

Smart Power or Coercive? A Strategic Dilemma in Decision Making Policy: The Case of Counter-terrorism in the Post-9/11 Era

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Abstract

This paper analyzes in the basis of “smart power” the political choice against contemporary religious terrorism stemming from extreme Islamic fundamentalism. It may be assumed that it is a complex phenomenon, whose roots should be sought in deep social and economic inequality dissociating underdeveloped and developing countries from Western- type developed ones. This particular phenomenon has been addressed on a short-term basis with military actions in the basis of “hard power” entailing in dubious results. It is suggested that the United States of America (USA) and its western allies, against of which terrorist attacks primarily tend to take place, should use a long- term strategy of using tools of “smart power” in order the established international environment feeding terrorist organizations such as Al- Qaeda to be reformed. Besides, the political approach of “smart power” has been already tested effectively on the grounds that it led the USA to a successful outcome of Cold War. It is estimated that its use would bring similarly successful results against contemporary religious terrorism.

Keywords: terrorism, religious terrorism, smart power, cultural diplomacy, political influence.

1. Term Definition

1.1 Terrorism

Terrorism is a complex phenomenon having been continually developed since its appearance regarding its aims as well as the forms and means being used. The efficiency of an overall definition is rendered difficult given that should we consider violence, political motives and causing fear in a population group as typical elements of terrorism, then guerilla war, rocket war and even specific types of conventional war fulfilling the above criteria should be integrated. However, assimilation of terrorism to the aforementioned types of war entails in detaching us from the actual meaning of the term⁴. According to Bergensen and Lizardo, terrorism is defined as “the use of violence by nonstate groups against noncombatants for symbolic purposes, that is, to influence or somehow affect another audience for some political, social, or religious purpose”⁵. A typical characteristic of a terrorist action is violence against the innocents, who do not consist the prime objective but they are the means by which pressure can be transferred to the institutions. Cronin has proposed a more complete - for the present study- definition of terrorism as the “surprise threat or use of seemingly random violence against innocents for political ends by a nonstate actor”⁶.

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⁴ Ariel Merari, “Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency” in ‘Terrorism and Political Violence’, Routledge, 1993, p. 217

⁵ Albert J. Bergesen and Omar Lizardo, “International Terrorism and World-System”, *Sociological Theory*, 2004, 22(1): 38–52

⁶ Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism”, *International Security*, 2002, 27(3): p. 33

It may be assumed that the cornerstones of terrorism is its political nature of its actions aiming at a political change, its nonstate character even in the case of terrorist action's being supported by the state, as well as the intentionally random targeting of innocent citizens with the objective of maximizing the psychological burden. During the last decades and foremost since 11th September 2001 (09/11) extreme Islamic fundamentalism (the so -called era of jihad) has radically increased and whose terrorist actions have overshadowed respective actions of extreme nationalist movements. It is, hence, assumed that such actions and movements are considered to be a great threat not only for the USA, but for the global security system as well⁷. The war against those of different faiths seems to be each committed Muslim's sacred duty aiming at Islam's predominance. However, the deeper roots are social and economic inequality, poverty, underdevelopment and region's alienation from technological development, which combined with religious dogmatism has fueled, as it is stated by Cronin, "a dangerous mix of forces that resonate deeply in the human psyche"⁸. For instance, Al- Qaeda is a typical example of religious extremism being accepted and supported by masses of supports experiencing social and economic byproducts of globalization.

The aforementioned reasons can explain the fact that the primordial object or religious terrorist attacks is anything representing the western model of economic growth and especially the USA as the leading hegemony in global western- born financial system, while European countries such as France, Great Britain, Spain and Belgium are found to be secondary objectives. Hence, it is indicating that an increasing dispersion of attacks has not only transferred the war into the heart of western societies but also conveyed the message that however far from the points of conflict may a region be, it cannot be secured.

Modern technology of communication and information dissemination constitutes an aid of paramount importance for proliferation of religious terrorist organization at a global level. This has increased the potential of new members' recruitment as well as the coordination of communication assisted by supporters and financial contributors. According to Nye "democratization of technology over the past decades has been making terrorists more lethal and more agile"⁹. Furthermore, globalization facilitates¹⁰ terrorist organization's excising capitals and human resources in the same way as multinational corporations and Non-Governmental Organizations (henceforth NGO). In the present study, the emphasis is put on types of religious terrorism being executed by non- state groups, in which not only organizational structure and support of actors, but also their field of action, extends beyond particular state boarder.

1.2 Power

There are plenty definitions regarding "power". However, the most established definition was propounded by Robert A. Dahl, according to whom "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do"¹¹. Practical reasons have led to a second definition determining the power as "a combination of skill and luck, achieve desired outcomes within a reasonable time"¹². The second definition has implemented quantitative criteria such as population, territorial extent, natural resources, economic and military power, and social stability. However, this definition does not contribute substantially to the measurement of non- state actors' power such as terrorist organizations. Nye has suggested that "Al- Qaeda is a midget compared to the American giant, but the impact of terrorists relies less on the size of their forces than on the theatrical effects of their actions and narratives and the overreactions they can produce"¹³. It is hence assumed that any attempt of power being defined cannot be fully applicable or implementable.

1.3 Hard Power

According to Nye "hard power" is based upon motivations or threatens and is associated with concepts such as application of sanctions and coercion¹⁴.

⁷ Roussos S, "The Quicksand of Hegemony: Issues of Regional Security in Middle East and Eurasia" (in Greek), Melani Publications, Athens, 2008, p. 26 (in Greek)

⁸ Audrey Kurth Cronin, cit, p. 38

⁹ Joseph S. Nye, "US Power and Strategy After Iraq", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No 4, August 2003, p.p. 62-63

¹⁰ P. Siousiouras & K. Hazakis, "Understanding the Dynamics of Market Globalization: Some Critical Reflexions", *Twenty First Century Society Journal*, Vol. 3 (3), Institute of Education, London, 2008

¹¹ Robert A. Dahl, "The Concept of Power", *Behavioral Science*, 1957, 2: 201-215

¹² Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics", Papazisis Publishing, Athens, 2005, p. 30

¹³ Joseph S. Nye, "The Future of Power", *Public Affairs*, New York, 2011, p. 5

¹⁴ Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics", Papazisis Publishing, Athens, 2005, p.33

International relations are regulated by strong party's coercive reinforcement¹⁵. Military and economic powers are the fundamental tools forcing the weaker party into compromising with strong one's requirements. It is a profound Clausewitz's confirmation according to whom, war constitutes continuation of diplomacy using different means¹⁶. The threat being accompanied with the ability to fulfill itself constitutes the integral cornerstone of "hard power". As it is cited by Machiavelli, "it is better to be feared than loved if you cannot be both"¹⁷.

A contemporary instance of "hard power" being used is that of USA's military forces, along allies invading Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) in an attempt to combat terrorism. This ended in failure considering that chain terrorist attacks have succeeded at global scale since then demonstrating the limits of effectiveness in a system based exclusively on hard power. In a nutshell, according to Armitage and Nye "hard power capabilities are a necessary but insufficient guarantee of security in today's context"¹⁸. Under this method, the USA responded asymmetrically to small or medium agents, who impugned their interests in crucial areas of the world¹⁹. They are pre-emptive strikes against terrorism or, in other words, military and strategic options of "hard power"²⁰. Preventive military action as well as entirely militant power constituted crucial points of President G. Bush's neo-conservative doctrine²¹, whose policy pursued the effective confrontation of terrorism and at the same time exporting of democracy in the basis of transformational diplomacy²². It is of paramount importance the fact that the aforementioned policy has been characterized by the USA's allies as unilateralism²³ owing to coercion against them.

1.4 Soft Power

"Soft power" is the ability of accomplishing the desired results without using violence. This particular concept was developed by Nye^{24, 25} according to whom soft power is the ability of formulating others' preferences²⁶ through appeal leading often to consent. It is about the power of appeal at level of behavior, while at the level of means elements producing such appeals are considered to be the means of soft power²⁷. Methods used by soft policy are based upon values, institutions, and policies acknowledged as legal²⁸, on the grounds that most countries tend to respect the rules of coexistence, such as state sovereignty²⁹, compliance with bilateral or multilateral treaties and agreements and the confinement of violence³⁰. Democratic traditions, respect for human rights, for international law, and for international treaties, continued commitment to peaceful and via-international- organizations resolution of interstate disputes amplify "soft power" of a country due to the fact that they produce legality.

Collective decisions derived by international organizations tend to curb powerful countries' freedom of choice, for instance USA's. However, due to this legality their soft power tends to increase.

¹⁵ Hans Morgenthau, "Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace", Knopf, New York, 1978

¹⁶ Carl von Clausewitz, "On War", Wordsworth Editions Ltd, Great Britain, 1997, p. 4

¹⁷ Niccolo Machiavelli, "The Prince", the Pennsylvania State University, 2001, p. 66

¹⁸ Joseph S. Nye & Richard L. Armitage, "A Smarter, more secure America", CSIS Commission on Smart Power, Washington, 2006, p. 10

¹⁹ Ron Suskind, "The Price of Loyalty. George W. Bush, the White House and the Education of Paul O' Neill", Simon & Schuster, New York, 2004, p.p. 70-86

²⁰ Robert Kaufman, "In Defense of the Bush Doctrine", the University Press of Kentucky, Kentucky, 2007

²¹ Stefan Halper & Jonathan Clarke, "America Alone", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, p. 206

²² US Department of State, 2007, The Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Transformational Diplomacy, available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/99903.pdf>

²³ Charles Krauthammer, American Unilateralism, Speech delivered at the third annual Hillsdale College Churchill dinner in Washington D.C., December 4, 2002

²⁴ Joseph S. Nye, "Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power", Basic Books Editions, New York, 1991

²⁵ Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics", Public Affairs, New York, 2004

²⁶ Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics", Papazisis Publishing, Athens, 2005, p.34

²⁷ Joseph S. Nye, cit., p 35

²⁸ Joseph S. Nye, cit., p 43

²⁹ Petros Siousiouras, " Geopolitics of Major Power", Sideris Publications, Athens, 2011 (in Greek)

³⁰ Hedley Bull, "The Anarchical Society: the Study of Order in World Politics", Piotita Publications, Athens, 2001, p. 39-40

It is remarkable the fact that centre-right neo- conservative version of USA's Wilsonian tradition, which allows unilateral actions, given the solid commitment to democracy and international institutions, which features the USA as bearer of idealism and values and consequently and considers it vital that American value system dominate globally³¹. The use of "soft power" can be found in Roman Empire, where Roman citizenship which the peoples subject to Rome fervently wished to obtain enshrined a cultural superiority very close to that of Byzantine Commonwealth, a status of Byzantine Empire's sovereignty legalization. Furthermore, "soft power" can be found in Third Crusade, when truces and exercise of diplomacy dominated in Christian- Muslim relations³². In contemporary era, the USA consists a concrete example of "soft power" despite the fact that "hard power" is periodically used disproportionately. Brzezinski has suggested that USA's global appeal is indisputable. According to him, "many foreign democratic politicians also increasingly emulate the American"³³. In addition, League of Nations (1919), United Nations (1945) and Charter of Fundamental Rights (1948) are products of Wilsonian policy of the USA³⁴ and at the same time they constitute international institutions promoting global collaboration and multilateralism in the light of "soft power". In modern times of financial interdependency and information revolution, it is suggested that the use of "hard power" has been rendered uneconomic, while the value of "soft power" has steadily increasing. The more liberalism and democratic values spread, the more appealing countries using "soft power" become, which enables them to promote their objectives much more economically and more efficiently.

1.5 Smart Power

"Soft power" does not exclude the use of "hard power". No country would annul its military power and the potential use of it. According to Nye "Hard and soft power are related because they are both aspects of the ability to achieve one's purpose by affecting the behavior of others. The distinction between them is one of degree, both in the nature of the behavior and in the tangibility of the resources"³⁵. Apart from conceptual distinguish between "soft" and "hard power", it is important that behaviors of power be depicted on a continuous spectrum, where coercion is one end and attraction is the other one. There are interim behaviors between the two extremities, such as inducement, prompting and persuasiveness.



Assuming that an agent uses a combination of behaviors in order to accomplish their objectives, we are pretty close to Nye's "smart power". According to Nye, "smart power" is neither hard power nor soft one. Smart power is both³⁶. In another work, Nye suggests that "smart power is the combination of the hard power of coercion and payment with the soft power of persuasion and attraction"³⁷. Consequently, smart power is not a third type of power, but a different approach enabling us to comprehend various forms of power as well as the "tools" being used. It may be assumed that politics of "smart power" has provided a response to the USA's strategy of "hard power" since 09/11³⁸, which was inspired by Jacksonian retaliation. An instance of "smart power" used as main pillar of foreign policy is that of President Obama's governance. What should be stressed is the approach with Iran, where he made a valuable contribution to the lifting of Iran's international isolation, to the abrogation of the imposed financial and diplomatic sanctions and hence, to the conclusion of the beneficial for world peace establishment Agreement (14th July 2015) among Iran, P5 +1 and European Union (EU) (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action – JCPOA)³⁹.

³¹ David Frum & Richard Perle, "An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror", Random House, New York, 2003, p.p. 67-68

³² Christopher Tyerman, "Fighting for Christendom: Holy War and the Crusades", Oxford University Press, New York, 2004, p. 56

³³ Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The Grand Chessboard", Livani Publications, Athens, 1998, p. 55

³⁴ Haralabos Papasotiriou "Obama and Tradition of American Foreign Policy", Geostratigiki, Issue 15-16, Athens 2008, p. 137

³⁵ Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics", Papazisi Publishing, Athens, 2005, p.37

³⁶ Cit.p.24

³⁷ Joseph S. Nye, "The Powers to Lead", Papazisi Publications, Athens, 2009, p. 258

³⁸ Giannis Haralabides, "Smart Power: The Facade of "Hard Power", Geostratigiki, Issue 15-16, Athens, 2008, p.26 (in Greek)

³⁹ Kenneth Katzman & Paul K. Kerr, "Iran Nuclear Agreement", Congressional Research Service Report, 31 May 2016, available at: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R43333.pdf>

The choice of “smart power” strategy for Iran had been apparent since the inauguration of Obama’s presidency tenure, as it was depicted in his speech before the Turkish Grand National Assembly⁴⁰, when Iran’s desirable political and economic integration as well as its constructive participation in international system were stressed. Ex- ante relations between the USA and Iran were particularly in conflict⁴¹ on the grounds that George Bush’s governance had included Iran into the axis of evil⁴². Consequently, Obama received a major front (apart from Iraq and Afghanistan) oriented towards a diplomatic rather than military war in the light of “hard power”. This was caused by the fact that Iran had been considered as diffuse source of international terrorism due to Iran’s relations with Hezbollah in Lebanon and with Hamas in Palestine⁴³. The tense relations between the USA and Iran, except for the fact they both constituted a serious threat for international security system, tended to cause financial instability at a world scale. Spiraling oil prices as a response to media’s declarations for USA’s military intervention to Iran bears ample witness to the aforementioned statement⁴⁴.

It is of paramount importance the fact that during her hearing before Senate prior to her taking up her appointment, Hillary Clinton had presented “smart power” as the new US’s strategy of foreign policy. In particular, she stressed that “we must use what has been called smart power, the full range of tools at our disposal—diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal, and cultural—picking the right tool, or combination of tools, for each situation”^{45,46}. Hence, “smart power” consists a toolbox and the framework leading to development of a comprehensive strategy aiming at the accomplishment of specific objectives of foreign policy, which will be implemented at a minimum cost and which produce political and social legalization⁴⁷.

2. Method and Components of Smart Power

2.1 Method Analysis of Smart Power

The added-value of “smart power” is the completeness in the approach of an issue in order to reach a decision. It is a method which incorporates the following procedures⁴⁸: target-audience analysis as regards attitudes and preferences since the exercise of power aims to alter these, clarification of the intended objectives and prioritization of set goals, analysis of the suitable sources of power which are selected to be employed, investigation of the framework within which each and every form of power is implemented to achieve individual goals, pinpointing of the ideal mixture of sources of “hard” and “soft” power which constitute the “smart power” proposed for implementation, which act in a complementary and not in a competitive way. Subsequently, the possibility of the whole endeavor’s success is estimated, while, if it is deemed as necessary, the above process is repeated with redefinition of goals and priorities.

⁴⁰ Barak Obama, “Speech to Turkish Parliament” by Associated Press, 7 April 2009, available at: http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/obama_text

⁴¹ BBC News, “Bush Says Iran Remains a Threat”, 4 December 2007, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7127198.stm>

⁴² George W. Bush, Bush State of the Union Address, Washington DC, 29 January 2002, available at: <http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/speech-4540>

⁴³ Amy Zalman, “Iran and Terrorism: State Sponsored Terrorism in Iran”, available at: <http://terrorism.about.com/od/iran/p/Iran2.htm>

⁴⁴ Robin Wright, “Iranian Unit to be Labeled Terrorist”, Washington Post, 15 August 2007, available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2007/08/14/AR2007081401662_pf.html

⁴⁵ Hendrik Hertzberg, “Smart Power”, The New Yorker, 26 January 2009, available at: <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2009/01/26/smart-power>

⁴⁶ CBS News, “Clinton: Use ‘Smart Power’ in Diplomacy”, 13 January 2009, available at: http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2009/01/13/politics/main_4718044.shtml

⁴⁷ Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson & Pamela Aall, “Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World”, US Institute of Peace Press, Washington DC, 2007

⁴⁸ Joseph S. Nye, “The Future of Power”, cit, p. 208

2.2 Smart Power Components

A national “smart power” strategy takes advantage of the strong elements of a nation’s political, economic, military, cultural and social potential, the international organizations and alliances. Advantages and the appropriate circumstances of the international environment in the best possible way. The following are considered to be the basic components of forming a successful “smart power” strategy⁴⁹:

2.2.1 Military Power

The technological advances had contradictory effects on military power. On the one hand, it strengthened the military potential of powerful countries such as the U.S.A.; on the other hand, it increased, through media promotion, the political and social cost of military operations aiming at invading a sovereign state. Modern democracies exhibit an aversion to violence and detest high losses. The use of violence is not excluded (the Gulf War, for example, in 1991, air force bomb attacks of Daesh by Russia – France in 2015), but it needs to be ethically justified so as to obtain public opinion’s consent. War is still a possibility, but it is less acceptable than it was half a century ago (for example, the Afghanistan and Iraq invasion by the U.S.A. in 2001 and 2003 respectively).

2.2.2 Economic Power

Besides imposing economic sanctions which constitute a form of “hard power”, financial assistance and trading are ways, through which someone uses their economic power as a “tool” to promote their goals. The European Union, for instance, exerts its influence by promoting democracy and development through trading and providing assistance. The results of this practice have proved to be particularly satisfying in Central and Eastern Europe. The example of the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation⁵⁰ that was established in the Barcelona Declaration is also characteristic, where the goal is the financial and political stability of the countries in the Middle East and Northern Africa which are not part of the EU⁵¹.

2.2.3 Political Influence

Some countries, like Norway, possess greater political influence than the one that would be justified by their military and economic power, because they include in their foreign policy goals, such as financial assistance to other countries, and promoting peace and international cooperation. This practice reinforces the value these countries have, lending a special role in negotiations, either direct ones or those where they play the role of the liaison.

2.2.4 Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy is based on spreading abroad cultural elements of a country that promote its general foreign policy goals. According to Nye, “a country’s culture can be classified to superior culture like literature, art and education which address the elite and popular culture, which aims at mass entertainment”⁵². Countries that promote universal values through their culture seem more appealing to the receiver-countries and encourage mimicry which reinforce the likelihood of achieving their foreign policy goals. Typical examples of such countries are France, which spends significant funds in international cultural relations and the U.S.A. which is the leader in receiving foreign students.

2.2.5 Public Diplomacy

Nations traditionally use public diplomacy to influence individuals, groups, institutions and other nations’ public opinion, so as to promote their national goals. Public diplomacy however is a broader concept than the official state activities, as it encompasses the activities of each and every citizen of a country, who acts as a potential diplomat when communicating with citizens of other countries through the Internet or when travelling abroad.

⁴⁹ Joseph S. Nye & Richard L. Armitage, cit, p. 27. The evidence of the “smart power” components analysis may concern the U.S.A. but they are also considered to have applications in any contemporary state which possesses partly or entirely the power characteristics of the U.S.A., although certainly some of them (e.g. military, economic power) to a smaller extent

⁵⁰ See for more details the work: Ioannis Seimenis & Petros Sioussiouras, “Euro-Mediterranean Relations”, Ziti publications, Thessaloniki, 2003 (in Greek)

⁵¹ European Commission, Middle East South Mediterranean Directorate, External Relations Directorate – General, “Euro - Mediterranean Partnership”, Brussels, November 2000, p. 4. Available at: www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations

⁵² Joseph S. Nye, “Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics”, cit, p. 43

According to Nye, there are three dimensions of public diplomacy⁵³: everyday communication which aims at transmitting messages correctly, military communication which intends to project a particular governmental policy and the development of relations with important public figures from other countries through grants, seminars and foreign media.

2.2.6 Widespread Use of International Institutions, Alliances and Co-operations

As it has been proven by experience, unilateral actions bring about suspicions even among allies, while deterministically leading to international isolation. The adoption of unilateral actions by a country leads to loss, not only of its allies' support but also of its legalization within the international community. On the contrary, making multilateral decisions through international institutions, using ad hoc alliances and co-operating with state and non-state actives, constitute political options that generate legalization and optimization in dealing with current and future international challenges.

2.2.7 Global Development and Trade Integration

The combination of the economic poverty, the inadequate health and educational systems and the nationalist or religious fanaticism constitutes a volatile mix that leads to instability and violence of every form (wars, ethnic/religious conflicts, terrorism). Humanitarian and financial assistance in addition to the spread of world trade benefits⁵⁴, intend to provide immediate relief while, in the long term, they minimize violence and establish global security.

3. Implementing "Smart Power" to Tackle the Phenomenon of Contemporary Religious Terrorism

An overview of recent events of international terrorism (terrorist attacks in France and Belgium), easily leads us to conclude that, in modern times of globalization, older methods of tackling terrorism are rendered ineffective and obsolete. Using military power, imposing economic sanctions, monitoring and controlling information and funds provide short-term spectacular results, however the phenomenon's decline is only temporary until the terrorist networks regroup and become active once again. In the long term, the use of more sophisticated "tools" like public diplomacy, cultural exchanges, alliance-building, financial and humanitarian assistance are required, that is, using 'smart power' "tools" to overcome the root causes that lead to terrorism.

According to Cronin, "what is different in the contemporary form of terrorism is the urgent need for solutions that tackle the religious fanatics that are the terrorists, as well as the many more politically-driven states, entities and people that would support the terrorists because they feel helpless and underdeveloped in a globalized world⁵⁵". It is evident that the existing international system is not at the same time an international society, where all the countries participate in joint institutions, having common interests and values⁵⁶. Furthermore, the international system, like every system, is of hierarchical structure, oriented towards serving the interests of its most powerful actives⁵⁷. The unequal development and imbalance of power constitute the primary causes of the creation of international anarchy as well as terrorism⁵⁸. It is the violent reaction of dissatisfied powers against the satisfied ones, with regards to the common interest in peace⁵⁹. Thus, tackling terrorism is directly related to solving problems such as poor governance, non-existent social services and poverty that plagues several underdeveloped and certain developing areas of the planet.

⁵³ Joseph S. Nye, cit, p. 208

⁵⁴ See more at: Petros Siousiouras & Dimitrios Dalaklis, "Modern Sea Transport and Piracy, Globalization, European Union and International Law", Sideris Publications, Athens, 2011 (in Greek)

⁵⁵ Audrey Kurth Cronin, cit, p. 38

⁵⁶ Hedley Bull, cit, p. 51

⁵⁷ Robert Gilpin, "War and Change in World Politics", Poiotita Publications, Athens, 2004, p. 33.

⁵⁸ Panayiotis Ifestos, "Worldview Diversity and Political Dominance Claims", Poiotita Publications, Athens, 2001, p. 203 (in Greek)

⁵⁹ Edward Carr, "The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations", Poiotita Publications, Athens, p. 121-123 (in Greek)

Consequently, the “recipe” of dealing with terrorist organizations, like Al-Qaeda, is not merely eliminating a small number of terrorists, but also changing the circumstances which give birth to such phenomena and help them rise. It is imperative that “smart power” tools be used:

3.1 Hard Power

Maintaining “hard power” is necessary for every state’s security. Countries like the USA and France, which are targets of terrorist attacks, will occasionally need “hard power” as a deterring and restraining potential to intervene in areas that function as a “nursery” of terrorists (states with authoritarian regimes or “pariah” states). Using the “sword” though is not sufficient. As the National Security Advisor of the USA Condoleezza Rice, characteristically mentions in a press conference: “America is a country that really does have to be committed to values and to making life better for people around the world. But that’s what the world looks to America to do. It’s not just the sword. It’s also the olive branch that speaks to those intentions.”⁶⁰

3.2 Alliances

Alliances prove significantly advantageous in fighting terrorism. No country, regardless how powerful it is, can confront the modern international terrorist networks on its own. Besides those alliances that are created ad hoc in order to confront a specific situation (an example is the alliance among France, Russia and Syria against Daesh), every country must have as a goal of its long-term strategic foreign policy the formation of alliances in areas where vital interests are at risk (an example of a traditional alliance is the USA – Saudi Arabia alliance).

3.3 International Organisations

International organisations like the UN, the World Trade Organisation and the World Bank contribute to the fight against terrorism with collective decisions of their member states. It is understandable that they cannot substitute the states in the part they play in facing the various aspects of terrorism. However, they can aid toward a more successful approach and confrontation of the causes that breed this phenomenon and the conditions that foster it, through multilateral consultations, coordinating actions, their legalising base and sharing the cost⁶¹.

3.4 Humanitarian Aid and Financial Growth

The administration of humanitarian aid and the assistance aiming to the financial growth of poor and underdeveloped societies, contribute to fighting the phenomenon of terrorism. The alleviation and hope offered to them are in the long run rendered into a constantly growing progress of those particular societies, whose citizens are more likely to invest in their future and stop resorting to violence and terrorism, as the financial inequality between them and the developing and developed countries gradually equalises. In the short run, this assistance also aids in dealing with the recruitment of new terrorists by organised networks in return for money as inducement. As Condoleezza Rice highlighted in 2006: “we must now use our foreign assistance to help prevent potential future situations similar to Afghanistan and to make America and the world safer.”⁶² The role the NGOs play in such missions is exceptionally important, because, with their resources and their flexibility, they constitute an alternative suggestion in areas where state action is not welcome for various reasons.

3.5 Public Diplomacy

Messages bearing a political content are transmitted both by official public entities and by films, advertisements, sports events, warzone correspondents and statements made by famous non-political persons. This is a fact which gives prominence to the difficulty of controlling the circulation of such messages, especially toward Muslim countries, where many aspects of the western way of life are perceived as a provocation or even an offence to the commands of the Muslim religion. Furthermore, the diplomacy of the citizen, which includes the interpersonal exchange of ideas in the context of educational and cultural acts, decisively contributes to the eradication of stereotypes, to the creation of trust, to internationalism and to the mitigation of cultural differences.

⁶⁰ Press Briefing by Dr Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor, on the President’s Trip to Africa, The American Presidency Project, July 3, 2003, available at: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=61120>

⁶¹ See in more detail: Petros Siousiouras, “Public International Law”, Sideris Publications, Athens, 2015 (in Greek)

⁶² Emad Mekay, “Development: Groups Worried About New US Aid Czar”, IPS News Agency, 19 January 2006, available at: <http://www.ipsnews.net/2006/01/development-groups-worried-about-new-us-aid-czar/>

Young people who travel or live abroad, due to studies, scholarships, seminars, conferences, work or recreation, are ideal means of cultivating public diplomacy. The interaction among people of different cultural, religious and societal backgrounds constitutes a “channel” of understanding each other and respecting peoples’ diversity.

3.6 Cultural Diplomacy

In the Middle East but also in various other Islamic regions over the world, the growth of radical Islamism was greatly based on the help provided by Saudi Arabia in the form of erecting mosques and Muslim schools (1500 mosques and 2000 schools from around 1970 to this day), in an attempt by the royal family to appease the Wahhabi⁶³ clergymen thus buying its own political legalization⁶⁴. These activities, which are appraised at several billion dollars, often sideline other less funded activities which promote more moderate sides of Islam. Taking for granted the effort to give prominence to more moderate sides of Islam in Muslim countries, the USA and its western allies spend inconsistently far less money on the Muslim world for this purpose. Because the war against terrorism entails a fight between radicals and moderates within the Islamic culture⁶⁵ it is necessary to further fortify the moderate wing in order for it to prevail. The funding of such activities aiming to give prominence to moderate Islam, more frequent contacts among moderate representatives of the three religions (Christianity, Judaism, Islam), highlighting common points (the figure of Abraham as a common beginning of these three religions), and the university exchange programmes for students of religious studies will operate as channels of understanding and concession of expressions of bigotry.

3.7 Political Influence

Each country’s exercise influence reflects its principles and values being projected through the way of its foreign policy is applied. Far-sighted policies such as Marshall Plan accomplished their objectives on the grounds that they have met a satisfactory rate of acceptance by the beneficiary countries, which produced mutual benefits. Developed countries should operate an equivalent scheme of sustainable development for developing countries, which is inclusive of measures of economic growth and equal access to health, education and democratic governance. Thus, they will contribute to contemporary religious terrorism being effectively tackled in the medium and long term. The aforementioned tend to be particularly meaningful for Middle East population being angry US’s politics of double standards in the region as the USA supports Israel against Palestine unilaterally for a long a period as well as authoritarian regimes, as they did in Iraq in the past against its people⁶⁶. Apparent hypocrisy is corrosive for every country longing for its politics being based on declared democratic principles.

Conclusive Remarks

Policy of containment having led to the successful for the western alliance end of Cold War is not due to US and its allies’ military deterrent power, but it is due to the “smart power” policy designed by George Kennan⁶⁷, who is one of the most important American diplomats, and whose politics contributed to Eastern block’s inside transformation. His proactive thinking about patient and use of the right mixture of “hard” and “soft power” have been applicable even today against religious terrorism. It goes without saying that the use of “smart power” does not signal the accomplishment of the attempt. However, it is central to an integrated strategy of multi-disciplinary approach combining vision, capabilities, duration and responsible combating against terrorism in a constantly changing world.

⁶³ Wahhabism constitutes a religious movement or branch of Sunni Islam. It has been described as a very conservative, fundamentalistic Islamic reformative movement, whose purpose is to restore pure monotheistic worship.

⁶⁴ Joseph S. Nye, “Soft Power, The Means to Success in World Politics”, cit., page 190

⁶⁵ Niall Ferguson, “The End of Power”, The Wall Street Editorial, June 2004, page 21.

⁶⁶ Audrey Kurth Cronin, cit, p. 57

⁶⁷ Haralambos Papatotiriou, “American Political System and Foreign Policy; 1945- 2002”, Poiotita Publications, Athens, 2009, p. 34 (in Greek)

Current reality indicates that the use of Jacksonian retaliation and policies of dogmatic imperialism⁶⁸ in the light of “hard power” against religious terrorism since 09/11 has not been effective. What it was caused was the presence of Al- Qaeda in Iraq, where the Organization did not have footing. Furthermore, Iran, which was not related to Al-Qaeda, was willing to provide assistance to forces hostile to the USA and to acquire a nuclear arsenal to North Korea’s model, with which Iran did not have former mutual political beliefs and strategic visions.

On the contrary, it is suggested that “smart power” policies used by President Obama will greatly contribute against religious terrorism. A tangible instance of “smart power” implementation constitutes the USA’s approach towards Iran, which despite the former conflictual relations with the USA and the Western world managed to deprive the status of international isolation. President Obama having adopted Hamilton tradition⁶⁹ deliberately sought Iran to participate in international economic system so that it could be controlled and so that a more secure international environment could be achieved through JCPOA Agreement (among Iran, P5+1, EU). Finally, given that the normalization of relations with Islam will act as a catalyst for successful dealing with religious terrorism, the appropriate rapprochement with the Islamic world by using policies of “smart power” should focus on reinforcement and prevalence of moderate Islamists, who desire the democratization of their societies and the reforms enabling them to have an equal participation in international society. The existence of moderate Islamists pursuing a peaceful *modus vivendi* with international western system⁷⁰ is a particularly encouraging fact that allows us to face the aforementioned attempt in a more optimistic manner.

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⁶⁸ Martin Wight, “International Theory: The Three Traditions”, Poiotita Publications, Athens, 1998, p.52. George Bush’s governance implemented tactics of dogmatic imperialism, according to which a power attempts to spread its beliefs by imposing uniformity

⁶⁹ Walter Russell Mead, “Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World”, Routledge, New York, 2009

⁷⁰ Niall Ferguson, cit

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