Terrorism: political, socio-psychological and ideological factors and their impact on multilateral dialogues and negotiations in global security rethinking in the 21st century

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Executive Summary

Over the past decades, international terrorism started to reach its ideological peak, challenging and disrupting whole societies and governmental organs. This modern form of terror contains violent implications, psychologically pressing the innocent masses. Initially inspired by occasional, domestically constricted insurgencies from the past, the nature of terrorism began its societal expansion and self-radicalization even further. Some of the most prominent terrorist leaders, one of which was Usama bin Laden, were seen as the general initiators of some of the biggest attacks against the Western world. Initially associated with the most popular form of terrorism, namely the jihadist one, the role and impact of terrorism testified its fatal existence. In addition, its dominating presence showed the constant struggle for its global recognition. The war against the terrorists became a dynamic occurrence, observed in a variety of opposing ideologies and political struggles. In this context, the terrorist tendencies in the current millennium constitute a great part of the whole understanding of terrorism.

Terrorism, contemporarily seen as the modern war of the century, is primarily employed as an act of protest, frustration and confrontation, initiated and based on a variety of reasons. These are simultaneously aiming at different targets, mostly ethno and ideological-political ones. Based on its differently charged ideas, terrorism splits in many historical definitions. Some of these definitions suggest that currently terrorism is still strongly rooted in conventional warfare. In that sense, modern terrorism and conventional war identify primarily with similar motives, strategies, tactics and practical concepts.

The overall image of internationally and locally grown terrorism is still in development. For the past decade, prevailing forms like Islamist, left and right terrorism and anarchism have constantly gained regional momentum. However, their mass emergence in the late 20th century and further development experienced fluctuating periods. In that sense, the modern terrorist's tendency started showing its strategic alterations. For example, the current planning and organization of terrorist acts, takes place within different organizational schemes, time slots, transnational networks or loose groups. However, these observations need to be further outlined in the context of the counteracting tools of the Western world – the counter-terrorism programmes. In view of this, counter-terrorist initiatives came into existence, initiated as one of the most horrific attacks against The United States on September 11, 2001. The following attacks in Madrid, London, and constant terrorist threats, laid the future foundations for combating this form of war.

The ideological evolution of modern terrorism began its dissemination with several basic points, steadily interrelating and associating with the changing image of technology, globalization, counter-terrorist dynamics and democratization of societies. In the first instance, the primary terrorist incentive changed, in terms of tactics and degree of societal harm. In that sense, one of the most important signs of this process showed that terrorism succeeds in adapting to the given politico-social environment, which makes its obliteration more complex. Secondly, the reflections suggest that doctrines and motives slowly start overlapping, in terms of specific strategies and strive for popularization. This observation shows that the immense power of ideological masses continues to support terrorism and its existence. Thirdly, the role of globalization influences, to an extent, the whole picture of terrorism, in terms of communication and general ideological dissemination. This all reflects on the contemporary emergence of strongly coherent terrorist cells and networks in the Western world. These groups are characterized in transnationally grown terrorists, in particular Middle-East immigrants.

The current state of terrorism mobilizes many mainstream ideologies, regimes, overall societal perceptions and occurrences into negatively connotated ideas. In addition, modern terrorism supplements the flow of indoctrination, making its ideological dissemination clearer. It is therefore worth noting that the future suggests quite disturbing scenarios, which require mutual and cooperative support.

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Martina Petkova

Preface

The paper was compiled as a Bachelor thesis at The Hague University in the Netherlands in 2011.

The purpose of the thesis is to discuss the interconnectivity between terrorism, its patterns and role of mutual cooperation in the context of globalization in the 21ˢᵗ century.

The thesis is based on different perspectives, showing that the modern world could be best depicted as a global scene for cultural exchange. In such multicultural environment, ideological clashes do inevitably emerge. In general, terrorism imposes a great threat, having strong multinational repercussions, especially in the Western world. Therefore, it is essential to discuss the fundamental terrorist characteristics, which will enable us to create a stronger reaction basis for prevention.

The paper consists of five parts, each of which focuses on different aspects of contemporary terrorism. These sections have been divided in political, socio-psychological and ideological factors, in global security rethinking in the current century. Chapter 1 examines the epochal division of definitions, tracing back the etymological roots of terrorism to the ancient times. Chapter 2 analyzes terrorism-driven motives and forms of this phenomenon, primarily based on psychological and analytical findings. Chapter 3 outlines already existing terrorist groups, their funding, degrees of success and peculiar nature of their strategies. Chapter 4 presents the asymmetry of terrorism and discusses the methodological illustration of vertical and horizontal perceptions. The last chapter discusses the hindrance and impact on current cross-cultural dialogues and multilateral negotiations, as well current initiatives, programmes and counter-terrorist policies in Europe and The United States.

This thesis paper should be of interest to academics and professors, but also to terrorism research institutes and public organizations. It also might be practical for post-graduates and counter-terrorism practitioners.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Throughout the most vivid historical examples of political, cultural and social upheavals, wars and revolutions, the dominating nature of terrorism managed to generate a variety of theoretical alterations. These were either situated within the different ideological layers of the terrorist terminology, or its forms and definitions. In this analytical context, the prevailingly monolithic purposes of terrorism will be epitomized as primarily mass manipulative tools. Emerging in different regimes, albeit operating predominantly in democratic environments, the act of terrorism could be referred to as one of the brightest exemplifications of the modern warfare, which have been traced back in the history thus far. By conceptualizing these specific regimes, the analysis provokes the division of this term in fundamental motives-driven subgroups and factors, such as political, socio-psychological and ideological ones.

The complexity of the term terrorism and its great palette of different connotations, suggests that this phenomenon could be best analyzed within its historical and contemporary contexts. As the specific political environment shows, the main groups characterize themselves within the barriers of violent, purpose-driven factors and concepts. All those factors could be interpreted as the most dominating ones, especially within the sphere of transnational, multilateral dialogues and negotiations in global security rethinking in the 21ˢᵗ century. In this context, the presence and impact of terrorism still disturbs the societal norms and order, taking it to a new level of political insurgency and ideological dissemination. In addition to this, terrorism becomes one of the most major sources of interest both for media and society, giving publicity to different ideological proclamations.

Terrorism, identified as a tool and political and cultural event of the 21ˢᵗ century, explicably follows the path of globalization, expanding and evolving in its collectivistic (organized) joint groups, causing vigorous mutual justifications of violence and societal harm. In that sense, numerous definitions of this term could be best divided and recapped into groups, structurally outlining their initial purposes. It is important to note that this contemporary occurrence imposes very powerful threats, to both the Western world and the local inhabitants of terrorist countries as well. Many contemporary trend reports suggest that the most popular forms of terrorism emerged precisely from the eminent process of globalization and have further evolved and transformed with it. These forms could be thus delineated in the following kinds of terrorism and extremism: state terrorism (political), religious terrorism (Islamist), radical terrorism (extremism), ethno-nationalist and separatist, ideological terrorism (left

and right-wing terrorism), single-issue terrorism, bioterrorism, cyberterrorism, ecoterrorism and narcoterrorism (Europol TE-SAT, 2011, p.9).

Despite the various terrorist groups and their individually functional purposes, the most common and fundamental tenet appears to be to ruin the political system and hinder its development. In addition, these groups aim at general influence on the progress of a society, mostly through violent coercion. In this context, setting a concrete theoretical pattern, based on the latter aspects, would eventually segment the problem and create a current and prospective understanding.

Chapter 2. History of Terrorism

2.1 Epochal Etymology and Definitions

Terrorism is a complex phenomenon generated by a variety of factors. In order to deliberatively research and analyze these factors, it is important to constantly refer to the interconnectivity between the different historical periods and ideological contexts, shaping their evolutionary path.

The derivation of the word "terrorism" splits into three epochal etymological stages, consequently divided into historical and contemporary ones. The oldest historical term is: '*Terrere*' (Latin – to terrify). This term could be considered the germinal one, dating back to the first Mesopotamian Empire – the State of Saragon in 23ʳᵈ century BC. During this period, terror was seen as a technique, incorporated in the governance (Chaliand, 2004, p. 63). The next epoch shows the usage of the actual term, namely *terrorism*, as a governmental intimidation during the Reign of Terror in France (Etymology Dictionary Online, Terrorism Definition, para.1), which came into existence during the Reign of Terror in France in the 18ᵗʰ century. The last and most contemporary stage of this term can be solely depicted within the context of the late 20ᵗʰ and 21ˢᵗ century. Today, the overall image of terrorism becomes mainly associated with the Islamist doctrine. For example, the ideological group of the Talibans preaches the jihad, proclaiming its religious nature. Nevertheless, other forms of terrorism like extremist and ecological constitute a great part of this century as well. These observations can be given the fact that the process of globalization contributes to the development of terrorism and its various aspects, both on local and international levels.

The aforementioned historical division suggests that terrorism manifests itself as a multi-definable term, tracing back its meanings to the early antiquity, equally evolving and expanding during the centuries. Since terrorism's very first appearance, its main purposes were primarily aimed at violently influencing the politics and thus evoking the provocation of a possible coup d'état within the societal layers. The idea behind these provocations is most clearly seen in primarily despotic societies, whereas the tool of terror was clearly used to subordinate and manipulate the masses.

Unlike the complexity of other societal occasions, terrorism could be classified as quite a different one. The reason for this statement lies in the basis of the definitions. Many terrorism experts like Laqueur (1996), Hoffman (2006) and Crenshaw (1995), contend that terrorism should be analyzed within the

specific framework in which it has been used, in order to avoid attaching inaccurate political or cultural connotations to its temporary meanings. For this purpose, the following definitions have been historically contextualized, aiming to illustrate the alterations in its core prints.

The general historical timeline, which is to be used in the following paragraphs as a defining tool, suggests the division of the terrorist definitions up until the 21st century. This timeline could be best structured in the following epochs*: B.C., A.D., Middle Ages, early 18th, 19th and early 20th century*. In other words, the highlights of the epochal definitions could be easily outlined and segmented into dynamical and stagnant ones, depending on their function in the historical era. By appointing and differentiating these periods, the outlined similarities and diversities will help apprehending the concrete pattern for defining terrorism, in the context of globalization and multilateral interactions.

The reasons for the appearance of terrorism are extensively complex and multi-factored. Some of the main and ostensibly visible ones are taken as predominantly *religious, ideological, politically-economic* and *pragmatic* ones. Moreover, further reasons for the materialization of terrorism are underlying factors, such as *historical*, *ethnical, moral, socio-psychological, spiritual and societal*. All these constitute a great part of the general definition of terrorism and its evolutionary development during the centuries.

B.C. & A.D. epoch

The B.C. and A.D. periods imply primarily political-religious and ideological incarnations like Islam, Judaism and Christianity, which had an inevitable impact on the meanings and functionality of terrorism and its definition. One needs to admit that the primary nature of any given religion is ostensibly discriminative in its character. This is observed especially in the monotheistic ones. In that sense, the Islam's doctrine aims at the "Holy War" and its rivalry, implementing threatening and terrorizing tactics. The core of the Christian religion, on the other hand, was altered during 3rd century AD by the ruler Konstantin. This religion transformed into a slight governmental ideology, again used as a tool for manipulation. Historical examples for this statement are the enslaving of the Jewish people, the division of The Kingdom of Israel and Judah, the numerous conquests of Babylon, Palestine under the Assyrian rule in the span of 18th century BC - 2nd century BC.

The prominent writer Brandon (1967) presents in his work on "*Jesus and the Zealots, A Study Of the Political Factor in Primitive Christianity*" the important role of religion and its multifaceted influence

on the human beings. The author throws light on one of the first archived manifestations of organized terrorism by the Zealots[1], traced back to 1st century AD. The Zealots were making use of terrorist tools, like manipulating the society mainly through organized rebels, psychological tactics and ideological bigotry. Another classical exemplification of the early terrorist movements comes along with the appearance of the sect Hashashini (The Order of Assassins). Chaliand (2005) emphasizes that both of the aforementioned sects made use of the religion and its monotheistic apparatus. Their act of terror was a natural re-embodiment of the discord and fear from the process of ideological assimilation. According to the logic of this observation, the statement could be considered as the milestone of terrorism in the early ages. In both accounts, religion was incompatible part of the governance of a country or its politics, especially until its secularization. This observation suggests the ideological outcries, preserved by the history itself. Proceeding from the assumption that both factors *politics* and *religion* were equally dominating and were part of these antique definitions, one can conclude that the term "terrorism" and its further metamorphosis, was very much influenced by the overall political-religious impact.

The Middle Ages

The following important period, which is to be briefly outlined, is the medieval one. The Middle Ages can be referred to as very much related to the proceeding role of religion. History shows that one of the brightest examples, which could be used as a depiction of this epoch, is the Crusade. Christians were aiming to reclaim Jerusalem from the occupation of Muslims. The First Crusade to liberate the Christians was the actual beginning of the subsequent ideological crusades, which led to counter-attacks and bloodshed. This epoch is characterized by the rebirth and rise of the Islam over Christianity and Judaism. The Islamic rule, seen in the deeds of the vigorous Ottoman Empire, Muslim sects (Shiites and Sunnites) and the continuance of the antique groupings of the Hashashini, merged into an overshadowing ideological rival, slowly conquering and spreading through the ages to Northern Africa, Syria, Iran, Anatolia, Pakistan and the Iberian Peninsula.

History witnesses numerous of techniques and tools for identifying the grounds for societal psychological oppressions, and restrictions of the religious and ideological beliefs, such as

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[1]*Def* Zealot -

any of the members of an extreme Jewish sect or political party that resisted all aspects of Roman rule in Palestine in the 1st century ad; also referred to as *Sicarii* (Dictionary, Zealot)

persecutions, expulsions, tyranny, anti-humane acts and religious bans. All combined together, capture the nature of these acts of terror. In a summary for this epoch, one could deductively extract the presumption that religion has started outlining itself as multi-layered, dimorphic phenomenon. This is namely the Islam - interpreted in the light of religion, culture, and ethnicity and hence followed by the inevitable societal impact on people.

18ᵗʰ -20ᵗʰcentury

Further historical epochs, such as the late 18ᵗʰ, early 19ᵗʰ and 20ᵗʰ centuries cover quite similar points as the ones mentioned above. The interpretation of religion, in the context of terrorism, indicates the complex nature of the human character. It implies constantly repeating actions and counteractions, provoking the spasm of the differently layered factors in a society. In light of this, the aim to interfere in the psychological, political and ideological layers manifests in constant theoretical reference, based on cultural and societal peculiarities. This creates the complexity of clearly defining terrorism during the epochs.

The late 18ᵗʰ-19ᵗʰ century in Europe qualifies as an era of revolutions, battling ideologies and terrorist violence. The emergence of nationalistic movements, left and right wing extremist groupings, revolutions, social class upheavals, colonization and massive geographical expansion, constituted only a certain part of this period. By entering in the pre-modern era, Kautsky (1919) analyzed the terrorism as an act of protest against the ruling monarchical power in France, socialist government in Russia and emergence of new ideologies, reaching far beyond manipulating the masses. Revolution was the main reason for the outburst and will for social liberty and opportunism, which triggered the terrorist apparatus. In this period, two important events are to be analyzed as the most fundamental ones, with reference to K. Kautsky's (1919) work on "*Terrorism and Communism*". The focus will be put on The French Revolution ("Reign of Terror").

On one hand, the Russian terrorism "Red Terror" was a massive repressive act of communism, terror and violence, realized by the Bolsheviks party in Russia On the other hand, the French Revolution on also referred to as the "Reign of Terror" took place 1787 – 1799 in France was slightly different event. The French Revolution was an outburst of the different social classes, protesting against their lack of political power, unsatisfactory division and ignorance. (Encyclopedia Britannica, French Revolution, para.1) As noted before, the actual definition of the word "terror" and its modern implications

emphasizes on the emergence of this event and its recognition, mainly in the form of anarchist terrorism.

The campaign "Red Terror" however, was seen in other parts of the world as well. In Ethiopia, whereas the initiation for the terror to happen, was triggered by the counterrevolutionary movements, occurred under the Military Regime in 1974-1991 by Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam. (Rock, 2009, "The Ethiopian Red Terror Trials: Transitional Justice Challenged. African Issues", para.1). This form of terrorism could be described as a political/nationalistic one, in the context of the Red Terror initiatives.

The next important event, which influenced and contributed to the shaping of modern terrorism, was namely the birth of the movement Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in the 20th century in America.

> Ku Klux Klan, inspired from WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant), achieved success between 1921- 1926 across the country, especially in northern and mid – western states such as Indiana and Pennsylvania. Between 1923 -1924 there were 4-8 million Klan members, including strong female contingent. (..) Though opposed to black and Jewish advances, the movement was primarily and fundamentally anti-Catholic, and drew on the ideas and literature of the Ultra Protestant movements of the previous century. (Jenkins, 1997, p.211)

In this definition of the KKK, one can observe the terminological layers of terrorism, namely political, religious, and racial (ethnic), which actually shaped this American movement during the 20th century. Furthermore, the 20th century gave birth to the ideological layers of the epochal categorization of terrorism, especially in Europe. This periodic division reflected on the ideas, theories and ideological doctrines, which had their impact on the continent. For example, the appearance of different streams, like Marxism, extremism, racism, nihilism, revolutionary movements, anarchism and many others, aiming to counteract against the already established rules of the political systems. These ideologies transformed into different terrorist forms, such as anarchical terrorism (at the beginning of the 20th century). In line with this, this century was marked by ideological wars and terror.

The contemporary 21st century's terrorism could be percept as an overall definition of all epochs mentioned above. These definitions radicalize steadily in the given ideologies and progress with the help of dominating ideological leaders. The outbreaks of the old religious fundamentals of terror and the impact on the process of globalization have created a peculiar environment for the growth of the 21st century's terrorism – both within Europe and the European Union and outside of it. In addition to

this, the powerful presence of groupings like, IRA, ETA and non-European ones like Al-Qaida and Hezbollah influenced modern terrorism as well. For example, the Egyptian Sayyid Qutb[2] is one of the most prominent, fundamentalist theologians. He is preaching the strong interconnectivity between Islam and politics in the Arab world in the early 20th century, entirely proceeding from the Quran. Moreover, Sayyid Qutb's criticism and overall ideological position against the Western World, incorporated in the 21st centuries' jihadist terrorism, was later seen in the deeds of Usama bin Laden and other Islamist leaders. In Europe, one of the equivalents of the already mentioned Islamist inspirational leaders, roots in the history of the WWII, with prevailing fascist, left-wing and nationalist aggressors like Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini and others. However, the focus on contemporary terrorism will follow in Chapter 4 and discuss the issue more insightfully.

2.2 What is terrorism?

Terrorism as a theory

Despite the different definition, there are several formulations, in which the most common observations on terrorism have been summarized. Purely geopolitically interpreted, one could take as an example two basic definitions, respectively from Europol and the FBI. The European Law Enforcement Agency "Europol" and the EU Council define terrorism as follows: "(...) terrorist offences are international acts, which given their nature and context, may seriously damage a country or international organization where committed." (EU Council Framework Decision on Terrorism (2002/275/JHA). The Federal Bureau of Investigation defines terrorism, however not entirely in this definition as "the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives". (Federal Bureau of Investigation (28 C.F.R. Section 0.85). These definitions present terrorism as a mechanism for primarily internationally used forces, aiming against the normal societal algorithm, political apparatus and ideological segmentations. It could be thus added that terrorism carries others meanings as well, such as breaching and destabilizing democratic societies and freedoms. Nonetheless, it is important to note that terrorism is rooted in the fundamentals of war and currently is a typologically inherited term. This observation is in practice amply demonstrated through historical events, showing the terrorist's purposes. Moreover, this one-sided attack in the form of war

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[2] see A.Musallam 2005 " From Secularism to Jihad – Sayyid Qutb and the Foundations of Radical Islam", p.167, Chapter 8," Martyrdom, Posthumous Impact, and Global Jihad" on the history of jihad, its first appearances on the global stage and further transformations, up until today

emerges for the purpose of political provocations and speculations. In relation to this, contemporary terrorism is primarily integrated in state-based conflicts and unrest acts of armed violence. In some cases, terrorism could as well be seen as a criminalized deed, emerging from state-sponsored initiatives.

The rich history of humankind has determined the complex, yet ostensibly fragile path of globalization and development. Different aspects, factors and motives have provoked multinational polemics and wars. The role of religion and politics were the utmost examples, having their impact on one of the earliest rudiments of multilateral dialogues. The more cultures, ideas and societies were interacting, the more the cultural palette was evoking and thus slowly creating a concrete field for conflicts. The human character began to alternate between dominating or being diminished by the mass. The primary fear amongst the dynamically changing societal layers, which added up to this, was the one to be assimilated – as an individual and as a set of particular ideas and ideologies. The reactions to the latter were manifested through a systematic clash of civilizations in the past. In relationship to this contemporary analysis, one can refer to Huntington (1993) and his polemics on the theory of patterns of prospective global conflicts. The author of the corresponding work on "Clash of civilizations?" advocates the theory that future conflicts will emerge from cultural sources, among the great nations and political dialogues. Proceeding from these assumptions, this explanation could be related to the act of terrorism and its actual correspondence with Huntington's idea. All in all, the latter appears to be a very crucial milestone for this theoretical discourse.

Terrorism as a war

Contemporary terrorism finds its fundamental roots in the conventional war and its early manifestations. By looking back to WWI, WWII and the Cold war, one can actually recall many similarities in the nature of the core incentives. In particular, the strong nexus between the modern war against terrorism and the Cold war in the past, suggest that they share many similarities. For example, the senior associate expert Lieven (2001) presents arguments, reflecting on the multifaceted combat against the communist movements and emerging trends of nationalism. This argument rests on the idea that terrorism exists in some societies, particularly the ones, with despotic leaders.

The general similarities between these two complex strategies lie in the fact that both of them initially aim at destroying the political, rather than religious bases of a country. To a certain extent, these strategies deliberately aim at realizing immediate visions. The tactics applied are often targeting lower

levels, undermining the whole governmental system. Furthermore, another important observation suggests the peculiarity of terrorist maneuvers, associating with small, but constant moves against the victimized country. These strategies could be seen as small attacks, single bombings, assassinations, attacks against noncombatants and others. The modern face of this 21ˢᵗ century war, also called terrorism, could be most correctly summarized in a rebellious protest, initiated from radicalized spiritual leaders.

Notwithstanding, the interconnectivity between the social and ideological misbalance must not be omitted, albeit its speculated influence on the issue. In other words, the inequality can be interpreted as consequences, rather than initiations of terrorism. All in all, the secularization of reasons and their congestion, define the actual modern era of war and its consequences. The main differences are characterized in the fact that terrorism is psychological, whereas war is physically connotated.

As in the previously outlined suggestions, guerilla warfare has been often associated with the act of terrorism. The preponderating nature of it, justifies its right contextualization within the traditionalized war and its peculiarities. In this respect, guerilla warfare started gaining its conceptual popularity in the 18ᵗʰ century and later in 20ᵗʰ - 21ˢᵗ century among revolutionary, rebellious, militarized or dictatorship regimes, as being often associated with the criminalized acts of war. Some of the most successful implementations of this war were manifested by leaders and groupings like Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Mao Zedong and The People's Liberation Party.

The Entanglement: Terrorist vs. Freedom Fighter

Acting terrorists often get confused with Freedom Fighters. It is indeed disputable, whether one can clearly differentiate between these two "duties". It is thus questionable, whether terrorism functions as a specific type of warfare or crime. (Whittaker 2007, p.265). These harmful acts impose different paths for further evaluations, constricting in mostly ethical discourses. The clear hallmark of terrorism, which often gets seen in various attacks, suggests the political, morally demanding and publicist nature of its incentives. (Jenkins, 1986). In that sense, the ethical engagement of both freedom fighters and terrorists is therefore relating to a big part of their shade of meaning.

With further reference to the already created theoretical basis for terrorism, some of the major characteristics could be applied as well to the freedom fighter's deeds. Generally, a freedom fighter is often related to resistance movements. In terms of social reformations and revolutions, the act of

guerilla's violence equals any other societal rebel. Also, when violently perpetrated or eventually posing certain degree of threat to the rest of the society. For example, The Mujahedeen's are Muslim fighters, related to the writings in the Quran and the jihad. From Western point of view, they are terrorists. In light of this, the jihad war led against the Western society becomes the paradox embodiment of contemporary terrorism, primarily initiated by its Arab followers in the framework of their subjective perceptions. In both accounts, the ideological interpretations preoccupy the common understandings and to an extent their convergence into stereotypes. In short, the differentiation between terrorism and freedom fighting justifies the vague barrier between their meanings. One can argue that they are mutually conclusive and it is just a matter of interpretational course, which determines the given assessment of their threat.

Chapter 3. Overview contemporary terrorism in the late 20th- 21st century

3.1 Contemporary Terrorism: Motives and Forms

Different forms of contemporary terrorism, suggest that terrorism, democracy and globalization expand and transform equally. This observation reconfirms, as outlined in the previous section, the definitions and reasons for terrorism to be as it is today. This permitted, among the factors and the examination of these typologies would enable to entirely query the insight of the motives. After all, they are currently shaping the existing forms of terrorism, transposed on the global stage of interpretation and contextualization. For this purpose, Chapter 3 will focus on the core incentives, with general reference to the role of globalization and social expansion.

The act of terrorism implies as well complexity and multisided motives and factors, solely serving for the purpose of self-expression and presumable outcry for change. It is as well a form of protest, often rooted in strong despotic societies. Terrorism could be found in many countries and regions, constituted from different cultures and ideologies. The perpetrators are either working in relatively medium sized groups (organized terrorism), networks or individually, led by differentiating motives and tenets. Over the past years, numerous observations advocated that terrorists are coming from the lowest stratum of the society and respectively with poor backgrounds. Nevertheless, the most current studies present that even highly-educated elites in some countries make use of this tool for generally revolutionary different purposes (as cited in Whittaker, 2007, p. 15). Their terrorist's attempts are often considerably focused and based on different societal issues and reasons, primarily seen as a general dissatisfaction from their lives and common frustration.

Immigration

The act of terrorism, no matter its geographical occurrence or peculiarity is one of the biggest global threats to the steadily evolving, democratic societies. It emerges both locally and internationally. The Western world, along with America and primarily Western-European countries like France, England, Germany, and The Netherlands represent few of the most desired destination areas, frequently open for immigrants. (Leiken, 2004, p.58) However, quite a lot of terrorists prefer namely such societies – vulnerable and unprepared.

Terrorism cultivates in advanced societies for different reasons, which are often quite ambiguous. In first place, the massive integration of ethnical groups constitutes a great part of the whole multifactor issue. In many cases, the immigrants strive for better social and economical perspectives. However, one needs to differentiate the immigrant's incentives. The problem has therefore several levels. On one side, immigration offers opportunities for both the recipients and foreigners. On the other side, this act predisposes to home grown terrorism. In this context, it is worth noting, that the process of the perpetrator's modus operandi involves a lot of work and inculcation of ideas in different cells and groupings in achieving proper adaptation to the given environment.

Terrorism-driven motives

According to Crenshaw (2001), the profile of the general terrorist, in terms of motives and tenets, could be seen as "the end may justify the means". In a sense, the author tries to advocate the thesis that terrorism could be seen as a motivated strategy, rather than just an impulsive act. This argument could be critically analyzed and thus applied on a more universal level, using the current terrorist acts as an example. Post (1998) on the other hand discusses in his works the real "psycho-logic" and provoked feeling of the terrorist to feel significant by committing terrorist act (p.21). The latter could be classified as a motivational driven terrorist strive, suggesting that the particular reasoning is hiding far behind the behavioral logic. All these explanations of the occurrence of motives suggest that they cannot be generalized, because of the multi-layered reasoning localized in their fundamental essences.

Motives play an important role in understanding terrorism as a mass or individually driven occasion. The terrorist incubator for motives divides with the help of the behavioral approach in two notional groups, i.e. – individually (intrinsic) and collectivistic (extrinsic) aggregated ones. In light of their importance, few observations are needed to be outlined. The first one is that collectivism is generally rooted and fostered on a personal level. This would mean that the motivational source emerges and develops primarily from the latter. In reaction to this, the collectivistic mechanism becomes even more powerful, charging and generating enough reasons for the incentives to exist and thus provoking , i.e. terrorist attacks, strikes, movements etc. on a societal level. The second incentive hints at the intrinsic reasoned, which are to be highlighted usually generate within the most vulnerable societal environment or structure. Their influence often gets imprinted in the inherited consciousness and sub consciousness of a whole generation, individual or group of a particular society. To specify, it builds up on historical, cultural, psychological, religious and political levels, further pre-outlining and partly influencing the individual's set of beliefs, values, life expectations and understandings.

In short, the collectivistic incentives as already mentioned are actual absorbed intrinsic ones. They initialize and suggest the strong interconnectivity between the motives and their genesis for the purposeful usage from the perpetrators. In this respect, Bion (1961)[3] identifies several psychological approaches defining the terrorist profile. The first group – the dependency group is composed by weak personalities, seeking for a dominant leader. The second one is the pairing group. The last one is work and basic assumption group. The main characteristics, which are to be used for the aforementioned groups, constrict in the common psychological symptoms in one peer pressuring group. In the context of these collectivistic motives, every societal group has its organizational structure. All those groups and their characteristics make them easier to be manipulated by a person (leader), which is the main reason for the most common terrorist success.

These and other examples show the different faces of terrorism. In some cases, the terrorist acts, can be initiated by groups and organizations with mostly political incentives, but without any purposeful terrorist intentions. Exemplification for this could be taken the social experiments, i.e. the historical presence of communism in Europe. The practical communism, not the theoretical one however, seen in its many faces as an anti-humane act against the individual, has left remarkable psychological scars on many people in the affected countries, in line of shaping of their own future. From this point on, these epochal marks (emergence of groupings, anti-governmental organizations, rebels etc) started being nurtured within the lineal circle and transposed to the different group members. As a result, the specific incentive begun to shape from the illustrated behaviorist pattern[4] afore.

Contemporary Forms of Terrorism

The most significant, contemporary forms of terrorism that could be outlined are to be discussed in this section. Terrorism, justified as "war without boundaries" contents as many types of terrorism, as this metaphor does. Europol's Report (TE SAT 2011) presents several forms of terrorism – Islamist terrorism, single-issue terrorism (as well suicidal), right- and left- terrorism and ethno-nationalist. In addition to this, other terrorist classifications, conclusive from the latter are to be acknowledged: political terrorism (Schultz, 1978), state-sponsored terrorism, bioterrorism, cyberterrorism and

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[3] see W.Reich "Origins of Terrorism", Chapter 2, p. 31, section "The power of the group", discussion and classification of the fundamentals of prototypes and psychological profiles of perpetrators. Other interesting approaches for defining the terrorist "psycho-logic" are presented by Jerrold M.Post.

[4] see J.B.Watson "Behavioralism" , where the behavior theory is being depicted as an socially opposing method.

narcoterrorism. The general motives discussed in the previous section could be applied to the particularities of these types of terrorism.

The overall facts and characteristics of the aforementioned types of terrorism scrutinize their tenet, tactics and societal impact. These are either domestic or transnational. On one hand, domestic terrorism characterizes itself as primarily religiously-political and thus state-sponsored terrorism, aiming against a political regime within the targeted region. On the other hand, transnational terrorism implies hatred as being often generated towards the western societies. This form of terrorism is manifested in either ideological or single issue, suicidal terrorism. In this respect, the prevailing forms of terrorism that could be considered as focal points for the current locus of terror in the modern society are: religious ideology, political ideology and single-issue ideology, often both theoretically and practically overlapping, when perpetrated.

The global ideological terrorism incidents, retrieved from the Global Terrorism Database as listed in Chart 1.0 (*see Appendix 1.*) map the following regions: Middle East (North Africa), South America, South Asia, South-East Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, USSR and Western Europe. This line graph indicates the total number (246 incidents) of ideological terrorism occurrences and their societal influence since 1981, divided in regions. The chart shows the prevailing fluctuation of ideological terrorism in the Middle East and North Africa as the most outstanding examples, dating back the 20ᵗʰ century. The following line depicts the ideological terrorism in Western Europe in the total time span of three years, marking less than seven casualties for these years. Further terrorist incidents exemplifications with rare occurrences (again under seven) are localized in North America, South America, USSR and South Asia. This chart outlines the dominant presence of ideological terrorism in the Middle East and North Africa as constantly rising. In summary, the tendency shows that from year 2007 onwards the ideological incidents in the aforementioned regions started surging.

These ideological typologies however bifurcate in contextual disseminated cleavages that are to be analyzed further below. For the purpose of this, the following forms of terrorism will be seen in the light of their ideological semantic connotations.

Convergence: Political-Religious Ideology

The ideology Political-Religious driven terrorism involves multi-angled course of interpretations. The religious side of it shows an ideological representation of a certain group leader and his own and

personal views and interpretations. For this purpose, it is essential not to omit the interconnectivity between these forms of terrorism and the threat they impose in the given setting.

Political perspective

Political terrorism, analyzed through this ideological perspective is composed by the following main ingredient groupings: right and left generated terrorism, nationalistic, separatist and ethno-nationalistic terrorism. These compositional groups shape the whole terminology and implications of this political phenomenon. Political terrorism appears to be affecting every decision on both local and international levels. It aims at coup and global influence. To specify, the right- and left terrorist groupings often disseminate in sub-political or ideological cleavages, overlapping with the religious and ethnic aspects. The main characteristics of this form of terrorism are that it emerges from political motivated ideas and ideologies. This form of terrorism is often observed in Muslim populated countries outside Europe, as well in some Islamist Diasporas, localized globally.

The Regional Political Terrorism Occurrences as illustrated in the pie chart 2.0 (*see Appendix 2*) define the period between 1970 -2007, outlining the predominant existence of terrorism on the international terrorism stage. To exemplify, the biggest incidents occur in the South-East Asia and the Middle East. Nonetheless, Europe and the Eurasian Regions have as well a serious number of locally organized terrorist attacks. In other words, topical and international terrorism cannot constrict in specific boundaries.

The aforementioned terrorist forms comprise different realms, justified by variety of motives, with prevailing religious and nationalist connotations. The ethno-nationalist and separatist (e.g. ETA) ones for example, often operate locally, with instances for international diffusions. The milestone, localized in this context, generally justifies the governmental provocation, which could be asserted as the main reason, holding up the terrorism motives. Similar characteristics could be found in the left and right-wing motivated groups. The left-wing terrorism primarily aims at radical and extremist change of the already existing political and social systems. As it is to be seen, this terrorist model seeks its inspirations in the communist ideological roots (Marxism and Leninism). With reference to the latter, one of the most contemporary European examples for such terrorism are found in the actions of Greek fractions like Espanastatikos Agonas, Sekta Epanastaton and Organoseis Proletariakis Laikis Aftoamynas (TE-SAT 2010, p. 33), primarily qualifying in terror against the government, police authorities and individuals. Similar left-wing ideological examples are observed in Spain and Italy (*see*

Chapter 5: terrorist groupings). The right–wing terrorism on the other hand, displays itself as a National Socialist model and anti-ethnos centrist in its fundamentals. This is often seen across Europe, in the most swiftly developing countries and regions.

On overall, this tendency of ideological terrorism and its splinters could be analyzed as a subject given to the trend of growing segregation of archaic ideologies and proportionate emergence of new ones, symmetrically clashing on theoretical level. In that sense, one can allude and apply the latter to the following exemplification, which is globally one of the most current ideological terrorism trends, drawing a certain pattern. In this context, the continuous subsistence of Islam in the Western society creates a peculiar environment, within which the peaceful co-existence with other religions and cultures brings it to a consequent conflict. This is amply demonstrated in fractions like WPM (White Power Music) acting against ANTIFA (anti-fascist grouping), respectively the so called "skin-heads" opposed to the ethnic minorities. This form of terrorism could be interpreted as purely ethno-nationalistic.

Religion as a monopole

Religious terrorism is often being misinterpreted, because of its subjective nature. Political scientists like Pape (1996) argue in favor of the geopolitical nature of this event. It is indeed disputable, whether the religious factor is the predominant one or not, however, the religious factor appears to be vitally representative example for its contemporary global occurrence.

The most popular ideological form of contemporary terrorism is ostensibly composed by religious sets of terrorist beliefs. It encompasses different ideals, cults and visions. The main purpose of the religious terrorism is to follow the religious patterns and sets of beliefs, appointed by the holly book or leader. The most contemporary example for this type of terrorism is the Islamist, splitting up in: extremist, revolutionary, fundamental and radical. Islamist terrorism emerges from interpretations of the Quran and the Shari Law, in light of the Jihad, as a set of a specific rendition. It is also considered to be the most destructive one, opposing any attempts of globalization and development, both in the politics and government. In this setting, Islamist terrorism is initially rooted in regions like Middle East, North Africa, South America and parts of Asia. Europol's Terrorism Situation Report from 2010 indicates that "*Islamist terrorism is often facilitated through transnational contacts between individuals residing in many EU Member States and other parts of the world."(p.19).* This assertion suggests the powerful, religiously generated mobility, inducing similar believers and potential perpetrators, operating on a

global level. In the light of this context, the defining cliché expression "*One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter*" characterizes the terrorist deeds and their complex pattern, when analyzing its socially moralistic motives.

Historically, religion is one of the most frequently used tools for mass manipulation. Reason for this is its equivocally suggestive nature, influencing on psychological and ethically-moral levels. Depending on one's needs, it could be either interpreted for the good or used against the others. The war led between the indoctrinated Islam and the rest of the religious world is one example for its destructive power. In light of this, Islam is considered to be predominantly ideological than political concept (in comparison with Christianity), in which the normative role of secularism has been overlapped by the choice of the State over the pattern of the religion. As a result, this transforms into terrorist driven motivated sectarian splits between Sunni and Shiite, which led during the ages to acute violent destruction.

Contemporarily, every religion implies the same, anachronistic characteristics, because of its stagnant nature. In reaction to this, many societies appear to be evolutionary segmented from the others, either because of their cultural peculiarities or religious inhibitors, affected by the role of secularization, political regimes or societal segmentations. Moreover, religious terrorism could be considered as the primer stimulus for its followers, attaching emotionally charged reasons for its unquestionable rightness.

Among the aforementioned analytical arguments, a new ideological tendency in the Islamist terrorism has been recently reported. Mneimneh (2009) argues that the Islamist doctrines become more and more homogenized, with geographical light on the ideologies in Gaza. He therefore argues that the political and ideological factors have converged in a unifying terrorist approach, gathering both leftist and nationalist movements, primarily emerging from the same sources – the Islamic state and its political orders. In that sense, this form of terrorism, along with its peculiar strives and tactics attests itself in the context of the contemporary need of the grouping and its momentum tenets. The latter exemplifies the justification of this observation – the Islamist terrorism could be seen as a tool for prominently driven strategy for global domination. Likewise the functioning of the ancient war and its mechanism, Islamist terrorism becomes even more powerful, when globally supported and revived. Indeed, groupings like al-Qaeda and Hamas could be used as the most appropriate examples for this occurrence. Further instances are to be discussed in Chapter 5 of this paper.

Single Issue Ideology

The single issue ideology constricts primarily in extremist, radical deeds and terrorist threats. The latter could be of any sort or geo-political occurrence. The counter-terrorism expert G. Davidson Smith (1998) outlines three forms of single issue terrorism, observed in a broader (global) occurrence: animal rights, environmentalism and abortion. According to the Europe's TE-SAT Report from 2011, the current single issue terrorists are primarily animal rights and environmentalist groups, because of the potentially higher risk of societal harm they are imposing. These and other single issue terrorist attacks occur in small groups and societies and expand with the help of the internet and other social communicational tools of the modern world. Furthermore, these terrorist groupings manifest the predominantly extreme left ideological orientations, generally advocating anti-globalism and anti - EU theories, however not entirely on behalf of the main initiators or sponsors.

The animal rights single issue activism makes use of terrorist tactics, aiming against scientists involved in animal testing or its use for any purpose. The environmentalist terrorism on the other hand is a sort of ecological movement against the societal regime and sometimes particular ecological policies, both in Europe and America. Both forms of terrorism aim at influencing the decision making processes, by violent demonstrations and open propaganda. These forms of terrorism often go together under the state sponsored terrorism initiatives as well.

State sponsored terrorism: Why do resources matter?

The most common way terrorists become sponsored is through their own country. The state sponsored terrorism is rooted in every political apparatus or societal segregation system. Therefore it serves as a strong element of it. It aims at violently promoting its political position or interest, creating governmental propaganda and illegal usage of sources. The International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism reports that the sovereign state becomes influenced from the process of globalization and thus supporting its internationalization in terms of promoting of state interests or ideas, on the basis of mutual interests. For example, the state sponsored terrorism offers different kinds of support, like financial, social, weaponry and trainings for the state representative terrorists and their performance. This form of terrorism could be considered as one of the most successful ones, because of the fact that it massively undermines and functions both on social and political levels. This type of terrorism constitutes countries like Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran and Sudan. (as cited in Whittaker, 2007, p. 44).

Furthermore, another observation, contended by Europol is that "Terrorism is funded via criminal activities" (Europol, 2009, p. 6). Proceeding from this argument, terrorism could be considered in this case, as well as a criminalized activity, due to its interactions and interferences from such fractions. Other ways of funding such terrorist inspirations, are performed directly by the citizens or religious believers. For example, one of the most vivid fundraisers of Hezbollah are coming directly from Muslims mosque donations. Another influx, in the late 1990s in Ireland, the terrorist fraction IRA (Irish Republican Army) and its splinters got either direct electoral support or further sponsorship by organizations and countries like ETA (Spain) and PLO (Palestine).

Other forms of terrorism: Cyberterrorism and Bioterrorism

The following forms of terrorism: Cyberterrorism, Narcoterrorism and Bioterrorism appeared during the international expansion, simultaneously with the emergence and development of globalization. These types of terrorism are definable as well as a terrorist tool and mechanical method for the accomplishment of the required terrorist tenet. Combined with other terrorist forms, they intensify the impact and societal harm and impose greater threat on multiple levels. For this purpose, the paragraph will be analyzed in the light of cyberterrorism, as one of the most contradictive terrorist forms.

Cyberterrorism

Cyberterrorism could be characterized as a persistent and ongoing method, aiming to disrupt the computer system in a way, which will have a negative impact on the society or a particular person. The main intend indicates that, this form of terrorism acts in several methods, namely through creating cyber attacks, with the help of kinetic weapons and malicious hardware programs.[5] Additionally, they are as well perpetrated and realized by experienced hackers, internet users or bloggers. This all can be taken as a descriptive manner of defining the main points of its impact in terms of strategic tactic.

This type of terrorism is rooted in and paralleled with the modern cybercrime. Some studies show their interconnectivity and mutual contextualization on that matter. Yet, other views from experts in this field suggest that the political motivation is the main terrorist element, differentiating from the initial cybercrime incentives. To a certain extent, cyberterrorism could be percept as an extension to the technologically committed crime, albeit its political connotations. In that sense, it appears that

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[5] Extended description of cyberterrorism, its particular operational styles and hack attacking intentions, see CRS Report, 2008, "Botnets, Cybercrime, and Cyberterrorism: Vulnerabilities and Policy Issues for Congress", especially section CSR 3

cyberterrorism roots in the most contemporary socially based tools, targeting certain groups, like enemy publics,public opinion and supporter.(Rawal 2010, p.256). Further incentives could be triggered by the free interactions, monitoring, media publicity and recruitment. As a result, this form of terrorism expands immensely in such vulnerable technological environments and political regimes, especially in free, democratic ones. The impossibility of restricting and drawing its exact boundaries builds up and contributes to its complexity, both in theoretical and practical ways. Fore example, it provokes lack of regulatory power by controlling the hyperspace.

In the contemporary setting, many prospective threats are needed to be evaluated and assessed through the technological perspective, rather than interpreted entirely in the light of an historical precondition for the occurrences. In that sense, the role of the computer and computer based programs, applications and media could be defined as one of the main tools for the progress of operations of this kind. The latter could be placed in another context as well. The communication and coordination of moves, logistics and planning appear namely in such environments, which equivocally enable the enhancement of the reaction chain and its global transposition. This is amply demonstrated in internationally perpetrated attacks, coordinated and synchronized remotely from many geographical locations. For example, a very notorious case could be used for illustrating the practical side of this form of terrorism. The linkage has been made between Islamic terrorism and cybercrime in the United Kingdom in June 2007, in which the latter actually influenced the consequences which emerged on global level. It is reported that some terrorist groupings make use of inciting assassinations and plotted attacks by using internet based applications and initiating further ways of self-sponsoring through banking frauds and illicit purchases. (Wilson, 2008, p.16)

Bioterrorism

Bioterrorism on the other hand gained its popularity in America during the first years of the current decade. The bio weaponry was anthrax spores laced in mails, sent out to embassies in the United States. Several findings of these spores were found as well in Europe. However, this type of terrorism could be portrayed through its operational nature, further discussed in the following chapters.

3.2 Asymmetry of Terrorism: Ideologization of warfare

By deliberatively summarizing all the prevailing factors for the emergence of terrorism, the rough combination of them suggests the stereotyping path of their congestion. In relation to this, the premature stage of their shaping, has been initially embedded in all the 19th-20th centuries' ideologies. In this context, the most important ones appear to be containing the highest motivational source, like the religious, cultural and political ones. The demythologization of these would enable to discover the real spectrum of the issue, rooted in the past, but still having its peak moments in the present times. The scope of the following analysis will be put in the context of the asymmetry of war and its horizontal and vertical hypothetic differentiations.

The terminology "asymmetry of terrorism" is a relatively new concept, emerging from the "asymmetric warfare", initialized as a depiction of a conflict, initiated through unequally differing strategies and tactics. Authors like Stepanova (2008) resort as well to both the unconventionality and practicality of this typology. According to the writer, some of the basic incentives for the upraise of such asymmetric conflicts employ in primarily peaceful environments, where the actual asymmetry originates. In light of this, the late 20th and early 21st century's conflicts narrow this further in some of the following exemplifying occurrences. The Israeli-Palestinian war is one of the most current exemplifications, putting the unevenly armed opponents in an asymmetric, in this context, ideological fight. Generally, terrorism seen as a global event is another example for the unequal discriminative nature of this act.   Another perspective justifies the asymmetry further, through purposeful discrimination on the basis of uneven ideological or ethnic peculiarities. In that sense, the asymmetry disseminates on several levels, both practical and theoretical exculpated ones.

Horizontal and vertical analysis

In order to analytically justify all the peculiarities of terrorism so far, these could be best depicted through horizontally and vertically exhibited causes. The horizontal side of the sources presents terrorism in simultaneously generalized ideologies, shaping its complete image. The vertical perspective on the other hand contains variety of societal factors. These components are all interconnected, because of the reason that they all are a result of the social activity and environment in which they have been operated in. To an extent, these factors are congested with different characteristics. In first place, religion is the highest secondary incentive for terrorism, but the primer one remains the fight for authority. In that sense, terrorists do not fight exactly for their rightness or

freedom, but for the absolutist power. In this respect, it could be percept that they apply this "rule" and discriminatively creating the asymmetric elements of the issue. Another core part of terrorism appears to be the ideology, hence religion could ensure its moral justification. In countries, where the power of religion is not the leading one, the ideological doctrine gets developed as a pseudo-religion, which can be witnessed in the Marxism. The political factors orient the vector of terrorism in the most direct forming element – the financing and organization of operations, as the main source for their existence.

In the particular view of the vertical analysis, one can actually asses the presence of all the contributing factors, as well to a certain degree evolutionary patterns in both the criminal activity and terrorist one. The presence of the asymmetry in this context is a persistent matter not only in the terrorist's tactics. There is as well asymmetry in factors, such as: lack of political rights, state terror, corrupted governance and social disproportions. It is important to highlight the fact, which relates to the latter and transpose it to the subjective and thus manipulative nature.

In short, some of the most asymmetric issues derive from vital societal sources. The primer source, manifests within the *ideologization* and *indoctrination* of factors, ideas and meanings. This occurrence sets the grounds for further interpretations, which indicates the level of their assimilation – the most personal and sacred, namely religion and freedom become the most easily ideologized ones. In this context, the asymmetric tactics implied in the manipulative process of societal oppression and destruction, increase the eventual level of success, especially while theoretically maintained and preserved in a society.

Chapter 4. Terrorist Groupings and Tactics

The contemporary terrorist groupings and formations, which act and affect both locally and internationally consist of complex organizational structures, easily adaptive and mobile in their nature. These groups are either hierarchical or networked organized (Terrorism Research, Terrorist Groups, para. 3). The hierarchical mechanism works primarily on local level and the network one on transnational level, comprising many operational domiciles and terrorist cells. The latter is based for the purpose of good structured communicational system (integrated in foreign countries), which will eventually contribute for the simple logistical planning and overall coordination of a prospective attack. This is amply demonstrated in the terrorist groupings list (*see Appendix 3*) as an overview for the contemporary operating terrorist organizations, impacting the peaceful transnational cooperation and dialogues. For analytical purposes, the following exemplifications are divided in internal and external terrorist groupings with relation to Europe.

4.1 Internal terrorist groupings within Europe

The internal terrorism fractions, which are to be contextualized in the light of Europe and the European Union, characterize themselves through the precedent fundamental terrorist forms outlined in the previous part. Terrorism exists and operates in European countries like Portugal, Italy, Belgium, The United Kingdom, France, The Netherlands and Spain. It is constantly spreading the terrorist propaganda, adhering to different forms and tactics, generally constricting in the fluctuating persistence of European terrorist forms. The most vivid types of the latter are anarchist terrorism and left and right wing. Nevertheless terrorism started showing its globalizing features as well. Evidence for the expansion of this phenomenon is the year 2010, in which a German and English speaking Taliban were caught for inspiring and recruiting Jihad followers through the internet (Terrorism Situation Report, 2011, p.17). The latter illustrates the actual embodiment of modern terrorism and the trends it imposes.

The following examples are to be used in order to highlight some important observations, in the context of terrorism within Europe. The case studies, which are to be under the scope of analysis, are from France, Ireland and Spain. The reason for the choice of these countries employs their historically fluctuating nature, making their analysis more profound. In light of their importance, the U.S. country terrorism report reports the overall downturn of a major part of the European "locally grown" terrorism

(Country Reports on Terrorism, 2009, Chapter 2). Indeed, the most recent data, acquired from Europol's Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2011, suggests as well that the tendency for terrorist attacks within the boundaries of the European Union has declined from 316 attacks (2009) to 249 (2010). Moreover, the total number of successful arrests has increased to 611 arrests for the previous year.

In France, the Corsican Separatist and Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) fractions serve as an exemplification for internal terrorism. Apologetic reasons for this statement could be considered in first place the reference to the modern emergence of the terminology of terrorism, the Reign on Terror and the following succeeding reasons. In light of the latter, the first instance - The Corsican Separatist terrorism could be illustrated through the actions of The Army of the Corsican people. This fraction has been formed on 15 09 2004, initially aiming against the ruling of the Union for the Popular Movement. This terrorist grouping is reportedly aiming to constrict its ideological deeds within Corsica, acting primarily locally, with no reports for excessive high level attacks. (Terrorist Organization Profile, 2010, "Army of the Corsican People", para. 1). Contemporarily, in 2009 and 2010 the Corsican separatist groups marked notable fluctuations of the terrorist attacks within the European Union, with primarily decreasing tendencies of violent attacks.

In Northern Ireland, one of the brightest examples for organized ideological terrorism is the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and its further fractions and splinters: The Official IRA (OIRA), the Provisional IRA (PIRA), The Real IRA (RIRA) and the Continuity IRA (CIRA). The conflicts and terrorist motives are very deeply rooted in the historically generated hatred towards the British domination and fear for independent political future.

The origins of IRA date back to 1921, based in Northern Ireland. The actual formation however was established later in 1969 in the context of the political movement Sinn Fein. During that period Ireland was divided in two regions, namely The Irish Free State and Northern Ireland, aiming for actual re-unification and independency from the United Kingdom. In 1998 the April Agreement however is reported to have brought peaceful consensus on this matter. However, Arthur (1997) argues that in spite of these changes, the groupings in Northern Ireland still remain evoked and consecutively inspired by the past, seen history as the main source for memory and thus using their shared memories as energizers for further actions (Whittaker, 2007, p. 136). Given to the latter, the explanatory argument for the contemporary existence of IRA appears to be reasonable for its prospective current and future threat, prolonged in time.

Over the past decades, IRA impacted locally Ireland and The United Kingdom and internationally whole Europe. The main form of terrorism in this context is politically driven. Moreover, IRA was reported to operate as well on state organized terrorism level, sponsored from governments like Ireland itself, Libya and parts of America[6]. The funding manners, which could serve as an illustration for this, are gun-running networks and sources of weaponry, provided by America. Likewise, Libya on the other hand is reported for arsenal procurement in particular air missiles SAM-E7 and bombing material SEMTEX. (Boyne, 1996, "Uncovering the Irish Republican Army", para. 3). Proceeding from these facts, the most vivid characteristics of the operating style of the grouping, suggest their ambiguous nature, converging both criminal and terrorist aspects.

In general, contemporary attacks performed by IRA and its splinters could be traced back to the beginning of the 21st century until today, serving as an illustration for their weaponry nature. In fact, in 2005 the Provisional IRA announced a final end of the armed movement of its fractions. The following examples are intending to reflect only on the most recent developments. One of the reported attacks, initiated by IRA date back to 1992 when an incendiary device ignited on a train station in London's underground in the peak hour, no casualties were reported. Further instances are in relation to the most recently led investigation regarding the murder of IRA informer Denis Donaldson in 2006 was given a final conclusion on 13 April 2011, appointing a senior Sinn Fein member Mr. Donaldson as the responsible perpetrator.

In Spain, due to the regionalization of the country, groupings like the Basque Separatist Party and Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA) still operate and promote their views. The roots of these groupings could be traced to the 1959 with the outburst for independence of the Basque region. The form of terrorism exercised from the fractions mentioned, could be characterized as ostensibly political and separatist terrorism, performed by left wing perpetrators.

One of the last recent attacks of ETA, dating back to 2006, reports the explosion of a package bomb on the airport in Barajas, killing three people. In 2008, two minor explosions took place in the Basque Country, on two train stations, nearby the Civil Guard offices. Nevertheless, Europol TE SAT 2011 reports the absence of any attacks on behalf of ETA for 2009 and 2010, but with increasing rate of arrests – 104 for the year. One of the most recent movements of this grouping is that in January 2011, ETA has officially declared "permanent and general ceasefire" (Tremlett, 2011, "ETA declares

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[6] On the detailed funding timeline and information on the weaponry in relation to IRA, see Jane's Intelligence Review, 1996, "Uncovering the Irish Republican Army".

permanent ceasefire" para. 1). The Spanish authorities however have encountered other successful attacks from newly formed groupings like SEGI (Basque pro-independence party) for the Spanish region.

Other European- based local terrorist groupings

On the whole, in unison to the aforementioned observations, various annual reports from 2011 announced the total number of terrorist attacks for 2010 within the European Union - 241, predominantly related to separatist, anarchist or nationalist activities. For example, for the past decade, the Animal Liberation Front claimed responsibility for perpetrated attacks against scientists and universities in Oxford, The Netherlands and other regions. The Animal Liberation Front, a vast radical extremist's network, which is still operating on European and American grounds in around 40 countries, presents a big percentage of the constantly internationalizing groupings and liaisons with organizations like PETA. Other examples for European localized terrorist groupings could be referred to the German Red Army Fraction (RAF) characterizing in left wing radicalized terrorism. The chronology of the activities of this formation suggests their silent existence today, even 30 years after their foundations. The fundamentals of this grouping are serving as inspirational source for similar ideas.

4.2 External terrorist groupings to Europe

The most vigorously demonstrated and prevailing external forms of terrorism outside of the European Union are the religious and ideological one, namely the Islamist and Marxist. On one side, the religious terrorism implies different interpretations of the Quran and its fatwa, obligatory forcing the believer to follow a certain behaviouralist pattern. On the other side, the ideologically driven terrorism often finds its way, erupted within dictatorship regimes. Nevertheless, these forms of terrorism cannot define only in terrorist motivated acts, albeit in light of this paper they would be analyzed as pure ideologization tools, generating its motives and impacts on the global terrorist stage.

Indeed, the most significant contemporary observations in relation to the Islamist ideological terrorism and left-wing oriented one started being initiated during the "Arab spring", as well in countries like Lebanon, Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine, Egypt, Turkey, Sri Lanka, Venezuela, Mexico and Colombia. It is worth noting, that part of these groupings adhere Islamist cleavages and ideologies like Sulafism,

radical Islamism, Islamist Jihad (Shiite) and others simply follow the communist ideologies. Some of the current terrorist groupings situated in such ideological regions are respectively Hezbollah, Taliban (Al Qaida), Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood, Black September, Al Fattah. The ideologically perpetrated and motivated terrorist attacks are often seen in the deeds of groupings like PKK/KONGRA GEL, Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and Colombian rebels. Among these groupings mentioned, the dominant presence of oppressors like Usama bin Laden, Ayman Al-Zawahiri, Mohammed Badie, Yasser Arafat, Hassan Nasrallah, Saddam Hussein, Abdullah Öcalan and others, who add up to the whole depiction of this phenomenon and its terrorist reverberations in Europe.

Presently, Al Qaida is one of the best known Islamist terrorism groupings, having global appealing towards transnational Islamite nationalism, in the context of a religious war. Islamist terrorism finds its roots in Muslim populated countries on the Indian Subcontinent, namely Pakistan and Afghanistan. The former leader of Al Qaida was Usama bin Laden, killed on May 2ⁿᵈ 2011 by the US forces in Pakistan, near his residence in Abbottabad, northeast of Islamabad. His prevalent presence in this religiously motivated terrorism shaped the whole understanding of this fundamentalist act of terror. In light of this, the most recent happenings and specifically the slayer of bin Laden, speculatively gave the floor to a new leader of Al Qaida. The Egyptian Saif al-Adel (Muhammad Ibrahim Makkawi) , who has been reportedly chosen as a prominent chief for the jihadist Islamists. (Bergen, 2011, "Egyptian Saif al-Adel now acting leader of al Qaeda", para 1).

Over the past decade, this militant terrorist grouping has been announced as being closely related and thus responsible for some of the most anti-humane transnational terrorist activities, both in the Middle East and the Western world. The beginning of its attacks dates back to 1988, when Al Qaida was officially formed in Pakistan by Usama bin Laden and Zawahiri, both ideologically following the rule of the Caliphs7. During the next decades, the fraction has committed numerous of attacks, being active on local and transnational levels, aiming at different political rivals. The late 20th century was marked by the dominant presence of this group in violently promoted campaigns. One of the first successful attempts for mass destructions in the United States, e.g. 26 February 1993, namely the World Trade Center, ending up with six casualties and 1000 injured innocent citizens. By the end of the century, Al-Qaida has perpetrated as well in countries like Egypt, more specifically Luxor in 1997, Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and Aden 2000, USS Cole. Over the past decade of the 21st century, Al

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[7] Caliph/Caliphat – the civil and religious leader of a Muslim state considered to be a representative of Allah on earth (wordnetweb)

Qaida managed to merge with al-Jihad group into one more Islamite radicalized grouping. Followed by this event, 11 September 2001 was one of the historically remarked terrorist acts of violence against America and notably against the Western world, with about 3000 victims given in the World Trade Center in New York. Moreover, this could be considered as the most affirmative step for Al Qaida and an illustrative exemplification of the level of state security and the vulnerability of the Western world by that time.

The war against the "heretics" or in other words the non-Islamist societies, seen from Al Qaida's perspective, presents a symbolically motivated and substantiated tactic, mostly aiming at despotizing whole societies. Further attacks and casualties, provoked by this group occurred globally likewise in embassies in Tunisia, Casablanca, Turkey and Pakistan. In Europe, on March 11th 2004, Al Qaida managed to attack Madrid, by killing 191 and injuring 2000 people. These and other foiled or failed attacks from Al Qaida's side, illustrate that this contemporary war follows the incomparable paths of fundamentally religious jihad, targeted against the Western societal concepts. However, despite these facts, one cannot amply apply the generic nature of terrorism in this one-sided, asymmetric context.

Hamas, along with Al Qaida, is worth analyzing, because of its strong presence nowadays. Hamas is a traditionalist grouping, also called Islamic Resistance Movement based in the Gaza strip region. The founder of this grouping is Mahmoud Zahar. The main stream of ideologies, involves the Islamist, fundamentalist and religious nationalism as main sources of inspiration, generally against Jews and Zionists. Most of the contemporary attacks of this grouping take the form of suicidal bombings and assassinations. In 2001 and 2002 several dozens of Jewish people were killed in cities like Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Yemen and Haifa. Hamas took over Gaza, after campaigning several intifadas in 2007 alongside. The grouping gained its popularization through its postulated incorporation of terrorist policies and domestic funding.

Another grouping – Hezbollah or "The party of God" is a Jihadist Islamist Shiite formation, found in regions like Iran and Lebanon. The leader of this movement became Hassan Nasrallah, after the Israel-Lebanon conflict in 2006. This organization is considered as a political party as well, albeit its terrorist implications. Hezbollah is strong-armed fraction, especially the Lebanese one. Extracted from the historical context, the latter indicates the strong weaponry presence of mass destruction tools like AK-47 and others. Hezbollah and its presence on the terrorist field could be exemplified in their constant strive for practicing the "Holly war", namely the Jihad.

Historically, one of the terrorist first attempts of Hezbollah could be characterized in systematic bombings and assassinations, dating back to 1982. In this year, Hezbollah got fundamentally inspired by Ayatollah Khomeini, by his revolutionary teachings with reference to the upheaval of Iran and Lebanon. Couple of month after this ideological beginning, D. Dodge, an American Professor was kidnapped, along with 30 other nationalities. Over the next decade, theory was vigorously brought up into practice, by attacks on American embassies in Beirut and Kuwait. (Camera, 2006, "Timeline of Hezbollah Violence")

More recent reports from the current century indicate that Hezbollah started radicalizing and therefore many law enforcement organs, countries, e.g. Australia, England and organizations have reconsidered and categorized this grouping as an absolute terrorist organization. In 2005, the European Union has started passing a resolution regarding Hezbollah's activities, their expansion and the eventual repercussions they can provoke on European level.

Further Islamist groupings are the Muslim Brotherhood, based in Egypt; the Ansar al Islam, formed by Kurdish sects in Turkey; Armed Islamic Group in Algeria related to the Islamic Salvation Fond, Taliban and Salafist formations, among which the Muslim World League and others.

In Turkey, the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK/KOGRA GEL) is a relatively different movement in comparison to the Islamist Jihads. This grouping manifests revolutionary socialistic ideologies, also considered as urban left wing terrorism. The primer terrorist cause for this movement is setting an independent Kurdish state in Turkey, because of the historically predetermined stateless and banned ethno group of the Kurds. In that respect, some of the most recent perpetrated attacks were manifested in bomb and bus attacks in Turkey. In 2004 and 2005 Istanbul and Kusadasi got under the violent acts of the rebellious Kurds. On 22 May 2007, the capital of Turkey – Ankara, was bombed with the help of several A-4 plastic explosives bags during rush hours. Later this year, the main walking district in Izmir gave several other innocent victims.

Other terrorist organizations of the 21st century

Similar to the aforementioned left-wing groupings, operating in the current century, are considered either terrorist grouping or guerilla fractions all around the world, such as Black September, which is a strong resistant movement. In Palestine, Al Fattah or the Palestinian political movement present a big part of the local terrorist formations. In Sri Lanka, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) is a separatist organization with fundamentalist implications. In Peru, Sendero Luminoso, operates with armed militants locally. For example, from 2002-2009, the so called "Shining Path" ambushed and killed governmental soldiers, bombarded the American embassy in Peru and attacked in Ayacucho. Another recently founded terrorist organization is the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat, which has recently merged with Al Qaida, changing its name to "Al-Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb". For the total span of five years, it aimed at ambushing European tourists and assassinating American soldiers. In Africa, Sierra Leone, the organization Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUF), successfully perpetrated several nationalistic attacks within the country. In Brazil, the latest reporting on Islamist extremism has been lately gaining its momentum. One of the groupings and its relations has been found in an online communication network, proclaiming the ideology of Al-Qaida, namely the Jihad Media Battalion. This could be as well considered as a collaborative layering of cyber-Islamist terrorism. This presumption however shall not be taken only as a single precedent, since most of the aforementioned groupings have they counterparts as well in the cyberspace. In Japan for instance, from 1995 until 2003 a group named Aum Shinrikyo[8] perpetrating new religious terrorism, managed to group set out to release sarin gas in the Tokyo underground. Twelve people died and thousands were injured, physically and emotionally.

Emerging terrorist trends

The overall current trends in Islamist Ideology and left-wing terrorism suggest the powerful ideologization and to a degree frivolous intoxication of the Muslim masses. The role of the dominating spiritual leaders and vigorously justified incentives, rooted in either historical or still ongoing clashes, suggest the unfading continuation of these problems. In this context, the terrorist phenomenon starts subsisting in a viciously sentimental circle, with constantly disclosing and fluctuating alternations. In that sense, several arguments could be outlined in light of these observations. In first place, one needs to take into consideration the exacerbating powerful and thus conflicting presence of religion and

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[8] Ian Reader's (2000) book on "Religion and Violence in Contemporary Japan" provides a detailed and convincing analysis of the rational behind such an extraordinary attack

unsuccessful attempts towards full secularization. The main function of religion and its contemporary radicalization has many interpretations, such as collective and personal incentives, percept as a source for inspirations, e.g. the Quran, as terrorist tool and many others. The inevitable presence of religion, strongly incorporated culturally in Muslim populated regions, has historically predetermined the failure of secularism, which is to be witnessed even today. Contemporarily, this still presents a big obstacle for the political and social development of such countries. Another main supporting factor could be taken the role of the Western world and its domination and interference in the Middle East. The apprehensive stigmatizations of these factors further interpreted by popular terrorist leaders, pile up to the whole issue.

In short, the transnational terrorist attacks, reported as well in the Global Security report, issued in 2010, suggest the tendency of a steady movement of ideological layers, primarily religious ones, like in the case of Al Qaida and its constant recruiting of new, global members. Moreover, counter-terrorism experts such as P.Kosters (2011) suggest the emerging trend of a new terrorist group, characterized as "travelers", resituating their residence globally. These and other trends give their repercussions to the fact that one of the main issues relates to the terrorism and its overall financing is their success. What is the level of success? In this respect, the level of success predetermines the final result of the attack. (P.Kosters, interview, April 27, 2011)

After the recent killing of Usama bin Laden in May 2011, the decline of the terrorist success could be speculated. On one hand, "*the loss of Bin Laden puts the group on a path of decline that will be difficult to reverse*" (BBC, 2 May 2011, para.38), which suggests the eventual level of eradication and success of the US government, which still needs to be justified. On the other hand, this battle would trigger and motivate more terrorist attacks and thus will heighten the threat alert in all Western societies. Nevertheless, the current war against terrorism still needs to undergo serious alterations and cooperative reconsiderations.

4.3 Terrorist Tactics

In order to outline the peculiarities of terrorism, its natural incentives and ideas, one needs to extensively analyze the variety of its tactics, recruitment approaches, logistical supports and most importantly – the power of propaganda. Unlike the traditional war, terrorism uses specialized tactics, basing on the nature of the terrorist groupings, their motives, goals and peculiarities. In that sense, the tactics can be either psychological or guerilla warfare inspired. The variety of terrorist forms suggests

the impact of their core strategy and working mechanisms. Examples for this are additional forms of terrorism in the means of their operations, like agro terrorism, aircraft hijacking, bioterrorism, car bombing, dirty bomb, cyber terrorism, environmental, hostage taking, improvised explosive device, individual terror, insurgency, kidnapping, letter bombing, nuclear terrorism, paper terrorism, piracy, propaganda of the deed , school shooting and suicide attacks. It could be suggested that these and others types generally aim to an extent at originality in terms of maximization of publicity, besides their factual initial strive for imposing threat and violence.

Different observatory studies suggest that the most common weaponry used for the recent terrorist attacks is often psychologically testified, albeit the physical impact. They are made from cheap materials, used for the production of bombs and booby traps. Few of the main tactics often reported in analytical terrorism guides like "The al-Qaida Threat: Tactics and Targets" (Venzke & Ibrahim, 2003) are agitations, assassinations, armed assaults, facility attacks, technological and many others. For example, the form of assassination is reported for being used as a main tactic of the Jihads and al-Qaida. Special trainings and surveillances are as well categorized as terrorist-related methods for operation. To illustrate, the al-Qaeda Training Manual exemplifies some of the steps and missions they undertake: " *The main mission for which the Military Organization is responsible is: The overthrow of the godless regimes and their replacement with an Islamic regime. 1. Gathering information about the enemy, the land, the installations and the neighbors 2. Kidnapping enemy personnel, documents, secrets and arms. 3. Assassinating enemy personnel as well as foreign tourists 4. Freeing the brothers who are captured by the enemy (..) 6. Blasting and destroying the places of amusement, immorality and sin; not a vital target 7. Blasting and destroying the embassies and attacking vital economic centers 8. Blasting and destroying bridges leading into and out of the cities.*" (Venzke & Ibrahim, 2003, p.17)

Moreover, other instances come from the non-jihadist and Islamist inspired groupings like the Animal Liberation Front and ETA, operating locally and internationally, often making use of specific, again violent tactics, such as bombing, shooting, humiliation, blackmailing, extortion and robbery. Other terrorist groups, like the Japanese Aum Shinkrikyo operate with bio tools like - anthrax, lethal gases and others. However, one needs to consider that the usage of these specific tactics usually gets predetermined by the level of sponsorship and overall terrorist capital. In that sense, the operational strategy and support get often predetermined by the financial supporters and their preferences.

Chapter 5. Terrorism: Hindrance and impact on dialogues and multilateral negotiations

5.1 Counter-terrorism as a dialogue

Terrorism is a multisided phenomenon, affecting many counties and societies. It is as well a peculiar conflict, congested with political-ideological disparities. The conventionality of dominating and dominated powers often shapes and inevitably affects the current process of internationalization. In this respect, the attempts towards international dialogues often end in either terrorist attack or silent negotiation. The importance of a proper cross-cultural dialogue lies within the society, its common expectation and wishes, often justified by the intermediary organs, such as politicians and other regulatory bodies. In light of this observation, the following chapter will be analyzed and further identify the counter-terrorist policies as tools for dialogue establishment. It aims presenting the variety of anti-terrorist policies, legislations and their level of successful impact on the current state of play of terrorism.

The global counter-terrorist initiatives gathering many supranational powers together began shortly after 9/11. Major multilateral organizations, having their say in the fight against terrorism, included NATO, United Nations, FBI, Europol, CIA, the Council of Europe, Interpol, G8, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, different NGOs and summits. One cannot omit the strong gesture of solidarity the EU shared with The United States of America, right after these attacks. The latter directed the actual course of program initiations and their activation within the boundaries of strong multilateralism and cooperation on the War on Terrorism. This major appeal created a peculiar, often fluctuating environment of common initiatives and direct responses to terrorist threats. The further interferences of America and Europe in the Middle East provoked a lot of reproachful criticism. The modern perceiving of the Western World transformed into a stagnant model. This model presented the role of America, seen as a hegemonic power, having unrealistic tenets for assimilating societal masses and natural resources.

In view of this chapter, one can observe the strong presence of multilateral dialogues and negotiations, in the context of the following anti-terrorist organizations and programs in Europe and America. Along with this perception, emerges the fact that the most successful transnational dialogues so far are not the ideological or political one. The truth hides behind the simple, contemporarily allying organs for one

explicit cause – maintaining the security of a society. In that sense, this all could be considered as the main justification of the current situation – a common tenet. In a way, counter-terrorism simply tries preserving the normality of this century-long dialogue, without allowing any violently driven interference from third countries.

EU Counter-terrorism Strategy

The European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy has been issued in collaboration with the United Nations as a response to the emerging terrorist threat, during the past decade. Some of the most essential milestones of the implementation of the EU Framework for Combating Terrorism and its legislations have been situated in notional pillars like prevention of terrorist attacks, protection, pursue, respond, reporting and monitoring. In this respect, the main objectives are pursuant to the overall combat as a main tenet for the European organs.

The main organization, which needs to be put in this context, is Europol, the European Law Enforcement Agency, operating in the boundaries of the European Union. It aims at interference, prevention and disruption of prospective attacks, working with special programs and Modus Operandi in liaison with all the Member States. The latter makes the level of effectiveness much higher, because of its direct contact with the EU countries and the mutual collaboration.

FBI

The investigative programs of FBI consist of National Counter-terrorism Center, Terrorist Screening Center and Terrorism Financing Operations Sector. These programmes initiate information dissemination for domestic and international perpetrated attacks. The main operations get under the responsibilities of Joint Terrorism Task Forces and Counter Intelligence in their fight against terror.

United Nations

The United Nations Global Counter-terrorism Strategy is another program, which needs to be taken in consideration. This strategy, which has the legislative power of a resolution, was adopted by all Member States on 8 September 2006. It emphasizes on the human rights, the fundamental rule of law, task forces and effective ways of preventing terrorist attacks. In this respect, some of the legal provision with regards to combating terrorism is contained in universal instruments such as

"International Instruments related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism" (United Nations, 2001). The legal texts present the great variety of conventions held for this purpose, addressing fields like maritime terrorism, nuclear terrorism, safety of civil aviation and financing of terrorism.

NATO

The role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, plays the role of a bonding organization, both supporting the United States and Europe, especially after the 9/11 attacks. By that time, NATO has been issuing strategic and military counter-terrorism concepts, operating in different countries and regionalized areas, accordingly to specific tailored programmes. In 2004, the Operation Active Endeavour gained its success as a maritime operation in the Mediterranean regions, restricting any terrorist attempts. Another program is Defense against terrorism programme (DAT), generally aiming at terrorism prevention of terrorist attempts on ground, water and air. The most recent project from April 2011 was made in collaboration with Russia.

Interpol

Along with the other organizations, Interpol provides support to member countries, willing to cooperate. For example, one of the chief initiatives is the Fusion Task Force (FTF), aiming at identifying, analyzing and helping other organizations. Interpol manages as well specific types of terrorism, likewise radiological and nuclear terrorist threats. However, one of the most recent initiatives raised by this organization present the main contemporary trends, namely internet and home-grown terrorism.

Counter-terrorist Initiatives, Programmes and NGOs

In relationship to combating terrorism, many countries have frivolously initialized anti-terrorism projects and programmes. A lot of current issues go under the scope of discussion in counter-terrorism meetings of the World Economic Forum, Munich Security Conference and Asia-Europe Meeting. In addition, the linkage between immigration policies and terrorism started becoming one of the premature reasons for its emergence. The most commonly seen tendency for this decade localizes in Germany, Great Britain and France. (Leiken, 2004, p.78) The counter-terrorism projects occupy mainly spheres like cyberterror, financial sponsorship, extremist religions, refugees and immigration. It

is pertinent to mention, that the post 9/11 measures gave the bases for many modernist approaches and customized policies and programmes, particularly in the ongoing fight against the jihad and its ad-hoc bases inside Europe.

In Germany, in 2001 and 2002 two counter-terrorist legislative packages came into being. Later, in 2011 the Munich Security Conference gave the floor to different intelligence discussions and dialogues, especially between America and Europe. This event gathered many counter-terrorist agencies and bodies together. The main focus of this conference was the unrest in the Arab world, the cyber security and many future challenges. This conference identified as well the future and current paths in rebuilding cooperation between the affected countries. Additionally, in liaison with France, Germany initiated an ongoing practice of profiling ethnic, religious immigrants and regular citizens for the purpose of terrorist identification.

In France, the focal point of discussion relates to the restriction of illegal mosques in the biggest cities. In Great Britain, the introduction of the anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act of 2001 and later Act 2006, envisioned the grounds for further security measures, prevention and incorporation in the country's legislation, directing its essentials in a more practical way. Particularly after the London bombing in 2005, the initiation of strong intelligence presence in the public sphere provoked disputable reasoning. This opposed two main concepts – privacy versus public monitoring, which appear to be to an extent two mutually excluding radicals.

To an extent where the NGOs or think-tanks find their implementation, it could be said that such organizations do contribute with counter-terrorism policy developments and analysis. Their functioning offers aid to governmental institutions and organs, presenting different findings in the dialogue establishment. Examples for such activities are OMB Watch, The Global Non Profit Information Network, National Counter-Terrorism Centre and many others.

In overall, the legal security framework in Europe remains disputable. The set of concrete security boundaries, prevention, monitoring and protection of the individuals defines the theoretical gaps. The same discourse appears in the United States of America, where counter-terrorism's law captures the individual rights of a person in the legislative context, questioning the liberal foundations and civil rights of the society.

5.2 Global security rethinking towards eradication of terrorism

The current and future counter-terrorism initiatives show the robust theoretical presence and strength of powers in programs addressing terrorism. The strong relation and mutuality between Europe and The United States forms the right environment for the growth of fruitful cooperation. In this respect, the varieties of security policies do only enhance the reaction basis, linking to the most pending issues. In order to reconsider the global security and rethink its main prospective repercussions, it is important to discuss several observations. First of all, terrorism finds its grounds in relatively vulnerable countries, either because of their historical burdened past or simply, due to its foreign policies. However, as already discussed, terrorism breeds in democratic societies as well. This ambiguity suggests the transforming nature of this occasion. In Europe, one of the most coeval observations in this respect shows the actual stream of Jihad and general immigration to the Western countries, with declarative inclinations. Due to these factual alterations, global security projects need to begin their adaptation, according to the specific fluctuations.

The aforementioned counter-terrorism programs and policies suggest that the eventual eradication of terrorism can only occur on certain levels. One of the most important prerequisites is the future alliance of mutual powers. For example, as discussed in the Country Report, destroying the terrorist safe haven is one of the most effective strategies, which could prospectively lead to limiting its expansion (Country Reports for Terrorism, 2010, "Terrorist Save Havens and Tactics and Tools for Disrupting or Eliminating Save Havens"). Another observation suggests the growing connections between terrorism and organized crime, which makes its incorporation more complex to fight against. (TE SAT, 2011, p.6) In this setting, it is therefore important to determine the right counteractive pattern, which could be applied to the nature of terrorism.

The eradication of terrorism lies in the future of mutual cooperation and its improvement. It also means adequate mastering of cultural diversity. The annual Munich Security Conference is one of the brightest examples on dialogues and their purposeful initiation, involving many cultures and political leaders together. The counter-terrorist capabilities and their adaptations show promising successes, when reasonably synchronized. Despite the significant developments in the field of terrorism and its radicalization and incitement, the diminishing of terrorism remains realistic goal.

Chapter 6. Conclusions

The vast history of terrorism presents its increasing power during the centuries. It also shows the exploitation of beliefs and their misusage for the purpose of manipulation. The unsynchronized societal state of development rooting in certain fundamentals, became therefore the most essential and pressing issue. In that sense, terrorism no matter locally or internationally, culturally or religiously perpetrated, demonstrates the robust impact on multinational levels. To an extent, one can conclude that terrorism is predetermined by historical peculiarities and their implications. Whether initiated only from one side or percept as a prevocational respond, terrorism follows the profound characteristics of an asymmetric war. In the light of this, the distinctive of this time can be concluded in several tendencies, relating to this current phenomenon.

The coetaneous appearance of terrorism in the Western world bases on several incentives. Few of the most important ones touch on the complex presence of religion as an ideological source, transforming into global repercussion. The anachronism and subjectivity of this particular motive pertain to its main inspiration and respective harm to the rest of the societies, in which religion is strongly incorporated both in politics and culture. In this sense, a prospective successful secularization of a country may decrease its constant ideological eruptions.

Another argument strives towards the overall ideological elucidation of the issue. In fact, the most unpredictable and uncertain terrorist attacks emerge in a free ideological environment, logically predisposing to a variety of self or group inflicted interpretations. The political side of this contemporary issue can be taken as an equally important argument, implying several perspectives. In first place, the "Arab Spring" and the current political regimes, which led to mass dissatisfactions, especially in the Middle East, started to no longer function. This provoked the most recent protests in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, during which the government turned against its people, creating to a degree a governmental initiated terrorism.

Yet, another tendency points out the rapidly growing criminalized activities, namely in relation to sponsorship and financing of operations. This fact implies very serious future threats primarily to the social security and secondary on the overall economic welfare.

In May 2011, the history of terrorism commenced its transformation. Along with Usama bin Laden's death, the global security rethinking entered a new phase. The main Islamist terrorism Diaspora leader

was diminished and the so wanted leap forward for the Western world became reality. Soon after, these moments of relief were interrupted by a new Al Qaida leader, who is speculated as now taking this inhumane initiative further. Yet despite this, the present of terrorism presents momentously no longer a threat for the Western societies. However, the future of terrorism starts imposing greater and challenging danger for the counter-terrorist combatants. The focus is shifted and in the dawn of this new upheaval provokes the rise of mutual uncertainties. Is the common future of peace and cooperation visible? Is the eradication of terrorism a feasible goal? How can the power of democracy change terrorism? These and other questions draw the most current and futuristic patterns of the common societal tenets, aiming at a better future and mutual cooperation.

Finally, the future directions suggest that terrorism will develop. In that sense, terrorism cannot be fully eradicated and diminished entirely. Nevertheless, it can be well constricted to a level in which can be adequately handled. Along with terrorism's development, the multilateral dialogues and mutual cooperation strategies reserve a more promising future, less congested by terror threats.

Terrorism: political, socio-psychological and ideological factors and their impact on multilateral dialogues and negotiations in global security rethinking in the 21st century

Martina Petkova

Recommendations

The most major coeval issue in relation to terrorism appears to be grounded in the bases of setting a clear and feasible division of contextualizing and shaping factors and their actual implementation in the current state of counter-terrorism initiatives.

Many experts reflect upon the generalization of terrorism and its geographical constriction. This all reverberates to the fact that terrorism cannot be dealt with globally. The appellation towards more consistent and specialized counter-terrorism programs emerges from the fact that the degree of predicament in this situation will increase, both in the theoretical and practical ways. Perhaps the most crucial step, which is needed to be undergone, must aim in first place immigration, as well at the local and transnational financial sponsorship for terrorism. The financial support is considered as the core incentive for both ideological and political perpetrated terrorist attacks. Another initiative is needed in order to give gratuitous support to the expansion of more research programmes and institutes, informational disseminations and local academies in combating terrorism.

Finally, the acknowledgement of the current social realities and its evaluation demand more strict observations of immigration policies and their respective restrictions. In the same time, the stereotypes with regards to the religious beliefs need equivocal transformation and reconsideration.

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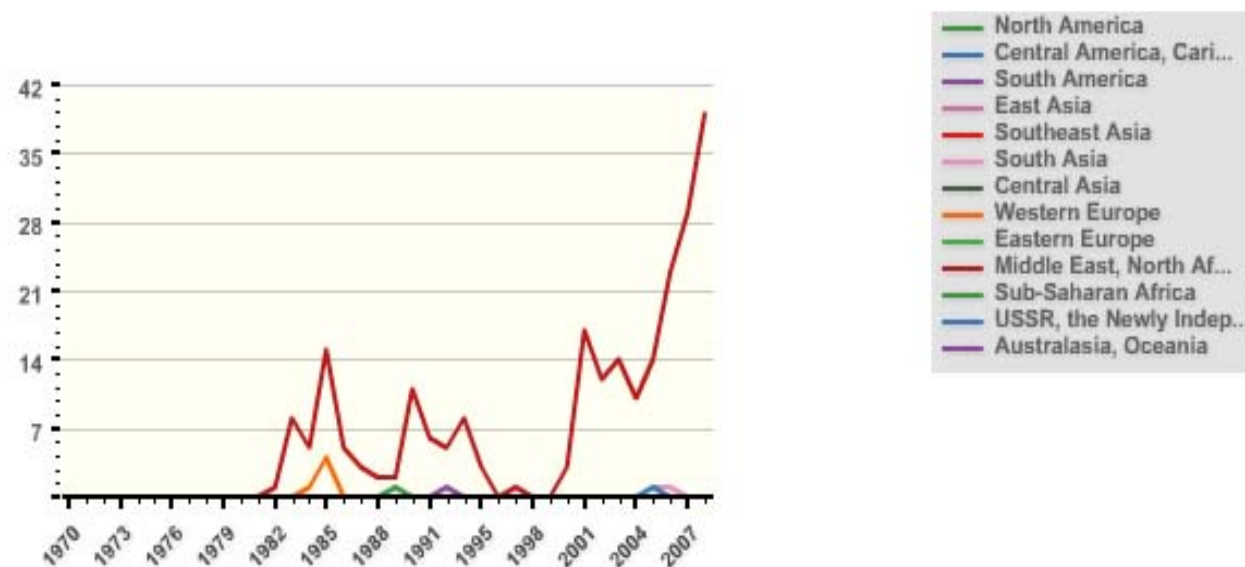
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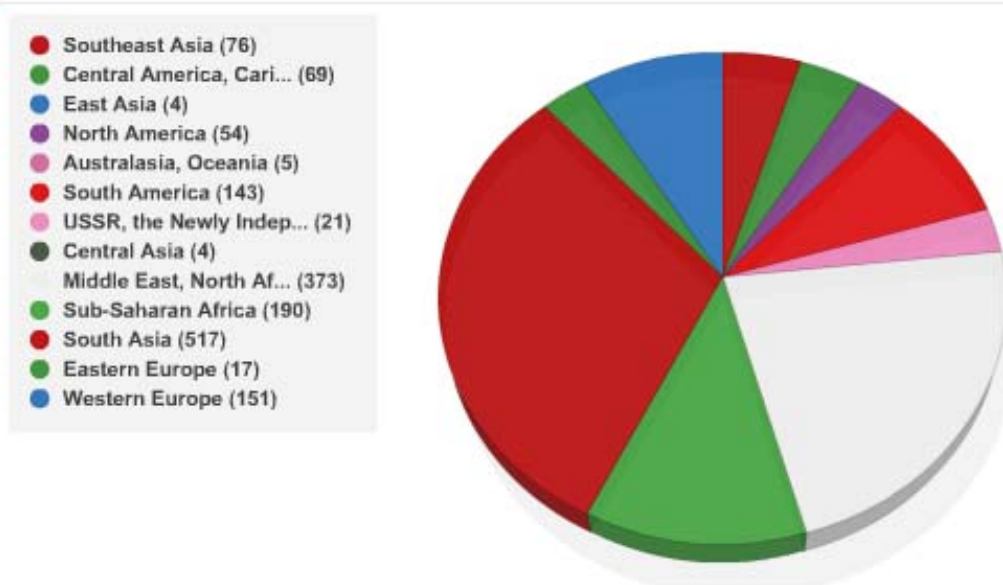
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Appendices

Appendix 1

Chart 1.0 : Regional Ideological Terrorism Occurrences, 1981-2007

Source: *Global Terrorism Database (GTD)*

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Appendix 2

Chart 2.0: Regional Political Terrorism Occurrences, 1970- 2007

- Southeast Asia (76)
- Central America, Cari... (69)
- East Asia (4)
- North America (54)
- Australasia, Oceania (5)
- South America (143)
- USSR, the Newly Indep... (21)
- Central Asia (4)
- Middle East, North Af... (373)
- Sub-Saharan Africa (190)
- South Asia (517)
- Eastern Europe (17)
- Western Europe (151)

Source: *Global Terrorism Database (GTD)*

Appendix 3

Global Terrorist Groupings

Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)
Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade
Armed Islamic Group (GIA)
'Asbat al-Ansar
Aum Supreme Truth (Aum) Aum Shinrikyo, Aleph
Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA)
Communist Party of Philippines/New People's Army (CPP/NPA)
Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group, IG)
HAMAS (Islamic Resistance Movement)
Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM)
Hizballah (Party of God)
Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)
Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM)
Jemaah Islamiya (JI)
Al-Jihad (Egyptian Islamic Jihad)
Kahane Chai (Kach)
Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK, KADEK)
Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LT)
Lashkar I Jhangvi (LJ)
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)
Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK or MKO)
National Liberation Army (ELN — Colombia)
Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ)
Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC)
Al Qaeda
Real IRA (RIRA)
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)
Revolutionary Nuclei
Revolutionary Organization 17 November (17 November)
Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C)
Salafist Group for Call and Combat (GSPC)]
Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path or SL)
United Self-Defense Forces/Group of Colombia (AUC)

Source: *U.S.   Department   of   State,   Patterns   of   Global   Terrorism   2002*

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Appendix 4

Terrorist Tactics

Characteristics of Terrorism, Guerrilla, and Conventional War as Modes of Violent Struggle

	Conventional war	**Guerrilla**	**Terrorism**
Unit size in battle	Large (armies, corps, division)	Medium (platoons, companies, battalions)	Small (usually less than 10 persons)
Weapons	Full range of military hardware (air force, armour, artillery, etc.)	Mostly infantry-type light weapons but sometimes artillery pieces as well	Hand guns, hand grenades, assault rifles, and specialised weapons, e.g., car bombs, remote-control bombs, barometric pressure bombs
Tactics	Usually joint operation involving several military branches	Commando-type tactics	Specialised tactics: kidnapping, assassinations, carbombing, hijacking, barricade-hostage, etc.

Source: A. Merari. In: V.S. Ramachandran (ed), *Encyclopedia of Human Behaviour, Volume 4* (San Diego: Academic Press 1994) p.401.

Appendix 5

Interview Transcript

Interviewee: **Peter Kosters, Head of Counter-Terrorism Unit, Europol**
Interviewer: **Martina Petkova, Student**
Date: **27 April 2011**

Petkova: *Good afternoon!*
Kosters: Good afternoon!
P: *I would start off by thanking you for your time! The following questions are regarding contemporary terrorism and its impact on our society. But first of all, I would like to know, whether you can provide brief information about yourself, your fields of expertise and your experience in the sphere of terrorism?*
K: I have started working for the police in 1977. After four years being outside, I came back to the academic school, but that is something else. In 1977 I have joined the Police Academy, the local police in Utrecht (The Netherlands) as a police officer. After 2,5 years I went to the local special branch, which is dealing with extremism, public order issues, counter-terrorism and also counter-espionage. Until 1980 I started working there. Until 1988, then I went to the National Special Branch, the same building where we are here (Europol Headquarters), yes, I was working in 1988. I left the Dutch and National Special Branch in year 1999 and since then I became a Head of Unit and started to implement the new mandate of Europol in the area of Counter-Terrorism. Those days, we had a group of people and experts from each of the Member States, who had a plan how to develop the preparatory group. So, this was after 2 or 4 years, because that was after signing the contracts in 2005. In the mean time, we had a number of major attacks – the 9/11, we had Madrid, we had London, so after these attacks the EU Council, decided to create a Counter-Terrorism Task Force, this was in 2001. In 2002, the unit was established and I was promoted as Coordinator of the CTTF. In 2005, due to the illness of the Head of Unit, those days was C5 Unit in Europol, so I became a Head of CTTF and C5, and the two of the counter-terrorist programs called Hydra. Three years I went back to the Dutch National Police, where I am coming from and then I became the Acting Head of the Dutch National Expertise Center, which is combining quite a lot of portfolios, ranging from behavior specialists, forensic psychologists, dealing with missing people etc. So, we were 25 people with concrete expertise working for the Dutch Police as in total. Ah, in 2005, I was recruited again and then became a Head of Unit in 04 (Counter

Terrorism Unit, Europol). Well, that is my field of expertise and experience, so from 1980 I have been dealing with counter-terrorism, counter-espionage and all these kinds of matters.

P: *Yes, thank you for this first answer. How would you define contemporary terrorism, what does your experience say. Is terrorism definable with only one terminology, or only one definition?*

K: Well, that is impossible. You can't catch contemporary terrorism in one word, because where terrorism starts is where violent extremism ends. I have a very easy definition for terrorism, constricting in myself and only myself – that is any, any violence, which has been used or has been threaten with to reach a certain ideological goal, especially in state terrorism. Well, for instance Iran is an example for state terrorism. What is happening at this moment in Syria as terrorism is a state terrorism. If you are shooting peaceful protesters is a way of terrorism. It is again, it falls under that definition. So, again, there won't be any proper definition of terrorism. If you look at the EU Framework on combating terrorism, it doesn't give a definition, it gives description.

P: *Is this description enough?*

K: So we need to stick to this description, because that makes our understanding. Otherwise, we bound our hands and should be labeling it. I say, terrorism is any form of violence, which goes together with a form of ideological goals, which could be seen. In my very humble definition, at least it looks like terrorism. But then again, what is a terrorist, there we go to the sociological discussions – "Ones freedom fighter is another one's terrorist". So there you go.It is just, terrorism is a political-ideological phenomenon – political sensitive and complex.

P: *So, do you agree that it depends on the context as well..? Which are the shaping factors?*

K: Context as well, culture, country, history, geographical, societal, demographical differences and circumstances. It is very difficult situation, indeed.

P*: Is terrorism the new definition of war?*

K: In this respect, yes, it is an asymmetrical thing.

P: Asymmetrical, initiated and provoked only from one side?

K: Well, it could be as well initiated on both sides, yes. Well, for instance look..What is Colombia doing at this moment against FARC? Who has initiated the struggle at this moment? FARC has been pushed far away to the jungle and now the Colombian army, with all the respect, is now changing the FARC inside of the jungle, because they want to get rid of them and push them out. How far can we say is for instance happening in Mexico? That is not terrorism that is drug related and we all know that. But if you see the way it operates it has nothing to do with organized crime, which has only to do with terms of self-enrichment, but not with a goal to govern a society. And with all the respect, if I can see what is happening now out there, and if you see that several districts are ruined out there by gangs,

is this state terrorism? No, it is drug related, but it has all the marks, but all the respect the police is not present out there, the one of the last commissionaires was only 24 years old!

P: *So, could you define this as the most contemporary form of terrorism in Mexico?*

K: No, no, I still consider this as organized crime. But it is bearing the full marks of terrorism in each organization. If you look for instance, in Northern Ireland…

P: *IRA?*

K: Yes, the Provisional IRA, we still see that certain pieces of the society, of our community are still out of control, or they are closely politically related to those terrorist groups. It hasn't changed, no, in fact what we see is reemerging of violence in Northern Ireland! The latest result was 23-24 years old police officer and because he was Roman-Catholic he was not allowed to join the police in Northern Ireland. That is why they bombed his car. And that is still going on, certain area, certain districts and certain parts of the society are still ruled by the old masses. It is a lot from the past that is still going on. But in fact it is the same in Northern Ireland, which is politically based on other groupings Sinn Fein. And thus, the Provisional IRA declares ceasefire. But then again the radical elements are putting their force to suppress the local community. And so is the same thing in Mexico, but that is more drugs-related, self-enrichment and in Ireland is ideological goal. But whether is a logical one that is another thing…

P: *Yes, that is disputable*

K: Yes, disputable, yes!

P: *Now, to move on to the next question. How quickly has terrorism evolved thus far, could you provide examples from the beginning of this year?*

K: Well, terrorism always goes in booms and slangs. In counter-terrorism, with all the respect, if you look at the police, they will all say that you are wrong and that this is all ridiculous. Now what you need to see is that we need to follow the horizontal line with reference to terrorism. This will allow us if there is a dip, to move a bit the horizontal line, but it could be that it can jump and escalate to the boom. How fast does terrorism evolve? Well, first of all, it is a spiral. If terrorists are not confronted they become more aggressive. If they see that they are successful and are gaining more ground for whatever they do. And it is not only related to what we call international terrorism, Al Qaida inspired, but it is also dealing with anarchist terrorism, single issue terrorism, violent extremism, like the Animal Rights Extremists etc. It is a spiral, and what we have to do is cut the spiral of violence. We all know that one of the major drives of terrorism is frustration and only frustration. Especially when you look at Northern Africa at the moment, where is the enormous demographic pressure for the time being. We see now, something that is danger inside the EU, after each election a move from the left to the right in every national government, which urges the left to be aware of their singled out position

and perhaps less prominent position, perhaps less important or less influential position, which at a certain moment will create a momentum of frustration that they cannot direct. Well, we have here economic depression, we have economic deficit, but what you see in North Africa is economic deficit. Highly educated people…Let me take the example of Saudi Arabia – royal family, six thousand, yes, they rule the country. But, if we look at the structure of the country, the layer of the well earning people – experts community, there we have a several leading people , local administration etc and the rest is poor. Well trained, well educated, but no job, nothing. And the Council, with all the respect, point me out one country, that we consider from our Western point of view, which has democracy?! It isn't there!

P: *No..*

K: So, what you get down there in those countries is enormous demographic pressure, which has to implode, explode whatsoever. Now we see an implosion for the time being. Those ones who are fleeing from Tunisia, Libya to Paducah are coming back in their fortune. Anyway, they would have come anyway, perhaps not that enormous, not at one time. But there are also a lot of people who say Yes, we are going to stay here, because things will get better. What you see is not a struggle from stupid people, and the people that are going out on the streets, especially in Egypt are well educated people, yes..And in fact is a slap in the face to say that all the people are from Islamist groups, saying that they need to struggle against Obama, because he is a Zionist or whatsoever, he belongs to the internal circle of the Crusaders, Jews or Apostates. So, this is a slap on the face from all Al-Qaida inspired groups for the time being, shows that the turn and movement of power does not mean entirely that this leads to a terrorism inspired organization. And there, you see in fact that the government itself makes life impossible by putting that much pressure on the society. If you are moving the tanks, especially a brilliant example from Col Gaddafi... It is asking for trouble, but I am optimistic. It should be that it will, but then again frustration will come among these Islamist groups and Al Qaida inspired..

P: *How does this reflect on Europe?*

K: That involves us, yes. For Europe, that is anarchist and violent single issue terrorism, which we see evolving and that goes very fast.

P: *Yes..Which terrorist groups can you recall from European based?*

K: The problem is not there. If you talk about anarchist groups, yes, you talk about non-existing organizations. You are talking about networks. Anarchist does not have any authority, so this means that they do things in consensus. And in fact what you could do being part of that group, because take for instance the Animal Liberation Front isn't an organization, it is just an umbrella, under which suddenly certain activities take place. The same accounts for other groups as well, people…In fact we go back, we go back to the early 70s , in fact what we see is, what we called in the past , when I joined

the Police. Those days we had nuclear disarmament, we had people against the nuclear plants, we had people against the military, anti-capitalist , we had squats movements, we had violent protesters against, say, infrastructural like Frankfurt Stadtbahn West, where they were trained by Amsterdam how to destroy the police etc. We saw enormous movement going on with these radical groups existing in 1996 and 1998 – Rudolph Duske, the pair of students involved, the Prake Springtime in 1968, but also at a certain moment we saw groups emerging like Bademeier Group, Aktion CCC, Brigada Rossa, Grappo. Now we are in a similar situation, in fact economically, politically and we see also that there are some rumors getting up again. We had in the Southern region (in The Netherlands) we have what we call Federacion Anarchists de Internationale. What they do, they are working together, and Italian anarchists have been arrested in Spain, because of their attacks. We have Spanish people arrested in Italy. Last thing what we saw was in 2004 I think, we (Europol) received a parcel coming from the Federation of International Anarchists during Christmas time that was called "Operation Santa Claus" with a parcel bomb. Same organization used to have the same last year, but then it started to decrease, but that were the cells for the revolution and fire, etc. These things have been taking over copycats, by the FIA, so there will be a wide spread in a certain moment of this kind of things. We had as well a similar situation at the headquarters of Rabobank, here in Holland, with an organization that said that they are branches of the Greek grouping operating here. And what you see is that copycats are claimed to be seen by people. So, it is quite easy…

P: *Yes, and what about the contemporary ALF? What is their tactic?*

K: the same thing happens with the Animal Liberation Front, right extremists, you can claim whatever you want, but this is a non-existing organization. Animal liberation experts are dealing with everyone involved whatsoever, it could be Euro nest, they go on house visits, burn your car, throwing and smashing in windows, going to your neighborhood saying that you are less than an animal and things like that. The influence is from terrorism, only threatening you. In Limburg in 2009 there was a plan for industrial area. Normally this region is poor, with easier outreach to Jews and Belgium, this part of Holland is 50km bright, interregional thing. I think it was two hundred fifty million projects looking for subcontractors to build in this area, but it was also something planned on live science. And that made those people (ALF) aware. And what they started to do is threatening the project manager and anyone who was involved in the plan, and also the subcontractors – threatening the family, paying house visits etc. So those people decided to stop it after 2 months, because a lot of investors withdrew the investment in this region. The entire thing was stopped, blown away. So in fact they won. The Dutch society gave in to a number of clowns, so they were successful…

P: *They were enough dominative…*

K: Yes, yes…so being successful here, they will learn for the next time what the best practices are and that is not new. In 1976 there was a book called "Klein Gewelt" (Little violence) and how to lead people to psychological breakdown and what you can do is sent a funeral announcement that someone has died, or taking out your garbage etc. This is not using violence, but just little violence

P: *This is a manipulative strategy...*

K: This is a form of psychological terrorism, pushing you under pressure.

P: *Successful ways of manipulation...*

K: Yes, yes, so how fast does terrorism evolve?! It can go very fast, it depends on the success rate and escalating themselves. If they are not successful, they will escalate, yes?!

P: *This is the keyword here – success*

K: Yes, success. If you are talking about asymmetric warfare, you need to have success, because we have to be successful as well. In fact what we do, we look for each other's agility. We are looking at the terrorist agility; they are looking for the same – at our security system. So, in fact it is a big contest, who is going to be first.

P: *And who will predict first...*

K: I don't mind, all I need is a terrorist scenario, because every time a terrorist plans a certain plot, we do not know the terrorist scenario, even if we check them on the street. It is usually on top of their head, so we cannot know from A to Z where they are, what they do. So, that is why we need to know the terrorist scenario, how does it look like. That is why we have created the Modus Operandi monitor, because then we are not looking at personal data, we are looking at behavior. And the nicest thing is that terrorist are not robots, well sometimes they act like robots, like the suicidal bomber.

P: *Like the Jihadists?*

K: Well, they are still thinking, I hope…In fact, it does not matter, because they are dead. The only thing that you have to do is to die. They are already dead. In their mind they are dead, they are there in the paradise, and the only thing they have to do is to die. And that is why they are so dangerous.

P: *And what is the difference then, between the past and present?*

K: The only difference between old and new terrorism is that with the old terrorism is that in the past we had ceasefires during Christmastime. Everybody wants to eat turkey, yes, even the terrorists in those days. Ceasefire during Christmas and New Year and after this they are out, active again. But new terrorism has completely different lifestyle, completely different culture, and religious background. So that is the difference now. In all the respect, the old terrorists did not want to die; they weren't suicidal, no, because in the end they wanted to prevail, they wanted to see the success of their activities, of their struggle.

P: *So, in this respect, what kind of steps do you undertake in preventing terrorist attacks, besides predicting human behavior and terrorist scenarios? What kind of other things do you do?*

K: Well we are here in an unique position, we have LWF and modus operandi , which is called Hydra , aiming against Islamist terrorism, internationally inspired or jihadist, but again you cannot summarize all this in one word, that is why we call it Islamist terrorism, because it is based on a very extreme radical fundamental believe. Nothing wrong if it is fundamental, I do not mind fundamentalists. But as soon this turns to violence, to further their own ideological ideas - religious or political, they are now becoming a danger and we should prevent and not allow them to demonstrate it. O.K. First of all we need to see what radicalization is. Radicalization and its elements differs, it differs geographically, socially, in the community, level of education, etc. For instance, Bader-Meinhof Group, Aktion Direkt we talked about these – elite – well educated people coming from university. Islamist perpetrators are as well all that bright. Having said this, forget about it because there are homegrown groups – doctors, surgeons, etc. So certain people from an already existing community, being trained, coming together, we have seen that and it is frightening, because you cannot believe that a doctor standing in the hospital could be a terrorist! Because what we are trying to do, and that is natural, is trying to label people, but we should not be obsessive compulsive, because in terrorism nothing is what it seems to be! So what we are trying to do is to apply the asymmetric warfare, we are looking where man, monition, money stays. Without money there is not monition and no man, no terrorist attack. That is why, we are trying to have our modus operandi and when we see a certain movement we will have an early indicator.

P: *So what does Europol do?*

K: What we are doing here is putting the terrorist attack, seeing if it fits in our modus operandi and its patterns and differentiate whether is an ordinary crime or something else, because when people say that there is a link between ordinary crime and international terrorism, no there isn't! Terrorism is international serious crime; therefore 90 % is serious crime. Because it is the same thing, they need money for operation, they need support and so they sometimes follow the same tray. Sometimes in some parts where they are the ruling part of the society,   they pay revolutionary tax. In the past, the provisional IRA was taxing people and they were controlling the societal environment. People paid for driving license and to drive the black cabs! If you do not have money, then you do not drive. Tyrant license drug dealers and this was quite ambivalent, because the tyrant action against drugs was nothing more than punishing those drug dealers who did not want to pay the provisional tax to IRA. And then they had taxes, because it was antisocial behavior to deal drugs! But as long as they could get the money, that was OK to them. They bombed striptease clubs, because they told that this was a-social, but is being a terrorist social?!!

P: *Paradox, yes…OK, there are two more questions left. The first one is regarding the current terrorist trends, as we can see them in the media, like cyberterrorism/crime , narcoterrorism, bioterrorism. How would you comment those?*

K: If you see this, narcoterrorism is funding, that is dead money. Bioterrorism is something completely different, which is really a specific terrorist attack. Cybercrime or cyberterrorism , we haven't seen it yet. What we see is hacking, putting down official websites, governmental sites and emails. For instance, internet banking has been used to close down the bank, etc. Cyberterrorism is a form of cyber crime, and there comes the agility, and they (the terrorists) are looking for it and we are not smart enough to counteract against it. So, we should be one step ahead of them.

P: *Do you expect an emergence of new forms of terrorism?*

K: Well, that is inevitable, because an action has to have a reaction. And the only thing that we are doing in order to see this is by look at the Modus Operandi and when we see it and compare. The thing is that every court case shows the speed of agility. You go with your police report, you go to the court and the thing is exactly in the police report. Then, on what stage have the police started their investigation. That is the first point of the agility. In that sense, at a certain moment in the court the lawyers see our Modus Operandi and what we do and then they know.

P: *OK, the last question is: How would you comment the current global security level, proceeding from the European perspective?*

K: With all the respect, you see the European Union, 2005 in Great Britain there was an attack. The only thing that we see now is this. There was a man called Kopenhage who blew himself with a prematurely composed bomb. This speaks that he is a bad terrorist of course. Another terrorist from Sweden did the same. Nevertheless, Kopenhage is still alive after this accident. OK, good. Well, what we see right now that there is a certain threat of alone actors, not belonging to a certain network. Perhaps with a loose, very loose connections to the networks. And thus we are losing our sight on these people, often Al Qaida inspired. What we see out there is that people might be in contact, but don't have contact over two or three years and all of the sudden they are down there and suddenly we have a group getting into action. And that is something completely new, because we do not have the time to trace them; no, we only have time to react upon the attack.

I think, we have to wait for the Northern Africa situation, depends on how fast changes are progressing. If I look at the EU and the main risk, we also can see these people and what we call the "travelers", which are constantly coming back or are, staying there, impose a big threat to the EU security. Of course, we have all their personal details, circulating through the EU. Especially in the EU, they can reside everywhere and then just change their look and flee to another country, freely. In

that respect, our Modus Operandi is based on what we learn about the terrorists and their scenarios, we learn from them. And we are changing it as well.

P: *And the power of good cooperation as well?*

K: Cooperation. Sharing cooperation between intelligence services means good information and good security, but you need to be very careful. Modus Operandi as well tells that is no good to take risks, so if one needs to be arrested tomorrow, it is better to be arrested today, because you never know, through the so called disruptive activities. We have seen it in the past with IRA for instance, when intelligence services are way too relaxed, in the so called Bishops bombing, bearing in mind that they were under 24/7 surveillance. I think this was in 1994 or 1992, causing billion damages. So I say: Better disrupt than wait.

P: *Well, thank you very much for this final sentence. One cannot put this better! Thank you for the interview!*

K: Thank you as well!