changes cannot drive the world to such an extreme, but the idea behind these material changes determines the direction and magnitude of such changes.

The third aspect of our approach discusses agents and their capacity to overthrow structural limitations. We believe that agents have new opportunities and a capacity to form a new world order. The fourth aspect of the approach goes beyond dominant theories. The present study argues that we need to change our perception of world politics through an epistemological revolution. The final aspect of the proposed approach is the value of global governance. The study contends no value-based perspective towards global governance as it is the reality of the contemporary world, which arises from evolutionary changes and the world has to accept it as it is (Qavam, A &Bahrami. S, 2013:9-20).

III. PROLIFERATIVE PERFORMANCE AND TERRORISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

From the 1990s onwards, radical changes have occurred in the Middle Eastern terrorism with the formation of al-Qaeda (Berk, J, 2005). But even beyond al-Qaeda, ISIS succeeded in controlling the territories, establishing its own rule within the framework of the Islamic caliphate and new trends in terrorism. The ISIS as a modern wave of radical jihadies, has marked differences with al-Qaeda as a traditional wave of radical jihadies. By focusing on the concept of a centralized caliphate, the ISIS puts aside the institutions of the state and the emirate.

This group, relying on independent economic resources, the priority of land grabbing, the creation of a classic army alongside the terrorist struggle, the creation of Islamic regimes, widespread bureaucracy, the priority of the struggle against close enemies (the whole Muslim opposition), etc., has created new approaches to terrorism and governance in the Middle East. From 2004 to 2009, about 1833 suicide attacks were carried out by 2136 suicide bombers. The figures represent that the number of attacks is five times higher than that of 1980 to 2003 (Muller, C, 2009: 75-79). As well as, the Global Terrorism Index report in 2016 clearly indicates that the number of countries victimized by terrorism has reached more than 77 countries and many European countries are involved in the phenomenon to the extent that 2016 has been the deadliest year in Europe from 1988 onwards (Global Terrorism Index, 2016). What justifies this rise in the power and performance of violent groups? The argument of the present paper is to institutionalize the proliferation of authority in the Middle East and its consequences in this region.

3.1 Proliferative Performance of Structure and the Fifth Wave of Terrorism

The New Global Governance with the principle of proliferation of authority and its proliferativeperformance caused a fundamental breakdown in the former structure. Then, the impact of the proliferativeorder on new terrorist activities will be examined in the seven pillars, so that the dimensions of the fifth wave of terrorism can be more comprehensively described.

3.1.1 Proliferative Order and Breakdown in the Middle Eastern States

The development of new terrorist processes and actors has emerged from states that came into existence in the Middle East after World War I and have revealed their inefficiency. Most of these states have had to grapple with the problem of establishing a legitimate and coherent central authority (Ray, H, 2013, 299-302). As institutions, states have a number of basic functions. Their first function is the control of violence; other functions include the exclusive right to define identity (Linklater, 1990, P. 149) and the exclusive right to control the legitimate displacement of people (Torpey, 1998). Although the Westerners were very successful in this regard, the states of the Middle East performed this task with external support and explicit force in the form of distributive construction, and all these functions were undermined by the domination of proliferative order. In general, the myth of states and the myth-making capacities for their continuation in the Middle East are being dwindling. Cassirer argues that real human culture becomes visible when myth wanes. (Cassirer, 1946:290-293) He maintains that myth is born to abnormality; crisis in which a strong excitement, an urgent need or a significant danger is felt and justify a myth. A new myth represents forces that are stronger than those that threaten the society. For Cassirer, myth is created when bonding forces of social life (rational, ethical and artistic forces) fail to hold together and the society is likely to fall apart. Cassirer's theory of the myth can be applied to the states in the Middle East.

The concept of modern state mattered after the collapse of the Ottoman power, when bonding social forces (especially the Middle Eastern community) in the region were no longer legitimate.

3.1.2 Proliferative Order and Formation of New and Distinct Governances

The proliferative order has created new alternatives in the Middle East in opposition to the state or alongside it. With the concepts of the Islamic Emirate, Al-Qaeda demonstrates its own pattern of governance (MansourehAzam, A, and Baghali, E, 2012: 20). Turkish Kurds speak of democratic Confederalism as another alternative (DaneshPooyan, N, 2013). Along with this radical approach, the Syrian Kurds in a modified framework, under the influence of democratic Confedralism, created a special kind of governance. They used the term Rojava Cantons (Tayf, N, 2013). Nevertheless, along with these governance models, there is a more distinct, more objective, and more advanced, model of governance, which has survived for twenty-eight years. Iraq's Kurdistan is an example that introduces itself as an alternative to the partisan-urban governance of the state. Iraqi Kurdistan sought chances to establish itself as an autonomous region during the 1990s and the conditions offered by global governance paved the way for it (Jabary, K, and Hira, A, 2013: 99-105). By focusing on the concept of a centralized caliphate, the ISIS puts aside the institutions of the state and the emirate. Unlike former terrorists before, the ISIS does not seek to reproduce the order in state-building, but relies on the concept of caliphate. This group has a strong desire to conquer and seize new territories without any limits, and their struggle can be pursued wherever there are Muslims. The ISIS, although it has in fact strengthened the Arab identity, has not, in the theoretical sense, a particular nationalist look, and holds out a kind of empire beyond any geographical and demographic boundaries. After the violent seizure and control of new lands, the ISIS is trying to create, along with the implementation of Islamic rules, positive and service-oriented governance, and invites its followers to do so elsewhere. Despite differences in their models of governance, it can be claimed that Al-Qaeda and ISIS are the fifth wave of terrorism, because these new actors have set targets beyond the prevailing norms, whether at the level of political institution or at the level of governance and the level of violence.

3.1.3 Proliferative Order and Formation of Independent Groups

States in the distributive order determined the scopes of the activity of non-state actors and delegated part of their power to these actors in various subject areas that they did not have the necessary desire or ability to work in them, and reclaimed the power whenever they wished and limited the non-state actors (Segberg, M and Hoffman, J, 2006: 5-13). But non-state actors in the area of new global governance have been independently enjoyed the proliferation of authority and its institutionalization. However, the institutionalization process in the developed and underdeveloped world is different. The Isis has demonstrated how a modern terrorist actor can fight a coalition of 60 states and can still survive. These actors have the feature of independent durability and cannot be easily eliminated.

3.1.4 Proliferative Order and Change in the Sense of Balance

Because of the new capabilities generated for them, terrorist actors such as ISIS have become one side of the balance at the domestic, regional and international levels. The concept of balance has been essentially an external concept belonging to relations of states (Cheginizadeh, Gh, 2013: 230-233). But the rules of balance in the proliferative order have also changed. So that not only non-state actors have become a major side of the balance, but also the concept of balance has sometimes even become a non-statealconcept and these are non-state actors who are considered as the main parties of the balance in some of the issues. The ISIS, the Iraqi Kurds, the Syrian Kurds, and the Turkish Kurds are prominent examples of this situation.

3.1.5Proliferative Order and Violence without Any Framework

The terrorist groups in the Middle East have exhibited new instances of explicit violence without any framework within the proliferative order. The violence has the dual function of creating intimidation and charm for their audiences. The new actors within the proliferative order, through resorting to ideological principles, have both spread and changed the implementation of violence, the legitimization of violence, the hierarchy of violence, the boundaries of violence and the type of violence and the degree of violence.

3.1.6 Proliferative Order and Reproducibility

The new actors within the proliferative order cannot be eliminated. Attacking al-Qaeda no longer means destroying the group, because al-Qaeda is a sentence that easily has the capacity of proliferation (Burke, J, 2005). This capacity only takes place in the context of the proliferative order and, otherwise, it cannot be emerged. The repression of ISIS cannot lead to the destruction of its ideology. This ideology has easily the capability of reorganization revival in the vacuum of power that is abundantly forming within the proliferative order in the Middle East.

3.1.7 Proliferative Order and Formation of International Violent Groups

Unlike former terrorist groups that worked for minor ideals and for specific purposes in a limited area with specific individuals whose particular dependencies were apparent and obvious, modern terrorist groups, while challenging the prevailing norms, have challenged these norms, not in a limited region, but in a global and cross-border dimension. The rise in the number of countries that feed the terrorist movements

in terms of social body or have been targeted by the violence of these groups demonstrates well that we face an international group both in recruitment and in operations. The proliferative order has made it possible for these groups to be both material and normative. The proliferative order has made this capability for these groups both in terms of materials and norms.

IV. CONCLUSION

The proliferative order with the structural rule of proliferation of authority has created the grounds for emerging of the new actors. Among these new actors were terrorist groups. They work in a broader framework called the fifth wave of terrorism, which, influenced by the pattern of proliferative order, reveals features different from the four former waves. The seven pillars mentioned have revealed features in the modern terrorist actors that did not exist in the actors of any of the four former terrorist waves. The emergence of the fifth wave does not mean the decline of the fourth wave actors, because these actors have yet continued their activities, but they have gained more power influenced by the proliferative order, as if Hezbollah, Hamas, Ansar Allah and ... have been able to increase their scope of power and influence in this context. The fifth wave and the fourth wave, both religious and Middle Eastern waves, are simultaneously working and actors of both types within the proliferative order still enjoy the potential to emerge within the power vacuum formed in the Middle East. Hence, speak of post-ISIS era cannot be right, because ISIS is the result of the fifth wave, and this wave is still active and a variety of ISIS can be emerged within it.

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