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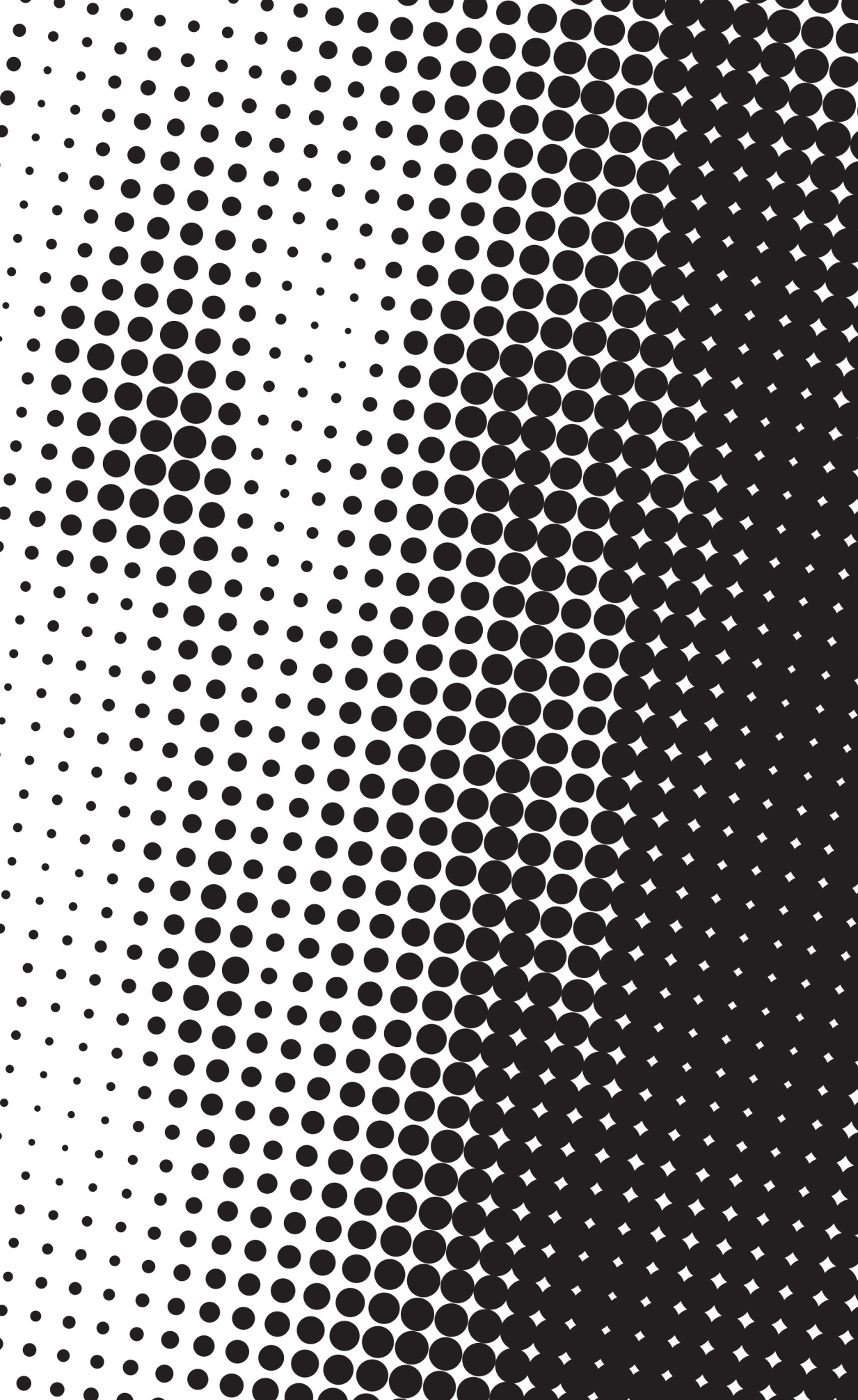

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Terrorism as a Problem of International Security

Terrorism is a security concern and a social phenomenon on a global scale. Since we live in a time of globalization, terrorism knows no boundaries and burdens international security. Its impact is certainly negative not only on human lives and property, but also on citizens' daily lives, as it produces fear, uncertainty and defeatism. As it develops it takes on different shapes and forms over time, each one more deadly than the previous one. In the same way, it changes its manifestation, resulting in great number of casualties. The fight against terrorism is a task for all actors in the international community. Given the above, a multidimensional way of perceiving terrorism as a security risk and a threat to international security is necessary. The aim of this paper is to highlight the impact that terrorism has on international security. It will show which measures and actions should be taken by international actors, what constitutes both the preventive and reactive measures. The aim is to emphasize the importance of having two frameworks of counter-terrorism activity, both legal and institutional. This will be achieved by using a comparative and descriptive method and content analysis. The research findings should show the impact of terrorism on international security and to explain how and by what means is the international community countering terrorism. The conclusion will be defined by answering the questions of whether international actors are successfully countering terrorism, whether they are taking appropriate measures and actions and how to enhance their counter-terrorism activity.

Keywords: security, terrorism, globalization, international actors

Introduction

The world we live in today has become a place of numerous risks, challenges and threats to the security of the states and their communities. Globalization is an unquestionable and unstoppable process. Like any historical process, it has both good and bad characteristics in relation to the development of humanity, communities and states. Globalization has set before the authorities and agencies of international actors (the states and international organizations) a whole set of challenges, risks and threats to the security of citizens and the community at large. They all have a cross-border dimension and an element of organization.

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Terrorism is a threat to international peace, characterized by the above given elements. In addition to terrorism, the climate change, organized crime in all its forms, weapons of mass destruction, migration, hunger and poverty, disease and weak states are also posing a threat. In today's world, stating that the security problem in the Middle East or North Africa concerns only the countries of that region could be perceived as a kind of security adventurism and amateurism that serious subjects of the international security system cannot afford. Terrorism is the most concrete example of this claim. The emergence and political life of terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda or ISIS are dominantly linked to the states of Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan. However, we are witnessing a number of examples of terrorist attacks in the territories of European countries, for which the responsibility has been assumed by these specific terrorist groups. This indicates that we are dealing with a transnational security threat that knows no boundaries. Starting from the above stated, the fight against terrorism at the international level should be considered a priority, since the consequences of terrorist attacks are huge, ranging from the loss of human lives through the destruction of property to the creation of defeatism in a society.

It is important to note that the international community is not an abstract space, but one that consists of international entities: states and international organizations that establish them. This space is based on international law with norms that contribute to its functioning. Countries are establishing relations at bilateral and multilateral levels building an institute of international relations. These relations should be amicable, with the aim of establishing international peace, stability and trust, to which international organizations, especially the United Nations are aspiring. Today, this idea is Utopian, especially in light of the aforementioned challenges to international security, which contribute to the existence of occasional, latent conflicts and frozen conflicts in the international community. The main protagonists of the creation of international community of this kind are the states, that is, their purely political and economic interests. Conflicts, instability and mistrust are the ideal space for the emergence of terrorism and the impetus for its spread through various contexts, forms and manifestations. The international community is in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, there is the fight against the threats to international security advocated by international organizations, and on the other, the insecurity and conflicts waged between the countries that form those organizations. Therefore, many questions seek answers. Are the international organizations powerful enough to maintain international security? Will the states work on establishing the peace and reducing the number of mutual conflicts in the future? Will terrorism grow stronger and what forms will it take? Finally, will the international community as a whole realize that this is the only space we have got to live in and that it must be preserved from self-destruction?

Literature review

Terrorism is one of the most exploited terms in science today. Also, the term has been studied in a multidisciplinary way and there are many authors who speak about terrorism. Three authors should be particularly emphasized in relation to the topic of this paper. White (2004) in his book „Terrorism" states that terrorism can never be explained by a single definition. He cites his view from several angles, where social and political ones are particularly prominent. He states that terrorists are using multiple forces through technology, international support, and increasing religious fanaticism.

Wilkinson (2002) creates a link between insurrection and terrorism in his book „Terrorism Versus Democracy". Insurrection is, in his understanding, a neutral concept defined as a rebellion or an uprising against any authority. Such actions include conflicts and opposition to the state apparatus. This creates armed conflicts of varying intensity. There are more and more armed conflicts that are said to be waged in the name of religion. However, he adds that there are fewer conflicts that are purely religious, and that each one contains nationalist political agendas.

In his book „Terrorism in Political and Legal Theory", Gaćinović (2010) points out that defining contemporary terrorism is an extremely complex process. He refers to the philosophy of modern-day terrorism and states that terrorism gained its greatest expansion in the mid-20th century, developing as a result of the alienation of individuals and groups, national conflicts, abuse of power and the failure of the rule of law.

International security

Globalization of the world order is a continuous process. It represents an unlimited space of social relations in all its forms, which are growing more complex each day. The connection between social entities is on a bigger level each day in line with the development of new technologies. This made the world a global village. Fast and unrestricted communications are the backbone of the global village, and again, a metaphor that many futurologists use when describing a world in which borders will disappear and in which the world will become one unified community (Kegli Jr. and Vitkof, 2006, 404–405). Today's global village rests on the foundations which incorporate the correlation of subjects of international relations, and its existence is directly dependent on the preservation of international security.

The concept and definition of international security

In order to define international security, we must first define the term *security*. This term is widespread and prevalent in many fields,

especially in the social sciences. Today he can be found in politics, ecology, health, economics, construction, transport, sports, etc. Such widespread use also leads to different interpretations of the same term. Since the subject of the paper is international security and cannot be discussed outside the context of international relations, it needs to be viewed on a political plane. Etymologically speaking, the word *security* (mne. *bezbijednost*) can be divided into two words: *no* — absence (mne. *bez*) and *misery* — distress, poverty, evil (mne. *Bijeda*). Historically, the role of the term *security* has changed from statesman Cicero to the Westphalian peace treaty, the Cold War, to the 9/11 attacks on New York and Washington. The terrorist attacks that took place on September 11, 2001 have once again shifted the perception of security. On the one hand, the existing pre-Cold War tendency has intensified, whereby the unwilling and anti-state threats such as terrorism, for example, have come to the fore (Eidus, 2010, 32).

International security as a term can be perceived from many angles and the scope of its definition should be understood accordingly. The first definition lies within the context of international community made up of entities, states and international organizations. Therefore, it could be said that international security — the security of all states as a whole, is defined through the work of international organizations. This would certainly be a simplified definition. The second way of perceiving it would be through the international legal order, which undermines the existence of international community.

International security is the security of international entities defined by international legal norms. This is an incomplete definition. International security is also discussed in terms of global security, i. e. the indivisible security of the world as a whole. This whole is a transformative high interdependence in all fields of life and work (economic, energy, technological, cultural and other inter-dependencies) (Milosavljević, 2014). Based on the aforementioned, we can conclude that the international security of subjects of the international community is defined by the international legal order, the purpose of which is to preserve international peace and security.

The concept, definition and types of terrorism

Considering the complexity of terrorism as a social and security phenomenon, there is no generally accepted definition today. Its content will depend on the one who defines it, the science within which it is defined, and the goal that it seeks to achieve. The efforts to define terrorism are best illustrated by the fact that from 1963 to 1981 there were more than 100 definitions of terrorism (Injac, 2011, 15). Today, according to unofficial data, we can say that the number has doubled. Notwithstanding this fact, two should be cited as an example of definitions coming from different sources. The first one is the product of scientific research by Jessica Stern. I define terrorism as an act of violence

or a threat of violence against non-combatants, with the aim of retaliating, intimidating or otherwise affecting a certain audience (Stern, 2004, 15). On the other hand, a definition can also be established by a non-scientific source such as a national authority in the national security system, which looks at this phenomenon from an operational point of view. Thus, the United Nations consider that a terrorist is any person who, acting independently of the knowledge of a country, either as an individual or a member of a group not recognized as an official body or a part of a nation, acts in such a way as to destroy or damage the property of civilians or the government in order to achieve a certain political goal (Gacinović, 1998, 58). Notwithstanding the fact that no universally accepted definition of terrorism can be determined in scientific circles, it does not abolish such widely understood phenomenon of the danger posed by the security of the social community. We can talk about domestic and international terrorism. Domestic terrorism is a type of terrorism whose motives of origin are inside the state and social structure of a state which can be further divided to ideological, separatist and religious one, based on the motives. It is characterized by the fact that it is not primarily a global security issue. In the first place, it is a threat to national security. Ideologically, terrorism can be divided into: leftist (*Red Brigades*, *First Line* and *Fight Continues* in Italy, *RAF* organization in FR Germany, *Armed Proletarian Core* in France, *ETA*, *FRAP* and *MIL* in Spain), and right wing terrorism (*CCP* in Turkey). Separatist terrorism represents the tendency of terrorist groups and political organizations to achieve a political goal by violent methods, the separation of the sovereignty of one sovereign state in order to create a new state (*IRA* in Ireland). There is an absolute correlation between separatist and nationalist and ethnic terrorism, because their motive is basically the same. Religious terrorism is religiously motivated, and its protagonists use the religious sentiments of individuals as a platform for marketing violent ideas and propagating religious teachings. Religious terrorism is an extremely convenient model for involving as many people as possible in terrorist activities.

Today there is no universally accepted definition of international terrorism. There are several reasons for this, and they relate to the fact that states use terrorism as an extended arm of their policies and there is no clear distinction between a terrorist organization and a terrorist group. There is no clearly defined distinction between terrorist activity and terrorist action either. In this way, there is no consensus on its definition in the scientific public nor within the international entities. We can divide it into transnational and interstate terrorism. The question arises whether the division of terrorism by types is exact nowadays? The reason for the doubt lies in the fact that global flows regulate all life and social relations, and thus the issue of international security. Are the terrorist challenges, risks and threats to one country today the same as to international security? Has national security become part of international security? Finally, can we classify national and international security as global security?

The answers to these questions can be obtained by looking at the reality in which we live and in the same way at security situations in national and international contexts. There is no dilemma that we are living in the global and information age today. I define globalization as a series of complex, independent or related processes that expand, intensify, and accelerate the interconnections in the world in all areas of human relations and transactions — economic, social, cultural, environmental, political, diplomatic, and security — so that events, decisions, and actions in one part of the world immediately have consequences for individuals, groups and states in other parts of the world (Samuel, 1999, 17). It is precisely the creation of world interconnections between the state and other international actors in the field of security that has led to the fact that one security problem in the national context is also a problem of the international community. Terrorism, ethnic conflicts, weapons of mass destruction, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and asymmetrical threats are the challenges, risks and threats that are inherent to each country and to the international community as well. In this way, the border between national and international security is disappearing, therefore, today we can speak about global security in the light of globalization. It sublimates both security models and internalizes any security problem, risk or threat. Therefore, the division into domestic and international terrorism is no longer valid. Terrorist attacks in cities in EU countries such as Madrid, London and Brussels have emerged as a result of the conflict in Syria and Afghanistan and they are not only a national security issue but also a global security issue.

The term international security should be replaced by the term global security. Therefore, we must also speak of global terrorism as a challenge, risk and threat to international security. Before defining the impact of terrorism on global security, it is necessary to determine what causes its emergence in the security sense. Certainly, neither the planning nor the execution of a terrorist attack can be conducted without financial means. Given their purpose, these funds must remain hidden from official legal cash flows. Also, for the same reason, they must be acquired in a way that is not transparent and which is contrary to positive regulations, both national and international. It is therefore a criminal act of terrorist financing, and the funds come from organized crime such as trafficking in weapons, human beings, drugs and corruption. All of this has the effect of creating organized transnational criminal groups. When a part or all of the money acquired in this way is to be returned to legal financial flows, money laundering is used as a form of criminal activity.

Terrorism has an immeasurable negative impact on international security. It is reflected in its negative impact on the national security of the countries that make up the international community.

Certainly, the first place is occupied by the seizure of human lives and then the destruction of property. The attack on two mosques in New Zealand in March 2019 killed 50 people and the one that happened in Nairobi in January in the same year killed 21 person. Terrorism blocks normal life and leads to fear, panic and insecurity. The consequence is the creation of defeatism among citizens. Terrorist attacks on world airports, such as in Istanbul or Brussels, have restricted the freedom of movement of people internationally. Terrorist attacks, especially in locations that are well-known tourist destinations, such as London, Madrid or Barcelona (in the very urban cores) are destroying the economy of the states. The 9/11 terrorist attack has affected the US economy to the tune of $ 28.1 billion, of which more than 14 billion is related to the private sector, according to an IMF report „The Impact of Terrorism on the Financial Markets". The New York Stock Exchange was closed for seven days, therefore the negative effects on the world economy are huge. Basic stock index of the stock market recorded the biggest fall in one day the in the US history. US stocks lost $ 1.2 trillion in one week (Zalman). Terrorist attacks weaken the constitutional order of a country. They are tempting all elements of the government apparatus, creating a rapid crisis in which public authorities and services must respond promptly, thereby greatly increasing the error rate. The question is, what happens after the terrorist attack? The state and society are still in a state of security crisis and a space that can be used by criminal groups for further destabilization is being created. No matter how ready and capable the apparatus of government is, this can be a moment in which even such states could acquire the characteristics of weak states. International security is precisely a set of national securities. Compromised national security system means that an international security system is compromised as well.

The international community must fight terrorism clearly, systematically and effectively. There are two ways to do this: legal and institutional. The first implies that primarily the UN, but also the EU and the OSCE, as international institutions, work continuously on the adoption of international legal acts: resolutions, conventions and protocols and sign international treaties with states. In the 20th century, the United Nations adopted a series of international instruments (conventions, resolutions, etc.) to counter international terrorism. These important documents did not find sufficient ground in practice, therefore their implementation was never fully implemented (Gaćinović, 2011, 318). Institutional struggle involves the implementation of preventive and repressive measures. They are implemented by NATO, INTERPOL, EUROPOL and other international organizations in accordance with defined competencies. NATO activities can be preventive and involve numerous military exercises, as well as the training of national security forces of countries at risk of terrorism. The other two are setting up databases, sending their targeted and trained teams to crisis areas to provide logistics to national

security systems. NATO has shown repressive measures, in particular, on numerous occasions through attacks and combat, especially in Afghanistan.

Conclusion

The subject of the research was to indicate that terrorism is a security concern of the international community. It was also pointed out that the international community consists of states, therefore, terrorism is a problem of national security of the states as well. The purpose of the research was to highlight the importance and consequences of terrorism in relation to the international community. First of all, it is pointed out that there can be consequences affecting human lives, property, economy and the apparatus of government. In order to understand the significance and consequences of terrorism, it was necessary to explain the definition of terrorism as well as to specify and define its forms. In order to explain the impact of terrorism on international security, it was necessary to define the basic definition of international security. The obtained results supported the hypothesis that the international community is not an abstract space, because it is made up of states and international entities that exist as political and structural elements of a system. Also, the hypothesis that there is no single definition of terrorism is confirmed.

Many of these definitions originating from different sources are cited in the paper, which explains why there is no universal one. It was confirmed that the term international security should be replaced by the term global security. The reason lies in the fact that in the process of globalization that we are going through today, there are no boundaries between national and international security, there is no division into these two types. Today, there is solely a global security. The new result in the study can be derived from the last hypothesis and concerns the unification of national and international security systems in the fight against terrorism. No country is a self-sufficient security system, nor can an international security system exist without national systems. On the other hand, international organizations need to focus more on the global preventive counter-terrorism methods, above all in creating a viable international legal system followed by finding methods for its implementation.

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Nikola Banićević

Teorizam kao problem međunarodne bezbjednosti

Terorizam je bezbjednosni problem i društveni fenomen na globalnom nivou. Budući da živimo u vremenu globalizacije, terorizam ne poznaje granice i opterećuje međunarodnu bezbjednost. Njegov uticaj je svakako negativan ne samo na ljudske živote i imovinu, već i na svakodnevni život građana, jer proizvodi strah, neizvjesnost i defetizam. Kako se razvija, s vremenom poprima različite oblike i svaki je smrtonosniji od prethodnog. Na isti način mijenja svoju manifestaciju, što rezultira velikim brojem žrtava. Borba protiv terorizma je zadatak svih aktera međunarodne zajednice. S obzirom na navedeno, neophodan je višedimenzionalni način sagledavanja terorizma kao bezbjednosnog rizika i prijetnje međunarodnoj bezbjednosti. Cilj ovog rada je da istakne uticaj koji terorizam ima na međunarodnu bezbjednost. Pokazaće koje mjere i radnje treba da preduzmu međunarodni akteri, šta čini i preventivne i reaktivne mjere. Cilj je da se naglasi važnost postojanja dva okvira za borbu protiv terorizma, kako pravnog tako i institucionalnog. To će se postići korištenjem komparativne i deskriptivne metode i analize sadržaja. Nalazi istraživanja treba da pokažu uticaj terorizma na međunarodnu bezbjednost i da objasne kako i na koji način se međunarodna zajednica bori protiv terorizma. Zaključak će biti definisan odgovorom na pitanja da li se međunarodni akteri uspješno bore protiv terorizma, da li poduzimaju odgovarajuće mjere i radnje i kako da pojačaju svoje antiterorističke aktivnosti.

Ključne riječi: bezbjednost, terorizam, globalizacija, međunarodni akteri