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2001 – AS THE BEGINNING OF THE GLOBAL PHASE OF THE FIGHT AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

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Abstract. In the article, issues related to the serious impact of the terrorist events of September 11, 2001 in the United States on the world order were selected as the object of research. Discussions about the causes, goals and geopolitical consequences of these terrorist acts do not subside, on the contrary, September 11 is marked as the beginning of a new era of systematic, purposeful and collective struggle against international terrorism. The article analyzes the international situation after 2001 based on the researches of a number of authors, as well as the materials of the mass media, The description of the hegemonic policy of the United States is given, and the struggle of the UN in the field of creating an anti-terrorist coalition is analyzed from a scientific and practical point of view.

Key words: USA, UN, September 11, 2001, Middle East, Islamic factor, international terrorism, antiterror, energy interests, world order, geopolitical competition.

Introduction. From the end of the 20th century, the beginning of a new phase of the fight against international terrorism was connected with a number of fateful factors. After the well-known events of the early 1990s, the collapse of the world socialist system, and the dissolution of the USSR, the United States, which had become a global power, began to implement the projects it had gradually prepared over the decades to establish a unipolar world order and assert its hegemony on a global scale. The events of September 11, 2001, provided the groundwork for this. The difficulty of accepting the global hegemony in the world demanded the development of such a strategic concept, the realization of which would enable the unification of states around the United States, which was only achieved for a certain period after the terrorist events of September 11.

According to modern scientific and political views, it cannot be considered a coincidence that the events of September 11 in the United States took place in a country that was the pioneer of globalization against the structures that are also a symbol of globalization as a reaction to the cold war and the globalization it caused. The fact that the September 11 attacks are directed against the World Trade Center, the symbol of the United States, and the Pentagon, a symbol of its military power, has rather subtle strokes. However, there are quite consistent factors to consider September 11 as a turning point in the history of the world order. These attacks were neither an ordinary terrorist act nor any horror show, after the events of September 11, the countries of the anti-terrorist coalition, led by the United States, united to defend against and prevent terrorism (Akgün, 2006).

Discussion. According to political scientists, the beginning of the US fight against terrorism dates back to the early 80s of the last century. So, in April 1980, the president of Libya M.Gaddafi demanded that Libyan political immigrants return home, and for a short time 20 Libyan dissidents were killed in Western Europe and the Middle East. In May 1981, after US President R. Reagan demanded the closure of the Libyan embassy in Washington, Libyan territorial waters were closed to Americans. The US 6th Fleet launched a military operation against Libya in August 1981, in response to which

Libyan radicals committed several terrorist attacks in Western Europe. When U.S. and British aviation bombed M.Gaddafi's command centers in April 1986, his daughter was killed (Mustafayeva, Qurbanova, Cavadova, 2011).

However, until the mid-1990s, terrorism for the US public was seen as a threat to diplomatic or military facilities of the state located abroad. The increased focus on combating terrorism led to the United States beginning to finance states engaged in this fight in order to make the struggle more effective. For this purpose, Argentina, Brazil and Chile accounted for 68 percent of all US aid in that fiscal year in connection with the terrorist attacks in 1976–1977. In 1979, 32.1 million dollars was allocated for military assistance to Latin American countries, in 1980 – 38.7 million dollars (Zafer, 1998).

From Azerbaijani authors E.Galandarova wrote that terrorism is one of the most dangerous, hardly predictable and increasingly diverse forms of the modern era, taking on more threatening scales. Terrorist acts result in human casualties, exert strong psychological pressure on large masses of people, destroy material and spiritual values that are sometimes impossible to restore again, provoke discord between states, lead to wars, the emergence of distrust and hatred among social and national groups (Qələndərova, 2017).

It should be noted that the occurrence of terrorist attacks in the 90s of the 20th century mainly in the countries of the Middle East is also shown by the statistics of this period, which was considered a widespread form of struggle against the colonial policy of world imperialism. In Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Somalia, Tanzania, Kenya, etc. among the numerous terrorists mentioned in the terrorist acts in the countries, Osama bin Laden is also named. Just two days after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in the United States the mention of the name of Osama bin Laden raised numerous questions in scientific and political opinion, which are discussed to this day.

As is known, when the head of the terrorist organization "Al-Qaeda" Osama bin Laden declared war on the West long before the events of September 11, 1998, in response to the US policy against the Islamic world, no one took it seriously. However, the terrible situation caused by the attacks on the skyscrapers of the United States led to the formation of an anti-terrorist declaration by the UN. The terrorist threat, which was previously considered a potential threat to the West, became a reality after September 2001, 11, but a political analysis of what is happening in the world and anti-terrorist compaignes raised doubts about the insidious intentions of the United States with great prospects. Representatives of Turkish, Russian, Arab, and Western political thought began to express different positions regarding the unfolding events.

Turkish authors C.Ozdiker, S.Chaychi, B.Dedeoglu and others noted that the terrorist action of September 11 was planned and carried out by the United States itself. According to these authors, when the report of the 9/11 Commission of the US Congress is examined as a whole, it is clear that the US leadership could have easily prevented these attacks. Considering the magnitude of the consequences of these acts of terrorism, the possibility of such an operation being carried out by a small group of Islamic fighters struggling to settle in the mountains of Afghanistan is not credible. On the other hand, it is also impossible that the September 11 attacks were carried out by the former CIA employees of the United States, who played the role of Islamic revolutionaries in the mountains of Afghanistan. However, immediately after the events, showing Osama bin Laden, not the states that may be the cause of the terrorist incidents in the United States, as a target, is an indication that the terrorist incident was a conspiracy and was seriously planned and carried out (Özdiker, 2003). It is not accidental that very soon we see other authors coming to similar conclusions. After the terrorist incidents, we do not see that the United States started a systematic fight against terrorism by creating an anti-terrorist coalition, or that the Anti-terrorist System was created under the leadership of the UN, but rather, we observe that it is trying to create its own global hegemony under the guise of fighting against terrorism, which is unknown what prospects it will bring.

When an act of terrorism occurs, people first discuss who committed this act and what dangers this act poses. According to Turkish authors such as B.Dadaoglu and E.Chitlioglu, after the September 11 attack by Al-Qaeda terrorists, trained by the Central Intelligence Agency, US leaders began to implement S.Huntington's new strategy, which he put forward under the name "clash of civilizations." They called it the war on terror. It is impossible that the 9/11 attacks, which laid the foundations of this war, could have been carried out without the knowledge of US intelligence agencies. According to the authors, in fact, all information about "Al-Qaeda" was in the hands of US intelligence. However, due to the secret interests of Washington's leading "hawks", this network of connections will probably never be revealed. The attacks on the USA were not carried out by a fanatic who thought that he was acting in the name of religion, but by a group in the state apparatus that was able to direct President G. Bush with the aim of influencing the world order (Çaycı, 2004; Dedeoğlu, 2006).

According to modern political opinion, Osama bin Laden had sufficient economic opportunities to create and develop a terrorist organization. However, according to sources, the main thing that really stands out in the creation of this organization is the role of the United States in its creation. After 1993, the United States did not issue a warrant for the arrest of Osama bin Laden, whom it identified as the organizer of many bloody actions. The first arrest warrant for him was issued by a Libyan court in 1998 after his involvement in the murder of two German secret agents was proven. Turkish researcher E. Soltan noted that a group inside the United States, more than Osama bin Laden, planned and carried out the events of September 11, cooperating at a high level with other groups (Elnur, 2001).

In the West and Western-oriented mass media, as well as in studies, the phenomenon of international terrorism is often subject to a one-sided approach, By presenting the US as a victim of aggression, its further actions are justified, In the United States, however, this event was seen as an opportunity that allowed him to remain the only hegemon in the world. In the information spread long after the terrorist attack, it was stated that there was no one of Jewish origin in the skyscrapers that day. In order to direct the hatred that had emerged in U.S. public opinion towards the East, the United States gained the necessary support in the fight against terrorism through propaganda in the media. Although Western authors such as V.Lagour and G.Timothy targeted Islamic countries, President J.Bush condemned the idea of describing it as a religious war against the Muslim world. However, paying attention to the geography of the middle and Middle East, where there was an abundance of energy resources at that time, we see that the influence of Russia and China is much greater, the Middle Eastern policy of these states was fundamentally different from the policy of the developed imperialist states of the West in general and was based on partnership (George Bruce-Vatson, 2002; Laqueur, 2002).

The fact that mass media, political scientists, diplomats, and researchers have different attitudes to the problem is an indication of how complex and contradictory it is. The approach to the personality of Osama bin Laden is also quite different. According to researchers, Osama bin Laden is the family secret of the United States. So, according to researchers, the multifaceted trade relations between the Bush family and the bin Laden family are much closer than the cooperation between the United States and Saudi Arabia. After Osama bin Laden's brothers graduated from Western universities and established close relations with these countries, bin Laden received an (especially Wahhabi) education and led a corresponding lifestyle. Nevertheless, he had never severed ties with the family that had an important business partnership with the Bush family; on the contrary, he had expanded those connections even further. Therefore, Osama bin Laden and many of those around him, as commanders and fighters of "Al-Qaeda", are not enemies of the United States, but agents of it. (Erol, 2007). So, President G.Bush how to understand that accused his trading partner and agent of terrorism and physically destroyed it?! An analysis of what happened after the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States suggests that the main political goal of the United States is to gain a foothold in the Middle East.

It should be noted that the Taliban militants, who are preparing the political base of "Al-Qaeda", are an armed force of 2,500 thousand people formed around them by 250 people who have undergone Madrasah training. They were given armed training by the Pakistani army in cooperation with the United States. In addition, the Taliban members were instilled with a Wahhabi mentality that did not consider anyone other than themselves to be Muslims. In this concept, the principle of interpretation and application according to the metaphorical meanings of the verses in the Qur'an prevails. During the war against the USSR in Afghanistan, Saudi Arabian groups calling themselves "Wahhabi" interfered with the work of non-Muslim humanitarian aid organizations. Other groups of Mujahideen also disliked the "Wahhabi" factions, which were intolerant of Islam (Çitlioğlu, 2007). It was in such conditions that Osama bin Laden, at the insistence of the United States, left Sudan in 1996 and moved to Afghanistan, where the Taliban movement was located.

The "Al-Qaeda" terrorist organization, which was created and began to operate at this time, was directly related to foreign support. One of the most important roles that al-Qaeda played in the Middle East was the radicalization of many religious groups and the intensification of terrorism. And the harsh reaction of the United States to terrorist acts led to the fact that angry people joined the ranks of the organization. While the US operations were described by CNN as a holy war of freedom, the images on Al Jazeera television characterized the US as an evil targeting human rights and freedoms. While CNN portrayed Al-Qaeda as the brutal face of terrorism, Al-Jazeera published the organization's statements and portrayed them as right (Dedeoğlu, 2006).

We see the emergence and circulation of the concept of "Islamic fundamentalism" as a clear indication that US political science and mass media used the September 11 terrorist attacks to incite religious fanaticism. In the information space possessed by the West, the expression of concepts and ideas contrary to the rules of the Islamic religion, difficult to understand even for the less knowledgeable, served to link terrorism and Islam. The goal was to form the image that the American authorities presented to the public and that Muslims are fanatics-terrorists. Western centers of ideological propaganda targeted Islam, ignoring religious wars, Inquisition, bloodthirsty attacks on compatriots, "witch hunts", terrorist acts of the "Society of Jesus" in the history of Christianity, however, none of what we celebrate in the history of our religion has ever happened. The meaning of the word Islam is "peace, prosperity, security". Due to the fact that a very high level of civilization and culture reigns in a wide geography, this word has lived up to its meaning for centuries. No religion supports or allows terrorism. Because all religions are against the organization of tyranny and violence. Unless violence is necessary, religious tolerance is a form of reaction.

The process of globalization is rapidly shrinking states, rendering borders meaningless, and revealing relationships of interdependence. The West's continued export of modernism intensified hostility between the West and the East, while international terrorism became the most serious threat to Social Security. With the end of the Cold War, the Middle East began to develop into a fanatical society in a rapidly globalized world. It was from this that the Western political opinion began to circulate that fanatical Muslims became dangerous terrorists. Some countries and communities trying to oppose the "illegal war" waged by the United States in the name of fighting terrorism with the latest technological tools and weapons also developed their own method of "illegal war", which was a hybrid war. As a result, the Islamic mass media began to interpret the global war of terror as a confrontation intertwined with each other, filled with a complex network of connections and fed by untrue interpretations of both religions, which made it impossible to fight against terrorism in a collective way.

Western authors associate the beginning of the US fight against international terrorism with what is being carried out in Sudan. So, in 1998, on August 20, the United States bombed and destroyed the Al-Shifa pharmaceutical factory in Sudan, which had a serious impact on the anger of the Sudanese public and the expansion of terrorist acts against the United States. The anti-terrorist fight that the USA conducted in Islamic countries later did not give the desired results. This meant that those who

organized the September 11 attacks and tried to take advantage of it were mistaken in their expectations. It was no coincidence that even ordinary citizens expressed the opinion that "the United States, under the pretext of terror, decided to achieve its foreign policy goals", noting that Afghanistan and Iraq were not chosen at random.

Immediately after the September 11 attacks, at the call of President J. Bush, the UN Security Council adopted a number of documents supporting the United States and condemning terrorism, including Resolution No. 1368 on September 12. In this regard, paragraph 3 of the same resolution was of great importance, where all the countries of the world community were called to urgently make joint efforts to bring the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these terrorist attacks to justice, and it was emphasized that assistance to the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these actions Those who do, support or hide them will be responsible before the community (Birləşmiş Millətlər Təşkilatının Təhlükəsizlik Şurasının... 2001). Despite the supremacy of the goals declared by the UN, humanism and actions put forward in the field of protection of human rights, scientific and political analysis showed that not only the differences in the goals and interests of the states, but also the fact that they contradict each other, will not allow the creation of an anti-terrorist system, will even make a systematic and purposeful fight against this threat impossible.

Resolution No. 1368 adopted by the UN Security Council paved the way for further processes. Thus, the United States, having achieved the adoption of this resolution, achieved the beginning of a collective struggle against international terrorism, although up to 30 states joined the coalition under the leadership of the United States, which, with the aim of maintaining confidentiality, G.Bush had named only 15 of these states. Həmin siyahıda Azərbaycan Respublikası da yer almmışdı. It was no coincidence that according to the UN Security Council resolution of September 28, 2001 No. 1373, a Security Council committee was established to purposefully, coherently and systematically fight against all types of international crime, including international terrorism. It was not by chance that researchers and specialists related to foreign policy activities connected the beginning of the systematic and collective struggle against international terrorism with the adoption of Resolution 1373 (Birləşmiş Millətlər Təşkilatının Təhlükəsizlik Şurasının... 2001).

The Anti-Terrorism Committee of the UN Security Council was established in accordance with Resolution 1373, the mechanism and principles of the committee were determined in the resolution and subsequent documents. The committee consists of 15 members, until 2022 it was headed by a representative of Russia, after the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian war, Russia refused to chair the committee. In 2004, the Committee's Executive Directorate was established, and on November 18, 2011, its Counter-Terrorism Center was established, under the leadership of the Center, 80 projects were implemented from 2012 to the present, and 40 projects are currently being implemented.

Events such as international terrorism, ethnopolitical conflicts, and local wars were recognized by the UN as threats to international peace and security. However, as we observed after the events of September 11, the idea of a collective security system began to be implemented not by the Security Council, but by the United States. The United States declared that it had the right to self-defense to respond to the September 11 attacks, and carried out a policy of aggression in Afghanistan and Iraq. In this period when terrorism is increasingly globalized, the collective security system proposed by the UN did not work for the well-known reasons we mentioned. The struggle of the UN members was based on real politics, the geopolitical and geoeconomic interests of the states aimed to harm each other. In his international relations, the right to power, not the power of law, began to prevail. According to the Turkish author S. Chaychi, the group that poses terror threats against the USA could consist of very few individuals, but it is known that the initial reactions to these attacks across a wide geography were in the form of sympathy. To rejoice that the terrorist acts caused the loss of life and property in the United States, and to claim that the United States deserved it, is indeed worse than these attacks and their consequences (Çaycı, 2004).

As it turned out, the events of September 11 hit the international reputation of the United States so hard that Washington aimed to restore what it had lost by pursuing a tough and operational strategic line. The US desire for revenge has become values whose principles, such as human rights and freedoms, tolerance for various religions and races, can be sacrificed in the name of the "fight against terrorism". In fact, at that time it was equated with treason to investigate the causes of the September 11 incident or to discuss the weaknesses of the United States in this matter, so that the stereotyped approach to what was happening did not change very soon.

It should be borne in mind that the United States, which during the Cold War was not very interested in the policy of acting on its own in the international arena in accordance with Article 4 of the UN Charter, with the end of the Cold War pushed the importance and attention to the UN into the background, NATO's military and political doctrines were renewed, the eastward expansion of the European Union and NATO, the growth of its geography, targeting the post-Soviet space, and the critical rise of the confrontation with Russia and China meant that a new world order was emerging, in which the United States was not hegemonic.

Over time, researchers began to analyze the fact that the United States is moving away from anti-terrorist activity and that this policy is turning into a policy of aggression based on concrete facts. The transformation of the US anti-terrorist policy in Afghanistan into an invasion policy in Iraq led to the loss of hope for democracy in the countries of the world. During the 20 years of anti-terrorist operations in Afghanistan, more than 1 million Afghans were killed, the invasion of Iraq and the execution of Saddam Hussein, the devastation of Muslim countries in the Middle East as a result of the "Arab Spring" events, under the guise of an anti-terrorist strategy, the United States legalized its aggressive policy. Professor A. Abbasbeyli did not say without reason that terrorism and similar phenomena are often not a means of achieving the goal (Abbasbeyli, 2011).

Conclusion. The terrorist attacks in the United States had a negative impact not only on the world order, but also on its allies from Europe, who have different traditions of democracy and human rights than Washington. Thus, European countries have also begun to practically implement that they will not only emphasize that they will respond to terrorism directly with violence, but also make legal arrangements accordingly. However, if the United States became the center of the anti-terrorist movement and coalition after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, especially after the failure of the "Arab Spring" strategy, the UN began to become the center of the anti-terrorist coalition and fight against this threat in a continuous and systematic manner, In our opinion, only the United Nations is capable of realizing the idea of creating an anti-terrorist system.

It was no coincidence that in February 2017, UN Secretary General A. Guterres proposed the establishment of a new anti-terrorism department at the UN. In general, it is worth noting that during the period of 1963-2017, 19 international agreements against terrorist attacks were developed and implemented by the international community (BMT terrorizmə müharibə... 2017). All types of international criminality, hegemony in the world order, international terrorism, and hybrid wars, which become an obstacle to the formation of a new world order, can be eliminated only with the joint efforts of the world community.

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