Original Article

Moral Cosmopolitanism and the Challenge of Global Terrorism

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ABSTRACT

The world is bedevilled by terrorism. Of the most recent treats and challenges that the world faces there seem to be none bigger than terrorism. There is hardly a week that passes when you do not hear of terrorist attacks in one place of the order. Terrorist attacks have been perpetuated in places like Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Somalia, Yemen, and Pakistan, the United States, Britain, Canada, France, Italy and so forth. The effects and impact of terrorism are incalculable. Thousands of lives and properties have been lost to terrorism. If terrorism is not mitigated or stopped it has the capacity to plunge the world into a new dark age. The paper examines the reality, effects, and causes of terrorism. It uses critical analytic and evaluative methods to examine terrorism from the lens of moral cosmopolitanism. The paper proposes that the idea of moral cosmopolitanism that affirms the common humanity of all humans and obligates each human to come to the help of others, even strangers can help to combat global terrorism. The paper finds that there is need to educate, conscientize, and persuade global terrorists with the value of moral cosmopolitanism. If this can be done it will greatly help in mitigating global terrorist attacks.

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INTRODUCTION

Global terrorism is a problem that is troubling the worldwide community. While it may be true that terroristic activities have existed for many centuries in one form or the other, global terrorism as it is known today is a recent phenomenon. Eastern Kentucky University (EKU, 2018) indicates that modern terrorism came with the French revolution. The Eastern Kentucky University also states that the causes of terrorism include cultural clashes, the phenomenon of globalization, invasion of a state by another such as when the Russians invaded Afghanistan, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and even economic frustrations and religious fundamentalism.

This paper takes it as a fact that terrorism is immoral and evil. Igor has asserted that; "The central philosophical question about terrorism is: can terrorism ever be morally justified? (5113). There are varieties of definition of terrorism. Even though there are these definitions terrorism is generally condemned and seen as evil. This paper accepts the arguments of Zook (2010) thus:

> While it is true that there is no single agreed-upon definition of terrorism, all descriptions of terrorism in international law and politics propose, at a minimum, that terrorism is inherently wrong because (1) it intentionally targets civilians and non-combatants; (2) it encourages and often requires its practitioners not to distinguish themselves from civilian population whom they target; and (3) it rejects all of the extant laws and rules governing the use of force and deployment of violence, States are not permitted to use terror as a tactic any more than terrorist groups themselves are (p. 146).

The question of the immorality of terrorism is not the focus of this paper since the paper accepts it already that terrorism is immoral. The concern of this paper is how the political philosophy of cosmopolitanism can help to ameliorate terrorism.

Many solutions have been proposed to the problem of global terrorism. Among these is some form of education or consciousness transformation of terrorists for them to come to an acceptance of the value and dignity of human life. When people's mindsets are transformed to have a positive and healthy regard for the humanity of others, they will better act for the preservation of human lives. Long time ago, in ancient Greek philosophy, the Cynics hinted at the idea of cosmopolitanism. The Stoic philosophers will take this further and affirmed that all humans share in a common humanity and that this makes each human a citizen not simply of his/her native place, but a citizen of the whole world.

The central argument of this paper is that creating and fostering a cosmopolitan consciousness in the mind of terrorists and others can help to mitigate terrorism. This thesis is argued in a critical analytic manner and an evaluative procedure. Analysis of concepts is presented in the next section of this work, followed by an examination of the reality of global terrorism. The effects and impact of terrorism are also examined. The political philosophy of cosmopolitanism is also dissected and its imports. Through an evaluative method how this political philosophy can help to mitigate terrorism is then offered. When this has been done, the paper will make some concluding recommendations.

CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

The following concepts deserve clarification. They are moral cosmopolitanism, and global terrorism. There is no universally acceptable definition of terrorism (Ritchie et al., 2019). Anowai and Iloanya (2018) citing Richard, Jarvis, Gunning and Smyth note that the term is "essentially contested" as it is loaded with value judgement (353). They argue further that reading through the literature in law, academia, politics, social policy, etc the term has a lot of nuances and there are many definitions; and scholars like Schmid and Jongman saw more than one hundred definitions of the term (353). It should

be understood that: one person's terrorist can be another person's freedom fighter. The term is constantly evolving. For Lemieux (2017),

> Terrorism is not an ideology like communism or capitalism. Rather, terrorism is a tactic – a strategy used to achieve a specific end. This strategy is often used in asymmetric power struggles when a weaker person, or group, is fighting against a powerful nation-state. The violence is aimed at creating fear in the targeted population and often provokes prompt and violent response from the state.

National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (2018) defines terrorisms as: "the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation." For a phenomenon to be considered terrorism it has to be intentional and not simply accidental. For instance, even though an earthquake, Tsunami, and other natural disasters or transportation accidents can make people to be afraid, panic and feel terror they are not terrorist activities. The EKU noting the common idea in the definitions of terrorism given by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the US Department of Defence (DOD) and US Department of State (DOS) affirms that their definitions involve the idea that terrorism is premeditated and are inspired by political or social motives. The EKU also gives the idea that the targets of terrorist groups who are often clandestine and sub-national are generally civilians or non-combatants.

In their definition, the FBI (2018) distinguishes between international and domestic terrorism. International terrorism for them refers to terrorist acts carried out by individuals or groups inspired by foreign terrorist groups; while domestic terrorism in inspired primarily by US based groups with extremist ideologies. Schmidt and Perez-Pena (2015) state that the FBI considers the 2nd December 2015 San Bernardino shooting as international for the married couple who perpetrated it were radicalized by foreign terrorist groups. But the 8th June 2014 Las Vegas shooting is domestic as the married couple who carried it out did it out of their anti-government views.

The term global terrorism is used here to refer to terrorist activities perpetuated on a global or worldwide scale. In today's globalized world, many terrorist attacks have implications or consequences that impact not just the people in the locality in which the incident happened but beyond. A terrorist attack on a plane in Egypt can affect citizens of other nations travelling on that plane. It has both economic implications for the locality and the businesses and work of foreign travellers on that plane. Many terrorist groups today have also spread beyond the shores of one nation to another. They easily spread their message and influence through the new media-the internet, face book, YouTube, etc. Terrorist groups like Islamic State, Al Qaeda, Al Shabab, Boko Haram, are all global terrorist groups. These groups are transnational terrorists as they operate from one country to another.

Having highlighted what global terrorism is, it is now proper to explain moral cosmopolitanism further. Benning (2014) shows that:

> The term cosmopolitanism is derived from the Greek cosmopolis. It refers to a cluster of ideas and schools of thought that see a natural order in the universe (the cosmos) reflected in human society, particularly in the polis, or city-state. More broadly, it presents a political-moral philosophy that posits people as citizens of the world rather than of a particular nation-state. In this regard, cosmopolitanism represents a spirited challenge to more traditional views that focus on age-old attachments of people to a place, customs, and culture. Cosmopolitan emphasis on social bonds rather than nation-states lays the foundation for its view of society ultimately evolving toward harmony and away from conflict.

The term cosmopolitanism can have a wide range of meaning. It can imply global or worldwide. Somebody who is well travelled, who is broad-minded, and open-minded, multicultural can be considered a cosmopolitan (Kleingeld, 2011, p. 1134). Kleingeld (2011) states that in political and moral theory, it means "human beings are equal" and that individuals should be given justice directly as global citizens and not through their individual states (p. 1134). Moral cosmopolitanism implies that each human being by the fact of sharing in a

common humanity with others have certain moral obligations to come to the help of others, even distant strangers.

THE REALITY OF GLOBAL TERRORISM

Ritchie et al. (2019) have noted that before the era of global and modern terrorism in the 21st century, there was the Sicarii, an early Jewish revolutionary movement that fought to overthrow the Romans and gain Jewish independence. This group as these three authors just mentioned indicate was influenced by Judas of Galilee, a zealot leader who equally fought the Romans. The Sicarii movement these authors state not only fought the Romans but also collaborators with the Romans; and its style were for them to carry short hidden daggers with which they stabbed the enemies. They state that they were also notable for joining others to cry at the death they caused in order to remain hidden and undiscovered. The Reign of Terror during the French revolution, a state-sponsored form of terrorism also contributed to the rise of terrorism state (Ritchie et al., 2019). As for modern terrorism, these authors opine that it came after the Second World War when there was the emergence of nationalist independent movements that fought the colonial powers of Europe. The internationalization or globalization of terrorism came in the 1960s states (Ritchie et al., 2019); when aggrieved groups saw that nationalist movements are able to garner sympathy and help for their cause; and terrorists began to deploy similar terrorist methods.

Various terrorist incidents have taken place in today's world. A major terrorist attack is that of the 9/11 in 2001. This was when Islamist hijackers took planes and flew them into the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon. Another terrorist incident as mentioned by the Global Terrorism Database is the one that took place in July of the year 1968 when an Israeli EI AI Flight 426 which was travelling from London to Tel Aviv was hijacked by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in which Israeli hostages were held for several days.

Many countries are today plagued by terrorism. The countries include Nigeria, Niger, Somalia, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Philippines, and so forth. In a country like Nigeria Boko Haram has been on the rampage

for many years now. It has killed and maimed many people. It has destroyed properties worth millions of dollars. It has led to children ending their schooling. The operations of Boko Haram have entered into countries like Cameroon, Chad, and Niger. The East African coast especially Somalia is threatened by Al Shabab activities. They have carried out many attacks in Kenya, and other countries in that region. In a country like Yemen, Houthi rebels have carried out terrorist attacks. In places like Afghanistan, Taliban and Al Qaeda have engaged in terrorist activities to destroy the government there. Terrorist activities have been carried out in Britain, France, Italy, and other European countries.

It is important to note that there is no region of the world that is free from terrorism. Rourke and Boyer (2008) give the statistics that from 2000 to 2006 the Middle East accounted for sixty percent of global attacks, seventeen percent took place in Asia, Latin American and the Caribbean had six percent, four percent took place in Arica and Europe was thirteen percent (319). Since 9/11 and the war on terrorism coupled with the rise of radical Islamist movements, ethno-national militant movements there has been an upsurge in attacks. The Global Terrorism Database records that in 2017, 10,900 attacks took place globally; and there were up to 26,400 deaths from these attacks (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, 2018). It should be stated that it will be difficult to get all the statistics on the state of global terrorism. For detailed statistics and trends in global terrorism since 9/11 you can consult the website of the Global Terrorism Database.

The Causes of Global Terrorism

There are many causes and factors that precipitate terrorism. The factors in themselves cannot make terrorism happen. It is human persons who are influenced by these factors that precipitate acts of terrorism. It is human persons who are responsible for terrorist acts and should be held responsible not the factors. Among the many factors that have been listed for precipitating terrorism are: religious fundamentalism and extremism, political oppression, and economic suffering. Zook (2010) argues that what causes terrorism and inspire individuals or groups to use terror tactics include poverty, economic deprivation, frustration in

political affairs, lack of education, mental vulnerability, and religious zeal (p. 146). Boff (2006) writes that: "At the basis of political fundamentalism lies the hard experience of humiliation and prolonged suffering" (p. 29). The United Nations' Universal Declaration on Human Rights is clear in her preamble that without respect for human rights people may turn to rebellion in protesting oppression, injustice, and tyranny. That declaration was made in 1948; by implication today rebellion may include terrorism as some groups have done.

Economic hardships and sufferings can make people vulnerable to terrorism. Persons suffering from economic pains of unemployment, hunger, starvation, may easily turn to terrorism. Adedayo (2012) says that perceived deprivation can make people turn to terrorism (p. 345). They are subjected to easily being convinced and indoctrinated by terrorist masterminds. The instinct for survival is a basic instinct in humans and food is a basic necessity of life. In order to survive people can turn to those who promise them good livelihood even if they are terrorists. As Umeh (2006) notes harsh conditions of living in places like Columbia, Palestine, Indonesia, and other places can make people turn to terrorism (p. 41-42). It should be noted that this does not in any way justify carrying out terrorist acts to destroy other humans or destroy public infrastructures. Zook (2010) asserts that no one factors or factors can explain adequately why people turn to partake in terrorist activities (p. 146).

Poverty and oppression may not necessarily inspire terrorism. In the same situations of poverty and economic oppression, there are many others who will not turn to terrorism. And even in economic oppression, there are many who will use legitimate means or non-violent means to make their voices heard. Though the challenge often is that when those in power block the legitimate means through which civil society can help to pressure government and even change it, people can be tempted to turn to violence, and even terrorism. The link between global economic inequalities and violence of which terrorism is one of them is well acknowledged (Rourke & and Boyer, 2008, p. 322). Oppression, subjugation, and exploitation of the disadvantaged countries also precipitate people to imbibe terrorist ideologies (Opafola, 2008, p. 18).

There are also causes of terrorism rooted in history. These are mainly socio-political and economic. Many countries in the southern hemisphere were colonised by European powers. Often European powers used force and oppression to subdue the people and exploit their economic resources. Before some nations were able to gain independence from the European powers, militaristic movements carried out violent and even what could be deemed terrorist acts. Even though some nations have gained so-called political power or flag independence, their economies are still predominantly controlled by European or Western powers through multinational corporations drilling for oil and other natural resources. In most places where natural resources have been tapped or drilled for by multinational corporations, there is underdevelopment. There are violent struggles in Nigeria's Niger Delta, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Colombia, Brazil, etc. Militant groups and some anti-globalization protesters often turn violent and even use terroristic tactics to make their demands. Neo-colonial economic policies that strangulate formerly colonised nations can lead ethno-militant groups to campaign for economic and environmental justice even using terrorist means. In Nigeria's Niger Delta, militant groups like Niger Delta Avengers and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) have often carried terroristic attacks against oil multinationals like Shell and the Nigerian state.

Religious fundamental and extremism are also a source of terrorism. Religious fundamentalists see their religious beliefs as the only right ones and that everybody must accept it. They wrongly perceive that they have a mandate from the god of their religion to proselytize by force and bring others into their fold. In these contemporary times, it is common with Islamist Jihadists who have declared war on others. Islamic State (ISIS) have maimed and killed many in Syria in the name of their so-called Caliphate. Boko Haram in Nigeria has carried out terrorist activities believing that western education is evil. It is painful to note that it is the same instruments of western civilization that they use to carry out their attacks. Islamist jihadists often claim that society is corrupt and evil and need to be cleansed. They claim it has been corrupted by the influences and practices of non-Islamic cultures, the

West. Jihad which they have turned into the use of terrorist tactics is the means to purify it.

The Effects and Impact of Global Terrorism

It will be difficult to enumerate all the effects of terrorism in a short paper like this. It will suffice to just name some here. Terrorism leads to destruction of human lives. During the 9/11 attacks nearly 3,000 persons lost their lives. Then there is the incalculable mental injury done to people's minds as a result of the horror of the attack. Even till today there are people's minds that are filled with fear and some will never board a plane as a result of that incident. One of the goal of terrorists is to make people live in fear. In nations like Yemen, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, etc schools and many other public facilities have been destroyed and closed. Children and teachers are unable to go to schools as a result of fear. In some areas in North Eastern Nigeria, people have refused to go to their farms and businesses because of Boko Haram attacks.

Terrorism has led to the destruction of a great deal of social infrastructures and facilities. The 9/11 attack on the world trade centre not only destroyed the two towers, and the business and activities in the centre, it equally destroyed buildings and facilities around the centre. Billions of trade transactions went up in flames. In a place like Nigeria and other places where terrorists are constantly on the rampage many people have been displaced and have become internally displaced persons or even refugees in their own land. Thousands of lives have been lost because of Boko Haram attacks. Unspeakable violence and harm have been done to the nation. When Islamic State reigned in Syria United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) world heritage sites and many cultural sites were destroyed. In the fight against Islamic State towns and cities have been bombed in the fight against the terrorist group.

Mental and psychological paralysis becomes evident in some people's lives. There are people who live in perpetual fear of terrorist attacks. This is one of the primary goals of terrorist. They want people to live in permanent state of fear. Terrorist acts can take place anywhere and anytime. Terrorists no longer care the means that they use.

They can use chemical and biological weapons, nuclear weapon. They want to inflict major damage on innocent persons in order to pressure others to listen to them. People who have been victims of terrorist attacks may also imbibe a spirit of retaliation and attack terrorist back. Thus, a cycle of violence is created that may continue.

More money that could have been used for development projects are now devoted to buying weapons to defeat terrorism. Terrorism has caused many nations huge amount of money to contain and conquer. Facilities and infrastructure that have been destroyed by terrorists have to be reconstructed. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC, 2021) has reported that UNESCO is planning to rebuild the Great Mosque of al-Nuri. This according to UNESCO will cost billions of dollars, of which United Arab Emirate has pledged to give $50 m.

THE PHILOSOPHY AND IMPORT OF MORAL COSMOPOLITANISM (MC)

Cosmopolitanism refers to the ideology that all human beings belong to a single community, based on a shared morality. A cosmopolitan community might be based on an inclusive morality, a shared economic relationship, or a political structure that encompasses different nations. The argument that all citizens of the world possess an equal moral status can be interpreted as a statement that all humans deserve to be given equal respect, or that their interests deserve to be treated equally (Smith, 2013).

The New World Encyclopaedia (2017) notes that it was Diogenes of Sinope (c 412BCE), the founder of the Cynic movement in Ancient Greece who replied to people who asked where he came from by saying he was a (*kosmopolites*) citizen of the world. The Stoic philosophers having the territorial expansion of Alexander the Great and also the great Roman Empire in mind highlighted that each human being is a member of his local community where he was born; and "the community of human arguments and aspiration" (New World Encyclopaedia, 2017). The idea of the Stoic philosopher grounds much of contemporary cosmopolitanism. They affirmed that all humans through their shared rational abilities and nature are as it were living in one community,

no matter their other differences or inclinations (Kleingeld, 2011, p. 1135). Brock and Brighouse (2005) emphasize that the phrase, "citizens of the world" captures the two core issues in cosmopolitanism, "the thesis of identity" and a "thesis about responsibility" (p. 2). Your identity goes beyond your place of birth or nationality. Your identity is essentially global or cosmopolitan. Your responsibility is not just to the place of your birth but to the whole world. On this question of responsibility:

> *...cosmopolitanism guides the individual outwards from obvious, local, obligations, and prohibits those obligations from crowding out obligations to distant others. Contrary to a parochial morality of loyalty, cosmopolitanism highlights the obligations we have to those whom we do not know, and with whom we are not intimate, but whose lives touch ours sufficiently that what we do can affect them* (Brock and Brighouse, 2005, p. 3).

MC does not neglect or deny that people have obligations to their immediate neighbourhood, families, and nations. The extent of these obligations is debatable. This issue leads to various forms of cosmopolitanism. Depending on how you see which obligations are higher, to your native place or beyond, you can speak of weak or strong cosmopolitanism.

> *Weak cosmopolitanism just says that there are some extra-national obligations that have some moral weight. Strong cosmopolitanism, by contrast, claims that, at the most fundamental level, there are no society-wide principles of distributive justice that are not also global principles of distributive justices; and that our fellow nationals not only have no claim on us, but we have no right to use nationality (in contrast with friendship, or familial love) as a trigger for our discretionary behaviour. Between these two extremes are a range of views concerning the content and relative weight of obligations and prerogatives relative to compatriots and non-compatriots* (Brock and Brighouse, 2005, p. 3).

Cosmopolitanism can also be spoken of as political or moral. In terms of political it implies global or some form of world government. In the moral sense it is used allegorically to describe the kinship among all humankind as members of one human family. No matter your kind of cosmopolitanism, a common denominator to them all is the minimal idea that humans are related to one another, even distant strangers and owe some basic obligations to them. "The nebulous core shared by all cosmopolitan views is the idea that all human beings, regardless of their political affiliation, are (or can and should be) citizens in a single community" (Kleingeld and Brown, 2002). The very fact that there is an international community implies there is some form of cosmopolitanism. It should be said that; "The crux of the idea of moral cosmopolitanism is that each human being has equal moral worth and that equal moral worth generates certain moral responsibilities that have universal scope" (Brock and Brighouse, 2005, p. 4). The debate continues what are the extents of these moral responsibilities. The entire essays in Brock and Brighouse are devoted to this.

The moral cosmopolitan idea is akin to similar ideas in the philosophies of various philosophers and systems. In Christian thought, the idea that all humans have one father God and belong to one brotherhood/sisterhood and that they should live in love and mercy of all is evident in the Sermon on the Mountain and in the teachings of Jesus and his followers. The teachings of Paul emphasised no divisions among humans as a result of Christ. Pogge (n.d.) from a cosmopolitan viewpoint critiques the injustice in international institutions and the oppressive policies they burden so-called poorer nations with. He opines that individual of wealthier nations needs to work for a more just international order. For Kant (2001), each human being should act for the benefit of all other human beings. For the Universal Declaration on Human Rights all human beings have inherent dignity, equal and inalienable rights. King (1986) spoke of all human beings being tied in one inescapable network of humanity so that what affects one affects all and there is no self-fulfilment without others (p. 122). Nyerere (1967) is also of the opinion that African humanism must become Pan-humanism (p. 171). The African spirit of Ubuntu and communalism affirmed hospitality and kindness to all, not only one's immediate kin.

Moral Cosmopolitanism and Global Terrorism

The idea of moral cosmopolitanism implies that all human beings share in a common humanity and are interdependent. This notion can help to combat global terrorism in various ways. Umeh (2006) writing on how to campaign against terrorism proposes: (1) promotion of world-wide human rights, (2) respect for human dignity, and (3) solidarity and co-operation among nations (p. 112, 113, & 117). A moral cosmopolitan will see every human being as a brother/sister, a human person endowed with inalienable human rights. Human beings carry these rights by virtue of being humans. Respect for human rights requires seeing human beings as equal in dignity and deserving protection from harm and injury. Archibugi (2001) writes that the cosmopolitan principle is one that can help to mitigate terrorism and the extremes in the war on terrorism. Since all human beings have equal value and worth whether they are on our side or the side of the terrorist; then society should work to minimalize losses on all sides (Archibugi, 2001). By implication as Archibugi (2001) will argue: "Terrorism cannot be fought with terrorism.

Western democracies and the United States ought to demonstrate as of today that they are made of better stuff than Bin Laden and his accomplices. Which is why they should refuse to sow innocent victims, if they are not directly connected with the aim of preventing the insurgence of further losses". The war on terrorism or counter-terrorism campaign should recognize to use Martin Luther King's term that we are all tied in an inescapable network of mutuality. Collateral damages should be brought to the minimal in the fight against terrorists. The human lives of people caught-up in the locations where terrorists operate are as important as those fighting terrorism. The whole notion of human rights will be useless without a grounding idea of human identity. Citing Demetrius Klitou, a cosmopolitan writer, the New World Encyclopaedia Kilgour (2017) notes that cosmopolitanism is necessary to ground human rights for without a common human identity; there can be no human rights. The point should be argued that global terrorists need to come to an understanding that the human beings they terrorise are human beings like them deserving honour and protection. There is a great place for mutual dialogue with terrorists. As

Boff (2006) notes fundamentalists, and some religious fundamentalists end up being terrorists, often tend to be unreachable with rational arguments; despite this dialogue should not be ignored (p. 29).

Since one of the prime motivating factors that foster global terrorism is oppression with injustice; the quest for global justice and human rights among social political philosophers should not be neglected. These are two core trends associated with the discussion of cosmopolitanism in current philosophy, says Kleingeld (2011, p. 1140). The concern according to Kleingeld is not simply with obligations of individuals but just international institutions and economic regimes. There are equally fundamental human rights that inhere in all humans that have been endorsed by global institutions that should be respected (Kleingeld, 2011, p. 1142). There is no doubt that a better and just economic and international order that reduces oppressions, economic suffering, and pain of people in poorer countries will mitigate some forms of terrorist attacks. And will help people to resist persuasion from terrorists. Though Brassett (2008) notes that fostering international law, constructing international institutions, and alleviating poverty as cosmopolitan response to terrorism are not enough, but they are equally important. For Brassett (2008):

> *...Cosmopolitan responses to terrorism provide an important, but limited (and sometimes limiting), alternative to mainstream discourses on terror. After 9/11 the possibility for cosmopolitan thinking `beyond' the mainstream view was articulated by a range of authors, including Archibugi, Habermas, Held and Linklater. A brief survey suggests that defending international law, constructing international institutions, and alleviating global poverty. Kivimäki writes that a cosmopolitan mindset that foster global solidarity and common purpose can help to mitigate global security challenges...*

The moral cosmopolitan or the non-terrorist will see in the terrorist a fellow human being with equal dignity. The terrorist is in need of social redemption from the evil of terrorism. The terrorist deserves sympathy and empathy. His/her conscience need to be transformed and conscientized to come and

acknowledge that others are humans also. The terrorist needs to recognise the humanity of others as deserving honour and respect. Many terrorists are fanatical and fundamentalist and see no good in others. Therefore, they need to be re-educated and persuaded to come to recognition of the value in others. Terrorists use the internet and the new media to propagate their ideas. The internet could also be used by society to educate against terrorism through promoting the values of moral cosmopolitanism. Combating terrorism requires change through education to change that evil ideology and to transform the human mindset (Eruvbetine, 2008, p. 10). The most important mindset that needs to be transformed is that of the terrorist to enable him/her shun violence and terrorist warfare.

Umeh (2006) avers that:

The promotion of world-wide human rights as far as respect for human dignity is concern entails respecting other peoples' rights, tolerating other peoples' world-views, religions; cultures and traditions. It requires sensitivity to deep suffering experience of people in situation of social, economic, and political subjugations. It equally needs honest solidarity to victims of social disparity in the world (p. 117).

While society should strive to reach to the minds and hearts of terrorists to persuade them against terrorism through recognition of the human worth of others; society should also aim to live in global solidarity. Umeh (2006) argues thus:

Terrorism as a universal threat to world peace and security requires equally a universal solution. Combating this universal problem needs honest solidarity and cooperation among nations. It is an obvious reality that majority of the human family are living under a situation unworthy of human dignity. Majority are living below poverty level, suffering, and dying of preventable diseases, suppressed, and exploited, oppressed, and anthropologically rejected, socially and religiously brainwashed. On the contrary, only few are enjoying the fruits of modern science and technology; these few continue to maintain the unjust social structures and the artificial inequalities (p. 117-118).

Society should be attentive to economic situations that breed anger and inspire terrorist. When people suffer unemployment, hunger, deprivations, oppression; whereas they see others like them enjoying the amenities of life they tend to be easily convinced to rage against the richer people of society. It is painful to note that more than 80% of the world's wealth is located in the hands of a small fraction of humanity. And even in the so-called developed nations of the world, the wealth is in the hands of a few wealthy people. An examination of the causes of terrorism and the regions of the world where terrorism is rampant or where terrorists' influences emanate shows that the regions are among the poorest areas of the world and disadvantaged regions. Most of the terrorist attacks in the world are either taking place in the Middle East, Afghanistan, or Islamic societies or influenced by Jihadist movements from those areas. Some of these regions are rich in oil and gas resources but they are either grossly underdeveloped or the economic prosperity is in the hands of a few people. The virtue of MC requires solidarity among all people and that those who suffer are not neglected.

In the history of philosophy, Kant can be seen as a moral cosmopolitan. Kant (2001) affirmed the universal imperative to see each human being as an end not a means. Terrorist above all need to be schooled in this moral imperative. In proposing solutions to terrorism, Adedayo (2012) says that: "adoption of spirit of oneness and brotherhood..." (p. 361) can help in mitigating terrorism. The cosmopolitan spirit helps to foster this spirit of oneness. Terrorism will be difficult to seriously mitigate or eradicate if humanity does not emphasize what is common to all humans, the community humanity. There is a sacred flame that binds all humans together as a common humanity (Boff, 2006, p. 30).

One truth is that terrorism has gone global and only the forces of nationalism or regionalism cannot combat it. How do you combat terrorists in other nations and distant lands fighting you through the internet and other social media without cooperating and collaborating with other nations? The necessity to collaborate and cooperate already gives impetus to the cosmopolitan idea. Cosmopolitanism is not a total panacea to all the problems that terrorism poses. Some persons have critiqued the relevance of

cosmopolitanism especially in the wake of anti-globalization protests, morbid fear of immigrants, and xenophobic attacks on minorities. In spite of all these, Petriglieri (2016) writes that cosmopolitanism needs to be defended. He says:

> *It might seem prudent, in this climate, to take distance from cosmopolitanism. That choice, however, leaves a distorted image of cosmopolitanism unchallenged and lets it become a casualty in the clash between nationalism and globalization. We must do better than that. If we want to fend off the globalization of ultra-nationalism, now is the time to take a stand for cosmopolitanism—extricating its broadminded attitude from its elitist parody, and putting it to work to temper nationalism and humanize globalization.*

It should be stated clearly that cosmopolitanism does not deny the positive values in nationalism and other affiliations. What Moral cosmopolitanism will disagree with is using those affiliations to discountenance help and solidarity with fellow human beings. Petriglieri (2016) rightly notes that:

> *While they might sound similar, cosmopolitanism is not the same as globalization. One is a fragile personal attitude; the other is a relentless socio-economic force. One strives to humanize the different, the other to homogenize it. One celebrates curiosity, the other convenience. (Curiosity is often inconvenient.) One is embracing, the other expansive. One is easy to lose, the other hard to stop. Nationalism and globalization are more similar to each other than to cosmopolitanism, that way. And cosmopolitanism is what might help us counter nationalism and humanize globalization, pushing it to be a vehicle of freedom and opportunity for most, not just a privileged few.*

With regard to this point, we can make reference to Appiah (2017). Authentic moral cosmopolitanism is not absolute universalism or value dogmatism. It balances our obligations to others while recognizing particular human lives (Appiah, 2017). How does this help to combat global terrorism? It means that those who fight terrorism must take into consideration the particular lives of people and attend to what makes them turn to terrorism. In the 21st century cosmopolitanism is still very relevant. Imagine a world without cosmopolitan feelings or attitude. It will be a world rooted in morbid national, rugged individualism, and self-interest. In such a world nation will rarely come to the aid of other nations. Imagine a world without some basic universal moral principles to guide humanity. It will be a world of survival of the fittest. New World Encyclopaedia lives (2017) notes that: "Philosophical cosmopolitans are moral universalists: They believe that all humans, and not merely compatriots or fellow-citizens, come under the same moral standards. The boundaries between nations, states, cultures, or societies are therefore morally irrelevant. A widely cited example of a contemporary cosmopolitan is Kwame Anthony Appiah".

CONCLUSION

The fact is that whether one roots for cosmopolitanism or not, it has to a certain degree become a way of life of many. The world is already international and global and people cannot return to their idols of the cave. International human rights instruments have been helpful in protecting the human rights of people. Nations have been able to come to the aid of other nations when they are oppressed and attacked because of this affinity and solidarity. A world without some form of cosmopolitan spirit will become a world in which might is right. The moral cosmopolitanism adopted here does not in any way deny local and national cultures. What it questions in the light of justice are cultural practices that dehumanises the human being such as slavery, female genital mutilation, gender discrimination, human sacrifice, etc. If not for a moral cosmopolitan spirit, maybe slave trade, killing of twins, etc will still be practised in some regions of the world.

It is imperative to recognise that moral cosmopolitanism is necessary in our world and can help in combating global terrorism. For without a global sense of solidarity among humans, the evil of terrorism will continue to prevail and may perhaps bring the world into another dark age.

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