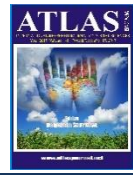




# ATLAS INTERNATIONAL REFERRED JOURNAL ON SOCIAL SCIENCES

ISSN:2619-936X



Article Arrival Date: 28.04.2018

Published Date: 25.06.2018

2018 / June

Vol 4, Issue:9

Pp:319-334

Disciplines: Areas of Social Studies Sciences (Economics and Administration, Tourism and Tourism Management, History, Culture, Religion, Psychology, Sociology, Fine Arts, Engineering, Architecture, Language, Literature, Educational Sciences, Pedagogy & Other Disciplines in Social Sciences)

## SOFT POWER IN COMBATting TERRORISM: ROLES, APPROACHES AND PERSPECTIVES

Pınar AKARÇAY

Dr., Visiting Researcher, Institute for Housing and Urban Research, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden

Gökhan AK

Dr., Faculty of Economics, Administrative and Social Sciences, Nişantaşı University, İstanbul, Turkey

### ABSTRACT

Terrorism is one of the worst kinds of violence. Terrorism is in full concert with the violence. Violence is the main item which constitutes with terrorism. If we try to explore types of terrorism that exist in the world today, we encounter state, inter-state and/or international terrorism acts across the globe which create frightening, anxiety, worry, concerns. How terrorism happens is a definition of a weapon like submarine. Terrorist attacks occur secretly, sly and sneaky. But what emerges following terrorist acts is full of pain, suffering, blood, grief and anger. This is the visible side of terrorism, that is to say hard power of terrorism. However there is also a dark side of terrorism that many authorities combatting against terrorism do not give wide attention to. It is the soft power of terrorism. This soft power includes creating perception operations, security vulnerability, psychological warfare, lobbying for terrorism. Terrorism uses these instruments against society. This research will explore these connections, interactions, impacts, coactions and mutual effects between terrorism and combatting terrorism.

**Keywords:** Terrorism, Terrorist Organizations, Society, Security, Psychological Warfare, Lobbying, Creating Perception.

*“If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles. If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer a defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle.”*

— Sun Tzu, The Art of War

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Violence, brutality and terrorism as means of settling political disputes have existed throughout human history. Politics is actually related to the all society. Society is the subject of the politics. Thus terrorism is a crime against all humanity. It endangers the lives of innocent people. It creates a climate of hate and fear. It fuels global divisions along ethnic and religious lines. Terrorism constitutes one of the most serious violations of peace, international law and the values of human dignity. Terrorism is an attack on democracy and human rights. No cause justifies the targeting of civilians and non-combatants through intimidation and deadly acts of violence.

Terrorism is directly related to security and society. Thus dealing with terrorism necessitates an interdisciplinary approach that draws on history, political science, international relations, sociology, social psychology and risk studies to understand international security threats. Because of the complex nature of terrorism, we believe it is valuable to tackle with terrorism from a variety of perspectives. Therefore we should focus on security and counterterrorism

issues and on a critical social science approach, and analyze society's response and adaptation to the phenomenon. Terrorism cannot be considered as a modern issue; on the contrary it can be traced back to antiquity. The Cold War period was an era of terror among different powers based on nuclear balance, and it was built on deterrence. So we need to focus on the roots and dynamics of terrorism.

However, while terrorism is so hard to identify, we know that terrorism surely consists of criminal activity. There is no single definition of terrorism, since it encompasses a range of activity, all designed to intimidate and instill fear. However, one well-known definition of terrorism is in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Policy and Counterterrorism Guidelines. This definition states that terrorism is *"a violent act or an act dangerous to human life in violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any state to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives."*

There are two types of terrorism. Initially, there is "domestic terrorism". Domestic terrorism includes acts of terror which are committed by those who are located in and operate from the United States. Moreover, the efforts of domestic terrorist are solely aimed towards the United States. Conversely, "international terrorism" is a type of terrorism which includes acts of terror committed by individuals affiliated with foreign countries. The efforts of international terrorism is typically to further a political or social objective.

Since the issues of terrorism and security are understood by addressing the multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary nature of the phenomenon, we should handle terrorism notion with its unrivalled mix of 'professional' (such as police, security, law, media) and 'traditional' (e.g. psychology, classics, war studies, geography) sides. Thus we could create an interactive, engaging and dynamic combat against that. This mainly stems from the fact that terrorism is a phenomenon with two main façades. One façade of that is hard-power which causes concrete outcomes such as injuries, deadly casualties and property damages. The other façade of terrorism aspect is soft-power which causes various kinds of worry, anxiety, concern, fear, outrage and perception in the society. That is to say, there are 'hard' and 'soft' faces of the terrorism. This issue complies with the opposite approach as if combatting terrorism has two significant faces as well. Combatting terrorism also uses hard power against terrorists such as various weapons, apparatus and vehicles. Soft power items in combatting terrorism comprise strategic 3Cs (communication, cooperation, coordination), strategic planning and management, diplomacy, lobbying, psychological warfare etc.

If we speak in a criminology and homeland security manner, we can claim that all sorts of terrorism and violence have evolved in modern history. The reason for that lies in parallel with the fact that terrorism is so sensationalized by the media and oversimplified by authorities by years. So it is important to demystify common misconceptions. Only then can we understand why individuals carry out violence and put today's acts of terrorism in historical context. Military and foreign policy experts tell us that we are in a protracted ideological battle. If we are to stem the spread of this global movement, "more" must be done to support our military, intelligence and law enforcement efforts. So in this research we will try to explore what that "more" is. We will build up our research question via soft power items interacting terrorism all around the globe.

## 2. TERRORISM AND SECURITY: A GLOBAL CHALLENGE

Terrorism and security issues are at the top of the political agenda in many countries. Threats from terrorism persist and continue to evolve today with an increasing speed. Security threats have continued for more than a decade, despite their recent decline, to remind us that the fight against terrorism and organized crime requires constant vigilance. Today's threats do not



come from any one individual or group. They may originate in distant lands or local neighborhoods. They may be as simple as a home-made bomb or as sophisticated as a biological threat or coordinated cyber attack. More and more, state, local, and tribal law enforcement officers, as well as citizens, businesses, and communities are on the front lines of detection and prevention. Protecting the nation is a shared responsibility and everyone can contribute by staying informed and aware of the threats the country faces.

The expanding size, scope, and influence of transnational organized crimes and its impacts on nations all around the globe and international security and governance represent one of the most significant challenges of the 21st century. Through an analysis of transnational criminal networks originating in the Middle East, Asia, Africa and South America, we need to develop a more refined understanding of the operational characteristics of these networks; the strategic alliances that they have established with state and other non-state actors; and the multiple threats that they pose to all nations' interests and to the stability of the countries where they operate.

Destabilizing effects of transnational criminal networks are very significant to challenge. These criminal organizations take root in supply areas and transportation nodes while usurping the host nations' basic functioning capacity. Over time, the illicit economy grows and nonstate actors provide an increasing range of social goods and fill the security and political vacuum that emerges from the gradual erosion of state power, legitimacy, and capacity. The Armies of the states could play a role in combating transnational criminal networks. Combatting transnational criminal organizations is an endeavor in which the Army could help develop interagency and multinational strategies to more effectively counter these organizations and then assist with planning to implement those strategies. Such initiatives would constitute a valuable expansion from the Army's current efforts to build partner capacity, perform network analysis, and support detection and monitoring.

New challenges are reshaping the international order, requiring government leaders to consider new strategies and tools that integrate diplomatic, economic, and military instruments of power. Nowhere is this more evident than around the Mediterranean Sea, which has progressively returned as a region of global strategic interest where political tensions, armed conflict, economic and social instability and transnational criminal networks demand solutions that cross traditional institutional boundaries of domestic and international policy-making.

The geo-political situation on the southern coast of the Mediterranean has radically changed and new challenges have emerged for the European Union, United States, and beyond. Long-lasting issues such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, or the tensions between Turkey and Greece, continue to be present, but new destabilizing factors have emerged in the region following the Arab spring of 2011. The US, EU and NATO continue to maintain a significant military presence in and around the Mediterranean, but military capabilities must be nested within a whole-of-government, international approach. The challenges in this region demand unprecedented levels of civil-military and intergovernmental cooperation.

Securitizing development needs a robust persistence. This persistence of such evils in our sub-region, which is the Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus, imposes on us an even bigger challenge, in addition to the already-difficult development issues and the fight against poverty. There is a close relationship between security and development which are, each to the other, mutual prerequisites: there is no development without security of persons and property, nor is there viable security without effective development.

This dual challenge of securitizing development confronts us today. The devastating consequences of insecurity in the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean are clear and

obvious without the need of any historical narrative. However, these threats, against which we must unite our efforts even more, should not overshadow the reality of progress. Our progress in the mastery of threats and the outpouring of international solidarity ushered in a new dynamic that we must take full ownership of. No one can deny that the future of our region is primarily our responsibility or that the effectiveness of external support depends on how well they are accepted locally. This is a question of our sovereignty and of our understanding of our environments. States must be in the lead, set priorities and identify responses. However, the cross border aspects of the challenges we face require, an unfailing solidarity of our states; and a joint action plan between our national and regional levels. Our global efforts, collectively deployed, should amplify individual action taken by States.

Protecting the future for the next generations is quite significant in this sense. In order to realize that, ensuring democracy, strengthening the rule of law, and promoting good governance should remain utmost paramount, from this point of view, and these aspects of combatting terrorism are the best defense against radical temptations. In addition, the pledge of a needed legitimacy for public action is also a necessary condition for an efficient fight against poverty and insecurity. Meeting the youth expectations in this regard is a major priority in this struggle. It is clear, however, that despite efforts in this regard, the outcomes of policies for youth employment still remain below target in many regions where terrorism is planting its roots. The Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean are two of those important regions in this context of the issue.

Since terrorism is a global phenomenon requiring a global response, we should aim to promote a vision of a world founded on democratic values and committed to effective co-operation in the fight against terrorism. Terrorism is not an isolated phenomenon. Terrorist movements originate in political and military conflicts, chronic ethnic and religious tensions, as well as bad governance. The police services and other law enforcement agencies should therefore view terrorism as a complex problem which requires a multi-faceted response. The following principles are significant to consider: (1) The police's counter-terrorist approach must be comprehensive. Measures of policing have to be coordinated with all the other instruments that are used in the fight against terrorism. This includes political, economic, diplomatic, legal, social and -as a last resort- military means; (2) Our counter-terrorist approach needs to reflect the fact that terrorism has 'gone global'. Many terrorist movements maintain a worldwide presence in order to raise and transfer funds, create false identities, procure weaponry, and set up operational sanctuaries. Consequently, the response of states, governments, societies and – especially – law enforcement agencies must be global as well as national; (3) Furthermore, the fight against terrorism must be carried out with full respect for the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and general norms of international law, including human rights and humanitarian law. Necessarily, this applies to police forces and all other law enforcement agencies.

### **3. THE ROLE OF SOFT POWER IN COMBATting TERRORISM**

Terrorism is not an ideology like communism or capitalism. Rather, terrorism is a tactic - a strategy used to achieve a specific end. We mostly stand in shock, but not in real surprise with the terrorist acts. It takes careful planning to inflict indiscriminate violence and bloodshed upon the world - and the confusion, fear and anger that follows. It also involved the skillful use of technology and social media. In equal and symbiotic parts, theirs is an armed and ideological strategy. It is designed to maim the world into divisiveness and hatred, and cause us to lay down our most sustainable weapons - freedom, tolerance and mutual trust. Often, we alienate precisely the communities we need to reach.



For instance, for too long, one of the most violent terrorist organizations of recent times, ISIS' digital influence in social media has gone largely unchecked. We have failed to match their commitment to content, imagery, emotion and reach. (President Obama described them as "killers with good social media" who recruit in "far flung" places.) In the wake of the Paris attacks and our response, ISIS has "upped" their online game of intimidation and terror. It is time to bring our best resources and talent to the front lines of social media where ISIS informs, recruits and incites. This is the disruptive "soft power" response that ISIS doesn't want - and cannot match.

Here is why. We have the advantage in ideas, people and technology. Our response would be scalable, effective and costs pennies to the dollars of armed conflict. It would not incur military or civilian casualties - or enable them to use the graphic propaganda of conventional warfare. The "pieces" of a global coalition of the willing and able already exist - they just need to be organized and digitally unleashed. If you doubt that this is the war that ISIS doesn't want, go to their playbooks. In summary fashion, here's what their manifestos and actions say:

- ✓ Work to expose the weakness of America's centralized power by pushing it to abandon the media psychological war and war by proxy until it fights directly.
- ✓ Draw the West into military conflict. Seek the confrontations that will bring the United States to fight overseas on our terms.
- ✓ Diversify the strikes and attack soft targets. Disperse their resources and drain them to the greatest extent possible.
- ✓ Target disaffected young, who tend to rebel against authority, are eager for self-sacrifice and are filled with idealism.
- ✓ Motivate the masses to fly to regions that we manage.
- ✓ Use social media to inspire sympathizers abroad to violence. Communicate the message: Do what you can, with whatever you have, wherever you are, whenever possible.

Social media was the medium that was meant to bring the world closer. In the process, it eliminated the barriers for groups such as ISIS to recruit, organize and strike efficiently. It is an inherently decentralized medium, in which commitment and will trump geo-political power. ISIS has used it to full effect. We have not. ISIS's social media strategy has worked globally to scale influence, gain sympathy, and find recruits and message legitimacy. This, in part, is why the strongest nations in the world remain vulnerable to attack from within - and why support for their caliphate expands.

Confronting terrorism with soft power comprises financial resources management and civil society, apart from various other aspects. Terrorists must be deprived of the financial resources necessary to conduct their campaigns. To curb terrorist funding networks, it is recommended:

- ✓ increased and coordinated law enforcement and political and civic education campaigns aimed at reducing the trafficking of illegal narcotics, revenues from which are used to finance terrorism.
- ✓ the creation of an international anti-terrorist finance centre, which furthers research, trains national enforcement officials, and serves as a source of co-ordination and mutual assistance.

- ✓ the development of tools to increase the transparency of fundraising in the private and charitable sectors through the exchange of best practices.
- ✓ the expansion of 'financial intelligence units', which facilitate the effective corporation between government agencies and financial institutions.

Civil Society as well is another factor which should be inevitably supported to get shape democratically and enhanced robustly. The process of building democracy as an antidote to terrorism and violence needs to be supported by the international community and its citizens. In order to create a wider constituency for the support of human rights, global civil society needs to market its concerns more creatively. Therefore: (1) Resources should be allocated to broaden and strengthen the respect for human rights at the local, national, regional and international levels; (2) Human rights defenders in their national contexts must be supported, so that they can monitor and report on violations by state and non-state actors without fear of retribution. In this sense, it is proposed:

- ✓ the creation of a global citizens network, linking the leaders of civil society at the forefront of the fight for democracy from across the world, taking full advantage of web-based technologies and other innovative forms of communication.
- ✓ an 'early warning system' as part of this network, helping to defuse local conflicts before they escalate, as well as providing a channel for moral and material support to civil society groups facing repression.

Terrorism breeds in situations where there is no legitimate political authority, in war zones, or in authoritarian states. The key to dealing with political violence is therefore the establishment of legitimate political authority. This can be in the form of a state, an international institution or even a local authority. Whatever its manifestation, this authority needs to be trusted and be responsive to peoples' concerns. It should respect both voice and accountability. Legitimate political authority needs to be established through legitimate procedure. In most cases, this means by elections, but it may also be established through the United Nations Security Council. Whether it is elected or legally appointed, it should be democratic in a substantive sense, that is, the authority must have public support, and there need to be effective mechanisms for public debate, criticism and influence. After all, democracy is about both peace (or non-violence) and justice.

When governments try to protect their societies through repressive anti-terror legislation or war -that is, in situations where human rights and the normal functioning of law are suspended -they undermine democracy and exacerbate terrorism. This runs contrary to what we believe to be the only effective long-term response to terrorism, that is, the global extension of democracy. So far, citizens have only had a limited and mainly passive role in the struggle against terrorism. One of the reasons may be the prevalence of a particular approach that emphasizes the actions taken by states. In our view, dealing with the threat from terrorism should be the responsibility not only of governments but of all sectors of society. Non-state actors in all their diversity – non-governmental organizations, social movements, the media, the private sector, the academic community, spiritual leaders, the artistic world, global public opinion – need to play a more active role.

Indeed, a vibrant civil society can play a strategic role in protecting local communities, countering extremist ideologies and dealing with political violence. In our debate, we affirmed the notion of civil society as a free space where citizens can take charge of their own destiny, a form of resistance and struggle, a source of knowledge, public debate and social reflection, and a mechanism for mediation, reconciliation and compromise. Civil society gives voice to different social groups and causes, provides channels of expression for minorities and



dissenters, and promotes – by its very diversity – a culture of tolerance and pluralism. Civil society includes both the radicals and the moderates, the ‘outsiders’ and the ‘insiders’, those who resist and those who negotiate. Civil society should therefore not be equated with non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Western donors sometimes appear to believe that democracy can be imposed from the outside and from above, and that Western financed NGOs can teach people democratic values and provide the social safety nets that were abandoned by the state. In their view, civil society is something passive – a mechanism for easing the path of painful reforms.

In *War and Peace*, Tolstoy writes that all happy families are similar, but unhappy families are unhappy in different ways. The same could be said of democracies. Democratic societies tend to have similar characteristics. But societies that lack democracy, either because there is no political authority or because political authority is illegitimate, are unjust or violent in different ways. Civil society is the method through which we can identify the unique character of every violent situation. There is no general toolbox – no recipe – for dealing with violence. Those who know best what to do are those who experience violence. They are the ones who can organize to resist violence and cope with the consequences of violence. And they are the ones who need international support.

In situations of fear, the proponents of extremist ideologies find it easy to mobilize political support. In these instances, the existence of a vibrant civil society can be an effective counterweight. Civil society ensures the existence of public spaces of debate and deliberation, where divergent and conflicting demands can be argued and negotiated without resorting to violence. It is civil society that gives a voice to different social groups and causes, that provides a channel of expression for the minorities and the dissenters that promotes by its very diversity a culture of tolerance and pluralism. Civil society also ensures a countervailing power to the ever present risk of state authoritarianism. In other words, civil society is about creating a framework of trust where people can discuss and deliberate without fear, and by using reason rather than superstition or prejudice.

Terrorism is a global phenomenon that requires a global response. Civil society can play a critical role in reconstructing the global coordinated approach that has been undermined by unilateralist attitudes and international political disagreements in the recent past. Over the last decades, civil society groups have built vibrant transnational alliances – involving people and organizations from all parts of the world – around global causes, such as gender equality, peace and human rights, the fight against AIDS, environmental protection, the movement for fair trade and global justice, etc. The same could be done in relation to the issues of political violence and terrorism. Indeed, this is what our strategic proposal aims at.

The experience of terrorism is not exclusive to the people of New York and Madrid. Terrorist attacks have also taken place in Bali, Riyadh, Casablanca, Baghdad, Tel Aviv, Bombay, Belfast, Beslan and other cities across the globe. In many of these places, the debate about terrorism is seen as a vision from the West. In reality, though, the threat is global, and this fact should be acknowledged in the attitudes, approaches and policies designed to tackle the phenomenon. Most of the places where civilians are subject to violence are either authoritarian states, where violence is inflicted by the state’s security forces, or failed states and conflict zones, where violence is inflicted both by state and non-state actors. Terrorism, therefore, is both state and non-state; democracy and legitimate political authority are the only alternatives to authoritarian states, failing states and zones of conflict; and the struggle against terror needs to focus on the places where such violence takes place.

Democracy can only be built from within each society. It is true, however, that this process of building and strengthening democracy should be supported by the international community.

Civil society and democracy represent alternatives to terrorism. They are ways of managing conflicts and dealing with grievances. Citizens can build inclusive communities where everyone has a stake through civic participation, economic activity and education. Rather than producing a list of policy recommendations, the civil society groups developed a strategic proposal for action based on the principles outlined above: the creation of a global citizens' network. The goals of this network could be:

- ✓ To support civil society and protect and empower individual citizens in areas of political violence, conflict and repression.
- ✓ To exchange experiences, and have long discussions about specific situations. How terrorism is perceived in the United States or Spain is very different from how it is seen in the Middle East. The global citizens' network could widen the debate about how to counter terrorism, and develop ideas and proposals about what needs to be done in practice.
- ✓ To raise public awareness and knowledge about the causes of political violence, the civil society groups that are working for peace and democracy, and the policies they recommend.
- ✓ To provide a mechanism of early warning and reaction. The network could help to identify critical situations and mobilise the resources of citizens and civil society in order to defend people at risk and strengthen democracy from below.

Global international institutions and regional organizations are also critical to promoting principled, cooperative counter-terrorism. They facilitate coordinated action by states, domestically and jointly. They enhance the capacity (and can induce the will) of states to suppress and prevent terrorism domestically. And they can engage important non-state participants -non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society, businesses and others -in effective, democratic counter-terrorism strategies. To a significant extent, however, the capacities of international institutions remain unfulfilled. For international institutions, the most effective and lasting responses to terrorism will be informed by the following principles:

- ✓ The pursuit of any political ends through attacks on civilians are crimes against humanity and cannot be justified under any circumstances.
- ✓ No state alone can assure the security of its citizens; co-operative action is indispensable. Given the transnational nature of contemporary terrorism, the struggle to suppress it must be carried on through effective, international co-operation.
- ✓ In circumstances where a terrorist organization does not yet constitute an immediate threat permitting unilateral self-defence measures under the UN Charter, preventive measures must be undertaken through multilateral frameworks. In circumstances where a terrorist organization does not yet constitute an immediate threat permitting unilateral self-defence measures under the UN Charter, preventive measures must be undertaken through multilateral frameworks.
- ✓ As part of the process of achieving the unconditional delegitimizing of terrorist methods, the struggle against terrorism must be carried out in full compliance with the international human rights covenants and with international humanitarian law. In particular, methods which involve summary execution, torture, cruel and inhumane treatment of detainees, conviction without opportunity for a fair defence, and all forms of collective punishment are inconsistent with the principles of the United Nations and the struggle to delegitimize terrorism.



- ✓ Since one of the causes of terrorism is fundamentally different conceptions of history, justice, and the contemporary world, international organizations in the culture sphere should take new initiatives for promoting cultural rights and mutual respect among diverse communities consistent with the protection of fundamental human rights.

Another soft-power item to struggle with terrorism is the concept of “strategic communication”. This concept is known to be used by competitive institutions in trade and economy to build a reputation and to reach customers by analyzing target audiences, has become widespread recently and applicability thereof has been discussed in the fields of national/international security, politics and countering terrorism. Using the term “Strategic Communication” in lieu of other different definitions and concepts has obscured the nature and the scope of the term, giving rise to confusion. This confusion has caused this concept to be perceived as soft power, public diplomacy, propaganda, information warfare and psychological operations.

When the wars in history are examined closely, one can conclude that the idea towards making only “combat power-focused policies and courses of action” in battles has faded away. For Tatham, while the proportion of the attacker to the defender -like 2:1- with regard to relative combat power calculations is generally taken into account in conventional battles; the armaments developed as a result of technologic advancement have become a great force multiplier. Whereas the “combat power” and the “force strength” were considered important in terms of quantitative and proportional superiority in these times, today such factors as public support, legitimacy of the operations, leadership, training, logistic support, theatre, environment, meteorology, climate, and day and night also thought to influence the result of battles. Factors other than military power, which cause radical changes in even such conventional battles, may considerably affect operational activities in combating terrorism.

Strategic communication is a systematic series of sustained and coherent activities, conducted across the strategic, operational and tactical levels which enable the understanding of target audiences, identify effective conduits, and develop and promote ideas and opinions through those conduits to promote and sustain particular forms of behavior. Strategic Communication planning and working groups, in accordance with the orchestra model, collect actions from such components and disciplines as public diplomacy, public relations, information operations, psychological operations, and military operations, under the control of the government and in line with the intention-purpose of the government to influence the target audience in conformity with the plan; to evaluate the results, measuring the reaction of the audience; and to provide feedback. The government makes use of Strategic Communication as an umbrella discipline so as to use the above mentioned components and disciplines effectively. According to Laity, Strategic Communication requires the proper use of information by way of unifying result-oriented actions and synchronization between relevant institutions; socio-cultural structure, history and customs of the target audience as well as technologic factors should be taken into account in the use and transfer of information.

One of the pioneers of liberal thought, Joseph Nye, who was in charge of the Council of National Intelligence and Deputy Defense Secretary under the Clinton administration, puts forth the concept of soft power in his book *Bound To Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*, which was published in 1990. Criticizing the policies of the Bush administration based on the hard power in the aftermath of 9/11, Nye’s book *Soft Power*, which was published in 2004, elaborated this concept. These studies reach the conclusion that military power alone is not sufficient to attain national objectives, that soft power including politic and cultural values coupled with hard power involving military power, are needed and that there is a need for a novel foreign policy based on the “Smart Power”, an integrated strategy constituted by both soft and hard power.

The concept of smart power, which emerged as using soft or hard power where needed, puts emphasis on the importance of having a strong military structure; it is an approach which requires governments to attach importance to soft power forces, accompanied by military power, in order to expand domination and to legitimize the diplomacy being executed in today's international relations, which are not dependent solely on military power.

It will be erroneous to consider Strategic Communication only within a narrow sense: conveying the exact information to a specified target audience at the right time and through proper methods. Strategic Communication is not only the transmission of information from the resource to the receiver but also a simultaneous dialogue, ongoing mutually between the participants. Even the communications themselves cannot be simplified as transferring a message between two individuals or groups; on the contrary, it is an arrangement of a quite complex communication system between the resource and the receiver. In this context, the basic principles of the communication should be well comprehended in order to have a better understanding of Strategic Communication.

Identification of the target audience is also another significant aspect related to the strategic communication. Domestic public support is needed to attain long-term strategic objectives of domestic and foreign policy. It is a fact that global public opinion, governments, international institutions and organizations influence addressing many internal affairs, especially in combating terrorism. For this purpose, the grounds to attain any strategic objective should be prepared in advance in the international arena. The rise of weakness in attaining strategic objectives due to external manipulation of the public should be prevented. The perception and expectation of the domestic public should be well analyzed in this context; they should be fed with information, but their exposure to wrong or distorted information should be prevented.

The key target audience must be selected from a range of components in a specified society in order to focus on the most easily accessible ones open and exposed to influence, which have the closest relationship with the envisaged domestic/foreign policies and with the problematic behavior that is intended to be changed (violence, extremism etc.). Strategic Communication activities are directed at this target audience. The individuals and groups of this target audience need to have a particular effect on attaining the final outcome. These may be key influencers (leaders, opinion leaders, etc.), referable/vulnerable communities and a vast audience in both the foreign and domestic public.

It is clear that the important point for terrorists is to "give messages by creating an environment of fear and tension among wide masses" rather than the identities of the target or the victims. While aiming at objectives important to public opinion, they wish to obtain benefits beyond the result of the act of terror; therefore, violence and propaganda are employed in order to 'influence' the masses. 'Messages' are conveyed through these acts. Başeren, who is of the opinion that influence-oriented terrorism can be explained by the "symbolic importance" of terror acts, underlines that the result of the actions involving violence is so trivial when compared to the result with regard to the influence over the mass and that the obtained result is extraordinarily great, is the most important issue that brings terrorism forward.

Laity, the NATO Chief of Strategic Communication, who stated that terrorism, is the purest form of information warfare, remarked in parallel with this opinion that violence is not unique to terror only; terror acts impact a few people whereas terrorism itself has impact on scores of people through this act. This explains the symbolic importance of terrorist incidents. Laity states the "[w]hile we instinctively conduct kinetic operations which have information effects, our opponents instinctively conduct information operations which have kinetic effects", indicating that information-based components will be the main component in combating



terrorism. Considering the root of the word “terrorism,” Laity summarizes the symbolic importance of terrorism and refers to the fact that terror means terrorizing not killing: “*TERROR-ism, not KILL-ism!*”.

In light of the above remarks, it can be concluded that the main objective and effect of the actions taken in terror acts is to give certain messages, to horrify masses, and to terrorize people by influencing them rather than taking kinetic actions such as killing, annihilating, ravaging and bombing. However, the people must be explicitly informed about what they should fear for terrorizing them. Terrorists therefore use mass communication tools and the media as a stage on which they exhibit their activities. They put such disciplines as strategic communication and public diplomacy as the focus of their activities and plan terror acts as “symbolic acts” for the accomplishment of their goals.

The distinction between terrorism and conventional warfare is that the priority of the actions taken in conventional battles is result-oriented whereas the actions and acts taken in terrorism, involving violence, are symbolic. This symbolic importance of terror may restrain terrorists from taking action at a place and time they do not desire. If the act of terror is not newsworthy at the national or international level, they may usually refrain from staging such acts even if they have a chance to do so.

As Özdağ emphasizes, the most important component in combating terrorism is the set of military methods and measures. Leaving the responsibility solely to law enforcement and/or armed forces is a serious mistake that can be made by those ignoring the determinants of terrorism and the symbolic importance of acts of terror, as the remarks of Başeren, Laity and Kilcullen refer to. Such a method in combating terrorism will turn into combat against terrorists and the chances of success will drop. In other words, if governments and international organizations make kinetic operations the focus of countering terrorism and use disciplines such as strategic communication, perception management and public diplomacy as components to support or legitimate their operations, their likelihood of success will decrease. Governments and international organizations following such a path might take measures in response to terror incidents; however, the likelihood of failure to influence terrorist organizations, participation in such organizations, and the attitude and behaviors of the masses having sympathy for them and the facts that cause terrorism will be high. Laity’s remarks that “*Combating, encountering and defeating the terrorist in the information game bear great importance in removing the overall threat,*” “*Not only the perpetrator of the action but also the supporters thereof should be neutralized*” and “*The combat should be not only against the violence but also the opinions and beliefs that drive some people to use, support or tolerate violence*” clarify these aspects of the fight against terrorism.

The concept of strategic communication, which prescribes information and effective communication in countering terrorism, subordinates using power as in conventional warfare and planning in accordance with military precautions. This concept is indicated by the following statement: “*First we have recently created the concept of strategic communication, which in itself is an acknowledgement of a kind of failure.*” What has been done so far under the auspices of NATO is wrong, prescribes those kinetic actions (operational measures taken by the police and military) having an ‘information effect’ will be executed in order to neutralize terrorists and to take control of the region and ensure security of the people. Combating terrorism will succeed by focusing on non-kinetic activities which utilize information such as public diplomacy, psychological operations, information operations and public relations in the coordination of strategic communication. This opinion is considered to be suitable in the context of the symbolic importance and the determinant components of terror acts.

With effective management of strategic communication; orchestration and/or synchronization of all components should be ensured to reinforce, preserve and prepare the required conditions to attain national and international interests, policies and objectives; key target audiences should be analyzed, understood and accessed. The Strategic Communication Board should work in coordination with institutes and organizations playing a significant role in the attainment of these objectives, forming cells in each institute/force/components with which the Board has a direct contact, and enabling cohesion of the scattered capabilities. Conventional bureaucratic hierarchy should be abandoned in this structuring; institutional structuring which can take decisions flexibly and rapidly in accordance with the ongoing situations should be used. The Board should ensure that security-oriented activities, all of which have been carried out in a disorganized manner, such as:

- ✓ Preparing for periods of crisis and crisis management,
- ✓ Preparing for natural disasters and natural disaster management,
- ✓ Combating national and international terrorism,
- ✓ Fighting against organized crime,
- ✓ Effectively managing international relations,
- ✓ Taking precautions against cyber terrorism,
- ✓ Using web-based news channels,
- ✓ Raising situational awareness through the evaluation of national and international social networking sites, blogs and comments are conducted as a whole so as to guide the appropriate authorities and prepare the ground for specialization through training and seminars.

#### 4. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is no military solution to terrorism. As David Miliband, a former British Foreign Minister said, “the war on terror was wrong”, and it brought “more harm than good”. It has also undermined the search for alternative, more successful approaches to countering violent extremism by giving the impression that only a military solution exists to counter violent extremism<sup>2</sup>. Hence, Soft Power as a means to fight international terrorism through technology, social media, financial resources management, civil society, enhance liberties and democracy, global international institutions and regional organizations strategic communication, education and other means is also addressed in this research paper.

As seen in the paper, “soft power” lies in the ability to attract and persuade rather than coerce. Soft power is about influence, example, credibility, and reputation. Hard power, the ability to coerce, grows out of a country’s military and economic might. Soft power arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies. Power in counterterrorism is either hard power or the soft power. But prioritizing them depends on the terrorism situation and a government’s available capability. The strategy of the soft power approach should be composed of ends, ways and means. It may exist in many ways and means; such as rehabilitation programs, financial aid, educational reform, and public information Campaigns. This strategy to be used can be in dimensions: short term and long term. The short term example is strategic communication, including discourse and the media, while the example of the long term is educational reform and the international cooperation.

The area of education should be with full participation of the governments, religious institutions, the private sector, and civil society groups in promoting peace education including reorientation programs, which should be integrated in the educational curriculum of



schools, and the international collaboration for educational purpose of the religious clerics. And the government partnering with film industry to produce movies and support radio and television programs in the major languages designed to specifically counter narratives and messages promoting youth radicalization.

High levels of illiteracy in many countries contribute to young people becoming more easily susceptible to manipulation and recruitment into extremist groups. Although the right to education is one of the basic rights of every citizen, access to this right is hardly attained. The issue of free and compulsory primary and secondary education in that related State should transcend mere statement to practical delivery of this basic entitlement to states' children. The Government program aimed at remodeling the educational system is a step in the right direction but needs further overhauling of the curriculum. To reinforce the recommendations above, it must inculcate the training, skills, and scientific knowledge to make children competitive in the modern economy. Local and state governments need to deliver quality and accessible education to more children in the related state through enhanced allocation to, and judicious use of funds in, the educational sector. The government, religious institutions, the private sector, and civil society groups should invest more resources in promoting peace education, including reorientation programs that will inculcate the value of peaceful coexistence. Peace education will help youth better appreciate the value of peace, making it more difficult for extremists to use them to foment trouble. Peace education should be integrated in the educational curriculum of schools, from primary to tertiary education. Youth radicalization and insidious ideologies that underpin violent extremism also can be curbed through enlightenment programs delivered through radio, television, jingles, and group discussions. Finally, the development of infrastructure and creating employment to reduce poverty, increase literacy, and re-engineer socio-economic change.

Terrorism is considered as an instrument in the hands of weaker actors in their war against stronger systems such as states. Whereas the traditional security threats have been diminishing after the Cold War, unconventional threats have been more common and pernicious. Terrorist groups relying on ethnical and cultural factors have emerged as a threat to the stability of the international system. Some of the terrorist groups are transnational by nature and this fact makes it difficult for states to fight against them. Such transnational terrorist threats necessitate coordination of diplomatic efforts of several states in the fight against terrorism. As a form of unconventional threat, terrorism lead states to devise methods for fighting against it, to adapt their security assessments and to take countermeasures in order to overcome them. When central state authorities clearly start to lose their legitimacy, non-state actors increase their capacities with a view to being organized at the grassroots level. Most of the new terrorist groups are initiated at transnational or regional level. Because of their capacity to build closer and face-to-face networks, they increase their legitimacy and soft power over people. Central authorities have clearly proven that they had more difficulty to connect with people and to develop a force of attraction. In this context, changing security perceptions in the post-Cold War period facilitated a country's relationship with its soft power and expanded the space given to soft power in the country's power ratings analysis; this power was used in foreign policy. With the increase of asymmetric threats at global and regional scale, such as terrorism, states are searching for new methods and tools to combat these types of threats. Soft power and diplomacy are seen as important elements of the state in this context.

Unconventional security threats against the central authority require states to use both traditional and non-traditional instruments in the fight against terrorism. States have to develop new instruments in order to increase their legitimacy and their capacity to inform

people about the problems regarding illegal organizations. The main issues related to the soft power items which could be used in the war against terrorism are listed below.

- ✓ how soft power and public diplomacy can be used effectively by multiple actors in order to prevent the spread of terrorism and to eliminate the danger of terrorism. The role of diplomacy and soft power in the fight against terrorism,
- ✓ the contributions of diplomacy and soft power in preventing international support to terrorist groups,
- ✓ the role of diplomacy and soft power in enhancing international cooperation in the fight against terrorism,
- ✓ how to isolate terrorist groups by using the elements of diplomacy and soft power.

Perception of differences may be a possible motivator in the emergence of confrontations as much as real differences. False perceptions can be changed by working on them. Conflict resolution should include efforts to comprehend people's needs and problems. On the other hand, the definition of violence is also significant. Conflict resolution research predominantly concludes that direct violence is fundamentally based on cultural and structural elements such as welfare distribution. Cultural violence is more difficult to deal with compared to other types of violence and paves the way for physical violence. Within this framework, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, Islamophobia, intolerance and radicalism are used as instruments for legitimizing direct violence. Besides, a power distribution exists among transnational agents. Those groups which emerge as human rights organizations, financial institutions or religious-ethnic groups have a tendency to weaken the state by gaining power over it in time. Examples can be found in countries like Iraq and Afghanistan. Social media and the growing influence of the public opinion have nowadays gained even more importance. Ideas spread quickly following the democratization process and social protest movements can easily be organized. As great powers weaken, there emerges a competition among regional actors. For instance, Iran uses Shiism, Saudi Arabia Salafism and Turkey uses the democratization process, and such efforts of regional actors will continue to spread in Afghanistan and Africa. Emphasizing that all these developments have made soft power a more useable concept, we can point out that the concept will assume a non-traditional role when merged with influential personality and leadership and that shared values, successful policies, respect to human values, international aid and religious groups are some of the sources of soft power.

## REFERENCES

SAM (t.y.), "The Role of Diplomacy and Soft Power in Combatting Terrorism - Concepts, Fighting Methods and Case Studies", Workshop Report, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs Center for Strategic Research, Ankara, Turkey, 1-11.

Alshehri, A. (2010), *Soft Power As An Alternative To Hard Power In Counterterrorism In Saudi Arabia*. USAWC Strategy Research Project.

Abdel Aziz, M.O. (2014), "Terrorism and Security in Africa: A Global Challenge", Oct 05, The World Post, Published by the Berggruen Institute, (At [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/mohamed-ould-abdel-aziz/terrorism-and-security-in\\_b\\_5651287.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/mohamed-ould-abdel-aziz/terrorism-and-security-in_b_5651287.html))

Akçadağ, E. (2010a), ABD'nin kamu diplomasisi stratejisi: Akıllı güç. (At <http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/abdkdstratejisi.pdf>).

Akçadağ, E. (2010b), Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de kamu diplomasisi. (At <http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/emineakcadag.pdf>).



- Akçadağ, E. (2010c), Yumuşak güç Japonya'nın sert güç arayışları. *Bilge Strateji*, 1(3).
- Bakare, I.A. (2016), "Soft Power as a Means of Fighting International Terrorism: A Case Study of Nigeria's "Boko Haram", *Вестник РУДН, серия Международные отношения*, июнь, том 16, № 2, 285-295.
- Başeren, S.H. (2003). Terörizm ve uluslararası ilişkiler. *Stratejik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 1(1): 51-58.
- Başeren S.H. (2006), "Kavramsal Özellikleri ile Terörizm (Tarihi ve Hukuki Boyutlarıyla)", *Küresel Terörizm ve İşbirliği Sempozyumu*, Terörizmle Mücadele Mükemmeliyet Merkezi, Ankara, 7-18.
- Başeren, S.H. (2008), "Terrorism with its Differentiating Aspects", *Defense against Terrorism Review*, Centre of Excellent-Defence Terroism, Ankara, 1(1): 1-11.
- Caşın, M.H. (2008), *Uluslararası Terörizm*, Ankara: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım.
- Chivvis, C.S., and Fishman, B. (2017), *Regional Foreign Policy Dynamics and Their Implications for the Mediterranean Region*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, (E-book at <http://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PE223.html>)
- Corman, S.R (2010), *Stratejik iletişimde hikâyelendirmenin rolü. Küresel Terörizm ve Uluslararası İş Birliği Sempozyumu-III*, 15-16 Mart, Terörizmle Mücadele Mükemmeliyet Merkezi, Ankara, 101-106.
- Crenshaw, M.H. (1972), "The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 16(3): 384-396.
- CSIS-Center for Strategic and International Studies (2007). *Commission on Smart Power: A Smarter More Secure America*. (At [http://www.csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/071106\\_csisSMARTPOWERreport.pdf](http://www.csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/071106_csisSMARTPOWERreport.pdf)) 2011.
- Onuoha, F.C. (2014), "Why Do Youth Join Boko Haram?", *United State Institute of Peace Special Report 348*. Available at: [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org).
- Güler, R. (2012), "The Role and Place of Strategic Communication in Countering Terrorism", *The Journal of Defense Sciences*, November, 11(2): 1-31.
- Hoffman, B. (1998), *Inside Terrorism*, New York: Colombia University Press.
- Kilcullen, D. (2007), "New Paradigms for 21st Century Conflict, Countering the Terrorist Mentality, *Foreign Policy Agenda*: U.S. Department of State, 12(5): 39-45.
- Kruglova, A. (2015), "Boko "Halal"? Western Education Should Be Used as a Weapon Against Terror", *Foreign Affairs & Security*, 23(1): 33-52.
- Laity, M. (2010a), *Strategic Communication Models. Küresel Terörizm ve Uluslararası İşbirliği Sempozyumu*, Terörizmle Mücadele Mükemmeliyet Merkezi, Ankara, 91-96.
- Laity, M. (2010b), *Strategic Communication. Stratejik Communication for Combating Terrorism*, Centre of Excellence Defence against Terrorism, Ankara, 11-14.
- Neumann, P.R. (Ed.) (2005a), *Confronting Terrorism: The Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism, Vol. II, The International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security 8-11 March 2005*, Madrid, Madrid: ESC/Scholz & Friends.
- Neumann, P.R. (Ed.) (2005b), *Towards a Democratic Response: The Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism, Vol. III, The International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security 8-11 March 2005*, Madrid, Madrid: ESC/Scholz & Friends.

Nye, J.S. (2004), *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, New York: Public Affairs.

Özdağ, Ü. (2008), *PKK Terörü Neden Bitmedi, Nasıl Biter?*, Ankara: Kripto Kitaplar Bas.Yay.Dağ.

Rabasa, A., Schnaubelt, C., Chalk, P., Farah, D., Midgette, G., and Shatz, H. (2017), *Counternetwork: Countering the Expansion of Transnational Criminal Networks*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, (E-book at [http://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1481.html](http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1481.html))

Sherkey, M.B. (2009), *Strong Horses-Systems Thinking-Strategic Communication*. School of Advanced Military Studies, United States Army Command and General Staff College, U.S. Army, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. (At <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA506217>).

Tatham, S. (2008), *Strategic Communication: A Primer*. (At <http://da.academia.edu/SteveTATHAM/Papers/88461/Strategic-Communication---A-Primer>).

Tatham, S. (2010), *Understanding Strategic Communication: Towards a Definition*. Strategic Communication for Combating Terrorism, Centre of Excellence – Defence Against Terrorism, Ankara, 17-27.

Tatham, S. and Rowland, L. (2010), *Strategic Communication & Influence Operations: Do we really get it?*, (At <http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/journal/docs-temp/483-tatham-rowland.pdf>).

The Department of Homeland Security (DHS), “Progress Made Since 9/11”, at Preventing Terrorism and Enhancing Security, February 9, 2016, <https://www.dhs.gov/preventing-terrorism-and-enhancing-security>

The University of Pennsylvania, “The ‘Soft Power’ War ISIS Doesn’t Want”, Knowledge and Wharton, Dec. 02, 2015, <http://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/article/the-soft-power-war-isis-doesnt-want/>

Wilkinson, P. (1974), *Political Terrorism*, London: Macmillan.