FROM TERRORISM TO NATIONAL MOVEMENT

ABSTRACT

The author analyzes the growth of global terrorism and activities of terrorist groups in contemporary world. Focusing on the ethnic and religious background of many terrorist groups, global terrorism, author argues, claims to be a powerful partner in new global conflict, gradually growing into national movements which could be supported by large ethnic, religious or racial communities across the world. Terrorist groups took its driving power and encouragement from the ideas and goals of the main group which principally lies in social injustice or economic inequalities of marginalized large social groups. Their links with ethnic, religious or social background pose the greatest potential threat to states with unstable economies, political turmoil, religious-ethnic hatred and with large-scale immigrants.

1. Postmodern Democratic Schisms

In the post Cold War period, the principal processes in international relations have shifted from dual to single: the ideological confrontation between Communism and Capitalism, and economic competition between state-planed economies and market economies; to a singular process of further development of capitalism as the dominant form of production and ideology. In the process of diminishing of Socialism the world has been moving toward a borderless global community with democratic tendencies. However, oligopolistic competition between multinational corporations (MNCs) has destroyed the cohesion of middle

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classes in industrialised countries, weakening the model of mass consumption and mass democracy, creating new social divisions and disputes within Capitalism. Despite the relative stability of capitalism, political instability and fragmentation of democracy has dramatically appeared in the post Cold War period.

Economic processes of accumulation based upon large vertical integrated corporations has been transforming into accumulation based upon horizontal and vertical integrated production of “more ideas than things” that has created global in scope social, political, cultural and environmental changes. Through mobilisation of capital, labour and human capital, MNCs has inaugurated globalisation of production and trade that made possible economic growth in the absence of economic development in peripheral areas. Free market policy, trade liberalisation, maintenance of secure property rights, become one of the most important segments of globalisation. Globalisation comes as result of fundamental changes in micro-economic and macro-political processes in the last century requiring more intensive co-operation, creating an new global hierarchical order in which disparity between developed and underdeveloped countries is much sharper than it was in the past.

Large parts of the world population live in countries with per capita incomes no more than $300 per year, with people in developed countries reaching one hundred times higher per capita. However, a high percentage of population in industrial developed countries has also been marginalized and has not been satisfied with its own living standard.

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2 According to the 1994 Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development jobs study, unemployment in OECD countries was below 10 million in the 1950s and 1960s but started to climb in the mid-1970s, reaching 25 million in 1990. By 1995, unemployment is expected to reach 35 million. In the mid-1970s, the share of wages in GNP in Europe, the United States, and Japan started to decline. The European Union share in 1995 is projected to stand at 62 percent as opposed to 75 percent in 1975. Wages discrepancies between skilled and unskilled labourers has widened in United States, Canada, and Australia, and real wages for unskilled workers in the United States declined more then one percent between 1980 and 1989.” (Eisuke Sakakibara, The End of Progressivism: A Search for New Goals, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 74, No. 5, 1995, reprinted in Globalisation and the Challenges of a New Century, (eds. Patrick O’Meara at all), Indiana University Press, 2000, p. 75.

3 1.3 billion people in underdeveloped countries live in poverty while 1.3 billion people have no access to running water. 800 million people in these countries have inadequate food supplies. Between 15 million and 20 million people die annually because starvation or disease aggravated by malnutrition; 10 million people die each year because of substandard housing, unsafe water, or poor sanitation in densely populated cities. (Michael T. Klare, Redefining Security: The New Global Schisms, Current History, November 1996, reprinted in Patrick O’Meara, at all, Globalisation and the Challenges of the New Century, Indiana University Press, 2000).

4 200 million people live below the poverty line in industrial countries, 500 million urban dwellers are world-wide are homeless or do not adequate housing, 100 million young people are homeless. (Michael T. Klare, Redefining Security: The New Global Schisms, Current History, November 1996, reprinted in Patrick O’Meara, at all, Globalisation and the Challenges of the New Century, Indiana University Press, 2000).
A small percentage of the world population live in developed industrial societies with long-established democracy and market economies, while other, much higher, percent of world population live in undeveloped societies with authoritarian regimes and weak democratic institutions, which makes for strong differences between expectancy and motivation of population in these countries. Different prospects and motivations have led to the new global phenomena of polarisation between traditional political culture and post-modern values.\(^5\)

The effect of globalisation on expecting and motivation of people inspire many conflicts which have occurred in different regions in post Cold War era, with religious, national, language, cultural, social, environmental, or technological differences, but linked to each other. These conflicts have appeared as principal battle lines in a fragmented yet highly interdependent global society. Despite their different backgrounds, these conflicts remain predominantly over disparity between the weak and powerful, developed and undeveloped, poor and rich, with references to identity conflict. Moving global antagonism from ideological and economic paradigm to cultural identity and democracy makes these conflicts different than conflicts in The Cold War Era.\(^6\)

Moreover, many causes of violence in our contemporary world can be explained only by analysing bordering lines between different background of conflicts. Studying these bordering lines between different ethnic, religious, national, languages, cultural or racial groups with different economic performances, over-population, environmental deterioration, or sharp social divergence between poor and reach regions, we can detect dramatic, complex and profound contradictions in contemporary world.\(^7\) Also, in industrial and technologically-developed multiethnic societies, shifts in loyalty from state to ethnic or religious identity is strongly supported by mass communication that makes people “increasingly competent in assessing where they fit in international affairs and how their behaviour can be aggregated into significant collective outcomes”.\(^8\)

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5 “Both traditional and modern values were shaped by economic scarcity, which prevailed almost everywhere until recently. But during the past few decades, a new set of post-modern values has been transforming the social, political, economic and sexual norms of reach countries around globe. These new values reflect conditions of economic security. If one grows up with a feeling that survival can be taken for granted, instead of the feeling that survival is uncertain, it influences almost every aspect of one’s worldview”. (Ronald Inglehart, Globalisation and Postmodern Values, The Washington Quarterly, Winter 2000, pp. 222-223).

6 “Nation-states will remain the most powerful actors in the world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilisations.” Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilisations?, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 72, No. 3, Summer 1993, p. 22.

7 “Each lines would represent a cleavage in the human community, dividing one group (however defined) from another; the deeper and wider cleft, and those composed of many fault lines, would indicate the site of current or potential conflict.” (Mishael T. Klare, Redefining Security: The New Global Schisms, Current History, November 1996, reprinted in Patrick O’Meara, at all, Globalisation and the Challenges of the New Century, Indiana University Press, 2000, p. 138).

2. From Organisational Structure to Structure of Ideas

In this controversial contemporary hierarchical world order, many social groups have been inclined to use the combination of poverty and population growth\(^9\) to get control over the domestic economic market and gain more political power, leading them to unusually to aggressive behaviour. In response to these processes governments are not always inherently interested in co-operative security policy. In these controversial political processes the importance of religious, national and cultural bonds is outpacing the importance of the welfare state, intensifying political tension and conflict between different religious, ethnic and cultural groups, as one of the principal forms of conflict in this millennium.\(^10\) So these global changes become fertile ground for appearance of global terrorism as an new peril for further democratic development.

Global terrorism can be seen as a result of the chief consequences of economic globalisation and political interdependence that caused fundamental changes in business and political operations. Fast global moving of people, capital, services, with rapid rise of information, and communications among different cultures and civilisations around the world has created a global environment with unprecedented opportunities for global activities. These changes in the world economy, trade and financial service, has grown into a global trade and financial network that lead to the incapability of governments to keep full control over land, economic and financial activities under its jurisdiction. Post-industrial society of “mass consumption” being involved in new type of political and cultural turbulence

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9 “According to the most recent UN estimates, total world population is expected to soar from approximately 5.6 billion people in 1994 to somewhere between 8 billion and 12 billion by the year 2050 - an increase that will undoubtedly place great strain on the earth’s food production and environmental capacity...Overall, the populations of the less-developed countries (LDC) are growing at a much faster rate than those of the advanced industrial nations. As a result, the share of world population accounted for by the LDCs rose from 69 percent in 1960 to 74 percent in 1980, and is expected to jump to nearly 80 percent in the year 2000. Among third world countries, moreover, there have been marked variations in the rate of population growth: while the newly industrialised nations of East Asia have experienced a sharp decline in the rate of growth, Africa and parts of the Middle East have experienced an increased. If these trends persist, the global distribution of population will change dramatically over the next few decades, with some areas experiencing a substantial increase in total population and others moderate or even negligible growth.” Mishael T. Klare, Redefining Security: The New Global Schisms, Current History, November 1996, reprinted in Patrick O’Meara, at all, Globalisation and the Challenges of the New Century, Indiana University Press, 2000, p. 136.

10 “In the uncertain world of subsistence societies, the need for absolute standards and a sense that an infallible higher power will ensure that things ultimately turn out well filled a major psychological need. One of the key functions of religion was to provide a sense of certainty in insecure environment. Physical as well as economic insecurity intensify this need.” (Ronald Inglehart, Globalisation and Postmodern Values, The Washington Quarterly, Winter 2000, pp. 223-224).
in post Cold War era with new opportunities for many activities which become global *par excellence*.

As the global political and economic environment has changed, the internal organizational form and political goals of global terrorism has been naturally changed. Aiming to challenge local government, transnational terrorist groups use effectively the weak democratic structure of the state, the dominance of traditional oligarchies, ethnic-religious divisions of society, and poor economic performances of states. Focusing on the ethnic and religious background of many terrorist groups, global terrorism claims to be a powerful partner in new global conflict, gradually growing into national movements which could be supported by large ethnic, religious or racial communities across the world.\(^\text{11}\)

In the public debate after the September 11 disaster, two questions on global terrorism have been focused by scholars and decision-makers: has a new type of terrorism appeared on the political scene, and, if so, what is its nature? Practical and theoretical issue of new type of terrorism is primarily focused on: terrorist motivation (religion, ethnic, racial or ideological sense), internal organizational network of terrorist group (loneliness or corporation model), consequences of terrorist attack (mass destruction and mass casualty), and weapon to which terrorist group has access (weapons of mass destruction, or conventional weapons).

Although terrorism is not an independent variable local political and social circumstances, global terrorism depends more on the new factors of global environment than on local political, cultural, psychological and others. However, despite the fact that global terrorism is usually a response to negative consequences of globalization, global terrorism is less concerned with a global audience and less interested in global public promoting own responsibility for terrorist attacks and in negotiating with governments. The audiences of global terrorism are large religions, ethnic or racial marginalized groups. The main goal of terrorist groups is to have strong influence on these social groups with religious, ethnic or racial backgrounds and to motivate them towards violent actions against each other, local governments, and against the process of globalization. As modern international terrorist groups

\(^\text{11}\) “The greatest change in recent decades is that terrorism is by no means militants’ only strategy. The many-branched Muslim-Brotherhood, the Palestinian Hamas, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Kurdish extremists in Turkey and Iraq, the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka, the Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA) movement in Spain, and many others groups that have sprung up in this century have had political as well as terrorist wings from the beginning. The political arm provides social services and education, runs businesses, and contests elections, while the “military wings” engages in ambushes and assassinations. Such division of labour has advantages: the political leadership can publicly disassociate itself when the terrorist commit particularly outrageous act or something goes wrong. The claim lack of control can be quit real because the arm wing tends to become independent.” (Walter Laqueur, *Post-modern Terrorism*, in: Patrick O’Meara at all, *Globalisation and the Challenges of a New Century*, Indiana University Press, 2000, p. 150).
are largely based on ideology of religion and ethnicity they play role as premiere opponent to the new international order or globalisation. Indeed it is often difficult to make distinction between foreign and domestic terrorism.

The principal justification of violence by terrorist groups is found in local government’s policies denying political and economic freedom for their own people, while tolerating and supporting activities of transnational organisations and even encouraging them to violent policy against ethnic, religious groups, and so creating violent social structure in peripheral areas. This strategy of justified violence of terrorist groups make these groups a major figure in peripheral world by making it clear to desperate members of ethnic, religious, racial or social periphery groups, people who don’t have any place, who feel they don’t have any prosperity, and who are frustrated with hatred of the other groups or strong pressure of local government. In such political and economic climate people /ethnic, religious, or racial group/ could see terrorist organization as someone who is fighting for their dignity. Attacks on government by these terrorist groups in some sense have made them a bigger deal than they were before.

In this circumstance the motivation of terrorist groups is often located in religious or social programs of large groups, which are incapable of accomplishing their political program in a legal manner. Lack of international support or recognition of the political claims of ethnic, religious or political movements, regularly create a political vacuum and terrorist groups with substantial financial support and scores of volunteers step in. Under these circumstances many terrorist organisation are trying to go after political program of marginalised social, religious or racial groups. Many international terrorist groups maintain an ethnic, racial or religious composition that makes it more national, racial or religious movement than simple terrorist organisation, that makes these communities over the world an ideal

12 “There is a lot... to explain why did bin Laden emerge. One of the main [two] factors for the emergence of the phenomena of bin Laden is the circumstances in Saudi Arabia. With the pathological rule of the royal family in a country like Saudi Arabia. But there’s the other factor which is very important... [you’re] creating the picture of America in the eyes of Muslims as [an] arrogant, hostile country to Muslim causes. Because of those two factors together, you would not be surprised to see a phenomena like bin Laden. I would see bin Laden as... a product of the circumstances. So bin Laden is not just a terrorist or just an operative out there. He’s part of a social movement. He’s a product of a new social structure. A new social feeling in the Muslim world. Where you have strong hostility not only against America, but also against many Arab and Muslim regimes who are allying to America... And that’s why if bin Laden was not there, you would have another bin Laden. You would have another name, with the same character, with the same role, of bin Laden now. That’s why we call it phenomena not a person. The phenomenon is based on the fact of a revival of religious feeling and religious values amongst the people?”

13 “That reality does not invalidate the analytical distinction between terrorists organisation and political movement; instead, it indicates the presence of “grey areas” where political, religious, and terrorist motivations mix with one another.”
recruiting and operational ground for terrorism. “In many states where the government is weak in providing basic public health services, these groups [terrorists] create parallel public institutions, such as schools, public health services, and social networks.”

3. Missions without Borders Invisible Network

Many terrorist groups have co-ordinated for mutual goals trying to provide large social and political support from many marginalised ethnic, religious or social groups with the aim to get legitimacy for their activities. Regardless of how the specific activities of these groups vary from region to region, or country to country, the potential for legitimacy of activities of terrorist groups is mainly placed in precarious political and economic position of different marginalised religious, ethnic or racial groups.

Terrorist links with ethnic, religious or social background pose the greatest potential threat to states with unstable economies, political turmoil, religious-ethnic hatred and with large-scale immigrants. Habitually ethnic-religious terrorist groups rely on political, financial and diplomatic support from these communities to endure their own ethnic-religious identity and so justify its activities against a common adversary. Taking power from ethnic-religious backgrounds, many terrorist groups provide themselves with legitimacy to act in the name of the large ethnic-religious community and to negotiate with government.

In such a situation the main goals of terrorist groups must not to be to maximise their own political power, but to maximise the political power of the group in which name the terrorist group acts. Terrorist groups are more interested in the realisation of political programs of larger marginalised social group /religious, ethnic, racial/ with the aim to justify their own activities, and to take political positions within the large groups and maximise their own political power on national level.

Adaptability is a crucial characteristic of modern terrorist organisations in process legitimisation and legalisation of its own political goals. “The most durable

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15 Under series terrorist attacks Israel’s had been compelled to make decision to enter serious negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, and pullout from southern Lebanon in 2000; and the United Kingdom’s decision to negotiate with Sinn Fein, the political front of the Irish Republican Army.

16 For example Chechnua terrorist organisations fiercely oppose Russian sovereignty, as evident by the 1994-96 war in Chechnya, and the more recent conflict that rekindled there in 1999. Those groups are driven by a protean blend of political, religious and ethnic motivations. Similar situation was in Kosovo where terrorist groups grown up into Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) as oppose Serbian government that would be latter recognised by international community as legitimate representative of the Albanian people in Kosovo.
terrorist groups are those that adjust to changing circumstances without jettisoning their ideological moorings. Both the PLO and Sinn Fein have moderated their public face without relinquishing their long-term goals.’

International terrorist groups often co-ordinate their activities for mutual interest. Recent reports suggests arms trafficking between many terrorist organisation with the same political goals regardless of ethnic-religious or racial background. For example terrorist groups backed by ethnic-religious or nation-racial background are more inclined to mutual co-operation while right-wing or left-wing political terrorist organisations more incline to co-operating with international criminal organisations.17 Political disorder, weak central government, civil war, and multi-ethnic tension, can provide many attractive conditions for the operation of terrorist organisations.18

During the Cold War, the super-powers and their allies regularly supported terrorist organisations that would act according to their political interest. State-sponsorship continues today, though some of the players have changed.

Future operations of terrorist organisations could be directed to increasing violent tactics using conventional weapons with mass casualties and huge destruction to the adversary’s economic, technological or financial network without any moral concerns. However, it is difficult to predict that terrorist organisations which would like to act in the name of marginalised groups would use biological or chemical weapons of mass destruction because they could lose the political support of the ethnic-religious or social groups in whose name they tend to act. However, this calculation might be changed over time and it does not means that large terrorist groups have no any interest to traffic in weapons of mass destruction to provide themselves self-confidence and power in this game. Many large terrorist organisations have demonstrated a willingness to posses biological, chemical and even nuclear weapon of mass destruction.19

Ethnic conflict is the dominant encouragement for terrorist actions in Post Cold War era. It is important to recognize that the concept of “security dilemma”

17 In Europe, the Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) and Breton separatists have reportedly coordinated arms thefts in northern Spain. In the Middle East, evidence suggests arms trafficking between Hezbollah and Hamas. In Asia, reports indicate the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the New Peoples Army have coordinated local attacks in the Philippines. In Latin America, the Japanese Red Army personnel have trained elements of the FARC in Colombia.

18 Afghanistan, Somalia, Georgia, even Bosnia and Kosovo provides en examples of how terrorist organisations can exploit conditions of political and legal disorder, economic instability and religious hatred.

19 Some terrorist groups appear more predisposed than others to inflict mass casualties. Japan’s Aum Shinrikyo (“Supreme Truth”), a large terrorist group driven by an apocalyptic ideology, attempted several major attacks involving anthrax before turning to chemical weapons. They are unlikely to be the last. Evidently Osama bin Laden’s “operatives have trained to conduct attacks with toxic chemicals or biological agents.”
conventionally applied by international relations theorists solely in the relations between states, applies equally well to rivalries of ethnic groups, that can create large terror networks. For example ethnic conflict in the Balkans did generate a considerable amount of “spillover” international terrorism. Sikh, Tamil and Kashmir extremists have also developed substantial overseas infrastructure for logistic support to international terrorism.

When some of the Islamic governments approved an international campaign against Islamic terrorism, large violent antigovernment protests took place in many Islamic countries. Many tensions between Islamic and Non-Islamic countries could spark new violence, particularly between India and Pakistan, Iran and Israel, Iraq and USA, Greece and Turkey, Albania and Serbia. Announcing war against Islamic terrorism made the middle class in many Arab countries hostile to Western interests and particularly to the interest of the USA. Islamic militant groups have extremely embraced Kashmir’s territorial dispute as part of a large Islamic struggle in the Islamic world against the West, particularly against USA, and they see Kashmir escalations as leading to a potential nuclear clash between Pakistan and India. Also, ruling families and English speaking elites in Islamic countries, although most of them hate and fear the threat of Islamic militants, are also deeply unhappy with Western strategy and tactics toward Islamic countries.20 Crucial political struggle against the terrorists’ brand of extremist ideology is nowhere near as lopsided as the ground war in many regions.

Attracting young and highly educated people on the basis of religious-ethnic or national-racial background, terrorist groups enrol in terrorist network thousands of active and passive sympathisers, which usually popularise their goals. These local groups, which are not usually directly affiliated with the central terrorist groups, have the freedom to use local opportunities and target local objects.

Modern terrorist groups are frequently established on a quasi-confederation or corporation organisational model. Usually the principal idea of the terrorist group or directives of head office /leadership of group is adhesive power between head office and affiliations of organisation more than organisational structure of the terrorist network.21 There are many small groups which must not be linked each

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20 “Military success requires political success, political success requires local allies, and local allies need among other things a clear conception of the future shape of a US-backed settlement, that they can present to the people.”

21 “Today, umbrella groups involving loose confederations of like-minded terrorist organizations supplement state sponsors. Religious leaders may issue general commands or fatwas, as did Osama bin Laden in February 1998 word “fatwa”: it means judgement Mr. Bin Laden has been involved in the declaration several “fatwas.” He allegedly uses this these fatwas to justify his “holy war” or “Jihad” against America and her allies. According to the Islamic science called “Usul al-fiqh” (Principles of Jurisprudence), a fatwa is binding when these four conditions are satisfied: 1) It is in line with relevant legal proofs, deducted from Koranic verses and hadiths; 2) It is issued by a person (or a board) having due knowledge and sincerity of heart; 3) It is free
other. Each small group has its own chain of command, its own logistics. They might be linked to head office of the main group or to the leader of the organisation. But they don’t belong to it like a special organisation with a pyramidal structure or anything like that. They took its driving power and encouragement just from the ideas and goals of the main group which principally lies in social injustice or economic inequalities of marginalized large social groups. The main terrorist danger lies within all those small groups.

The changes in organisational structure and tactics show a dramatic increase in sophistication of global terrorism. It was also similar in the sense that global terrorist groups found a weakness in the security system, and were able to exploit that with new tactics and new forms of terrorist attack (suicide bombers or suicide assailants).

4. New Targets of Terrorism

If we look at the World Trade Center disaster September 11, we can see that more people died in this single terrorist attack than have died in all previous international terrorist attacks in the last 32 years. That is astonishing. That takes us... that’s like trying to compare a bullet to a nuclear bomb. It is of a magnitude and a dimension that the world has not seen heretofore.

from individual opportunism, and not depending on political servitude; 4) It is adequate with the needs of the contemporary world. Bin Laden is the leader of the terrorist organization known as Al-Qaeda (“The Base”), which includes the Egyptian Islamic radical groups Al Jihad and Gamaat Islamiya as important allies. Overall, “The Base” has cells in more than 50 countries. Bin Laden’s group invests heavily in training cadre for action. According to one Middle East expert, “Al Qaeda uses training camps in Afghanistan and Sudan to prepare Islamic militants for revolutionary struggles in countries such as Algeria, Bosnia, Chechnya, Dagestan, Egypt, Kashmir, Lebanon, the Philippines, Russia, Somalia, Saudi Arabia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.”

“With a group as disparate and as decentralized as these networks, as the Osama bin Laden networks, we can be listening and monitoring one cell and one group of the network, one part of the network that seems to be very active and seems to be preparing something, and that could actually be disinformation or a cover for another part of the network that is not being monitored. One of the hallmarks of Osama bin Laden is that he picks and chooses from the enormous range of militant groups that are affiliated with him. And if he thinks the Americans are watching, say, a cell in Italy, as we were this past year, he doesn’t use or rely on a cell in Italy. He’ll call on a Malaysian cell or a cell operating in Canada. And that’s why this is the toughest kind of reporting to do. We don’t think it serves anybody’s interest at this point to start playing the blame game. It’s only going to be a waste of time and energy that we desperately need focused on what is going to be a long-term effort to root out these networks, which are even in our country, and to really fight terrorism.”

Modern terrorism does not make distinctions between civilian and military targets. This is particularly specific characteristic for Islamic terrorist group, where I rather speak about Islamic world-wide militant revolutionary movement than about Islamic nationalistic terrorism. Islamic terrorism broadened its threat to include all Westerns, particularly Americans, military and civilian. In his fatwa bin Laden has notified: “We do not differentiate between those dressed in
When terrorist groups attack the U.S. or U.K. objects in America, U.K. or in Africa, Asia or elsewhere, terrorist group want to destroy or kill not just Americans or British people. They want to select targets which can produce the highest level of destruction of international legal or political order, and cause the wrong strategic moves of wounded countries and to cause large scepticism about the process of economic, political and cultural global co-operation.

With this aim modern terrorist groups use computers, cameras, the internet, and other forms of advanced technology to run financial affairs, track accounts, establish terrorist group networks, manage training, store files making effective decision-making and propaganda, effect wire transfers, and encrypt communications. Equipped with cutting-edge commercial technology, with a high level division of labor and assignments, terrorist groups can outstrip the technical capabilities of states. Those advantages often allow terrorist groups to innovate their own plans and activities faster than legal authorities can respond. Using computers terrorist groups provide facilities for secure and effective co-ordination among terrorist groups and potential avenue of command, and control over own actions. Terrorist groups can exploit a wide network of humanitarian organizations, off-shore banking facilities, immigrant small enterprises, and church organizations, increasing own influence and laundering money.

General technological development increases the possibilities for terrorist groups to easily access highly proliferated conventional, chemical and biological weapons. Many highly educated people with professional and technical skills /including accountants, marketing specialists, managers, communications experts, money laundress, intelligence and counterintelligence specialists, and recruited military personnel, are readily found in terrorist organisation voluntarily

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24 “This notion that all terrorists want to kill Westerns not true. If that’s true, why haven’t FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] and ELM [National Liberation Army of Bolivia] been out attacking American targets and killing Americans? They’ll blow up oil pipelines, but they stay away from killing Americans. Kurdish Workers Party in Turkey, no compunction about killing Turks in Europe. Very hesitant to kill Americans in Europe or in Turkey.”

25 By attacking targets in U.S.A. Al Qaida’s leadership in any cases did not have in plan just to punish USA by destroying and killing American people. The main goals of that terrorist attack were first of all to increase global tension between Christianity and Muslims, to intensify animosities and confrontations between pro-western oriented Muslims government and disappoint large scale population in Islamic states and finally to bring in suspicious western concept of human rights and democratic values.
or as pre-paid experts. It makes government less confident and more nervous about terrorist activities.

Modern terrorist groups has typically attacked soft targets around the world that are not heavily secured. The main target of modern terrorism might be primarily economic and technological centers for various reasons: By destroying economic and financial centres terrorist will try to bring the whole international economy in confusion and to compel governments to change strategy of economic development; to produce huge economic, and financial damage, to reduce travel and to weaken economy of targeted country and make its economy unsecured and unstable for further foreign investment.  

5. State Answer:

The Domino Effect

After September 11, USA announced a new doctrine for global war on terrorism. In his speech on Sept. 20 to Congress, President of USA George W. Bush, said: “Every nation in every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.” This doctrine has been a starting point in the new response of USA against international terrorism. Many governments have joined the American global war on terrorism, accepting this policy.

However, this doctrine clearly has shown the limitations drawn in the language of absolutes. The central problem in this doctrine has been related to identifying adversaries and implementation of this strategy. The formulation “either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists” ignores the vast gray area between friend and foe, that has produced huge confusion among anti-terrorist members coalition and has created high level of hesitancy, inconsistency and ambiguity in practical implementation of this doctrine.

26 Some estimations has predicted that the World Trade Center disaster will cost American’s economy as much as $105 billion over the next two years. The trade center’s destruction cost $6.7 billion; $12 billion was lost in computers and other office equipment; rebuilding the complex will cost $5.3 billion; and the city’s economy will lose $11 billion in spending by the thousands of trade center victims. 115,300 jobs would be lost this year alone, though that number could be offset by gains in construction and other fields involved in cleanup and rebuilding. The city’s overall economy is estimated at about $380 billion a year. An early, preliminary estimate of the cleanup and rebuilding by congressional aides placed the cost of the attack at $39 billion - a figure that did not include lost economic activity. This lost in revenue will begin causing financial headaches in the following decade. After the Sept. 11 attack, Congress appropriated $20 billion to help New York economy with its recovery. Some of an additional $20 billion authorized for anti-terrorist measures Longer-term costs are still unfolding, including the damage to tourism. Flights at the three major airports serving New York - Kennedy, LaGuardia and Newark, N.J. - are down substantially. Delta said its flights from Kennedy and LaGuardia are off by more than 50 percent from pre-attack levels compared with a 32 percent decline nationwide.

27 “In sheer common sense, if someone is not with you, does that mean he’s automatically against you? I don’t think it’s a good principle. Unfortunately, most of life cannot be delineated in terms of black and white. It’s in various shades of gray, and foreign policy has to be sensitive to that.” (Zbigniew Brzezinski was President Jimmy Carter’s national security adviser, now he is Professor at the John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies).
By determining group states as terrorist state, occupying Iraq, extending military threat to Syria and Iran as terrorist-ally states, this anti-terrorist doctrine underestimated the huge negative impact in many war-torn regions, particularly regions with a high level of multi-ethnic or multi-religious animosity, as like as Near East, Middle East and the Balkans. In such tense situations, each state or ethnic group can miscalculate that this anti-terrorist doctrine gives them a blank check or green light to apply force against others, particularly against Muslim population. By increasing multiethnic and multi-religious suspicions and hatred, by ignoring entirely allies’ recommendations to make any accommodations to the priorities of others, this doctrine of war on global terrorism becomes highly compatible with priority goals of global terrorist network.28

This doctrine could easily make enormous advantage for terrorist organizations in the “war of words” which can be more dangerous than war of bombs. The terrorist’s genius has been to focus on the feelings of anxiety, hatred and economic despair of larger social groups, predominantly ethnic and religious groups, trying to radicalize their members.

To set up a new strategy

Modern terrorist organizations are highly rational and bright masters of violence, always thinking two or three steps ahead, and who do not act on emotion and an impulsive way, without fully weighing the consequences of their actions. They can be capable of intercepting communications between governments. The groups often have inside sources who might tell them of increased official activity, and they may even utilize spy satellite photos that show the activities of participants in internal or regional conflict.

As modern terrorist networks remain mainly invisible for government, which activities stay chiefly covered by political program of large ethnic, religious, social or racial groups,29 to use military action with the aim to destroy terrorist network could meet government with many difficulties.30

International responses to the modern terrorist challenge have to be moderated and have to include a political and diplomatic approach aimed at building a genuine coalition with marginalised social groups. By creating coalitions

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28 "It catches us in a dilemma, and the consequences of that dilemma are very powerful. ‘They make you choose between fidelity to your doctrine and muddling your way through. We’re in the middle-your-way-through phase, [because] the application of this doctrine throws us so completely onto the Israeli side that it can create ruinous consequences in the Arab world.’” (said Leon Fuert, who was Vice President Al Gore’s top foreign policy adviser.

29 “As modern terrorist organization based on ethnic, cultural and religious identity is difficult to penetrate. And it is based on shared passion and emotion and an ideology. And it’s difficult to buy an informant with money who is driven not by money but by ideology. Those are the hardest people to turn into informants. And so that makes it a much harder target.”

30 “Unsuccessful, inconclusive, or ineffective military operations by the United States and its allies against terrorists’ network would bolster the group’s prestige, by making appear it either either invincible or, at the very last, a fair match for the world’s major powers.” See: Peace Watch, United States Institute for Peace Washington DC, Vol. VII, No. 6. (Vol. VIII, No. 1, October/December 2001, pp. 2-4).
with these groups and opening new opportunities with a new vision and economic modernisation, creating more a humane world, government will be able to undermine the legitimacy of the terrorist groups. However, that requires more understanding of the periphery political, economic and cultural structure, feelings of the helpless, and discrimination of marginalized groups. Without elimination of this legitimacy of terrorist groups, destroying the political and moral credibility of global terrorism might be impossible.

Original in English

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OD TERORIZMA KA NACIONALNOM POKRETU

REZIME

Trans-državna sigurnosna paradigma određena je prije svega djelovanjem međunarodnog terorizma koji sve više izrasta u globalni pokret s obzirom na njegov etnički, vjerski, rasni ili kulturni background. Kada se govori o međunarodnom terorizmu kao globalnom pokretu tu se prije svega imaju u vidu široke socijalne, vjerske, etničke ili pak rasne zajednice u čijem marginaliziranom socijalnom, ekonomskom i političkom položaju moderna teroristička organizacija nalazi legitimnost svoga djelovanja. Moderne međunarodne terorističke grupe uvijek nastoje djelovati u ime i pod zaštitom šire etničke, vjerske, rasne ili socijalne zajednice te na taj način priskrbiti legitimnost za svoje aktivnosti. Međunarodne terorističke grupe nastoje svoje djelovanje pokriti političkim programom socijalno marginaliziranih slojeva stanovništva što im otvara mogućnost legitimnosti njihovih aktivnosti.

Izrastanje terorizma u globalnu prijetnju svjetskoj sigurnosti je predominantno posljedica ekonomske i političke globalizacije i međuzavisnosti što je prouzrokovano fundamentalnim promjenama u proizvodnji, trgovini i financijama. Visok stupanj fleksibilnosti pomjeranja ljudi, kapitala, usluga, informacija, sa rapidnim rastom komunikacija između različitih kultura i civilizacija širom svijeta uslovilo je kreiranje globalnog okruženja sa nesagledivim mogućnostima za globalno djelovanje terorističkih organizacija. Promjene u svjetskoj ekonomiji, trgovini i financijskim uslugama, vodile su kreiranju globalne međuzavisne financijske i tržišne mreže što je vodilo ka nemači vladu da drži kontrolu nad svim ekonomskim i financijskim transakcijama koje se odvijaju na teritoriju koji se nalazi pod njenom jurisdikcijom. Post-industrijsko društvo biva uključeno u novi tip političke i kulturne turbulenticje u posthladnoratovskoj eri, sa novim otvorenim mogućnostima za terorističke aktivnosti koje u novom okruženju globalizacije postaju globalne per excellence.

Kada se govori o globalnom terorizmu prvenstveno se misli kako na promjene koje nastaju u organizacionoj strukturi i radijusu djelovanju terorističkih organizacija (korporacijski sistem organiziranja sa afilijacijama u više zemalja, visok stupanj decentralizacije, manja uloga lidera grupe, korišćenje novih tehnologija u organiziranju i djelovanju terorističkih grupa...), ali isto tako i na promjene koje nastaju u motivaciji djelovanja terorističkih organizacija (socijalni motiv, vjerski i kulturni identitet marginaliziranih masa, antiglobalizam...) i posljedicama koje globalni terorizam može da proizvede za društvenu zajednicu (masivne fizičke destrukcije, biološka degradacija, hemijska kontaminacija, masovno povređivanje i stradanje i ubijanje ljudi).

Opravdanja za svoje djelovanje moderne terorističke organizacije najčešće nalaze u političkom ponašanju lokalnih vlasti ili u ponašanju lokalnih političkih partija, koje po njihovom shvatanju ograničavaju političke i ekonomske slobode sopstvenim građanima, kroz tolerantan ili suportirajući odnos prema djelovanju transnacionalnih organizacija ili drugih država čije aktivnosti dovode u pitanje etnički, vjerski, rasni ili kulturni identitet lokalne zajednice, kreirajući time nestabilnu socijalnu strukturu u kojoj državno nasilje zauzima centralno mjesto.
Strategija legitimacije djelovanja fokusira strategiju globalnog terorizma najčešće na vjerski i socijalni program marginaliziranih grupa koje nisu u mogućnosti ostvariti svoj politički i socijalni program kroz odgovarajući politički oblik djelovanja. Nedostatak vladine i međunarodne podrške i ne priznavanje političkih zahtjeva marginaliziranih vjerskih ili političkih pokreta, redovito kreira vakuum u kojem se uspješno ubacuju terorističke organizacije sa značajnom financijskom i organizacijskom podrškom u cilju realizacije legitimnih zahtjeva ovih društvenih grupa. Sa ovom strategijom djelatnost terorističke organizacije ostaje pokrivena političkim, nacionalnim, vjerskim ili etničkim programom marginaliziranih društvenih zajednica.

Iz razloga ostvarivanja legitimnosti, svoje sopstvene aktivnosti međunarodne terorističke grupe u svojoj unutarnjoj organizaciji prate etničku, vjersku ili rasnu kompoziciju marginaliziranih društvenih zajednica koje postaju idealna sredina za regrutiranje novih članova terorističke mreže. Mnoge terorističke organizacije koje su organizirane na istoj platformi etničkog, vjerskog, rasnog ili kulturnog identiteta, organiziraju široke mreže međusobne saradnje u sinhroniziraniu podršku marginaliziranim zajednicama sa istim identifikacionim kodom, pribavljajući na taj način vjek stupanj legitimnosti za svoje terorističke aktivnosti. U ovakvim situacijama terorističke grupe mogu računati na visok stupanj političke i financijske podrške vjerskih i etničkih zajednica u borbi protiv druge etničke, vjerske ili kulturne zajednice ili protiv vlade kao zajedničkog neprijatelja. Dobijajući podršku od šire etničke, vjerske ili kulturne zajednice teroristička mreža obezbjeđuje sebi legitimnost djelovati u ime ove zajednice i pregovarati sa vladom u cilju riješavanja statusa etničke zajednice.

U ovoj situaciji glavni cilj terorističke grupe obično nije maksimiziranje sopstvene političke moći, već prije svega maksimiziranje politički moći društvene grupe u čije ime djeluje. Teroristička organizacija je vjese zainteresirana za realizaciju političkog programa marginaliziranih socijalnih grupa sa ciljem dobijanja legitimacije za svoje terorističke aktivnosti, da bi potom kroz realizaciju političkog programa etničke, vjerske ili rasne grupe kojoj pripada maksimizirala svoju političku moć i na taj način legalizirala svoj politički status na nacionalnom nivou. Ova strategija zahtjeva visok stupanj fleksibilnosti i sposobnosti organizacione i funkcionalne adaptabilnosti što je određujuća karakteristika moderne terorističke mreže.

Premda je globalni terorizam predominantno odgovor na negativne posljedice globalizacije, globalni terorizam više zavisi od lokalnih političkih, ekonomskih, kulturnih ili psiholoških determinanti. Globalni terorizam je manje zainteresan za globalnu audienciju, manje je zainteresan za javno međunarodno promoviranje i preuzimanja sopstvene odgovornosti za preduzetne terorističke akcije ili pak za pregovaranje sa vladama. Glavni fokus djelovanja međunarodnih terorističkih organizacija je njihov utjecaj na lokalne marginalizirane velike vjerske, etničke ili kulturne zajednice. Njihov cilj je motivirati te zajednice na aktivnosti protiv lokalne vlade, protiv procesa globalizacije, protiv država, organizacija ili multinacionalnih kompanija koje stoje na putu ostvarenja njihovog političkog programa ili pak konfrontirati ih jednu u drugom u cilju postizanja sopstvenog cilja koji je predominantno usmjeren ka stvaranju većeg političkog utjecaja marginaliziranih zajednica.

Unutarnjog organizacija struktura međunarodnih terorističkih grupa postupno se transformira od strogo hijerarhijske strukture ka visoko-decentraliziranoj strukturi sa lokalnim afilijacijama, po uzoru na unutarnju strukturu multinacionalnih kompanija, koje imaju visok stupanj autonomije što otežava identifikaciju terorističke mreže. Kohezivna snaga terorističke mreže sve više se pomjera od infrastrukture ka ideji ili uputi (saopštenju) intelektualnog jezgra grupe ili lidera. Oko glavne ideje formira se ceo niz malih grupa koje često djeluju nezavisno jedna od druge. Samo ideja, strategija ili upute koje povremeno izdaje intelektualno jezgro terorističke mreže, koje je praktično nemoguće ili veoma teško locirati i identificirati, povezuju ih u jedinstvenu virtualnu terorističku mrežu (network).

Ideja i strategija terorističke grupe, koja najčešće fokusira socijalnu nepravdu, kulturnu, rasnu i vjersku diskriminaciju, ekonomsku besperspektivnost marginaliziranih zajednica, same po sebi postaje jedan od determinirajućih motiva i pokretača brojnih terorističkih aktivnosti malih sasvim izoliranih terorističkih grupa, ili samo pojedinaca. Ta rizfnost i nevidljivost hijerarhijske idejne infrastrukture predstavlja najveću opasnost koja dolazi od globalnog terorizma.