Terrorism and Its Balkan Specifics
■ *Gen. Bojidar Popov*

TERRORIST ACTIVITIES: ORIGINS AND INCREASE

Terrorism is a phenomenon accompanying the entire known human history. Terrorist actions and acts of violence against individuals or a group of people in relation to their government and public activities have been known since the ancient times. In the Middle Ages, the Roman popes even legalized conspiracies against and assassination of kings and emperors evading their control, and only the use of poison was prohibited. In the 17th - 19th century, the sea piracy, which in certain forms still exists today, caused many troubles to countries and governments. The ideologically motivated terrorist organizations have also made their own "contribution" to the history of terrorism. Terrorism is accepted as a means for coercion and achievement of goals also by all known ethnic and religious organization professing radicalism and orthodox intransigence of their ideologies and views.

The phenomenon of terrorism still needs a serious investigation not only in its modern forms of appearance, but in the genesis of its origination and development. The whole problem is in the complexity of the causal relations, which generate it and postulate its goals. These relations are of a different character in different historical periods, under various cultural, political, economic, religious and other conditions within each one of these periods in the dynamics of probabilities and changes in these conditions. The historical science has not taken up seriously the

history of terrorism, and almost all its researchers consider it rather as some exotic exception of the historical process than as its integral part. The work of these researchers is affected both by the postulates of the purely political bias and by the lack of strictly scientific tools for their investigations.

Terrorism is a fruit of human mind, and not of faceless historical forces. It is not an occasional and passive instrument for achieving of goals existing independently of it. Terrorism is a social and historical phenomenon and as any other such phenomenon, it is implemented by man creating the conditions of his own life and acting in these same conditions.

In its genesis throughout the ages terrorism goes through three stages. Given the whole arbitrariness of this division, they may be defined as origination, development and boom. Probably, as it is with any other social phenomenon, terrorism will reach its decline, but it is still in the future.

From practical point of view, the origination of terrorism is not of a particular concern. This period is meaningful only in purely theoretical terms as a confirmation of some characteristic features of the terrorism, which are still valid today. As early as in its rudiments the terrorism used to be a function of certain official policy of some sufficiently differentiated social unit, either aimed at its support or its opposition. There is no economically established cause (or group of causes) which directly generate terrorism. The impact of economy on terrorism may be sought only through the indirect role of politics, social environment, public mood, etc., which in general, impact to a certain extent all social phenomena.

The real development of terrorism began with the emergence of various ideologies based both on certain religions and secular theories, and on political doctrines and practices. Following the historical sequence, initially the Christianity and Islam began to play the most essential role in this regard. Perhaps this is so, because these are religions, which have emerged relatively late in the human history, thus having the most direct impact on public life and progress of the historical process. When these religions were establishing themselves in the regions of Europe and the Middle East, there were government structures already established there, pursuing certain policies, having the respective institutions, aiming at imposing recognized and defined common interests for their populations. Against that background, any actions, which we may define today as terrorist ones, have found their religious justification.

At present it is assumed that the religiously justified terrorism is mostly a result of fundamentalist and radical beliefs within the frameworks of the religions, which in general emerged rather late. These beliefs actually would give a tremendous impetus of the development of violent actions, but the scientific explanation of their emergence takes us back to the roots of the religions themselves.

The Christianity as a worldly philosophy preaches tolerance to persons of different religion and to enemies ("whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also"). In this light, however, it could not build a comprehensive political theory to serve it throughout the ages in the contradictory and brutal historical process. Its aspirations to government rule have imposed vacillations in the practice, reaching their extremes in the cruelties of the Inquisition, the Enlightenment, and Restoration, to the splitting between Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox and the bloody battles between them.

That was the basis on which the terrorist activities became possible and developed even in the present days. What is good in this case is that this basis for fundamentalist deviations in the Christianity was not present in the original sources of this religion (the Old and New Testaments), but it came as a result of interpretations and ambitions for dominance engendered from practices. Overcoming of exactly these interpretations and ambitions was in the basis of the gradual decline of the Christian fundamentalist's terrorism.

With regard to the Islam, the situation is different. It is not actually a militant religion, but unlike Christianity, in its philosophy it puts limits to tolerance: If someone acts with animosity, stop him with a kind word, if he continues with that - hit him; if he begins to kill, you should kill too. Islam resolves the issue of violence in the Koran itself on the basis of reciprocity of actions. Violence is allowable for the Muslims, but only in response to other violence. Islam denies aggression not generated by other aggression. These issues have their explanation. It lies in the fact that Islam was the latest to appear on the historical scene and sought its establishment in an already religiously allotted world, where the matters of everyday survival of men and matters of moral principles of life would require "a divine" blessing and recommended practical actions. Islam is the most pragmatic religion, and its emergence in the conditions of growing animosity and lack of understanding on the part of people of different religions (at that time the

Christians, the Israelites, the pagans) also postulated the concepts of the limits of tolerance in that religion. Without these concepts the Islam simply would not have survived. The fundamentalist's deviations later were based exactly on these prophecies in the Koran. In addition to that, regardless of the fact that on the basis of the Koran Suras, the Islam succeeded in building-up the Muslim law (the Shariat) and the Muslim theology (fikh), the Koran has not given enough possibilities for formulation of a clear theory of government rule. In consequence, even today, states, which are trying to build their governments on the basis of the Koran have no successful domestic and foreign policies, and the direct perception of the prophesies in the Koran by each Muslim continuously generates propensity to religiously justified violence and terror. And this applies both to the doctrines of Muslim terrorist and fundamentalist organizations, and to their members and individual terrorists-kamikaze. For them, terror is a response to aggression, which they believe the rest of the world exercises against them. In the past that aggression was perceived as hostility on behalf of people of different religions, as animosity of other religions, and today it is perceived as aggression generated by the tremendous economic and political development of the modern democratic world and by the spreading of cultural, social and economic models resulting from it, which are penetrating not only in geographically demarcated Muslim regions but also in the very philosophical and worldly interpretations of the Koran. And they respond to the aggression by aggression since this is required by the Koran and because according to them there is no Muslim state, which can oppose to such an aggression by the force of faith embodied in the government. This made the leaderships of a number of states in the Middle East, mostly with Arab population to use the Muslim terrorist organizations for achieving of political goals or to provide to them territories for bases and any support for their activities.

Due to all the above reasons the Islamic terrorism has reached its current peak - it has a religious justification and unabated sources of members, followers and supporters.

The emergence of the nation-states and the appearance of conflicts and fighting between the national sovereignties explains the second major stage in the development of terrorism: three types of ideologies and movements essential for the historical process emerged on the basis of nationalism, rather often mixed with a religious fanaticism and orthodoxy: pan-

ideologies and their two sub-categories: the ideologies of "irredentism" and "diaspora". Exactly these ideologies and movements were the practical equivalent of the nationalist actions in international terms, the claims of the nationalism to other nations and states.

The purpose of pan-ideologies and movements is to assist the solidarity or unification of groups of people in different countries, which have a common or similar language, race, traditions, geographic proximity or any other sufficiently well postulated relations. There are two trends in the manifestations of the pan-ideologies and movements. One of them is related to the aspiration for achievement of a common policy, defined by sufficiently common interests. In that trend, the pan-ideology does not grow into purely political ideology (the Pan-Americanism is a basic example by its protection and postulation of common interests in the Western Hemisphere). The other trend is aiming at achievement of political unions, i.e. this is a trend with a greater nationalistic component, allowing for turning of the pan-ideology into a political ideology and even into a political doctrine. The expression of that pan-trend on one hand is directed at achieving of political unions between independent nation-states with common traditions and interests and on the other hand, at the implementation of irredentist type of policy of the nation-state.

Examples for political unions of independent states would include the Pan-Arabism, particularly following the establishment of the Arab League in 1944, the Pan-Europeanism after 1948, the Pan-Islamism in the 1960s and the 1970s, where the growing number of the independent Islamic states got oriented to coordinated actions through specifically established common political bodies.

Essentially, the irredentism is "a broad nationalism" generated from the desire of any nation-state to include in its political borders territories of neighboring countries populated by groups and minorities, which have sufficiently strong ethnic, cultural and other connections with "the parent-state" A similar desire may be generated both in 'the parent-state" and beyond its borders. Examples of this type of politics in history include the Pan-Italianism in 19th century, the Pan-Germanism of Bismarck period, the Russian Pan-Slavism, particularly in the third quarter of 19th century, the Pan-Turkism, the Bulgarian nationalism in the Balkan wars.

The diaspora ideologies are another version of this type of "broad nationalism", which by definition do not need any nation-state. These

ideologies profess nationalism as a reflection of politics of a country, which existed in the past, regardless of the fact whether it was real or imaginary. Typical examples include the Zionism prior to the establishment of the Israeli State in 1948, the eternal Armenian nationalism prior to establishment of the Armenian Republic within the former USSR, the external Irish nationalism prior to 1921.

Studying the expressions and the essence of the pan-movements, the fact that they have been almost always accompanied by certain violence for their implementation is relevant to terrorism. In practice, each pan-ideology has arisen and developed in countering and in opposition to another similar ideology. There a few exceptions and the same are not related to the irredentist policy and the diaspora ideologies. The terrorism has found a fruitful soil for development, inspired by exactly this aggressive element of the nationalist ideologies and supported in most of the cases by the nation-states themselves. A significant part of these pan-ideologies and movements have lived through their peak for the purpose for which they were created and in practice they have ceased to have any value in the international relations. Others continue their existence, though strongly pressed by the international security institutions established in the middle of the 20th century. The third ones have made a progress to political doctrines and practices acceptable for the conditions of political democracy and free market. The problem is in the fact that the terrorism engendered on their basis continues its existence "separately from its mother", finding sufficient justification in basic postulates of the modern nationalism, hazardously mixed with a religious fundamentalism. The irredentist policy and some of the pan-movements (Pan-Turkism, Pan-Islamism) have neither given up, nor have denounced terrorist acts for imposing certain political doctrines or for achievement of specific goals.

The last stage in the development of terrorism (prior to its boom) is related to the two major totalitarian ideologies - the communism and fascism. Though they have failed as political doctrines, they have brought about serious consequences for the global community in political, economic, and moral terms. At the same time, the role of religion for setting moral values in the world proved to be in decline. This has created a serious gap in the system of values in a period when the technological ability of mankind to control itself and its environment is developing with an enormous impetus, when the world goes over from the industrial into the

information society, and when as a result, this political awakening, the mass political consciousness and political action are reaching an amazing magnitude. Left without the landmarks of adequate ideas, all these processes really threatened to go beyond control and the politically motivated terrorism has become one of the threats.

With the end of the World War II, fascism and nazism were done with, their ideology found a rather weak continuation and quickly faded away. The world was shocked with the practices of fascism and denounced it in moral terms. Indeed, today there are neo-nazi and neo-fascist movements engendered and maintained by the "global disorder" in the value system of mankind, but as a whole they have neither any serious social basis, nor any moral justification, hence even the rightist terrorism has never grown to any serious magnitude. Its actions were sporadic, and today they are almost discontinued. For the sake of clarity of the terms, it should be kept in mind that many researchers at journalist and political levels associate the rightist terrorism with Zionism, and with the nationalist or religious fundamentalism. That association has no justification, neither from point of view of the realities, nor does it help in any way the study of and counteraction against this phenomenon. The rightist terrorism arose together with the Nazi ideology, it was practiced by the fascist and nazi states and has remained in the arsenal of actions of various fascist and neo-nazi groups. They were generally eliminated after the war, and the appearance of similar new formations is a rather rare phenomenon. One of the typical examples was the Steel Helmet Group, formed in France in 1943, integrated into the national-socialist movement. After the war, in 1951 this group was revived in West Germany under the same name and with a statute requiring full compliance with the Constitution. Its advocating, however, of nazi ideas and its connections with contraband organizations led to its breaking up by the police. In general, all similar organizations would immediately fall under observation and would come with the provisions of the law and it was practically impossible for them to get to any serious terrorist acts.

The issue of the leftist terrorism merits different treatment. It was politically motivated and introduced in the arsenal from the very beginning of the establishment of the socialist state, but it began to be practiced on greater scale and in any forms against its own population. It has almost been immediately adopted in the arsenal of the international activities, which degenerated later (from the mid-thirties) into aspiration for global domi-

nance. Creation of communist parties almost worldwide created also a basis for spreading of their main instrument - the red terror for the victory over "the inhuman capitalism". The establishment of the worldwide socialist system after the war and enormous funds spent by it for supporting of the communist parties in the rest of the world were the main reasons for the development of the leftist terrorism. It was funded by the socialist states, its "brigades" were trained in the special institutions of these countries; its leaders were either agents or staff officers of their special services. With the end of the war, the fascism and nazism were practically destroyed, but the most important is that they were dethroned also as an ideology due to their brutal nature. With the communism it happened quite the opposite. The world could not immediately grasp its inhuman nature, and in ideological terms for a rather long time it has remained misled by the almost Christian postulates of its doctrine and its great exploitation of the natural human aspirations for justice, for building of a world of complete equality. The counteraction commenced as late as when the truth of the "real socialism" began to transpire, and the "red" terrorist organizations spread worldwide and were conducting ceaseless terrorist war almost all over the world. The collapse of the system in 1989 and deposing of the communist ideology has deprived the leftist terrorism of its capabilities and its complete elimination is just a matter of time.

The socialist system committed also one more serious sin: through a number of secret levers and financial operations it used to support not only the leftist terrorism, but also almost all kinds of terrorist organizations (religious, nationalistic, etc.), proceeding from the assumption of their inherent objectives, i.e. destabilization of individual countries and regions, followed by export of socialist revolutions. The archives of the USSR declassified at the time of Yeltsin, the archives of the other socialist countries speak of an extremely cynical effort to master and use for their crazy purposes the forms of expression, organizations, motivations of the whole spectrum of terrorism types. And this is valid for "the Red Brigades" and "Baader-Meinhof" gang, the "Grey Wolves", the Italian Mafia, the Tamil Tigers, Hamas, IRA, etc. As a whole, the conspiracy failed. A global terrorist International with a single leadership has not been established, and it is not due to the withdrawal of the leading communist parties, but to the impossibility to combine quite diverse and even completely conflicting interests of the terrorist organizations. Of course, they have gladly accepted funding, intelligence information and even concrete

materials for terrorist attacks, and training for their leaders and members.

After 1989, the socialist countries, excluding the USSR have put an end to building socialism and took the opposite direction, thus ending their favorable attitude towards terrorism. By the disintegration of the USSR the developments in Russia took another turn, but not completely and in not in the right direction. The Soviet socialism has degenerated into an oligarchic system of government quite purposefully and to a certain degree, unavoidably. Irrespective of that, funding of terrorism has become objectively impossible due to lack of the necessary funds, and such a support would have resulted in a very negative response in the global community, in discontinuation of lending to Russia and in its hazardous withdrawal into its own problems. In Russia itself, however, the special services, i.e. the direct instrument for connection with the terrorist organizations, have fully kept their structures, staff, and the objectives of their activities. The period between 1989 and 1993 showed the unchanged inhuman substance of the power in Russia (with the carnage in Tbilisi, Ukraine, Belarus) and President Putin has completely restored the special services on the basis of the Soviet model, after the timid attempts of Yeltsin to reform them. The foreign policy doctrine practiced by Russia at present is supporting quite indisputably such countries like Libya, Iraq before the war, Syria, Iran, North Korea, etc. whose regimes are proven supporters of terrorist organizations. This is a cause of a great concern, since the same goals for supporting terrorism are indirectly pursued because of its destabilizing effect on public life in one or another location in the world.

Something else should be emphasized before making some generalizations. For a rather long period in the East European countries (and at present too), a suggestion which was in its nature a pure insinuation has been made that the western special services have also used and are using terrorist organizations and terrorist acts in their own arsenal for achieving specific political goals. Such an allegation is not supported by any unquestionable evidence and the propaganda publications and "investigations" in the Comecon countries before 1989 did not provide any facts, except the standard clichés. At its best, one would find in these publications evidence for connections between the western special services and some religious, nationalistic or anticommunist organizations of a rather radical nature, which, however have never been engaged in terrorist activities, neither have they professed any terrorist ideology, such as Viole group, the

Catholic Lay Order "Opus Dei", the World Anticommunist League, the P-2 Lodge. There were such relations with individuals, who, at a later stage, organized or perpetrated terrorist acts (Ben Laden has really had connections with the US special services, but before and at the time when he was one of the leaders of the Afghan resistance against the Soviet invasion. Then Al Qaida did not exist even as a plan. At the same time, publications and investigations of leaders and analysts of western special services outlined the exact categories of the types of secret operations, which could be conducted by these services. Among these categories there are no secret operations related to supporting terrorism or to the use of any terrorist methods, and to conduct such operations without the knowledge of the leaders of the respective countries, without the necessary funding and under the conditions of a strict public control is practically impossible.

The last stage of the terrorism (its boom), which occurred in the recent years might be considered as a natural continuation of its development, but it would be difficult to explain it by that development. To a much greater extent, this stage has a character of a quality leap, where to a great extent the causal relations with its previous history have been severed. The main reason is that the basic parameters of the social and political environment, conducive to various types of terrorism have vanished or are in process of withering away.

The terrorist attack of September 11, 2001 was not only the climax of cruelty and a shock for the world. Evaluated impartially, this attack was a concentrated expression of the new and obviously unexpected capabilities of the top terrorist organizations. Through these capabilities, they declared a war to the main democratic values, to the natural course of history; they identified themselves as a global force and demonstrated their intentions to compel the world to consider their desires and goals. September 11 showed that the terrorism was not dying away together with the conventional conditions for its development and has turned into a function of new objective laws and human abilities.

The terrorism has reached its peak on account of several reasons:

1.   The development of communication capabilities in global terms, which has made all points on the globe easily and quickly accessible. This allows for the terrorist organizations to establish their own bases in friendly states or generally in relatively safe locations; to move freely to the targets of their actions, to use surprise in their tactics, to enhance their secretiveness, etc.

2.   The development of the information technologies, which facilitates the implementation of easy and quick communications, direct leadership of the operation in real time from a huge distance, easy acquiring of information and training know-ledge for their actions for the possible counteraction.

3.   The all-embracing development of the mass media (in the first place, the electronic ones), which allows for the terrorists to achieve their main objective in each terrorist act - create terror and panic among a huge part of the population. The September 11 attack was so organized that it allowed for its direct broadcasting on the TV. That was the main objective of this act.

4.   Mass entry in the terrorist organizations of well-educated people, with high intellectual and other capabilities in various fields of modern science, which has raised the level of these organizations and allowed them to broaden the range of their actions, to effectively use the possibilities offered by modern scientific and engineering progress, to show flexibility and creativity in each action.

5.   Explosion-like expansion of drug-dependencies all over the world requiring the respective drugs production, trafficking and distribution in order to meet the levels of demand. The huge profits made by that business (estimated currently at about 800 billion dollars) made the terrorist organizations get involved in its implementation and ensure their own funding). Thus, to a great extent they freed themselves from dependence on friendly countries or ideological motivations and formed an independent system within the social realities.

6.   The difficult counteracting of the spreading of WMD, combined with the access to any information of methods and specifics of their use and given the presence of well-educated members of the terrorist organizations has enabled the terrorist acts to be conducted with sufficient safety for the terrorists with increasing cruelty and numerous victims.

7.   Maintaining steady trends of the Islamic terrorism expansion. In practice, it remained the only type of terrorism with capabilities on a global scale, which has some motivation component in the area of moral. This is so, because the modern Islam is a motivating force for denunciation of inequality through condemning modern life-style of western type. The Islamic world today is instilled with the consciousness of the all-embracing aggression against its values and traditions, which generates a protective

position aiming at isolating "the disintegrating influence of the West and enabling the revival of the Muslim civilization with its possibilities of several centuries ago" (by Z.Brzezinski). It is not clear whether this effort would succeed, but the feeling for aggression against the Islam continuously revives its radical trends, which enables the terrorist organizations to seek in them, at least, some justification of their acts.

LEGAL ISSUES AND STRATEGIES FOR COUNTERACTING TERRORISM

Despite of the significant efforts of the international organizations, government and public bodies, to date there is no generally accepted definition of the term "terrorism". In a number of international treaties, a legal definition of only some types of terrorism is given, and measures for combating them are envisaged - The Geneva Convention on the High Seas of 1958 on combating terrorism on high seas, the Hague Convention for Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft (Aircraft Highjacking), 1970, the Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation, 1971. From July 1971 ad hoc Committee on Terrorism was established with the following three main functions: to formulate a definition of terrorism, to investigate the causes, which generate it, and to outline measures for jointly combating it. The discussions of various proposals made by the member countries, each one of them containing certain rational element, have come to the conclusion that the forms, expressions and methods of terrorism are diverse; they are not easily open to unambiguous interpretation, and the interests, which are affected or protected are rather complex and interconnected. Anyway, the Committee failed to complete its task and it has practically ceased to exist.

The lack of a generally accepted term of terrorism was and is not only a terminological deficiency. This deficiency deprives the legal science of the ability to formulate a legal case for a generally accepted criminal framework, which the terrorism would fill out with its acts and to establish on its basis mandatory counteracting legal norms. A main feature of the modern terrorism throughout the whole 20th century was its international charac-

ter and this trend became clearly visible after the end of the World War I. Therefore, international legal norms on antiterrorist activities are badly needed. The lack of such norms allowed for whole countries to be not only retreats of terrorist organizations, i.e. the terrorists have not been persecuted in their territory, but even more, they have been openly supported by any possible means. Furthermore, such countries have quite openly adopted the terrorist acts as part of their arsenal for actions against other states or against their own peoples. In addition to that, the national legislation, even the one of normal democratic states would seek independent solutions of the legal case of terrorism, and such solutions have not always succeeded in covering all its manifestations. In consequence, the criminal prosecution would be ineffective and even the increased sanctions would not play its deterrent and preventive role, since it would be rather difficult to prove incontestably that the act is exactly a terrorist act.

Another essential manifestation of the lack of a generally accepted term of terrorism and of norms of the international law based on it, is the difficult international cooperation. Various agreements between the states on bilateral or multilateral basis are still the most widely spread legal grounds for cooperation, but they rest only on the sufficient political will of the contracting parties and would never lead to any mandatory actions or to any international sanctions in case of lack of such actions. It is very difficult to coordinate the interaction between the special and law-enforcement authorities on such basis, which makes the combat with terrorism quite inefficient.

The inability of the international institutions to define the term "terrorism" does not mean at all that there is not enough clarity with regard to the essence of this phenomenon. This essence is described on the basis of summaries and analyses of the terrorist practices.

Its core is as follows: the terrorist acts are always targeted at mass killing of innocent people or a threat for such an act, aiming at causing fear, terror and panic among certain people or among the population.

The final phase of the very resultant action of the terrorist activity is one and the same for all types of terrorism, regardless of its motives, aims, and organization. Attention was drawn to this feature as early as in the 1930s of the past century. And there is a similar definition of terrorism in the two conventions for combating terrorism proposed at that time (in 1936-1937) at the League of Nations. The above conventions

failed to collect the necessary number of ratifications and could not enter into force. Despite of that, exactly this definition of terrorism, derived from practice, is presently the most unquestionable too. It allows for seeking not only a consensus-based definition, but also for differentiating the terrorist acts from all other acts of violence and killings. This is of crucial importance in the everyday practice in counteractions of the specialized institutions at the final phase of each terrorist act, since it allows for the legal justification of their actions.

Two resolutions of the UN Security Council (Nos. 1368 and 1373) and mandatory measures of the EU for fighting terrorism were adopted in 2001. They aimed at establishing a common organizational basis for antiterrorist policies of the member-countries. The emphasis was laid on seeking of a legal framework for defining the terrorist activities, for their prevention and punishment, and also for elimination of possibilities for aiding such activities. These resolutions and mandatory measures were a result of the analyses of "the history" of terrorism and of prognostic views, based on that history. Maybe, their only deficiency was of a systemic nature.

On the one hand, they are not based on a clearly formulated and generally accepted strategy for counteraction against terrorism, which may cause the pyramid to be reversed - the strategy to be built on already adopted resolutions. This would make the strategy cumbersome, conservative and inefficient. On the other hand, we should have in mind that the projected trends in the development of terrorism in the recent five-six years have a low rate of realization. This is probably so because the leap nature of the latest stage of its development (its boom) has not been fully recognized, and analyzed in the light of the new causes, and human capabilities underlying it.

Hence, monitoring through time the efforts to establish an internationally accepted legal framework for counteracting terrorism, brings us to several conclusions:

▪ Such a framework is possible if the stage in the development of terrorism is always taken into consideration, which means that this framework should be sufficiently flexible, but it should also be developed based on sufficiently well-founded projected trends, so that it is not subject to continuous changes.

▪ A comprehensive and generally accepted definition of the notion of 'terrorism' is probably impossible, but this faces international law and

law as a science in general with the academic case to incriminate various manifestations of its features having universal effect.

- The legal framework cannot be considered apart from the respective strategies for counteraction, neither can it come before them.

Given its characteristics at the present stage, a general strategy for combating terrorism, on its part, should give due consideration to the following prerequisites:

- Terrorism has become a specific part of organized crime. Its main financial sources are connected to drug trafficking and drug distribution (about 80%). The remaining part is divided among various foundations, private individuals, NGOs, and government agencies of particular countries. The terrorist organizations themselves have broad and excellently organized and concealed networks. Considerable parts of these organizations exist in underground forms, practically everywhere in the world, the major ones having their legal and quasi-legal forms in various countries and regions.

- The difficult prognostication of the development of terrorism and the absolute impossibility to foresee any of its specific actions irrespective of their large scale, long-lasting preparations and numerous participants. This is due to the fact that getting into terrorist organizations is extremely complicated and has been rather peripheral as experience has shown so far. Throughout the whole history of terrorism, the world has fought it, but it has always followed track of the events, counteraction has always been based on the situation, without clear and systematic objectives, and therefore has been fully reactively. Hence, a strategy should by its nature have a preventive nature and anticipatory effect on the capabilities of terrorism.

- Terrorism continues to be a political phenomenon and its aim to counteract or assist one or another policy has not changed since the time of its first manifestations.

What has been done on global scale after September 11, the analyses and intentions published, give sufficient grounds to formulate the main concepts of the new comprehensive global strategy for counteracting terrorism:

Firstly: uniting the efforts of special services and intelligence central offices with the ones of the law-enforcement (police) units to accomplish full coverage of terrorist organizations through all ways and means at the disposal of these specialized authorities. This is something principally new for these units, but experience indicates that combating terrorism is not just a game of espionage and counterespionage, of diplomatic moves and calculated concessions. There is no room for gentlemen's agreements in this fight. Event at the time of the most severe opposition between the two blocks before 1989, there had always been stand-by channels for communication in case of emergency to avert a fatal step in the last possible moment. In the case of terrorism, this is impossible and inadmissible. The fight cannot be fought only via the ways of material and procedural law and through police efforts. The main requirements in this combat are comprehensiveness and resoluteness, and these exactly should govern the joint activities of special and law-enforcement authorities in every country, as well as the joint activities on international scale.

Secondly: Focusing strikes to the financial sources of terrorism. Attention would be channeled to the drug business, which is threatening in general the global financial and economic systems. The drug business has two aspects, which can provisionally be called 'the material one' (drug production, trafficking and distribution itself), and 'the financial one' (laundering and spending of cash flows coming from the real sphere). The norms of international law are sufficiently developed in both areas, which significantly eases accomplishing the task. In addition, the national and international systems for counteraction are institutionalized in the condition of full support by the community in view of the grave consequences of drug addiction.

Thirdly: Eliminating the possibilities for individual countries to provide evident or covert support to terrorism. All possible means and ways are employed to this purpose - from diplomatic pressure and economic sanctions - to open war. In the case of this extreme (military) development of matters, a number of other geopolitical interests are involved - changes in the geo-strategic order of the world, and reconsideration of the role of the world organizations. From the point of view of antiterrorist strategy, these are accompanying results and the fight against terrorism is only a catalyst of multilateral and numerous global processes. The whole problem lies in the fact that conflicting interests in these global

processes should not reduce the efficiency of counteracting terrorism. This efficiency covers also the promptness of eliminating possibilities and policies of individual states in support of terrorism. Assessment of the applicability of the methods for elimination should also take into account this promptness. This was the reason to prefer the war to the inspectors in Iraq, and as far as international law is concerned, obviously its norms are subject to development. Otherwise, the world will simply loose the war against terrorism.

THE BALKANS AND TERRORISM

In the light of everything said so far, an analysis of terrorism on the Balkans should consider at least three aspects: conventional conditions for the development of terrorism in the region, the Balkan manifestations of terrorism in modern times, and the implementation of the global strategy for counteracting it.

The rich history of the Balkans has long ago turned them into a historic laboratory, where various historical processes find their concentrated expression, and sometimes at a quite quick or quite slow pace. As regards terrorism, this has a two-way significance - some conventional conditions have developed in the usual way, others have just not had the time to develop, and this has interfered with, or facilitated to a certain extent terrorist activities.

In practice, the conditions for terrorism in the Balkans have appeared after the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and further configuration of the political map of the region. The nationalist moods and doctrines started to emerge, which were later developed as pan-ideologies and an irredentist type of policies of all Balkan nations. Besides, the region falls under the influence of more distant pan-movements, creating quite a rich and complex mix of prerequisites and causes for terrorist activities. The very development of these processes continued under the strong impact and to a great extent as the result of a number of previous historical processes on the peninsula. Its geographic location makes it the crossroad of different cultures and easily accessible for various influences (economic, political, social). These influences, on their part, are refracted through the customs and the conception of the

world of varied ethnic groups, and for specific types of mentality, which are significantly shaped by the opposition between Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity, and of Christianity to Islam.

The ethnic composition of the population on the peninsula is formed in the 6th-7th century AD, but living together long period after that and the establishment of Christianity as a common religion provide the conditions for interaction of the various ethnic elements. With the Ottomanization of the Balkans and the imposition of Islam, conditions were provided for the permeation of cultural stereotypes from the Orient.

Besides, Islam with its fitness for severe fight for survival was in sharp contrast with the atmosphere on the peninsula and led to serious changes in the psycho-social image and mentality of the Balkan nations. After their liberation (a process which took almost ninety years) they reject by reflex anything that they perceive as related to the oppressor and regarded as retrogressive and repressive. Each of the Balkan nations demonstrated an endeavor to find and emphasize specific purely national values and Christian belonging. All this generated excessive self-esteem and aggressive chauvinism. This, combined with the 'arbitrary' development of historical processes, the sophisticated and not always honorable interests of the Great Powers to lay too many borders without taking into account the same ethnic origin on both sides of these opened the way to nationalistically motivated policies (irredentism, pan-ideologies). The process developed at the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Ten years earlier, the Pan-Slavism of Russia resulted in the Russian-Turkish War on the Balkans, which had as its secondary result the national liberation of the Bulgarian people. The 'covert' goal of this war was to impose Russian influence on the Balkans through the idea of Slavic unity. Naturally, this Pan-Slav policy clashed with the Pan-Germanism, and the Austro-Hungarian pan-doctrine, as well as the already existing Pan-Turkism, which had emerged as a counterpoint of Pan-Slavism. The very disintegration of the Ottoman Empire went though many phases and cataclysms, the emergence of the bloody regime of Abdulhamid II with his official Pan-Islamic ideology aiming at uniting all Muslims in a new empire, the Young Turks' movement at the beginning of 20th century, and the establishment of a republican rule, which carried all the features of nationalistic ideas in the policy pursued to neighboring countries. Generally speaking, the foremost and lasting impact of the disintegration of this Empire on the history of the Balkans was the

emergence of national states with numerous Muslim population and the formation of Muslim minorities in almost all Balkan states.

All this shaped the first specific feature of terrorism on the Balkans, ensuing from the specifics of the traditional conditions for its development - the terrorist activities on the Balkans emerged and for almost half a century featured the mixed character of religious and nationalistic motivation, and had sufficiently legitimate goals for the different nations, social strata, and state doctrines, as it was rather too closely related to the struggles for national and religious freedom.

Later on, the traditional conditions continued gradually to take the shape of irredentism (prevailing) or pan-ideologies. Pan-Slavism was used both by the Communist International (Comintern) and afterwards in the Soviet and presently in the Russian foreign policy doctrine towards the Balkans, Pan-Turkism shrunk to the irredentist policy of the Turkish Republic, which has gradually secularized in the recent fifteen years, at least as regards the Balkans, while the Great-Serb chauvinism resulted in the last war in Europe at the time of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and arousing Albanian irredentism. All known terrorist groups on the Balkans operating on the basis of religious or nationalistic terrorism, analyses of their activities, the goals that they have announced or attained fully confirm the influence of the specific conditions on the peninsula for this type of terrorism. This has been so from the last quarter of the 19th century to the present days (for instance from the fist manifestations of Macedonian terrorism, the Salonica Assailants, through organizations like the one of Vanche Mikhailov - of the VMRO/ Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, to the Turkish terrorist actions in Bulgaria in the 1980s, and the present-day Albanian terrorist groups in Macedonia and Kosovo).

The ideologically motivated terrorism has also emerged on the Balkans, It is primarily related to the communist ideology, which emerged and gained social power after the establishment of Soviet Russia and the Comintern. As early as in the period 1918-1933 (before the emergence of fascism and nazism as politically active ideologies) cruel terrorist acts were committed in almost all Balkan states by leftist parties turning Bolshevik or newly emerging typically Bolshevik groups, which continued until the end of the war. Their ideological motivation boils down to the idea of freeing the proletariat, eliminating exploitation capitalism, in the name of general communist revolution. The ideologically motivated terrorism on the Balkans, like

at other places all over the world, is interwoven with the religiously and nationalistically motivated terrorism. After WWII and the division of the peninsula into democratic and communist states, ideological terrorism turned into an export commodity for the communist Balkan states, which is the quintessence of the overall policy of the Warsaw Treaty. Bulgaria has the greatest contribution in this area as the country which has most actively maintained close relations with a number of terrorist organizations and their leaders, including such that are rather too far from any communist motivation (the Kurdish terrorist organizations, etc, the Gray Wolves, the Red Brigades, Palestinian terrorist organizations, etc.). The latest peak of this type of terrorism was the Yugoslavian Crisis and the terrorist policy pursued by Milosevic in the name of the Great-Serb chauvinism.

On the other hand, the fascist ideology, although partially accepted on the Balkans, has not resulted in serious manifestation of rightist terrorism. At the time of fascist Italy and nazi Germany, such manifestations were restricted within the national borders (e.g. in Romania, Serbia, and Greece) and after WWII they disappeared fairly quickly. The influence of West European terrorist organizations has not reached the peninsula at all.

The causes for the boom of terrorism worldwide have not bypassed the Balkan Peninsula either. The development of communications, information technologies and electronic mass media turned the peninsula into a small, compact, easily accessible area, and this allowed for high-tech possibilities for the preparation and performance of terrorist acts. The existence of culturally, religiously, socially, politically, etc. diverse nations, minority groups, and states, provides, on its part, all the prerequisites for using the territory of the peninsula for permanent or temporary bases, starting or transit points of terrorist attacks outside this territory, and by groups of diverse motivations and goals. Two of the causes of present-day boom of terrorism have a particularly great impact on the Balkans: the Islamic presence on the religious and political map of the peninsula and the Balkan drug trafficking route to Western Europe. The first of these reasons presently provides the main and almost only basis for Intra-Balkan terrorism (with the exception of the 'November 17' Group in Greece, which is operating only within Greece, and some Serb terrorist groups operating on the Serbia-Montenegro border and less in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. Unverified data indicate that exactly the presence of the Muslim 'ingredient' on the peninsula is the reason for using it as a basis and a base of present-day Islam-motivated terrorism for targets outside the Balkans.

The established drug trafficking through the peninsula (the second contemporary reason) creates a dual situation as regards terrorism. On the one hand, it comprises specific activities or participation in this traffic. The other, and much more important side is the 'tactical' protection which terrorist organizations involved in the Balkan route provide to drug trafficking - the calmer the situation, hence the counteraction of the competent authorities, on its route are, the more plausible and safe this traffic is. In this sense, terrorist organizations refrain from serious activities on the peninsula or using it as a support basis. Each action against them would also cause a failure in drug trafficking at one point in time or another. In many aspects this tactics is successful because the obvious counteraction is within trivial forms and borders. Given the excellent organization of drug channels themselves, how very difficult it is to enter these channels, and the positions of drug traffickers on all levels within police services, the Balkan route is indeed a sufficiently stable and efficient channel bringing excellent profits, including for the large-scale international terrorist organizations. Unquestionable proof for this are the assessments made by western experts of the volume of drugs trafficked through the Balkans, and the one-off shipments of significant size that are intercepted from time to time on this route. Such large shipments (in the magnitude of hundreds of kilos each) are possible to ship only through very safe channels.

Considering the causes for present-day terrorism refracted through the prism of the Balkans allows for the formulation of the second specific feature of the peninsula: the new phase (the boom) of terrorism on the Balkan Peninsula has no clearly discerned leap-like nature. To a great extent, the traditional conditions for terrorism have remained, and they continue to have effect together with the new causes, which makes the Balkan terrorism rather sophisticated and dangerous. Its development, however, is deterred by its own endeavor to protect the Balkan drug trafficking channel, and this has to a great extent kept Balkan terrorism within some acceptable for the societies on the peninsula limits.

This specific feature should not mislead or tempt one to believe drug trafficking is treated favorably on the Balkans. On the one hand, drug dealing is the most severe global multifaceted crime, and any more lenient attitude to it is utter cynicism, and no one in united Europe, NATO, or the United Nations would tolerate it, neither would the societies on the Balkans show tolerance, as drug addictions here are growing to more and

more perilous magnitudes. On the other hand, the global strategy against terrorism that requires the destruction of any known drug channels and privileged relations in one region or another will turn such a region into a base of terrorism and an enemy of the international community.

Exactly these specifics pose the greatest danger to the effective implementation of the global antiterrorist strategy for the Balkans, in particular owing to the misleading tactical approach of terrorism towards drug trafficking in the region. Another important danger lies in the yet unreformed special services in the former socialist countries, having in operation staff from the old times of totalitarian societies, who have participated in the contacts with and support of terrorist groups. It turns practically impossible to develop a system for joint activities to counteract drug trafficking, neither to carry out joint anti-terrorist initiatives regardless of the bilateral and multilateral intergovernmental agreements signed, and the intentions stated on top official levels. This would probably turn to be the greatest problem in the implementation of the anti-terrorist strategy, which the community on the Balkans will have to overcome.

The main conclusion to be made based on the Balkan specifics of terrorism is this: There are no small and big problems, neither are there any small and big countries, in the practical counteraction against terrorism. Any hint of weakness, any moment of delay or hesitation results in irretrievable suffering and cruelty for the whole world.