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Učinkovita koordinacija in sodelovanje – sine qua non uspešnosti zmanjševanja terorističnih groženj.

Svoboda in varnost nista samoumevni dobrini,
saj njuno zagotavljanje zahteva trdo delo.
Ne pustimo, da nam terorizem poruši naše sanje o varni prihodnosti.

Dr. Denis Čaleta

Effective Coordination and Cooperation – Sine Qua None of Success Level of Terrorist Threat Reduction

Freedom and security can not be taken for granted
since their provision requires hard work.
We should not let terrorism shatter our dreams of safe future.

Dr Denis Čaleta

VSEBINA

Denis Čaleta

UREDNIŠKI UVOD

Različne pojavne oblike terorizma so stalnica v zgodovinskem razvoju človeštva. Ideološka, verska, kulturna, rasna in druga nesoglasja so v posameznih zgodovinskih obdobjih pojavljanje terorističnih groženj še posebej pospeševala. Pri opredeljevanju pojava terorizma se je vse do danes ohranilo veliko različnih pogledov politične, znanstvene in strokovne javnosti, ki pa so bili obremenjeni z navedenimi dejavniki, zato niso v celoti omogočali sprejetja enovite definicije terorizma. Dogodki, povezani z mednarodnim terorizmom, so v 21. stoletju posamezne nacionalne skupnosti in s tem tudi mednarodno privedle do skupne ugotovitve, da terorizem v svojem temelju pomeni grožnjo sodobnemu varnostnemu okolju. Na razvoj sodobne družbe in njenega načina življenja ter stanje človekovih pravic ima terorizem izredno negativne učinke, posredne in neposredne. Treba se je zavedati groženj, ki jih v sistem nacionalne in mednarodne varnosti prinašajo spremenjene varnostne razmere v svetu.

Teroristi s svojimi dejanji in s posredovanjem občutka strahu ter panike prenašajo svoj vpliv s primarnega cilja na celotno družbeno skupnost. Razvoj in uporaba sodobnih tehnologij še povečujeta ranljivost sodobne družbe za različna teroristična dejanja, po drugi strani pa omogočata terorističnim skupinam, da so z uporabo učinkov te tehnologije še uspešnejši pri svojem delovanju. Moderni terorizem je postavil mednarodno skupnost pred ugotovitev, da je to globalni fenomen, ki zahteva globalen odziv na različnih ravneh, in sicer od mednarodne prek nacionalne vse do lokalne ravni v vsaki, še tako majhni družbeni skupnosti. To v grobem pomeni, da učinkovitejše zoperstavljanje terorizmu ne pomeni le spremembe delovanja represivnih organov v praksi, temveč celovito spremembo v delovanju celotnega državnega in mednarodnega mehanizma. Terorizem pri svojem delovanju ni omejen z državnimi mejami, zato se lahko mednarodna skupnost temu pojavu učinkovito upre le z izboljšanjem ukrepov pri sodelovanju, solidarnosti med državami in pri pobudah, ki vsebujejo kombinacijo raznovrstnih strategij in mehanizmov. V to je ne nazadnje vključeno tudi povečanje izmenjave informacij, pomembnih za zoperstavljanje temu svetovnemu problemu.

Vse navedene ugotovitve so subjekte nacionalne varnosti ter na drugi strani tudi mednarodne političnovarnostne integracije postavile pred dilemo o njihovi učinkovitosti in ustreznosti odzivanja na spremenjene oblike ogrožanja varnosti. Sprejeti pristopi za doseganje učinkovitejše odzivnosti na nove porajajoče se oblike mednarodnega terorizma so bili različni. Z gotovostjo pa lahko ugotovimo, da so bili pristopi, usmerjeni le v poudarjanje represivnih strategij, namenjenih odpravljanju ali zmanjševanju terorističnih groženj, napačni in so paradoksalno dosegali ravno nasprotne učinke od želenih. Problematiziranje razmerja varnosti v odnosu do stopnje človekovih pravic in svoboščin v smislu, če zmanjšujemo eno, povečujemo drugo, je popolnoma napačno in škodljivo za delovanje sodobne družbe. Kljub različnim pristopom do odpravljanja oziroma zmanjševanja terorističnih groženj se v vseh družbenih strukturah nacionalnih okolij ali mednarodnega okvira kot celote vendarle dajo razbrati posamezne ugotovitve ali potrebe, ki jih lahko povežemo na skupni imenovalec. Ta skupni imenovalec pa obsega potrebo po sodelovanju, izmenjavi informacij, dobrega delovanja in izkušenj ter skupni koordinaciji subjektov na nacionalni in še bolj na mednarodni ravni pri zoperstavljanju terorizmu.

Sodobno varnostno okolje postaja vse bolj zapleteno in zahtevno, zato je tudi nuja po sodelovanju in izmenjavi izkušenj vse bolj prisotna kot dokončno spoznanje o edini pravi poti, ki prinaša tudi končne pozitivne učinke.

Zaradi vseh teh izzivov smo se v uredniškem odboru Biltena Slovenske vojske odločili, da to številko posvetimo mednarodni konferenci z nazivom Izzivi zoperstavljanja terorizmu v Jugovzhodni Evropi, ki bo od 22. do 26. marca 2010 potekala v Mariboru. Rdeča nit tokratne mednarodne konference je usmerjena na področje nacionalnih in mednarodnih mehanizmov koordinacije v procesih zoperstavljanja terorizmu in izmenjave dobrega delovanja na obravnavanem področju. Prva številka 12. letnika Biltena ima tematski naslov *Učinkovita koordinacija in sodelovanje – »sine qua non« uspešnosti zmanjševanja terorističnih groženj*. Ta številka je tematsko zaokrožena in prav zato bralcu ponuja osredotočeno seznanjanje z različnimi vidiki procesov zoperstavljanja terorizmu.

Vsebinsko so prispevki v tej številki Biltena razdeljeni v prispevke, ki so povezani s širšim mednarodnim pristopom k obravnavani problematiki, ter široko izbiro prispevkov, ki obravnavajo različne nacionalne pristope s področja zoperstavljanja terorizmu.

Aleš Čretnik ugotavlja, da je mednarodni terorizem postal katalizator za spremembe v številnih nacionalnih in mednarodnih okoljih, med drugim tudi v obveščevalni skupnosti. Glavna cilja teh reform naj bi bili optimiziranje sistema izmenjave obveščevalnih podatkov in ponovno osredotočenje obveščevalne dejavnosti na asimetrične grožnje, zlasti terorizem. Sestavni in bistveni del tega procesa je bil usmerjen v izboljšanje izmenjave informacij in sodelovanja. Vzpostavljanje nacionalnih in mednarodnih centrov za zbiranje ter obdelavo obveščevalnih podatkov je logičen rezultat tega procesa. Združevanje zmogljivosti, namenjenih nacionalni uporabi,

in zmogljivosti, ki so namenjene izmenjevanju obveščevalnih podatkov v mednarodnem okolju, je dobra rešitev predvsem za manjše države, ki imajo omejene kadrovske in finančne vire.

Pierre Lépine problematizira dejstvo, koliko javnost zaznava teroristične grožnje in kakšen vpliv ima na vlado pri opredeljevanju in dojemanju pomembnosti ukrepov zoperstavljanja tem grožnjam v razmerju do druge nujne družbene problematike, na primer do zdravstva in izobraževanja. Ugotavlja, da so dodatni ukrepi sodelovanja na področju zoperstavljanja terorizmu vedno mogoči, pri odločevalcih pa se postavlja večna dilema, ali so trenutni ukrepi zadostni glede na trenutne grožnje terorizma.

Thomas R. Mockaitis se osredotoča na preučevanje prestrukturiranja varnostnih in obveščevalnih organizacij v ZDA po terorističnih napadih 11. septembra. V svojih ugotovitvah postavlja trditev, da je, čeprav so se procesi zbiranja podatkov in analiz izboljšali, težko ugotoviti, ali je to izboljšanje posledica prestrukturiranja sistema ali nova osredotočenost v posameznih agencijah in službah na terorizem. Toda zadnji poskusi terorističnih napadov še naprej kažejo na določene težave, ki se pojavljajo na področju izmenjave obveščevalnih podatkov in sodelovanja med agencijami. Avtor je kritičen do vloge Ministrstva za domovinsko varnost, kar potrjuje z analizo njenega vpliva na učinkovitost FEMA v primeru orkana Katrina. Na koncu predlaga, da je potreba po preoblikovanju institucionalne kulture po svoji vsebini bolj pomembna kot prestrukturiranje na obveščevalnem in varnostnem področju.

Patrick Leroy v svojem prispevku izpostavlja dileme o uspešnosti različnih pristopov zoperstavljanja terorizmu, ki so razpeti na eni strani med pristopi ZDA, ki so opustile retoriko »globalne vojne proti terorizmu«, ter na drugi strani s pristopi multilateralnega sodelovanja v Evropi, ki deluje z vsemi svojimi omejitvami. Nadnacionalna evropeizacija obveščevalnega sektorja je lahko pot za zagotavljanje globalne varnosti Evrope, ki je vredna premisleka.

Fu Xiaoqiang ugotavlja, da je boj proti terorizmu postal pomemben del domačih in mednarodnih naporov Kitajske za zagotavljanje ustreznega varnostnega okolja. Kitajska se je z grožnjami terorizma srečevala že pred 11. septembrom, vendar je šele po napadih na ZDA začela v celoti sodelovati kot pomemben akter v mednarodni protiteroristični koaliciji. Po njegovi oceni območje »Vzhodnega Turkistana« s pojavnimi oblikami terorizma, separatizma in ekstremizma predstavlja varnostno grožnjo Kitajski in tudi mednarodni skupnosti. Po njegovi oceni je Organizacija združenih narodov z Varnostnim svetom še vedno najpomembnejši organ, ki je v podpori regionalnih in drugih mednarodnih mehanizmov bistven za učinkovito zoperstavljanje terorizmu.

Florina Cristiana (Cris) Matei poudarja, da boj proti terorizmu v resnici ni nova odgovornost varnostnih sil v Romuniji. Terorizem je pomenil grožnjo za nacionalno varnost Romunije tudi pred letom 1989. Kljub temu pa se ta iz obdobja hladne vojne po ciljih, načinu in številu žrtev razlikuje od terorizma 21. stoletja. Napadi v ZDA,

Španiji in Veliki Britaniji so tudi v Romuniji postavili potrebo po preoblikovanju celotnega varnostnega sistema. V prispevku avtorica podrobno analizira proces pre-obrazbe romunskega nacionalnovarnostnega sistema v prizadevanju za učinkovito preprečevanje in boj proti terorizmu.

Edin Hasanspahić prikazuje vlogo vojaškega obveščevalnega sistema v boju proti terorizmu in poudarja pomembnost vzpostavitve učinkovitega sistema sodelova-nja in usklajevanja med obveščevalnimi institucijami v Bosni in Hercegovini, kot tudi potrebo po sodelovanju med državami v regiji Zahodnega Balkana in širše. Izpostavljena je potreba po vzpostavitvi skupne institucije za usklajevanje dejavno-sti v boju proti terorizmu kot največji izziv in nepredvidljiva nevarnost učinkovitega delovanja tega sistema.

Mladen Pemper ugotavlja, da je pojav spremenjenih oblik mednarodnega terorizma vplival na novo razumevanje nevarnosti in tako mednarodno skupnost prisilil, da se je zavezala k izvajanju ustreznih ukrepov z namenom zmanjševanja terorističnih groženj. Ukrepi za odzivanje so vidni na globalni, regionalni in nacionalni ravni. V svojem prispevku analizira, ali nove pojavne oblike mednarodnega terorizma vplivajo na krepitev nacionalnih zmogljivosti za boj proti terorizmu v Republiki Hrvaški.

Waldemar Zubrzycki se v prispevku ukvarja z mogočimi oblikami terorističnih de-javnosti, ki predstavljajo nevarnost za Republiko Poljsko. Avtor predstavlja različne stopnje aktivnosti Poljske in naloge posameznih institucij, vključno s prepoznava-njem in preprečevanjem terorističnega ogrožanja, kakor tudi njihove predvidene ak-tivnosti po domnevno izvedenem napadu. Posebej izpostavlja pomembnost po učin-koviti medresorski koordinaciji, ki je v Poljskem primeru predstavljena kot primer dobre prakse.

Ylli Zyla zagovarja tezo, da države regije JV Evrope delijo podobne izkušnje iz bližnje preteklosti. Po razpadu komunističnih režimov so stopile na pot gospodarske in politične tranzicije. Spremembe so usmerjene predvsem na prizadevanje za de-mokracijo družbe, gospodarski razvoj ter vključevanje v evropske in evro-atlantske povezave. V dobi globalizacije in integracije lahko odprte meje v procesih zoperstav-ljanja terorizmu pomenijo tudi določene težave. Pomanjkanje izkušenj v boju proti terorizmu v naši regiji postavlja posamezne države v položaj dodatne ogroženosti, ki ima lahko za rezultat poleg neposredne ogroženosti tudi možno zlorabo njihovega prostora za logistično podporo ali financiranje terorističnih dejanj na širšem območju regije.

Zoran Ivanov poskuša izpostaviti drugačen pogled na medagencijsko sodelova-nje. Pri svojih ugotovitvah izhaja iz dejstva, da je treba strategije zoperstavljanja terorizmu prilagoditi glede na nove trende bojevanja. S svojo analizo avtor pomaga razumeti glavne spremembe na področju prilagoditve zmogljivosti za izvajanje novih metod bojevanja z namenom, da se izkoristijo vsi potenciali v procesih zoper-stavljanja terorizmu.

Zoran Krunić poudarja že znano dejstvo, da terorizem v Rusiji nikakor ni nov pojav. Ruski državi dolgo ni uspelo najti pravih odgovorov na sodobni terorizem. Akcije njenih varnostnih organov so bile pogosto kaotične in so povzročile velike žrtve med talci. Avtor zagovarja tezo, da med regijama nekdanjih Sovjetske zveze in Jugoslavije obstaja veliko podobnosti in bi v regiji JV Evrope morali ruske izkušnje podrobno analizirati, da bi se vnaprej pravilno pripravili na morebitne pojave islamskega in drugega terorizma.

Irena Kranjc in Andrej Anžič obravnavata mednarodni terorizem kot vsebino prepletanja, razkoraka in ločevanja med pravom, deklarativnimi političnimi interesi ter varnostno prakso in njihovimi odsevi na stanje v Sloveniji. Terorizem ima v svojem bistvu konflikt, ki sproži ne le posledice, temveč tudi protiukrepe. Diskurz o odzivnosti organov oblasti na konkretna teroristična dejanja kaže na ugotovitev, da so posamezne države na ta vir ogrožanja odgovarjale naglo, večkrat že kar stihijsko, ne dovolj pripravljene v smislu uporabe sil in sredstev, predvsem pa brez oblikovanja jasnih ciljev in medsebojnega sodelovanja v smislu delitve informacij. Poleg težav naglega (prenaglega) ukrepanja opozarjata še na povsem neprimerno retoriko, kot je vojna proti terorizmu ali boj proti terorizmu in podobno.

Andrej Androjna ugotavlja, da je morje območje vse večje medsebojne odvisnosti, ki omogoča prost pretok ljudi, zamisli, blaga, tehnologije in sredstev. Hkrati je to tudi okolje, v katerem so izpostavljeni izzivi in grožnje varnosti, kot so terorizem, nedovoljena trgovina z ljudmi, drogami in orožjem. Taki izzivi so na svetovni ravni zahtevali iskanje novih oblik sistematične pomorske varnosti in zaščite. V prispevku predstavlja celovit nacionalni pristop k zagotavljanju varnosti in s tem povezanih groženj na morju, kar nam lahko pomaga teoretično razumeti potrebo po nadaljnji integraciji v smeri prilagoditve vseh naših nacionalnih pomorskih zmogljivosti, usmerjenih v skupno interdisciplinarno službo.

Žarko Henigman in Jože Grozde ugotavljata, da odločanje o opravljanju nalog v mednarodnih operacijah in na misijah na območjih zunaj nacionalnega ozemlja, še posebno zunaj Evrope, zahteva temeljite geoprostorske analize. Te so v procesih odločanja o uporabi vojaških sil podlaga drugim informacijam in obveščevalnim ocenam interesnega območja. Obveščevalno vrednotenje geografskega prostora vključuje učinke in vplive v geografskem prostoru. Njegovi produkti so v sodobnem času pomemben, nemalokrat ključen element delovanja SV in njenih pripadnikov v boju proti terorističnim in drugim asimetričnim grožnjam.

Tanja Greif v svoji analizi obravnava uporabo interneta kot medija za širjenje zamisli in radikalizacijo posameznih ideoloških ter verskih skupin. V svojem prispevku zagovarja tezo, da je boj proti radikalizaciji na dolgi rok eden izmed najbolj učinkovitih načinov za boj proti terorizmu. Dawa (pridiga) predstavlja pomemben korak v procesu radikalizacije islamskih radikalnih skupin. Pravilna identifikacija tega problema nam lahko pomaga, da opredelimo realno moč radikalizacijskih procesov v posamezni skupnosti. Islamske skupine skrajnežev, ki so ugotovile možnosti, ki jih

ponuja internet za širjenje njihovih zamisli, te možnosti tudi zelo učinkovito izkoriščajo. Na podlagi njenih ugotovitev bosanski verski skrajneži v teh procesih niso izjema, saj internet postaja še pomembnejše in priročnejše orodje za ohranitev stikov s privrženci v domovini ali bosanskih priseljenskih skupnostih v tujini.

Vsi prispevki kažejo na skupno spoznanje o potrebnosti medorganizacijskih oblik sodelovanja na različnih ravneh procesov zoperstavljanja terorizmu. Upam, da bo pričujoča vsebina konferenčne publikacije in konference nasploh pripomogla k dograjevanju posameznih delov v mozaiku uspešnega zoperstavljanja terorizmu v regiji in tudi širše.

Denis Čaleta

Diverse manifestations of terrorism have been a permanent occurrence throughout the history of mankind. The emergence of terrorist threats during individual historical periods was additionally incited by ideological, religious, cultural, racial and other conflicts. Up to the present time, definitions of the phenomenon of terrorism included a wide range of political, scientific and professional views that were influenced by the above factors and did not permit the adoption of a uniform definition of terrorism in its entirety. Events connected with international terrorism made individual national communities, including the international, realize in the 21st century that terrorism in essence poses a threat to contemporary security environment. The development of modern society and its lifestyle as well as the status of human rights are subject to extremely negative effects of terrorism, both direct and indirect. It is necessary to be aware of threats brought into the system of national and international security by the changed security situation in the world.

Through their actions and transmission of fear and panic, terrorists transfer their influence from the primary objective to the community as a whole. The development and application of modern technologies are further increasing the vulnerability of modern society to various terrorist acts, and on the other hand, allow terrorist groups to be even more successful in their operations by exploiting the advantages of these technologies. Modern terrorism has actually led the international community to a conclusion that terrorism is a global phenomenon requiring a global response at different levels, i.e. from the international through the national and to local levels in each, even the smallest social community. Broadly speaking, more effective counter-terrorism measures not only demand changes in the functioning of repressive authorities in practical terms, but an overall change in the operation of national and international mechanisms as a whole. Terrorist activity is not restricted by national borders, thus the international community can only effectively counter this phenomenon by improving the measures of cooperation, solidarity between countries, and initiatives combining various strategies and mechani-

sms. This also entails an enhanced exchange of information relevant to countering this global problem.

All these considerations have put national security authorities and also the international political and security establishments in a dilemma on their effectiveness and the appropriateness of response measures to the changed forms of security threats. Approaches adopted to respond more effectively to the newly emerging forms of international terrorism are varied. It can be stated with certainty that the approaches focusing solely on repressive strategies to eliminate or reduce terrorist threats, have been inappropriate and, paradoxically, led to the opposite desired effect. The problematization of security in relation to the level of human rights and freedoms in the sense that the reduction of one means the increasing of the other is completely wrong and harmful for the functioning of modern society. Despite various approaches to eliminating or reducing terrorist threats, all social structures of national environments or international framework as a whole, share specific concerns or needs that can be linked to a common denominator. This common denominator involves the need for cooperation, information exchange, sound operation and experiences, and overall coordination of bodies at the national and even more so at the international level in countering terrorism.

With increased complexity and challenges of the modern security environment, there is a growing need for cooperation and exchange of experiences as being the ultimate recognition of the only true path leading to final positive results.

In consideration of all these challenges, the Editorial Board of the Slovenian Armed Forces' Bulletin have decided to dedicate this edition to the international conference titled "Challenges of Countering Terrorism in Southeast Europe" to be held from 22 to 26 March 2010 in Maribor. The common thread of the conference is national and international coordination mechanisms in the processes of countering terrorism and the exchange of good practices in this field. The first edition of the 12th year of the Bulletin deals with *Effective Coordination and Cooperation - "Sine Qua Non" of Success Level of Terrorist Threat Reduction*. This Bulletin edition includes selected topics and therefore offers the reader a focused familiarization with the various aspects of countering terrorism.

In terms of contents, the papers in this edition of the Bulletin are divided into those tackling the broader international approach to the problem concerned, and a wide range of articles dealing with different national approaches in the field of counter-terrorism activity.

Aleš Čretnik notes that international terrorism has become a catalyst for change in many national and international environments, including the intelligence community. These reforms should optimize the system for the exchange of intelligence and change the focus of intelligence to asymmetric threats, especially terrorism. An integral and essential part of this process is aimed at improving information exchange and

cooperation. Creating national and international centers for the collection and processing of intelligence is a logical outcome of the process. Combining the capacity for national use, and the capabilities designed for the exchange of intelligence in the international environment is a good solution particularly for smaller countries with limited personnel and financial resources.

Pierre Lépine discusses public perception of the terrorist threat and how this affects governments' decisions in identifying and perceiving the importance of countering these threats in relation to other pressing social issues, such as health and education. He claims that additional measures of cooperation in countering terrorism will always be possible, although policy makers are faced with the eternal dilemma whether the current measures are sufficient given the current terrorist threats.

Thomas R. Mockaitis examines the restructuring of security and intelligence organizations in the United States following the 11 September terrorist attacks. He believes that although data collection and analysis processes have improved, it is difficult to determine whether these improvements result from the restructuring of the system or from a new focus on terrorism brought in various agencies and departments. The latest attempts of terrorist attacks, however, continue to expose some problems of intelligence-sharing and inter-agency cooperation. The author is critical of the role of Department of Homeland Security and justifies his opinion with the analysis of Department's impact on the efficiency of FEMA in the case of the Hurricane Katrina. At the end he suggests that the need for the transformation of institutional culture is in its substance more important than the restructuring of intelligence and security fields.

Patrick Leroy highlights in his article the dilemma on the success level of different approaches to countering terrorism, which range, on the one hand, from the approaches of the U.S. that have abandoned the rhetoric of ''global war on terror'', to multilateral approaches to cooperation in Europe, functioning with all the limitations, on the other hand. The transnational Europeanization of intelligence sector may be a way worth consideration to ensure global security of Europe.

Fu Xiaoqiang notes that the fight against terrorism has become an important element of China's national and international efforts to ensure appropriate security environment. China was confronted with terrorist threats before 11 September, but only after the attacks on the U. S. it has began to participate fully as a major player in the international antiterrorist coalition. In his view, the area of "East Turkestan" with the emerging forms of terrorism, separatism and extremism constitutes a security threat to China and the international community. In his view, the United Nations Organization with the Security Council remains the most important and major authority supporting effective regional and other international counter-terrorism mechanisms.

Florina Cristiana (Cris) Matei stresses that the fight against terrorism is actually not a new responsibility for Romania's security forces as terrorism posed a threat

to Romania's national security already before 1989. However, the terrorism of the Cold War period differs from that of the 21st century by its objectives, methods and number of victims. Attacks in the U.S., Spain and the UK also raised the need in Romania to reform its entire security system. In the paper the author analyzes in detail the process of transformation of Romania's national security system in an effort to effectively prevent and combat terrorism.

Edin Hasanspahić illustrates the role of military intelligence in the fight against terrorism, and stresses the importance of an effective cooperation and coordination system established between intelligence institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the need for cooperation between countries in the Western Balkan region and beyond. Special attention is given to the establishment of a joint institution for coordination of counter-terrorism activity, which represents the greatest challenge and an unpredictable risk for effective functioning of the system.

Mladen Pemper notes that the occurrence of modified forms of international terrorism has influenced new reflections on the risk, and thus forced the international community to undertake appropriate measures aimed to reduce terrorist threats. The response measures are visible at the global, regional and national levels. In his paper the author analyzes whether new occurrences of international terrorism affect the strengthening of the national counter-terrorism capacity of the Republic of Croatia.

Waldemar Zubrzycki deals with the possible forms of terrorist activities that pose a threat to the Republic of Poland. The author presents different levels of activities conducted in Poland and tasks of individual institutions, including the identification and prevention of terrorist threats, as well as the relevant planned activities following a potential attack. He stresses in particular the importance of effective inter-ministerial coordination, with Poland being presented as an example of good practice.

Ylli Zyla argues that countries in the region of SE Europe share similar experiences of the recent past. After the collapse of Communist regimes, they have treaded the path of economic and political transition. The changes are aimed primarily at efforts towards democratic society, economic development, and integration into European and Euro-Atlantic establishments. In an era of globalization and integration, open borders may also pose some problems in the process of countering terrorism. The lack of experience in fighting terrorism in the region increases the threat level in individual countries and may, in addition to the immediate threat, also lead to potential misuse of their space for logistical support or funding of terrorist activities in the wider region.

Zoran Ivanov gives a different perspective on interagency cooperation. His considerations are derived from the fact that the strategy of counter-terrorism should be adjusted to new warfare trends. Based on his analysis the author contributes to the understanding of the main changes in the capacity adjustment for the implementation of new warfare methods aimed to exploit all the potentials in the process of countering terrorism.

Zoran Krunić highlights the already known fact that terrorism in Russia is by no means a new phenomenon. The Russian state strived for a long time to find an adequate response to contemporary terrorism. Campaigns of its security authorities were often chaotic and caused mass casualties among the hostages. The author claims that there are many similarities between the regions of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, and that Russian experiences should be analyzed in detail in the region of SE Europe in order to carry out proper preparations for any potential occurrences of Islamic and other terrorist activity.

Irena Kranjc and Andrej Anžič discuss international terrorism from the perspective of intertwining, division and separation between law, declarative political interests and security practice, and their reflections on the situation in Slovenia. Terrorism essentially involves a conflict triggering not only specific effects but also counter-measures. The discourse on the authorities' response to specific terrorist acts shows that the response of individual countries was hasty, several times unplanned, not sufficiently prepared in terms of force and asset employment, and above all, without clearly defined goals and mutual cooperation in the sense of information-sharing. In addition to problems associated with rapid (hasty) response they point out to a completely inappropriate rhetoric, for instance the war on terrorism or the fight against terrorism and the like.

Andrej Androjna notes that the sea has become an area of increased interdependence, allowing free movement of people, ideas, goods, technologies and resources. It is also an environment with distinctive challenges and security threats, such as terrorism, trafficking in human beings, drugs and arms. Such challenges call for new forms of systematic maritime safety and security in the global environment. In his paper the author presents a comprehensive national approach to safety and the related threats at sea, which in theory can help us understand the need for further integration aimed at adjusting all national maritime capacities towards a joint interdisciplinary agency.

Žarko Henigman and Jože Grozde note that the decisions about performing duties in multinational operations and missions outside the national territory, especially outside Europe, require in-depth geospatial analyses. These are used as a basis for other information and intelligence assessments of interest areas in the decision-making process on the use of military forces. Intelligence evaluation of the geographic area includes the effects and impacts in a geographical area. Its products represent an important, often crucial element of operation of the SAF and its members in the fight against terrorism and other asymmetric threats of modern time.

In her analysis, Tanja Grief considers the use of the Internet as a medium for disseminating ideas and radicalizing individual ideological and religious groups. She argues that the fight against radicalization is one of the most effective ways of combating terrorism in the long run. Dawa (sermon) is an important step in the process of radicalization of Islamic radical groups. Proper identification of this problem can help us identify the real power of radicalization processes in each community. Islamic

radical groups that have identified possibilities offered by the Internet to disseminate their ideas are exploiting this option very effectively. Based on author's findings, Bosnian religious extremists are no exception in these processes, as the Internet has become an even more important and convenient tool to maintain contact with supporters at home or in Bosnian immigrant communities abroad.

All papers highlight the commonly recognized need for inter-organizational forms of cooperation at different levels of counter-terrorism processes. I hope that the topics presented in this publication and at the conference in general will advance the upgrading of individual blocks in the mosaic of successful counter-terrorism activity in the region and beyond.

Aleš Čretnik

ZDRUŽEVALNI CENTRI V PROCESU IZMENJAVE PODATKOV – PROBLEM ALI REŠITEV?

FUSION CENTRES IN INFORMATION SHARING PROCESS – A PROBLEM OR A SOLUTION?

Povzetek   Teroristični napadi 11. septembra v Združenih državah so postali katalizator sprememb v mnogih nacionalnih in celo mednarodnih obveščevalnih sredinah. Glavni cilji teh obveščevalnih reform so bili optimizirati sistem in ponovno osredotočiti obveščevalne aktivnosti na asimetrične grožnje, še posebej na terorizem. Sestavna in zelo pomembna sestavina boja proti mednarodnemu terorizmu je bila potreba po izmenjavi podatkov in sodelovanju, tako da je bilo oblikovanje nacionalnih in večnacionalnih združevalnih centrov logična posledica. Koncept združevanja podatkov ni nov pojav in bi moral biti sestavni del procesa zbiranja in izdelovanja v vseh obveščevalnih in varnostnih organizacijah. Vseeno pa so, na splošno, področja zanimanja v nacionalnih in večnacionalnih združevalnih centrih različna, saj se prvi običajno osredotočajo na notranjo, nacionalno varnost, drugi pa na trenutna in mogoča krizna področja, na države, ki so še posebej zanimive za večnacionalne združevalne centre, ter transnacionalne zadeve, kot so mednarodni terorizem, organiziran kriminal ter širjenje orožij za množično uničevanje. Iz nacionalnega vidika je najbrž spojitev obeh odgovornosti v okviru enega samega nacionalnega združevalnega centra idealna rešitev za pokrivanje širšega spektra potreb uporabnikov, posebno za manjše države z omejenimi človeškimi in finančnimi viri.

Ključne besede   *Obveščevalni združevalni center (IFC), asimetrična grožnja, obveščevalni podatki, izmenjava podatkov, združevanje, večnacionalni.*

Abstract   The 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States became the catalyst for changes in many national and even international intelligence communities. The main aims of these intelligence reforms were to optimize the system and re-focus intelligence activities towards asymmetric threats, especially terrorism. An integral and crucial component of the fight against international terrorism was the need for information sharing and cooperation, and the establishment of national and multinational fusion centres was a logical outcome. The concept of data fusion is not a new phenomenon

and should already be an integral part of the collection and production process of any intelligence or security organization. However, in general, areas of interest are different between national and multi-national fusion centres, as the former are usually focused on internal national security and the latter on current and potential crisis areas; countries of special interest in a multi-national fusion centre and trans-national issues such as international terrorism, organized crime and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. From a national perspective, the merging of both responsibilities under a single 'national fusion centre' would probably be an ideal solution to cover a wider spectrum of the customers' needs, especially for smaller countries with limited human and financial resources.

Key words *Intelligence Fusion Centre (IFC), asymmetric threat, intelligence, information sharing, fusion.*

Introduction Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of Cold War in 1991, NATO has not been confronted with a direct conventional threat. The 9/11 events became the catalyst for changes, not only within the US intelligence community, but also in other national and international intelligence organizations. In many countries, the re-focus of intelligence activities has been towards asymmetric threats, international terrorism being the primary one. The main aim of these intelligence reforms was to optimize the system and minimize the possibility of future intelligence failures through changes in all phases of the intelligence cycle. Moreover, some responsibilities which had previously been exclusively within the competence of the police or special operations forces (SOF) have come under the jurisdiction of national intelligence organizations. An integral and crucial component of the combat against international terrorism was the need for information sharing and cooperation; it was also confirmed by the 9/11 Commission Report issued in 2004 (Anon., 2004). Before the 9/11 attacks, the report discovered that different intelligence agencies had dispersed relevant information, but due to the lack of inter-agency cooperation, had not properly shared, fused and analysed them. Therefore, an establishment of fusion centres, known also as intelligence fusion or information fusion centres, has become a logical consequence of the report. Furthermore, other nations and international organizations, such as NATO, have also positively received the idea.

The purpose of this article is to present the fusion concept and the importance of information sharing. It is divided into three parts. The first part examines the development of different types of fusion centres and their role in information sharing in national and multi-national intelligence and security environment. In the second part, the fusion centres' main characteristics are analyzed and in the third part, lessons learned are presented. In conclusion, the article exposes characteristics of a fusion centre that would probably be a suitable model at national level.

1 FUSION CONCEPT AND TYPES OF FUSION CENTRES

As asymmetric threats, such as terrorism, extremism and organized crime constantly endanger modern society, and the ability of the respective national and international agencies to share information and intelligence has become critical. Timely and accurate intelligence plays a key role in prevention and response to asymmetric threats. Due to obtaining information from various sources, fusion becomes an essential process in transforming the data into actionable intelligence that facilitates the decision-making process.

The concept of data fusion is not a new phenomenon and should already be an integral part of the collection and production process of any intelligence or security organization. In addition, fusion centres had existed in the US and elsewhere before 2004, yet they did not have the word 'fusion' in the title. For instance, as the product of counter-drug initiatives in the 1980s, early intelligence fusion centres, referred to as Regional Intelligence Centres (RIC), had the same role as the 'new' fusion centres – to analyze all available information (Carter, 2007).[1] The most important part of 'new' fusion centres which is constantly stressed is the need to share information with elements inside and also outside a single intelligence organization or community, for instance with other countries, organizations, private security companies, etc., and to process it into all-source intelligence products (Anon., 2006). Due to the fact fusion centres do not have indigenous collection capabilities, but are analysis-driven support centres, they fully depend on information provided. As information sharing has actually become the main part of fusion centres, they encourage cooperation at national and even international level. Therefore, there is an interesting question of why nations and international organizations have established fusion centres, when the concept had already been known before the 9/11 attacks. Is a fusion centre just a new 'shiny intelligence structure' with the already known concept? It can be argued that the period after the 9/11 events has probably presented the right momentum for nations and international organizations to modernize intelligence structures and emphasize and prepare legal frameworks for proper information sharing; this has actually changed the 'need-to-hide' or 'need-to-know' principle to a 'need-to-share' principle. The change has been especially important at national level. For example, within the US intelligence community, the protection of sources, methods, stove piping of raw intelligence, and also their strict application of the 'need-to-know' rule in order to avoid sharing information with other national agencies, has been a hindrance to information sharing especially between the CIA and FBI (Goodman, 2003:64). This became officially acknowledged after the National Commission inquiry reported on the 9/11 events. Because of poor collaboration, there was no link between domestic and foreign intelligence; in other words, the 9/11 planning fell into this void between the CIA and FBI. While the FBI looked for sleepers' cells, the CIA focused on possible overseas threats to the US interests. Consequently, nobody

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[1] There are many other examples of 'fusion' centres that were established in the past, but it is not necessary to focus on all of them for the purposes of this article.

focused on the foreign threat to domestic targets and therefore ignored foreigners who had infiltrated and then attacked the US (Gill & Phythian, 2008:119-120).

Fusion centres are divided based on their area of interest (foreign and domestic intelligence), and on the number of nations that contribute personnel to a centre (national and multi-national) (Carter, 2007). National fusion centres focus mainly on internal security issues and have a capability of blending law enforcement information and intelligence. Their main purpose is to bring all relevant partners together to maximize the capability to identify, thwart and respond to terrorism and criminal acts (Anon., 2006). They should fuse foreign and domestic intelligence across all levels and sectors of government and private sector in order to support policymakers (Willis & Lester & Treverton, 2009:353).[2] Multi-national fusion centres are actually intelligence fusion centres that can have a broader spectrum of responsibilities and are mainly focused on collation, processing and analysis of foreign intelligence concerning current and potential crisis areas, as well as countries of special interest to a multi-national organization. For the latter, terrorism is not necessary their main focus, yet it is part of a full intelligence support to their customers.

From 2004, many fusion centres were formed in the US, Canada, United Kingdom, some other countries, and at ISAF in Afghanistan; within ISAF, several intelligence fusion centres were formed at a tactical level, for example Kandahar Intelligence Fusion Centre (KIFC). In addition, the US have had a primary role as a framework nation in establishing two multi-national intelligence fusion centres, the main tasks of which are collation, processing and analysis of intelligence, and production of final intelligence products in support of military operations. The first one of them, established in Bahrain, January 2005, was the Combined Naval Forces Central Command Coalition Intelligence Fusion Centre (CENTCOM CIFC). The second one is the Intelligence Fusion Centre (IFC) in support of NATO, established at RAF Molesworth, United Kingdom, in October 2006.

Intelligence reforms after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, such as restructuring of existing national and international intelligence systems, greater competence and authority of intelligence and security organizations in terms of collection of domestic and foreign intelligence, have influenced the forming of fusion centres. They do not replace existing national and international intelligence structures, but should complement them. Centres present a hub where ideally all relevant information and intelligence received is analyzed and provided in a timely manner to their customers. For example, US fusion centres, established at state and local level, use capabilities and resources of US intelligence and law-enforcement agencies, but their area of interest is local. Most information and intelligence is provided to fusion centres by local and/or state security and law-enforcement organizations, and the private sector. However, an additional intelligence source is security and intelligence organizations

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[2]   *The private sector can be a good source of information and at the same time is often a legitimate consumer of law enforcement information, as it is a large percentage of the critical infrastructure owned by the private sector (Carter, 2007).*

at the federal level. Another example is the IFC which fuses relevant information and intelligence that exists inside NATO and provides intelligence products mainly at the strategic and operational level but also, to a lesser extent, at the tactical level. The IFC is a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) organization and it is not part of the NATO formal peace establishment structure (PE structure). That means that when it was established it did not replace the existing NATO intelligence structure or any element in it. More discussions of the differences in the fusion centres' role and authority, especially between national and multi-national ones, follow.

1.1 National fusion centres

1.1.1 Fusion centres in the US

In 2004, many US states and large cities established state-level and local fusion centres for sharing information and intelligence within their jurisdictions as well as with the federal government. They have received funds from federal, state and local levels, as well as from the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), which paid more than $254 million between 2004 and 2007 in support of these centres. As of July 2009, there were 72 designated fusion centres around the country, with 36 DHS field representatives deployed (Anon., 2009c). Employed in the fusion centres are personnel from federal, state and local intelligence and security agencies; police; public safety agencies, such as fire, health and transportation; and the private sector (Anon., 2006).

1.1.2 US National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC)

Established in August 2004, the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) currently has around 500 personnel from more than 16 federal departments and agencies. Organizationally, it is part of the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI). NCTC is the primary organization in the US for analyzing all intelligence pertaining to counter-terrorism (CT). It incorporates all analysis from across the Intelligence Community and produces intelligence assessments to support policymakers and other customers from the political, intelligence, law enforcement, defence, homeland security, and foreign affairs communities. It is also responsible for an evaluation of CT analytical production and training of personnel. Moreover, it presents a knowledge bank on known and suspected terrorist groups and their associated individuals. In the NCTC, around 30 classified information-communications systems are co-located, owned by intelligence, military, law enforcement and homeland security to facilitate information sharing (Anon., 2009a).

1.1.3 British Intelligence Centre[3]

In April 2009, the British Ministry of Defence announced that it would spend £150m on merging some military intelligence units at RAF Wyton, Cambridgeshire. The project, which should be finished by 2012, will provide modern and flexible accommodation for approximately 1,100 military intelligence employees. Headquarters

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[3] 'British Intelligence Centre' is not the official name of this future organization.

Intelligence Collection Group, currently based in Feltham, Middlesex, and sub units – the National Imagery Exploitation Centre (also known as JARIC), currently at RAF Brampton; the 42 Engineer Regiment (Geographic), currently based at Hermitage near Newbury and Germany, will be moved into the new intelligence centre (Anon., 2009b). This project will form a hub for GEOINT collection and analysis and will enable the organization to deliver a more effective GEOINT support to military and, to some extent, to CT operations. The centre does not present a standard all-source intelligence fusion centre, as it will only merge GEOINT elements. Therefore, there is an assumption that all-source intelligence analysis is highly likely to remain in the domain of Defence Intelligence Staff (DIS) in London, while the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, will provide SIGINT.[4]

1.2 Multinational fusion centres

1.2.1 Combined Naval Forces Central Command Intelligence Fusion Cell (CNFC/CIFC)

In January 2005, CENTCOM's Maritime Component Commander established a multinational intelligence organization – the Coalition Intelligence Fusion Center (CIFC), located in Bahrain. At the beginning, the centre had a staff of about 15 naval personnel from about 12 countries. In combating terrorism, the nation's support of the maritime aspect was to provide ships and supplies, and analysts working in the CIFC, which provides vessels of combined task forces the actionable intelligence on terrorists or other illegal network activities (Raman, 2005; Garamone, 2006).

1.2.2 Intelligence Fusion Centre (IFC) in Support of NATO

The IFC, a multi-national intelligence organization, was officially established in October 2006. A year later, it was declared to have full operational capability. Initially, IFC's workforce was going to be approximately 162 personnel, but the centre is still developing and it will likely number more than 200 personnel in the near future. As of December 2009, 24 NATO member nations pledged to fill available positions in the IFC (Anon., 2008).

The IFC does not have its own collection capabilities and therefore relies fully on national and partners' intelligence, and intelligence from areas of NATO operations. Moreover, because it shares its location with the US European Command Joint Analysis Center (USEUCOM JAC) and the US Africa Command Joint Intelligence Operations Center (USAFRICOM JIOC), it also has a great opportunity to collaborate with both US centres. Intelligence analysts working in the Operational Intelligence Centre, Analysis Division, and Operational Support Division fuse information and intelligence provided by open source intelligence (OSINT), signals intelligence (SIGINT), human intelligence (HUMINT), geospatial intelligence (GEOINT), and Measurement and Signatures Intelligence (MASINT) (Anon., 2007;

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[4] *For more information on the GCHQ see http://fas.org/irp/world/uk/gchq/index.html, 8 Dec 2009.*

Mixon, 2007).[5] SIGINT, GEOINT and MASINT are provided by NATO member nations, as NATO does not have these indigenous intelligence collection means. NATO has its own HUMINT capabilities only in its areas of operations, such as Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan. Sharing final intelligence products via classified information-communications systems – e.g. BICES – with NATO Allies and partner nations and organizations, thereby improves intelligence support to the SACEUR, NATO and NRF operations.[6] The IFC responds to Requests for Information (RFIs) sent by the SHAPE J2, ISAF and KFOR commanders. The IFC is transforming the way NATO intelligence structures support operational forces and is proving to be the recognized model for international support and cooperation. Most importantly, the IFC is a significant contributor to combating terrorism. Intelligence analysts produce strategic and operational terrorist threat assessments, high value individual psychological profiles and target's packages, GEOINT products for planning and execution of SOF operations in crisis areas, etc. (Anon., 2008). The US National Geospatial Intelligence Agency (NGA) is a great supporter of the IFC as it provides its own analysts and geospatial data to the centre (Eilenberger, 2009). In addition to SOF, ISAF and KFOR Headquarters, Allied Command Counter Intelligence (ACCI) and the NATO Office of Security (NOS) are among main customers of CT-related intelligence products.[7]

2 COMPARISON OF NATIONAL AND MULTINATIONAL FUSION CENTRE

The following text compares a generic US National Fusion Centre and the IFC in support of NATO. The purpose of the comparison is to discover what type of fusion centre is more appropriate and efficient in providing intelligence support to decision makers. Thereby, it is important to understand the role and characteristics of national and multinational fusion centre.

Characteristics of the US National Fusion Centre:

– It is an analytical body and usually does not have its own intelligence collection sources;
– Personnel are from different US national intelligence, security, law enforcement organizations, the police and even the private sector;
– Ideally, the organization should operate on one national classified information-communications system, but in practice, many organizations involved have their own networks, and personnel from a certain organization that work in a fusion centre and check their organization's network for specific information. This is necessary due to privacy, human rights and civil liberties of US citizens. In

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[5]   *For more information about intelligence collection sources see Schulsky, 2002:11-40.*

[6]   *BICES - Battlefield Information Collection and Exploitation Systems.*

[7]   *ACCI is the only organic Counterintelligence (CI) unit assigned to NATO. In 2008, it consisted of representatives from 17 Allied nations. ACCI is responsible for protection of Allied Command Operations (ACO) and Allied Command Transformation (ACT) formations from Terrorism, Espionage, Sabotage, and Subversion (TESS). ACCI executes its mission anywhere NATO troops are assigned or deployed. For more information, see http://www.shapeonline.net/articles080610/Allied-Command-Count.html, accessed on 8 Dec 2009.*

general, the organization should have access to all available information provided by national intelligence, security, and law enforcement organizations; foreign partners' intelligence can be provided on request or through bilateral cooperation;
– As it is focused on internal security, it fuses law enforcement information and national intelligence, and provides mostly actionable intelligence to its consumers at local, state or even federal level;
– It can ask US national intelligence, security and law enforcement organization for additional information;
– It responds to customers' requests for information.

Characteristics of the Intelligence Fusion Centre (IFC):
– It is an analytical body and does not have its own intelligence collection sources.
– NATO member nations that signed the MoU provide personnel for limited periods, usually for three years.
– National and multi-national intelligence is uploaded on a single NATO classified information-communications system (BICES). It presents the main network for the IFC.
– It fuses only intelligence and not law enforcement information. Intelligence provided by nations, partners, operations' and other NATO headquarters. As the IFC is an intelligence organization and not law enforcement or police organization, its products regarding CT can be used only for identifying terrorist groups, networks and associated individuals, and assessing their intentions and capabilities. They are not admissible in court.
– It has the authority to ask NATO nations for additional information and responds to customers' RFIs.
– It collates, processes, analyses and assesses provided intelligence and information. IFC provides timely, accurate, and sometimes actionable strategic, operational and even tactical written and graphic intelligence products to SACEUR, NATO operations and other customers in NATO. Occasionally, it releases its intelligence products to other international operations or organizations, like the EU.
– Planning of collection and production is based on strategic guidelines and intelligence requirements provided by main customers.
– There are no constraints on establishing and maintaining cooperation and sharing of information with external partners, such as non-member countries, international organizations, etc.

3   FUSION CENTRES AND LESSONS LEARNED

Lessons learned have exposed some positive aspects of establishment of fusion centres; however, some issues still remain unsolved, such as information sharing, lack of relevant intelligence and dissemination of final intelligence products. Fusion centres have proved to be an important part of intelligence but they cannot eliminate all anomalies that exist in intelligence communities. In the case of IFC, NATO finally has an intelligence element that can directly support NATO operations, SACEUR and other customers. Despite the fact that IFC is not a part of the PE structure,

ISAF and KFOR rely on it, because in the last three years IFC has proved to be a credible partner. IFC has acknowledged that liaison with main customers is crucial in intelligence, therefore, it sends liaison officers to KFOR on regular basis and it has a permanent liaison officer to ISAF. These officers coordinate requests for information and IFC responses, and at the same time they identify issues that hamper an effective intelligence support to operations. For example in ISAF, several deficiencies have been identified not only by IFC but also by current ISAF CJ2 Chief Major General Michael T. Flynn. Fusion centres can fuse and analyze only information and intelligence that is provided to them, and when they are given poor information at the beginning, the analysis will likely be poor as well – the 'garbage in, garbage out' phenomenon. In case of ISAF, General Flynn has exposed that a lot of unclassified and classified information that is at grassroots level never reaches intelligence analysts due to severe technological hindrances, like multiple secret networks and lack of databases (Flynn, Pottinger, Batchelor, 2010:14). In addition, there is also lack of diplomatic reports from NATO civilian representatives and specific national intelligence, which can significantly increase the quality of IFC intelligence products. Another still existing problem, probably not encountered only by the IFC, is dissemination of final products to customers, which despite the 'need-to-share' principle do not always reach all relevant customers. Reasons for that are already mentioned multiple secret networks, low bandwidth, incomplete e-mail distribution lists, limited access to NATO dissemination tool, etc. Protection of classified data does not hamper dissemination of intelligence products, and it can be said that it does not present any challenge for the IFC, as the organization can obtain and provide all classified information via BICES. The same can be stated for classified information that is obtained through national classified systems in 'country rooms' and uploaded on BICES.

However, fusion centres can actually become a problem when there are too many of them inside one intelligence community in addition to already existing intelligence and security organizations. For instance, in the US, in addition to 16 national intelligence agencies, there are 72 fusion centres and some states have even up to eight of them (Rollins, 2008:20). Intelligence community becomes too complex and the collection, cooperation and analysis are less transparent. Despite the fact, these fusion centres are focused on local security issues, and their areas of responsibility are often overlapping. A similar situation can be seen in Afghanistan, where there exist ISAF HQ J2/G2/S2 intelligence structure, national intelligence cells and units, regional intelligence fusion centres, and other elements that collect and analyze collected information. In these cases, it is not transparent who does what, and instead of fusion there is confusion in the intelligence system.

Conclusion   This article has examined the different types of fusion centres. In terms of countering asymmetric threats the comparison speaks in favor of national fusion centres, which provide actionable intelligence and can prevent, in cooperation with law-enforcement and police, illegal acts in time and the perpetrators/suspects prosecuted.

However, the national fusion centre as described above does not necessary represent an ideal solution as it usually only covers threats within a country.

In the last decade, asymmetric threats have posed a growing problem for the troops deployed within the framework of a military operation. More importantly, criminals, extremists or terrorists from such areas of operations as Afghanistan, Bosnia or Kosovo have often kept contacts or even travelled to the states that have troops deployed in their countries of origin and want to execute illegal activities there. To prevent an information flow gap between national intelligence elements involved in a military operation abroad and national security organizations at home, a single 'hybrid' national fusion centre would probably be an ideal solution to cover a wider spectrum of customer's needs, especially for smaller countries with limited human and financial resources. Such fusion centres would have sources, capabilities and responsibilities of both of the compared centres. The advantage of having a single fusion centre is that it might be easier to ensure transparency of coordination and sharing of information among organizations that are part of a national intelligence and security system. The centre's subordination would depend on the respective state's constitutional model, but in most cases would be subordinate to the Prime Minister. The centre would consolidate efforts of national security, intelligence, law enforcement, the police, private sector and other organizations which could contribute to national security, prevention of foreign intelligence activities and force protection of deployed military and police troops to multi-national operations. In other words, the fusion centre would merge domestic and foreign intelligence. The organizations whose representatives would work in the centre would continue with their regular activities and the centre would work on interdepartmental tasks, where more organizations could provide information to solve a certain problem. In this case, organizations' representatives present a liaison between the centre and indigenous organizations, their partner countries and multi-national organizations. Ideally, all of the involved national elements, including the centre, would have access to a single classified information-communications system, where all information based on the principles of 'need-to-know' (access to databases with personal data) and 'need-to-share' are available.

However, the centre would need effective oversight in order to prevent the legalization of potential centre's illegal activities and politicization of intelligence, and also to control and oversight of handling data, budget, quality of analysis, legality, propriety and efficacy of centre's activities, its responsiveness, destruction of archives, human rights and civil liberties, and ethics (Lowenthal, 2009; Gill & Phythian, 2008). As the centre presents an analytical, and not intelligence collection asset, oversight has to focus mainly on accessing, processing and archiving of personal data, and to determine the centre's accountability with regard to human rights and civil liberties. Human rights and civil liberties present a very delicate issue, especially in those countries that used to have a secret police or service collecting information on citizens and 'an internal enemy' with the purpose of protecting a regime. Therefore, strict legislation and efficient control and oversight of the fusion centre and its

accountability, are mandatory to protect rights and civil liberties of citizens, but at the same time to counter threats to national and international security in an appropriate legal way.

To conclude, intelligence fusion centres present a relatively new trend initiated by the events of 9/11. Sharing of intelligence still presents an issue in many countries; fusion centres can eliminate some of the obstacles but cannot eliminate them all. The 'need-to-share' principle is especially important in countering asymmetric threats, where timely intelligence, which is possible to act upon, can save many lives. Finally, intelligence can be actionable only if an action is taken, and for that it is very important to have national legislation that is able to deal with national security effectively and, at the same time, protect the rights and civil liberties of individuals.

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Pierre Lépine

KOLIKO IN ZA KAKO DOLGO? OMEJITVE UKREPOV PROTITERORISTIČNEGA SODELOVANJA

HOW MUCH FOR HOW LONG? LIMITS ON COUNTER-TERRORISM COOPERATION MEASURES

Povzetek   Vse pobude vladnih politik, vključno s sprejetimi ukrepi za boj proti terorizmu, so omejene z vrsto dejavnikov, vključno z razpoložljivimi sredstvi, pravnimi omejitvami, nacionalno varnostjo in s tem, koliko so sprejemljive za javnost. Tako so ob tem, da vlade lahko sprejmejo politiko v zvezi s protiterorizmom, dolgoročni ukrepi, vključno s pospeševanjem sodelovanja, tako v domačem okviru kot z zunanjimi agencijami, lahko moteni. Razporeditev sredstev ima prav tako vlogo pri oblikovanju vladne politike, saj finančni pogoji omejujejo programe in osredotočajo razpoložljiva sredstva na najpomembnejše javne zadeve. Dojemanje javnosti glede grožnje, ki jo predstavlja terorizem, se ponavadi zmanjšuje z oddaljenostjo od napada, s tem pa se pozornost vlade premakne na pomembnejša civilna vprašanja, kot sta zdravstveno varstvo in izobraževanje. Medtem ko so dodatne dejavnosti v zvezi s sodelovanjem v boju proti terorizmu vedno mogoče, ostaja problem za tiste, ki odločajo o politiki, ali so sedanji ukrepi zadostni, ko gre za konkretno grožnjo.

Ključne besede   *Protiterorizem, vladna politika, oblikovanje politike, terorizem, Nemčija.*

Abstract   All government policy initiatives, including measures undertaken to combat terrorism, are constrained by a variety of factors including available funding, legal restrictions, national security and public acceptance. Thus, while governments may initiate a counter-terrorism policy, long-term measures including fostering cooperation both domestically and with external agencies can be hampered. Resource allocation also plays a role in the development of government policy as fiscal conditions limit programmes and focus available funding on the most pressing public issues. The public's perception of the threat posed by terrorism tends to recede following the immediacy of an attack, shifting the government's attention paid to the issue to more pressing civic problems such as health care and education. While additional counter-

terrorism cooperation activities are always possible, the issue confronted by policy makers is whether existing measures are sufficient for the given threat.

Key words   *Counter-Terrorism, Government Policy, Policy Development, Terrorism, Germany.*

Introduction   Combating terrorism, the fight against terrorism, curbing international terrorism as well as preventing terrorists from acquiring access to weapons of mass destruction have all become very familiar headlines repeated endlessly in newscasts, journal articles and papers around the globe. Increasingly since the events of 11 September 2001, anti-government protests, attacks against governmental offices or institutions or crimes targeting foreign businesses or individuals have on many occasions been characterized by the press as well as by official sources as stemming from terrorist activities. This has led to an increased public perception that the threat from terrorism was not only growing but was in fact, in American parlance 'a clear and present danger'. Whether this in fact is a reality depends largely on how one defines a terrorist act as well as how one defines a terrorist.

A bomb explodes in downtown Jerusalem, killing 91 and injuring 46. A car bomb detonated in Pretoria kills 17 and injures 197. Moscow suffers another attack where 12 are killed and 55 wounded. These examples are not taken from today's headlines but rather from the pages of history. The first took place in 1946 and was planned and executed by Irgun, a Jewish group labelled as terrorists by the British authorities. Menachem Begin, a future Israeli Prime Minister and Nobel Laureate, at that point in time led the Irgun group (Haaretz, 2008).

The second attack took place in 1983 when the African National Congress (ANC) targeted a government building. An ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, future president of South Africa and another Nobel Laureate, stated immediately after the event that the attack was legitimate (BBC, 1983). The last example occurred in 1919 when the Group called Underground Anarchists opposed to what they termed Communist dictatorship, carried out an attack against the Communist Party Headquarters in downtown Moscow (The Anarchist Encyclopaedia, 2009).

The lesson that can be drawn from these examples is that acts against the established order are often defined as terrorism and are rife throughout history. The events that today so focus our attention need to be viewed in the proper context. These examples also clearly demonstrate that governments throughout history have had to face the threats posed by terrorist acts and had to develop mechanisms to deal with both the direct consequences as well as the underlying issues that gave rise to the emergence of the groups perpetuating these attacks.

How we define something proscribes how we will deal with it. Terrorism can be loosely defined as attacks against civilians, government or the established order. Since we are examining the phenomena from the perspective of a liberal democracy,

is terrorism an ideological threat to western nations as was the case for the clash that occurred between western capitalism and Soviet Marxist-Leninism? Or is terrorism simply a tactic used to support the advancement of a particular political objective? Is there truly a global dimension to international terrorism? And finally do our western democratic societies make it easier for terrorists to exert influence and achieve their goals? Additionally how governments and the media portray events helps to mould the public's perception of terrorism. Are acts of terrorism in and of themselves different from any other type of criminal activity?

Whether it be bombings, kidnappings or assassinations, Germany has a long history of individuals and groups using acts of terror to achieve their political goals. Attempts to assassinate Kaiser Wilhelm I in 1878, the attacks launched by the Freikorps following the end of the First World War, the actions of the Red Army Faction from 1978 to 1998 as well as the attack executed by the Black September cell during the Munich Olympic Games in 1972 have provided Germans with a multitude of examples of acts of terror. More recent events including the attacks in New York in 2001 as well as domestic occurrences such as the attempted bombing of regional trains in July 2006 near Hamm and Köln have created an environment where the general public has demanded greater transparency of government actions to counter such threats.

However, while "terrorist acts have, for a long time, constituted a major concern for the international community […] the definition of terrorism has represented an area of international law where the divergence of views between States was significant" (Dimitriu, 2004). Germany, as is the case for most nations, has developed and instituted its own vision and response to the perceived threat posed by individuals and groups who employed terrorism as a tactic to obtain their objectives.

Defining what in fact constitutes terrorism is indeed the first step in establishing how a government will deal with this issue. While there have been numerous definitions formulated by various entities, it is important to recognize that what is today characterized as international terrorism is a relatively recent phenomenon, only gaining prominence in the mid 1980's, according to Chomsky (George, 1991).

One of the first modern definitions of terrorism was issued by the League of Nations in 1937 as a response to the increased unrest and violence then present in the world. That definition stated: "All criminal acts directed against a State and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public" (League of Nations, 1937). This is a very useful definition as it provides the legal framework to characterize terrorism as a criminal act against the established political order. Other definitions have expanded upon this rationale in characterizing the act of terrorism itself rather than attempting to proscribe who a terrorist is. This is clearly demonstrated in the formulation of definitions of terrorism employed by a number of nations including the US where it is defined as premeditated, politically motivated violence (US Code Title 22), Canada which characterizes it as acts committed for political, religious or ideological

purposes with the intention of intimidating the public (Criminal Code of Canada Paragraph 83.01), and France which defines it as a violence committed by an organization in order to create a climate of insecurity or in order to overthrow the established government (Tiefenbrun, 2003).

1   GERMAN APPROACH

The German definition of terrorism and terrorist acts follows this same logic by establishing offences in its Criminal Code for such actions. Article 129a of that code states that "[w]hoever forms an organization, the objectives or activity of which are directed towards the commission of (1) murder, manslaughter or genocide or (2) crimes against personal liberty" is guilty of the formation of a terrorist organization (Germany Strafgesetzbuch, 2009). Interestingly, in Germany there is no legal definition of who a terrorist is. Under current law, a terrorist is defined by what he or she does or whom they associate with. No one in Germany has ever been charged with the crime of being a terrorist but rather with the more mundane crimes of murder or forming a terrorist organization.

The German federal government's response to terrorism has been implemented on both the domestic as well as internationally fronts within the constitutional constraints imposed upon it. Domestically, acts of terrorism are viewed as being legally within the purview of the various Länder (states) or federal Ministries of Interior. In order to coordinate intelligence activities as well as counteractions, a national Joint Terrorism Defence Centre (Gemeinsames Terrorismusabwehrzentrum - GTAZ) was established in December 2004 in Treptow, located just outside of Berlin. This Centre is staffed with personnel from the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation, the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the Federal Intelligence Service, state-level branches of the Office of Criminal Investigation, and Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the Federal Police, the Customs Office of Criminal Investigation and the Military Security Service. Additional powers were assigned to the Federal Criminal Police Office (Bundeskriminalamt - BKA) in 2008 to deal specifically with the issue of international terrorism. Various legal caveats were placed on these powers to ensure that the constitutionally mandated division of responsibilities between the state governments (Länder) and the federal level were respected. BKA responsibilities are exclusively restricted to cases of terrorist threats. These threats must involve several federal Länder when an individual state police authority is not competent to deal with the case concerned, or when the supreme state authority asks the BKA to take over the case. The powers of the Länder remain unaffected by the tasks fulfilled by the BKA. In order to coordinate the measures to be taken, the BKA must inform the competent Länder and federal authorities immediately and fulfil its tasks in consultation with all parties involved (Germany, 2009).

While the aforementioned coordination and activities deal principally with the direct consequences of threats or acts of terrorism, the governmental response to issues such as financing and radicalization are equally important to understand. "In seeking

to dry up the sources of terrorist financing, new laws were aimed at strengthening Germany's own capabilities, as well as German cooperation with the broader international effort. Under the oversight of the German Federal Banking Supervisory Office, banks, financial service providers and others must monitor all financial flows for illegal activity. Within the BKA, a Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU) was established in 2002 to serve as Germany's central registration office for money laundering as well as a main contact point for foreign authorities. Germany was the first country to implement an EU guideline against money laundering as well as the recommendations of the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF). The FATF has characterized Germany's anti-money laundering regulations as comprehensive and effective" (CRS Report to Congress, 2004).

Radicalization poses a different set of problems and requires a more comprehensive approach to resolve. Most western nations include provisions within their respective constitutions granting citizens the right of religious freedom. Within Germany, this principle is firmly established in Article 4 of the Basic Law. Today's form of radical Islamism, which permits the use of violence to impose an Islamic order presents police and courts with challenges in regards to respecting the constitutional provisions regarding religious freedom and the necessity for effectively preventing and countering possible terrorist acts. In the 2009 Report of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Interior Minister Wolfgang Schäuble reported that an internal study into the issue concluded that the lack of integration of immigrants into German society is leading to a "fundamental religious orientation". That same study indicated the "worrying conclusion that a serious potential for Islamist radicalization has developed in Germany". Additionally, increasing numbers of Islamic fundamentalists – mostly second generation immigrants and radical converts – were observed travelling from Germany to Pakistan to visit terror camps run by al-Qaeda and other similar groups (Germany, 2008). Government responses to integration problems, such as those described in the German study are constrained by national constitutional protections as well as EU laws permitting freedom of expression, religious orientation as well as freedom of movement. Any measures implemented by governments that monitor or restrict those freedoms face significant legal hurdles.

It is important to note that the German Armed Forces have no role in combating domestic terrorism. There are severe legal constraints for the employment of the military in domestic counter-terrorist activities, including hijacked aircraft. A 2006 ruling by the Constitutional Court specifically prohibited the shooting down of any hijacked aircraft by the German Armed Force over national territory as incompatible with the constitutional rights to life and human dignity (Spiegel, 2006). Thus a severe legal impediment exists in Germany to deal with the same type of situation that occurred in the United States in 2001 when aircraft were specifically used to target civilians.

While the foregoing has described the methods used by German authorities to deal with terrorist organizations and acts of terror that occur domestically, how Germany acts internationally is constrained by a different set of factors.

Western military activities in Afghanistan have often been described, particularly in the US press, as part of the war on terror. This terminology has also been used by other allied nations in describing their engagement in that theatre of operations. However, within Germany that description is much less prevalent. German involvement is officially characterized by the Federal Foreign Office as a stability and reconstruction effort following the removal of the Taliban and the subsequent establishment of a new government in 2001. The Ministry of Defence similarly describes the mission as having the goal of supporting the Afghan government, as well as establishing and safeguarding internal security (German Federal Foreign Office, 2009).

This however is not the case for two other Bundeswehr missions, Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and ACTIVE ENDEAVOUR. The German Parliament specifically mandated the Bundeswehr to participate in combined coalition efforts to combat international terrorism in both of these operations (German Ministry of Defence, 2009).

There is also direct German involvement in other non-military activities that directly target the terrorist threat. Led by the German Ministry of the Interior, exchanges of intelligence and information with INTERPOL and EUROPOL occur on a regular basis. The Federal Intelligence Service as well as the military intelligence branch both provide and receive information from international sources such as the NATO Terrorist Threat Intelligence Unit as well as their peers in other countries.

However, the issue under discussion is how we can improve cooperation and coordination in combating terrorism. At the domestic level, interdepartmental cooperation and coordination is already facilitated by the close integration of involved ministries in the Joint Terrorism Defence Centre. Combined with a robust national counter-terrorism strategy approved by Parliament and implemented by Cabinet, internal cohesion of Germany's domestic anti-terrorism efforts remains high. While there is always room for improvement, the domestic campaign can be considered well in hand.

2   INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION POSSIBILITIES

Efforts on the international front present other challenges. While in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, public support for military and domestic operations against the perceived threat was high, that support has generally waned in Germany and other countries over the following years as the immediacy of the threat receded. It is always more difficult to marshal domestic support. When the events recede into the past, they are replaced by new concerns. Public approval of foreign anti-terrorism operations, particularly for those led by the military, continues to fall in the face of increasing casualties as well as doubts over the effectiveness of those operations. What then is the solution?

There is a requirement for governments to re-engage their citizens by continuously and proactively ensuring that the threat posed by terrorism is communicated to them.

This has to be done in a manner that does not promote undue and needless fear or despondency but rather ensures that an accurate portrayal of the threat is provided as well as the measures that the government is undertaking to counter those threats. This implies a requirement for a comprehensive public information campaign that addresses all aspects of terrorism including not only the direct acts of terror but also the radicalization and financing aspects that support it.

An internationally agreed definition of terrorism would of course make it much easier for nations to initiate joint action. While there are significant obstacles to achieving this goal due to national constitutional constraints, the value in accomplishing this would be in having a standard to which all nations could apply to their anti-terrorist campaigns.

Within democratic societies, acceptance, as opposed to approval, by the voters of anti-terrorist programmes is required for governments to act. Public support can provide governments with the necessary plurality needed to enact what would otherwise be very difficult legislation. The attacks on the twin towers, the subway bombings in London, the Beslan school attacks in Russia and the attempted train bombings in Germany in 2006 all resulted in increased public acceptance for governmental anti-terrorist actions. Thus the implementation of the Patriot Act in the United States immediately following the 2001 attacks, the 2001 Canadian Anti-Terrorism Act as well as the German anti-terrorism laws passed in 2001 and 2002 and supplemented in 2007 all initially had wide support due to the public's perception of an imminent threat.

National reactions, however, vary as was demonstrated following the 2004 train bombings in Madrid. This event catalysed Spanish public opinion against continued military participation in Iraqi coalition efforts, ultimately leading to the withdrawal of the Spanish military from that theatre. While hailed as a victory for Islamic terrorism, it in reality demonstrated the failure of the Spanish government to maintain popular public support and acceptance for its participation in the Iraqi campaign. It is interesting to note that the Spanish government does not suffer the same problem in maintaining its public support against the local Basque separatists who have waged a domestic terror campaign for decades.

However, within western liberal democracies, as the immediacy of the international terrorist threat recedes, a more critical review of a state's actions by its citizens normally occurs. Restrictions on civil liberties and travel come under greater scrutiny, as governments are forced to provide greater justification for increased curtailment of normal personal freedoms. Being able to demonstrate that other nations are undertaking similar actions can provide governments with additional political cover in curtailing the established rights of the members of its society. Thus, domestic audiences can more easily accept anti-terrorist actions taken under the aegis of the United Nations or other supranational organization such as NATO as the appearance of burden and threat sharing is provided. There is also the perception that if agreement to act has been reached at the international level, then domestic audiences

can be more certain that the threat is real. While this may in reality not be the case, it does provide governments with additional ammunition in retaining popular support.

Germany, as a member of both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as well as the European Union (EU), has been actively engaged in both these forums in developing the necessary tools to combat international terrorism. It has also deployed military and civil forces under the control of both organizations to actively do so. However, working with both these international organizations poses its own set of challenges.

The difficulties that the EU faces in implementing a cohesive counter-terrorism programme as described by Daniel Koehane in his 2005 article remain. Reluctance of national intelligence agencies to share information, inability of national police forces to cross borders and sharing of individual financial information that is constrained by national privacy laws are but some examples of the problems that exist in this regard. As Koehane states rather succinctly, "On the one hand, the governments agree in principle that co-operation at the EU level is a good thing because of the cross-border nature of the terrorist threat. On the other, they are slow to give the Union the powers (such as investigation and prosecution) and resources (such as spies and money) it would need to be truly effective. This is because security policy – especially when it concerns protecting citizens – goes to the core of national sovereignty, and governments are reluctant to give the EU powers that could interfere with their existing laws and national security practices" (Keohane, 2005).

Conclusion All government policy making is achieving the art of the possible. What is possible always has legal, financial, social, diplomatic and other factors that impact on policy creation and implementation. This applies equally to the development and evolution of government's terrorism policy. Are attempts to disrupt acts of terrorism more productive than cultural integration programmes designed to counter the radicalization process? How does the government balance its efforts to monitor Internet chatter prior to an attack with its responsibility to protect every citizen's basic civil liberties such as the freedom of association and expression? When should a government undertake military or police action outside of its national borders in order to execute a counter terrorist operation and what does that government do with any prisoners it captures during such an operation? How much money should be spent on combating international terrorism and how do governments justify the expenditure against other pressing national social needs?

Each of these questions illustrates the three principles of policy making. Any counter terrorism policy undertaken by a nation has to be practical, achievable and necessary. Practical measures have to be adopted that have measurable and achievable results. Any actions undertaken must also be absolutely necessary if the government hopes to convince its citizens of the value of the programme. This is essential as it is only with the citizen's consent that governments in western democracies are over the long

term able to impose the measures needed to institute a counter-terrorism programme. Once that consent is gone, public support for counter-terrorism actions will evaporate leading to policy reversals such as was the case in Spain in 2004.

The question thus remains – What actions should be undertaken to effectively cooperate to deal with the threat posed by international terrorism? Measures to increase cooperation, both domestically as well as internationally, are of course possible. Additional contacts amongst national intelligence services, creation or expansion of terrorist intelligence units, expansion of police cooperation beyond national borders or the establishment of a supranational policing agency are all possible measures that could be implemented.

From the German perspective, it is very unlikely that the hurdles posed by national legislation will ever be successfully negotiated to overcome the existing legal constraints imposed on intelligence sharing and policing. This would require significant revision to current constitutional law and require the consent of all political stakeholders at the local, state and national levels. Achieving such a consensus is simply unrealistic. If improvement in cooperation in these areas is not possible, then perhaps we need to revisit the initial question. Rather than seeking to find new methods to cooperate, does the issue instead revolve around the question 'Are the current cooperation levels and methods achieving the goal of hindering international terrorism'? Or perhaps the question should be: 'Are states prepared to accept the current level of anti-terrorism cooperation as acceptable given the risk'?

It could be argued that the last question has the most validity at this present point in time. The German government views terrorism, both domestic and international, as a continuing phenomenon that will always have to be dealt with. As such, it is not different from any other form of criminal act, and surrendering aspects of national sovereignty (domestic control of policing, intelligence sources and methods, judicial oversight, etc.) to deal with this type of activity are not considered either politically or operationally necessary.

It can also be argued that the current level of international cooperation is acceptable given the level of risk. The threat posed by international terrorism simply is not great enough to pose a danger to the existence of the German state. Thus combating this threat has to be considered in relation to all other social, financial, diplomatic and other problems that Germany is presently dealing with. Governments only have a finite set of resources and capabilities to deal with the multitude of problems that arise. Countering the threat posed by terrorism has to be balanced against the need for health care services, pensions, power generation and the other mundane minutia of a citizen's daily life. As the experience with the Red Army Faction terror campaign of the 1970s demonstrated, once the immediate publicity and shock value of the attacks receded from public memory, both the government and the citizens focused their attention on other issues. Funding, legislative efforts and priorities shifted to deal with these new issues.

There are practical limits to what any government can achieve in implementing policy initiatives, including ones dealing with terrorism. Public interest and concern, available funding, legal restrictions, protection of national intelligence sources and methods are but some of the political factors that must be calculated and weighed against the likely success of a government-sponsored anti-terrorism campaign. Above all, time plays a decisive role. The passage of time following a terrorist attack shifts the attention of both governments and their publics to other, normally more mundane, concerns. Implementing a comprehensive plan to coordinate anti-terrorist actions both domestically as well as internationally is constrained by each of these factors.

Governments will always suffer from the accusation following a terrorist attack that they did not do enough beforehand to prevent it. While such an accusation is undoubtedly true, sometimes the risk of a potential threat is simply not worth the effort to counter it. While difficult to explain to the families of the victims of a terrorist attack, it is ultimately a question of priorities and funding but above all the public's willingness to accept restrictions on their personal liberties that result from government initiatives to counter-terrorist actions.

Finding the appropriate balance between respecting the essential values of individual civil liberties that is a defining feature of western liberal democracies and the need for security from all threats, of which international terrorism is but one, is the unenviable task that governments must face. Tipping the balance in favour of security will in the long term change the very nature of society, reducing civil liberties and endangering democracy. Failure to provide sufficient security safeguards will result in more casualties. The final equation is an evaluation of the cost, both in human as well as financial terms, to the society of the level of security to be imposed versus respect for human rights and social liberties that are the defining characteristics of western liberal democracies. Imposition of security requires infringement on liberties. Ultimately, civil society has to achieve a consensus on how far it is prepared to act or accede in either direction.

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Thomas R. Mockaitis   Strokovni članek

PREOBLIKOVANJE VARNOSTNEGA SEKTORJA, IZKUŠNJA ZDRUŽENIH DRŽAV

SECURITY SECTOR RESTRUCTURING, THE U.S. EXPERIENCE

Povzetek   V tem članku se raziskuje preoblikovanje varnostnih in obveščevalnih organizacij Združenih držav po napadih 11. septembra. Avtor začenja s strukturnimi pomanjkljivostmi, ki so omogočile napade, in potem ocenjuje napore za njihovo odpravo. Trdi, da je, čeprav sta se izboljšala zbiranje in analiza obveščevalnih podatkov, težko določiti, ali je to izboljšanje posledica preoblikovanja ali novega osredotočanja na terorizem znotraj posameznih agencij in oddelkov. Vseeno pa streljanje v Fort Hoodu in teroristični napad za božič 2009 nakazujeta stalne težave z izmenjavo obveščevalnih podatkov in medagencijskim sodelovanjem. Avtor je še posebej kritičen do ministrstva za domovinsko varnost, pri čemer navaja njegov vpliv na učinkovitost Zvezne agencije za vodenje reševanja (FEMA) med orkanom Katrina. Na koncu ugotavlja, da je potreba po preoblikovanju institucionalne kulture morda pomembnejša kot preoblikovanje varnostnega sektorja.

Ključne besede   *Preoblikovanje, izmenjava obveščevalnih podatkov, medagencijsko sodelovanje, preoblikovanje institucionalne kulture.*

Abstract   This article examines the restructuring of U.S. security and intelligence organizations following the 9/11 attacks. The author begins with structural weaknesses that made the attacks possible and then considers efforts to remedy them. He argues that while intelligence gathering and analysis have improved, it is difficult to determine if this improvement is due to restructuring or the new focus on terrorism within individual agencies and departments. However, the Fort Hood shootings and the Christmas 2009 terrorist attack indicate continued problems with intelligence sharing and inter-agency cooperation. The author is particularly critical of the Department of Homeland Security, citing its impact on the effectiveness of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) during Hurricane Katrina. Finally, he suggests that the need to transform institutional culture may be more important than security sector restructuring.

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Enforcement Agency pursued narcotics traffickers, while the Department of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms dealt with infractions involving the items named in its title. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) handled customs and border security, while the Federal Aviation Administration secured airports as well as managed air traffic. The Coast Guard patrolled America's territorial waters under the jurisdiction of the Department of Transportation. This myriad of agencies, departments and organizations cooperated on a limited basis and, not infrequently, worked at cross purposes.

The sheer size and complexity of what the 9/11 Commission described as the "large, unwieldy U.S. government" made the American homeland vulnerable to precisely the type of attack the 9/11 hijackers perpetrated (9/11 Commission, 2004:348). Terrorists exploit gaps in security and failures of interagency cooperation. The United States had both in abundance. Convinced that terrorist attacks happened somewhere else, passenger and baggage screening focused on international flights, while domestic flights received less attention. The hijackers also realized that screening at small airports was more lax than at larger ones. They exploited all of these weaknesses on 9/11. They also understood or at least sensed corresponding weaknesses in how American carriers and the U.S. government prepared to handle hijackings. Based on experience garnered since the 1960s both assumed hijackers would hold a plane and its passengers hostage in exchange for ransom or the release of prisoners. Flight crews were, therefore, instructed not to resist hijackers. The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) and the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) shared responsibility for controlling American air space. Once the FAA notified it, the NORAD would scramble aircraft to follow the hijacked plane but had not protocol for shooting down a civilian airliner (9/11 Commission, 2004:14-18).

2 INTELLIGENCE FAILURES

Significant as the failures on 9/11 were, they would not have mattered had they not been preceded by a monumental failure of the U.S. intelligence community. Intelligence consists of gathering and, equally important, analyzing information to form a coherent picture of enemies' organization, capabilities and intent. On September 11, 2001, America's formidable intelligence gathering apparatus was still primarily configured for the exegeses of the Cold War. To make matters worse, the United States had long since reduced its reliance on human intelligence, old-fashioned spying, in favor of high tech means of surveillance. Satellites proved their worth in tracking the movement of Soviet forces but were less effective in locating terrorist cells around the world. This structural weakness notwithstanding, the real problem lay with the respective missions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the failure to cooperate.

Unlike many other nations, including many of America's closest allies, the United States has no domestic intelligence agency, and most Americans would be very leery of creating one. Federal law prohibits the CIA from operating on American soil, and the FBI is first and foremost a law enforcement agency. It does gather information,

including intelligence on terrorist activities within the country. The CIA and FBI did have limited arrangements for sharing information, even before 9/11. Impediments to cooperation, however, ran deeper than law and function. The FBI viewed information as evidence leading to the prosecution of terrorist suspects. Such evidence would have to be presented in open court, where defense attorneys could question its origin. The CIA in turn treated evidence as intelligence to be used in building up a comprehensive picture of the terrorist organization that could be used to deter attacks and conduct covert operations. This difference made the CIA very reluctant to share information for fear that the prosecutors would compromise how it had been obtained (Wright, 2007:312). "Why compromise for the sake of one prosecution work that might produce far greater results months or years later?" the Agency reasoned.

Beyond legal impediments, conflicting missions and deep-seeded distrust lay the inherent tendency of bureaucratic institutions to guard their turf (McCutcheon, 2001). Information is not just evidence or intelligence, it is power, and with power go money, recognition and influence. Agency and department heads are reluctant to share anything they perceive (rightly or wrongly) will cost them resources in the annual battle of the budget. Institutional culture compounds turf guarding. Different agencies have different protocols, procedures and habits of doing business that do not always mesh well with those of other institutions. Finally, as with all human endeavors, the personality of leaders affects cooperation. For example, prior to 9/11 both the CIA and FBI head office in Washington distrusted John O'Neill, Special Agent-in-Charge of the New York FBI office and the Bureau's leading expert on al-Qaeda (Wright, 2007:312).

The failure of inter agency cooperation between the FBI and CIA contributed directly to the 9/11 attacks. As early as December 1999, the CIA had tracked the movement of two of the 9/11 hijackers, Khalid al Mihdhar and Nawaf al Hazmi, and would continue to do so intermittently for the next three years. However, they never notified the State Department so that the two could be put on its terrorist watch list (9/11 Commission, 2004:266). Had they done so, the two might have been apprehended when they entered the United States in January 2000. On that occasion, the CIA also failed to notify the FBI that the two were in the country (Wright, 2007:312).

Failures within the FBI also contributed to 9/11. In July 2001, an agent in the Phoenix field office sent a memorandum to headquarters and to two members of the counter-terrorism task force. He warned of a potential attack on the United States based upon the "inordinate number of individuals of investigative interest" attending flight schools in Arizona (9/11 Commission, 2004:272). Even more ominously, the student pilots were interested only in level flying (not taking off and landing) and were specifically interested in large airliners. Headquarters failed to distribute the memo in a timely manner. The Bureau made even greater mistakes in the case of Zacarias Moussaoui, the so-called 'twentieth hijacker'. The Minneapolis office had begun to investigate Moussaoui on August 12, 2001 and arrested him five days later. Agents had been concerned about his interest in lessons on how to fly a 747 for which he paid

cash, his radical Islamist statements and $32,000 in his bank account, which he could not explain. Although they were able to have the INS detain him for overstaying his visa, they could not get a Foreign Intelligence Surveillance (FISA) warrant to search his computer nor convince headquarters that a serious terrorist plot might be in progress. Headquarters forbad them sharing their full report with the FAA (9/11 Commission, 2004:273-276). Had anyone compared the Moussaoui investigation with the Phoenix memo, they might have figured out that a major al-Qaeda operation was pending. These errors and others occurred against the backdrop of increased intelligence intercepts that led CIA chief George Tenet to conclude that during the summer of 2001 "the system was blinking red" (9/11 Commission, 2004:277).

3 RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE 9/11 COMMISSION

The 9/11 Commission identified four types of failure that contributed to the terrorist attacks on the United States: imagination, policy, capability and management. The U.S. government had failed to imagine just how creative and audacious terrorists could be and two presidential administrations (Clinton and Bush) had failed to recognize the seriousness of the al-Qaeda threat and to develop an effective strategy for combating it. The United States also lacked key institutional capabilities for fighting terrorism and failed to properly manage those assets it possessed (9/11 Commission, 2004:339-360). The Commission's report made two sets of recommendations: strategic and organizational. The latter bear directly on the topic of this article and will be examined in depth. The Commission's recommendations for restructuring focused on improving communication among disparate agencies and on achieving unity of effort in the fight against terrorism.

The Report recommended creation of a National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) "for joint operational planning and joint intelligence, staffed by personnel from the various agencies" (9/11 Commission, 2004:403). The NCTC would fill too important gaps in the American security apparatus. First, it would in theory create an organization charged with preparing and managing a global counterterrorism strategy. Second, it would link multi-agency intelligence gathering and analysis with action, previously a prerogative of the CIA. Arguably, all existing intelligence agencies dealt with operational and tactical intelligence. No one had responsibility for strategic analysis. The NCTC would assist the National Security Council, which would still have the final say on security policy. It would be headed by a deputy cabinet secretary who reported to the Director of National Security. In proposing the NCTC, the Commission did recognize the challenges it posed. They worried that increased centralization might make it more difficult to fight a highly decentralized and flexible terrorist organization like al-Qaeda. They also realized that it would require some very powerful institutions to surrender some of their power and perhaps some of their resources as well, something bureaucratic organizations rarely do willingly.

Not surprisingly, the Commission directed its strongest criticism and most forceful call for change at the intelligence community. It recognized the need for an overhaul

of the system equivalent to the 1986 Goldwater-Nicholas Defense Reorganization Act that created the regional commands and gave each combatant commander control of all military assets within his region. The report recognized a need for joint effort combined with stronger management of intelligence. To achieve this objective it recommended replacing the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) with a Director of National Intelligence (DNI) to "(1) to oversee national intelligence enters on specific subjects of interest across the U.S. government and (2) to manage the national intelligence program and oversee the agencies that contribute to it" (9/11 Commission, 2004:411). The DNI would be the president's principal advisor on intelligence just like his predecessor, the DCI. His/her office would be located in the NCTC and he would have oversight of the CIA and various defense intelligence organizations. The report did not explain how precisely he or she was to manage such powerful agencies.

The Commission also made several other recommendations related to intelligence. It emphasized the need to develop human intelligence capability and argued that spending of money allocated to various intelligence be monitored more closely. Primary responsibility for covert operations, the report maintained, should be shifted from the CIA to the office of Special Operations Low Intensity Conflict in the Department of Defense. To improve information sharing, the Commission urged development of new procedures that would "provide incentives for sharing, to restore a better balance between security and shared knowledge" (9/11 Commission, 2004:417). The report provided no details on how to accomplish this difficult task. Finally, it recommended improved Congressional oversight of the intelligence community to increase unity of effort.

The Commission devoted considerable attention to the FBI, recognizing serious problem with the organization's ability to combat terrorism. "The concern about the FBI is that it has long favored its criminal justice mission over its national security mission," the report concluded (9/11 Commission, 2004:423). Despite this weakness, the Commission recommended against creating a new domestic intelligence agency. Instead it suggested creating a 'national security workforce' within the Bureau. The workforce would consist of "agents, analysts, linguists, and surveillance specialists who are recruited, trained, rewarded, and retained to ensure the development of an institutional culture imbued with a deep expertise in intelligence and national security" 9/11 Commission, 2004:425-426).

The *Report of the 9/11 Commission* is probably the only government document to become a best seller. It was not, however, without its critics. Observers recognized that it contained much common sense, some genuine insight and not a little bit of wishful thinking. In a *New York Times* review of the *Report*, judge, author and legal scholar Richard Posner challenged many of its conclusions, especially the recommendation to create an intelligence tsar. Pushing more and more information to a central office, he argued, could overwhelm analysts and slow down the process of getting timely advice to the president. He also raised the equally valid point that the new National Intelligence Director would have a hard time compelling entrenched

agencies to give up the power and information that they so carefully guarded. In addition, he pointed out, valid security concerns made it necessary to keep some information secret (Posner, 2004).

4 INTELLIGENCE REFORM

Posner's legitimate concerns notwithstanding, the *Report of the 9/11 Commission* created a powerful impetus for change that proved impossible to ignore in the wake of so devastating an attack. The 'Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 200' implemented many of the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. It created the Director of National Intelligence (DNI), charged him with oversight of all intelligence agencies, made him the President's principal advisor on intelligence and put him in charge of the National Counter Terrorism Center (Intelligence Reform and Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2004). The new office had a succinct but difficult mission: "Integrate foreign, military, and domestic intelligence capabilities through policy, personnel and technology actions to provide decision advantage to policy makers, warfighters, homeland security officials and law enforcement personnel" (ODNI, 2009). The intelligence act did not specify what powers the DNI would have to compel reluctant organizations to cough up information they wished to withhold, and the FBI remained outside his jurisdiction.

The 'Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004' act also codified the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), which had been created by Executive Order 13354 in August 2004. The NCTC had a broad mandate:

> serve as the primary organization in the United States Government for analyzing and integrating all intelligence possessed or acquired by the United States Government pertaining to terrorism and counterterrorism, excepting purely domestic counterterrorism information. The Center may, consistent with applicable law, receive, retain, and disseminate information from any Federal, State, or local government, or other source necessary to fulfill its responsibilities concerning the policy set forth in section 1 of this order; and agencies authorized to conduct counterterrorism activities may query Center data for any information to assist in their respective responsibilities (Executive Order 13354, 2004).

The NCTC was to serve as a planning center and clearing house for information. Again, its Director would have little real power and "purely domestic counterterrorism information" would be outside his purview. How foreign and domestic information can be distinguished when a call from London to Islamabad might be routed through a server in the US is a nice question (Risen, 2006).

5 LAW ENFORCEMENT

Although not the focus of reform legislation, the FBI undertook its own internal reform to improve its capacity to fight terrorism. "We have overhauled our counterterrorism

operations," the Bureau proclaims on its webpage, "expanded our intelligence capabilities, modernized our business practices and technology, and improved coordination with our federal, state, local, and tribal partners" (FBI, 2009). Central to this reform was the creation of the National Security Branch (NSB) of the Bureau in 2005. The NSB combined the "missions, capabilities, and resources of the counterterrorism, counterintelligence, and intelligence elements of the FBI under the leadership of a senior FBI official" (FBI, 2009).

The FBI also increased the number of personnel dedicated to counterterrorism assistance to state and local law enforcement agencies. The Bureau created 100 Joint Terrorism Task Forces in 100 cities, including one in each of its 52 field offices, linked to its National Joint Terrorism Task Force. To staff these organizations it quadrupled the number of special agents assigned to counterterrorism. The Joint Terrorism Task Forces were staffed with 2,196 special agents, 838 state and local law enforcement personnel, and 689 professionals from other government agencies (FBI, 2004).

The FBI also set up a Terrorist Screening Center (TSC). The TSC maintains a terrorist watch list to support the ability of front line screening agencies to positively identify known or suspected terrorists trying to obtain visas, enter the country, board aircraft, or engage in other activity" (FBI, 2009). The TSC maintains a hotline available to law enforcement agencies around the country 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. An officer questioning a suspect for an unrelated offense can immediately check to see if that suspect is on the terrorism watch list.

6 THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY

Even before the 9/11 Commission convened, the Bush administration began to reorganize the agencies charged with protecting the homeland. Eleven days after 9/11, President Bush announced that he would create an Office of Homeland Security (OHS). On October 8, Executive Order 13228 created the OHS within the Executive Office. Its mission would be to "develop and coordinate the implementation of a comprehensive national strategy to secure the United States from terrorist threats or attacks". Its function would be to "coordinate the executive branch's efforts to detect, prepare for, prevent, protect against, respond to, and recover from terrorist attacks within the United States" (Executive Order 13228, 2008). He asked Congress to make the OHS a cabinet level department. Congress duly complied with the Homeland Security Act. The act created the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) with an extensive mission:
(A) prevent terrorist attacks within the United States;
(B) reduce the vulnerability of the United States to terrorism;
(C) minimize the damage, and assist in the recovery from terrorist attacks that do occur within the United States;
(D) carry out all functions of entities transferred to the Department, including by acting as a focal point regarding natural and manmade crises and emergency planning;

(E) ensure that the functions of the agencies and subdivisions within the Department that are not related directly to securing the homeland are not diminished or neglected except by a specific explicit Act of Congress;

(F) ensure that the overall economic security of the United States is not diminished by efforts, activities, and programs aimed at securing the homeland; and

(G) monitor connections between illegal drug trafficking and terrorism, coordinate efforts to sever such connections, and otherwise contribute to efforts to interdict illegal drug trafficking (Homeland Security Act, 2002).

This mandate led to a massive reorganization to bring 22 Federal agencies and offices charged with various aspects of domestic security under the new department. The Coast Guard, Secret Service, and Federal Emergency Management Agency became part of the new department. In March 2003, the DHS absorbed the Immigration and Naturalization Service, dividing its functions among three new agencies: Immigration and Customs Enforcement, Citizenship and Immigration Service, and Customs and Border Protection.

To remedy serious failures by airport security on 9/11, the Whitehouse created the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) and placed it under the DHS. "With our state, local and regional partners," TSA declares (2009), "we oversee security for the highways, railroads, buses, mass transit systems, ports and the 450 U.S. airports". Most people encounter TSA agents as they pass through airport security. A few find notes from TSA baggage inspectors when they unpack their luggage after a trip. The TSA also runs the air marshal program and a bomb detection unit. Since 9/11, it has worked hard to improve recruiting and training of its airport security personnel.

In addition to the agencies it supervises, the DHS contains numerous offices dedicated to a variety of tasks. It has one office specifically devoted to cyber-security and another dedicated to counternarcotics. Other offices handle health affairs, intelligence and civil rights. The DHS even maintains a Federal Law Enforcement Training Center. Like any government organization it also contains numerous offices to support its work (DHS, 2009).

7 EFFECTIVENESS OF RESTRUCTURING

In the aftermath of 9/11, the United States underwent one of the most dramatic overhauls of government agencies, offices and departments in the history of the Republic. How much this overall has improved homeland security is a moot point. Success in countering terrorism consists largely in preventing attacks. It is, however, very difficult to measure the negative. The absence of major attacks since 9/11 may or may not be due to restructuring. The number of actual plots prevented, and suspects arrested and convicted may be a better indicator of effectiveness. However, this success may be due to other factors. The effectiveness of the restructuring must be weighed against the cost of implementing and sustaining it. Finally, the impact of restructuring on the ability of multi-function agencies to perform their other tasks must also be considered.

8   COST OF RESTRUCTURING

By any measure the cost of security sector restructuring has been substantial. The sheer size and complexity of the Federal bureaucracy makes arriving at hard and fast numbers very difficult. Ambiguity over exactly what activities fall under the heading of 'homeland security' further complicates analysis. However, enough data is available in the public domain to provide an indication of the scope and magnitude of the change.

Spending rose dramatically after 9/11. The Federal homeland security budget went from $20.1 billion in 2001 to $54.3 billion in 2005, from .2 to .44 percent of gross domestic product (Hobijn and Sager, 2007:4). Much of this increase came from sunk costs in setting up the DHS, after which annual increases leveled off but remained substantial. Counterterrorism accounted for most but not all of this expenditure. Some of the DHS budget represents expenses that would have occurred even without restructuring. Emergency preparedness, for example, accounted for 11%, much of which would have been necessary had there been no increase in the terrorist threat. The same can be said for the 31% of DHS budget spent on border and transportation security. Illegal immigration and narcotics smuggling across the southern border might have necessitated most of this expenditure even without the 9/11 attacks (Hobijn and Sager, 2007:2). The costs of setting up and running the DHS, although substantial, do not seem to have placed an undue burden on the Federal budget or to have had an adverse effect on the economy (Hobijn and Sager, 2007: 6). However, these figures do not include the cost of setting up and running the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) or the National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC).

9   LESSON OF HURRICANE KATRINA

All of the agencies incorporated into the DHS performed important task other than counterterrorism. Loss of autonomy combined with fixation on terrorism as the major threat to national security might compromise the ability of an agency to perform its other tasks. Unfortunately, this unforeseen consequence occurred. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) has primary responsibility for directing the Federal government's response to natural disasters. Before being absorbed into the DHS in 2003, the Director of FEMA had direct reporting to the president. Under the new structure, he/she reported to the Secretary for Homeland Security, who reported to the president. Putting an extra bureaucratic layer between the agency and the president might delay and/or distort the picture the president received of the extent and severity of a natural disaster.

Hurricane Katrina created just such an eventuality. The storm slammed into southern Louisiana and Mississippi on August 29, 2005. The hurricane devastated New Orleans as storm surges overwhelmed its system of levees and flooded the city. While the mayor of New Orleans and the governor of Louisiana badly handled the situation, FEMA also performed poorly. Director Michael Brown had practically no emergency

management experience, and key members of his staff were also political appointees (*USA Today*, 2005). The new bureaucratic structure exacerbated problems created by Brown's inexperience. President Bush was not informed in a timely manner of the seriousness of the emergency. He believed that the danger had passed with the storm, unaware of the devastation to be caused by the storm surge a few days later.

FEMA's problems went far beyond its poor leadership, however. Restructuring not only subordinated the agency to the DHS, it also cost the agency resources and changed the focus of its mission. For example, more than 75% of the agency's grants awarded in 2005 went to state and local organizations for terrorism preparedness (*USA Today* 2005). The appointment of an unqualified director combined with diversion of resources from its core task "turned FEMA into something akin to New Orleans' famous levees — a structure sure to fail when a big disaster struck" (*USA Today* 2005). In subordinating a highly effective and vital agency to the "war on terror," the Bush administration violated a cardinal rule of restructuring any agency tasked with emergency management: always take an all-hazards approach to preparedness. Focusing on one kind of threat can compromise the agency's ability to respond to others. All-hazards planning emphasizes the generic nature of emergency response and consequence management. Preparing for one kind of emergency should prepare responders to handle another.

Success and Failure: The ultimate measure of counter-terrorism effectiveness is the ability to prevent attacks. By that measure the restructuring would appear to have worked. However, research data indicates that attacks occur less frequently but are more devastating when carried out against major western nations (Clauset and Young, 2006). Eight years passed between the 1993 World Trade Center Bombing and 9/11. In addition, the terrorists have plenty of American targets in Iraq and Afghanistan. Perhaps the absence of a major incident owes more to these factors than to the positive effects of restructuring.

A more realistic measure of success may be number of plots foiled and suspects arrested. Unfortunately, much of the data necessary to make such an assessment remains classified. Still, several high profile cases provide some cause for optimism. A Heritage Foundation Report published in July 2009 concludes that since 9/11 the U.S. government has foiled 23 terrorist plots aimed at the American homeland (McNeil and Carafano, 2009). The FBI foiled another deadly plot two months after the Heritage report appeared. On September 24, 2009, authorities in New York charged Najibullah Zazi, a man born in Afghanistan, with one count of conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction. They also arrested Zazi's father and three other men in Queen's New York. The FBI had been watching the younger Zazi for some time and determined that he had made several trips to Pakistan, where he had allegedly received training from al-Qaeda. A search of his car produced a laptop with bombing making notes. Investigators also found store footage of him purchasing dual-use chemicals at a store in Denver, where he lived. They also had evidence that he had mixed bomb-making components in a Denver hotel room (*New York Times*,

December 17, 2009). Several back packs found in his apartment suggest that he and others planned to carry out an attack on the New York subway system similar to the July 2005 attacks on the London Underground.

Next to these striking successes must be set two glaring failures. On Thursday, November 5, 2009, Major Malik Nadal Hasan, a U.S. Army psychiatrist opened fire at Fort Hood, Texas on troops preparing to deploy to Afghanistan. He killed 13 people and wounded several others before being wounded and captured himself. An American Muslim born in the United States of Palestinian parents, Hasan had shown signs of instability going back to his days as a resident at Walter Reed Army Medical Center. He had also been investigated by the FBI's Joint Terrorism Taskforce because of his e-mail communication with a radical imam in Yemen. "Because the content of the communications was explainable by his research and nothing else derogatory was found," an FBI spokesperson explained, "the JTTF concluded that Maj. Hasan was not involved in terrorist activities or terrorist planning" (CNN, November 10, 2009). Even though he was not guilty of wrong doing, some should have alerted the army of concerns about Hasan's behavior. The FBI is conducting an internal investigation of the JTTF's handling of the matter, but the incident indicates that interagency cooperation still has a long way to go.

An even worse security failure occurred on Christmas day 2009 when a Nigerian man, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, attempted to blow up Northwestern Flight 253 as it was descending to land in Detroit. Only the failure of his well-concealed explosive device and the quick response of passengers to subdue him prevented the attack from succeeding. In the aftermath of the incident the public learned of serious breaches of security and intelligence failures. Although he purchased his ticket with cash less than two weeks before his journey and despite having no checked luggage and only a small carry-on bag, Abdulmutallab passed easily through security, first at the airport in Lagos, Nigeria and then in Amsterdam, where he transferred to the Northwestern flight. In November his father had warned the U.S. embassy in Lagos of his son's radicalization. Despite this warning and the fact the United Kingdom had denied him an entry visa, the embassy granted him a visa to visit the United States. It later emerged that the Abdulmutallab had been radicalized at university in England and traveled to Yemen, where he received training and his explosive device from al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. To make matters worse, both he and the Fort Hood shooter had been in contact with the same radical Imam in Yemen.

President Barack Obama immediately ordered a security review. On January 7, 2010, he summarized the findings of the review. The President noted that the intelligence community had failed to take the threat of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula seriously enough. He also noted that, despite being on the terrorism watch list, Abdulmutallab had not been placed on the more restrictive no-fly list. Obama then outlined reforms to address these and other concerns (Obama, 2010). The near disaster clearly indicates continued problems with intelligence gathering and analysis as well as with interagency and international cooperation.

10   INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE

A major goal of restructuring is synergy, making the whole greater than the sum of its parts. However, synergy can only be achieved when those parts work together effectively. External restructuring alone will not achieve such cooperation. Each institution must be willing to exam its own institutional culture and change those elements that impede cooperation. Institutional culture consists of rules, norms and social habits that control how that institution conducts its business. Institutional cultures within a vast, complex government can vary widely and may not easily mesh with one another. The problem of culture clash is most acute in the intelligence community. Institutional change to improve interagency cooperation will only occur when the institution accepts the need for it. Without such acceptance restructuring will produce an impressive diagram of linked agencies but little real cooperation. Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, a former assistant deputy director of national intelligence for analytic integrity and standards at the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, succinctly defined the challenge. "If restructuring is to be the leading edge of transformation," she wrote, "it cannot be the totality of change nor can it be allowed to fail. Success will come only if there is a fundamental revolution in the culture of the intelligence community" (Tucker, 2008:47).

Tucker wrote a poignant assessment of progress and problems in cultural transformation within the intelligence community for the *Washington Quarterly* in 2008. She applauded the ODNI for its effort to replace a culture of intelligence sharing based on 'need to know' with a culture based on 'responsibility to provide'. She noted that producing an interagency personnel directory facilitated communication and that ODNI was also pushing a method for uniform sourcing of information, the equivalent of a standardized referencing system such as that used for academic journals within a particular field. Unfortunately, however, Tucker also found deeply entrenched resistance to many of these reforms. She concluded her assessment with suggestions to further promote cultural transformation. She recommended improved and more constructive Congressional oversight of the intelligence community to encourage reform, and she called for the creation of a National Intelligence University to train analysts from all agencies and services. Tucker further recommended that intelligence agencies make greater use of outside experts and more rapid declassification of documents to facilitate analysis by as wide a group of experts as possible (ibid., 2008).

11   VALUE OF RESTRUCTURING

Since 9/11 the United States has undertaken a massive restructuring of its intelligence community and security agencies. While restructuring is complete for the foreseeable future, the much slower process of changing institutional culture and creating a joint mentality continues. Based on available but largely anecdotal evidence, interagency cooperation seems to have improved since 9/11. However, a nagging question remains. Could the improvement have been achieved without the massive overhaul?

The question is difficult to answer but important nonetheless if any meaningful lessons are to be drawn from the American experience.

While the 9/11 Commission waxed eloquent on the need for restructuring, it identified a more basic failure behind the terrorist attacks, lack of imagination. From the president to the average voter, Americans could not and did not imagine that a catastrophic terrorist attack on American soil could occur, or at least not one using hijacked airplanes as weapons. When people do not believe something is possible, they ignore warning signs that it is about to occur. How might things have been different had the United States been focused on the growing terrorist threat? Could its security institutions as they were structured before 9/11 have prevented the attack? Some of the post 9/11 counterterrorism successes, notably the arrest of Jose Padilla at Chicago's O'Hare Airport, occurred before restructuring had progressed very far. They resulted from heightened vigilance, not new institutions. Had such vigilance been exercised before 9/11, the FBI would almost certainly have acted on the memorandum from the Phoenix field office warning of Middle Eastern men taking flying lessons. That memo would probably have been circulated throughout the Bureau as a high-priority alert, which would probably have allowed the Minneapolis office to connect Zacarias Moussaoui to the larger plot. Given immediate access to Moussaoui's computer, the FBI might have derailed the attack. This scenario is of course purely hypothetical, but it does suggest the possibility that the same improvement in security might have been achieved through improving existing law enforcement and intelligence agencies, as was done with the FBI, instead of creating a new one. An interagency working group or national intelligence committee, such as that developed in Britain might have achieved the same degree of cooperation as a new, multimillion-dollar office. The ODNI and NCTC have probably improved intelligence sharing and cooperation but not to the degree necessary to justify their existence. They have yet to achieve their full potential. Whether they ever will achieve it, remains to be seen.

If the establishment of the ODNI and NCTC were of dubious value, arguments in favor of the DHS and some of the restructuring related to it are even harder to make. Replacing existing airport security with the more comprehensive TSA, and subdividing Immigration and Naturalization into three new departments with more specialized functions also made sense. Customs and Borders certainly need the additional resources they have been given, if for no other reason than to deal with the southern U.S. border. Placing FEMA within DHS proved to be a bad decision. The Coast Guard was happy to be out of the transportation department, but it might have made more sense to place it in the Department of Defense. All of these changes, however, could have been made without creating at great expense a new cabinet department that will compete for resources in the annual battle of the budget. Liaison between various agencies needs to occur, but such cooperation might have been achieved through a joint task for force. At the very least, the NCTC might have served as a coordinating body for all homeland security agencies as well as for intelligence.

12   LESSONS

Whether the massive restructuring of offices and agencies will make the homeland safer remains to be seen. The benefits and liabilities of the new system will become apparent in the coming years during which the restructuring may need to be fine-tuned. In the mean time, the process of restructuring itself offers valuable lessons for other nations facing a range of internal and external threats.

The first lesson of the post-9/11 reforms applies to government policy as it does to most human endeavors: avoid making major, long-term decision in the midst or immediate after a crisis. Based more on emotion than reason, such decision are often poor. 9/11 was no exception. Shocked by the devastating attacks, Americans demanded decisive action that would make them secure. This demand created a powerful impetus for placebo measures. Deploying the National Guard to major airports made people feel safer, but offered no real security. President Bush announced the creation of the OHS less than two weeks after 9/11, and Congress passed the law creating the DHS in November 2008, two years before the 9/11 Commission delivered its report. A slower, more deliberative approach might have avoided mistakes like compromising FEMA's ability to respond to a natural disaster.

To avoid decision making in a crisis all states must constantly assess and reassess their domestic and foreign security apparatus. Threats change, sometimes rapidly, over time; bureaucratic institutions do not. Professional civil servants rather than political appointees staff most bureaucracies. These civil servants outlast most governments and can be very effective at thwarting reform. Only a persistent, determined effort by politicians of all political parties can make sure that security agencies and offices are up to date.

Governments engaged in security sector reform must be aware that restructuring alone will not improve interagency cooperation, intelligence analysis, or anything else. As Nancy Bernkopf Tucker poignantly observes, transformation of institutional culture must accompany restructuring (Tucker, 2008). Shuffling agencies and creating new departments will accomplish little unless personnel adopt a truly joint approach to whatever task they undertake. Restructuring can occur rapidly; transformation takes years.

Countries overhauling the organs of state security should avoid copying slavishly the arrangements of the United States or any other nation. America's governmental institutions have evolved over two centuries, adapting themselves to the country's unique society and culture. This evolution produced both strengths and weaknesses. Because of its historic fear of strong central government, the United States never has and probably never will have a domestic intelligence agency. The British system, in which the Security Service (MI5 - Military Intelligence, section 5) handles domestic intelligence, and the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6 - Military Intelligence, section 6) complement one another, has much to commend it, but it would not be

acceptable in the United States. The FBI has intelligence gathering department, but the Bureau's main function will always be law enforcement. Each country must look to its own unique circumstances when restructuring government offices and agencies or creating new ones, cognizant of best practices and common mistakes made by others. Finally, all states must be aware that their security does not depend solely on their own institutions. Only by working together through regional and international coalitions, sharing information and expertise as need can they hope to achieve security for themselves and the world in which they live.

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Patrick Leroy

Strokovni članek

BOJ PROTI TERORIZMU V BELGIJI: PRAVNI, STRUKTURNI IN KONCEPTUALNI PRISTOP

THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM IN BELGIUM: A LEGAL, STRUCTURAL AND CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

Professional article

Povzetek 11. september 2001 je nedvomno izoblikoval novo mednarodno ureditev in Belgija se je, kot večina evropskih držav, temu prilagodila. Belgijski zakonodajni okvir se ujema z evropskimi direktivami, medsebojnemu sodelovanju med zveznimi telesi, policijo in obveščevalnimi službami pa je bilo dodeljeno več sredstev, čeprav še vedno premalo. Poleg tega se je povečalo tudi mednarodno sodelovanje. Obveščevalna sredina se je nekaj naučila iz očitnih globalnih organizacijskih neuspehov, ki so teroristom omogočili doseči njihove cilje. Večina evropskih obveščevalnih služb so ali prilagodile njihovo strategijo ali pa so bile del notranje reorganizacije. Vseeno pa si v globaliziranem svetu, v katerem globalna tveganja zahtevajo globalne odgovore, države ne morejo privoščiti delovanja v osami, temveč morajo sodelovati. Ne glede na vse se trenutno sodelovanje kaže kot pomanjkljivo. Kakšna naj bi bila idealna evropska varnostna struktura, da bi lahko predvidela nekaj nepričakovanega in ob tem zagotovila varnost naših interesov in varnost sodržavljanov? Razpeta med »globalno vojno proti terorizmu«, izraz, ki ga Združene države Amerike umikajo, in večstranskim sodelovanjem, je Evropa pokazala svoje meje. Transnacionalna evropeizacija obveščevalnih služb bi lahko bila rešitev, ki jo je treba upoštevati, ko gre za evropsko globalno varnost.

Ključne besede *Protiterorizem, transnacionalizacija, globalna varnost, obveščevalni sistem.*

Abstract 11 September 2001 has undoubtedly shaped the new international order, and Belgium like most European countries adapted to it. The Belgian legal framework is in compliance with the European directives. Although more means have been allotted for mutual cooperation between entitled federal bodies, police and intelligence services, they are nonetheless insufficient. Besides, international cooperation has grown too. The intelligence community has learnt from the glaring global organizational failures that make it possible for terrorists to achieve their

goals. Most European intelligence services have either adapted their strategy or been subject to internal reorganization. Still, in a globalized world where global risks demand global answers, the States cannot afford to operate in isolation, they need to co-operate. Nonetheless, the current cooperation proves insufficient. How should the ideal European Security Structure look like to foresee and prepare for the unthinkable, the unexpected and to ensure the security of our interests and fellow citizens? Torn between the 'global war on terror', term the USA is moving away, and the multilateral cooperation, Europe has shown its limits. The transnational Europeanization of the intelligence could be an avenue worth considering for Europe's global security.

Key words   *Counter-terrorism, transnationalization, global security, intelligence system.*

Introduction   Belgium had been presiding over the European Council since the beginning of July when the 11 September terrorist attacks occurred. As of 12 September, then Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt suggested to the European Union that Belgium (should) be one of the mediums of the North Atlantic cooperation in matter of fight against terrorism. At the initiative of Belgium, an extraordinary European Council gathering Heads of State and of Government as well as Foreign Ministers of the EU met on 21 September. In the course of this Summit, our politicians decided to step up EU's action against terrorism. To that end the European Council adopted a plan of action along 5 axes: enhancing police and judicial cooperation, developing international legal instruments, putting an end to the funding of terrorism, strengthening air security and coordinating the EU's global action.

The European Parliament resolution of 4 October 2001 on the extraordinary Council meeting considered that fighting against terrorism necessitates a strengthening of the relevant European Union competencies albeit it thought that "combating terrorism first of all requires a criminal justice approach as well as stronger crime prevention policy at international level" (Journal Officiel des Communautés Européennes , 2002 :217).

The European Parliament 'encourages the police forces and the intelligence services of the EU member states to work closely with American authorities in trying to fight terrorism and bring those responsible to justice' (Journal Officiel des Communautés Européennes, 2002 :218).

The European arrest warrant and the working-out of a common definition on terrorism are both part of the major recent progress. Belgium wanted to go further and suggested the creation of a European Intelligence Unit but it was not approved by the other member states.

Still, our civil intelligence service, the State Security, reached a consensus with their European colleagues of the intelligence services about the creation of a 'Counter-Terrorism Group – CTG' (Coolsaet and Struye de Swielande, 2007).

Subsequent to the bomb attacks in Madrid (2004), the European Council decided to complete the 2001 action plan. In its declaration of 25 and 26 March 2004, the European Council approved of the creation of the establishment of the position of a Counter-Terrorism Coordinator. It emphasizes that "a comprehensive and strongly coordinated approach is required in response to the threat posed by terrorism" (European Council Statement on combating terrorism, 2004).

As a consequence of the bomb attacks in London (2005), the European Council completed the 2001 action plan with a strategy of fight against terrorism that has been taken along four main tracks: 'Prevention' , 'Protection', 'Prosecution' and 'Response'.

This decision of the European Council had a great legal and structural impact on Belgium (see below).

1 ADAPTATION OF BELGIUM'S LEGAL AND STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 Prevailing administrations

The Royal Decree of 21 June 1996 established the Ministerial Committee for Intelligence and Security – called CMRS, political body that lays down the intelligence and security policy. This body also advises on political legislative policies. The prime minister chairs this Committee and the Interior, Justice, Defence and Foreign ministers are members of it.

The political lines established by the Ministerial Committee are then transposed into operational terms and sent to the CRS College, established by the second Royal Decree of 21 June 1996. The CRS is an administrative body used as go-between for the CMRS and the services applying the intelligence and security policy on the field. The College chaired by a delegate of the prime minister is composed of heads of services who give substance to the intelligence and security policy: the intelligence services, OCAM, national police force of the kingdom, federal police, Foreign Affairs' Federal Public Service, General Direction of the Governmental Coordination and Crisis Centre (DGCC), College of Public Prosecutors and the National Security Authority (NSA).[1]

1.2 Decisions post 9/11

1.2.1 Strengthening of joint police and judicial cooperation

Sharing information between partners is one of the fundamental elements of the fight against terrorism. A common evaluation of the threat is indeed the best basis for joint

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[1] *The NSA is a collegial institution competent to grant accreditation under the Law of 11 December 1998 on classification and security accreditations. Both State Security and SGRS are authorized to exert the activities ascribed to the NSA.*

actions. To this end, the *Ministerial Committee for Intelligence and Security (CMRS)* decided on 10 November 2004 to reinforce the *Intelligence and Security College* (CRS) and to reform the *Inter-Forces Counter-Terrorism Group (GIA)*[2] in a body capable of gathering and analyzing the relevant information to assess the threat. For this purpose, the Law of 10 July 2006 reformed the GIA into a *Coordination body for the analysis of the threat (OCAM).3* This body aims at developing a consistent and structured information flow between the partners involved in the fight against terrorism and extremism and at coming to common analyses of the threat and the risks inherent to intelligence information sharing. Therefore, OCAM gathers the relevant intelligence information coming from all bodies (State Security, military intelligence service, police services, federal public prosecutor's department and Crisis Centre). Besides, in the framework of its legal missions, it makes analyses and processes them in order to make a common analysis of the threat.

OCAM is not a 'new' service analogous to the current services though. This body is more precisely intended for different partners and is evenly part of them. It is made up of specialists who come from services cooperating together and with equal footing intelligence information, having in mind a common analysis of the threat. This aspect constitutes OCAM's obvious surplus-value. These analyses are either specific analyses or periodical strategic analyses focusing on certain phenomena. They are then handed over to competent authorities and services so that they can determine the opportunity of precise measures, evaluate whether the measures taken by different services are adapted to this evaluation, and make sure these measures are carried out jointly and commonly.

The *Ministerial Committee for Intelligence and Security* (CMRS) sets OCAM's main missions. It is important to standardize the guidelines according to the results of the evaluations. The CMRS is competent to lay down the Intelligence and Security policy. The Intelligence and Security College looks after the joint implementation of it.

1.2.2 Transposition of international legal instruments

Two framework decisions[4] were adopted by the Council of the European Union and transposed into the Belgian Law in 2002. Belgium transposed the provisions of the first framework decision relative to the European arrest warrant into national law (law of 19 December 2003). It simplifies, facilitates and accelerates the surrender of wanted persons whereby it substitutes itself to the standard extradition procedures.

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[2] *The Inter-Forces Counter-Terrorism Group (GIA) established by Jean Gol, Minister of Justice in 1984, gathered experts from the gendarmerie, judicial police, State Security and SGRS. This body was under the joint authority of the Interior and Justice Ministers. It was commissioned to analyze the information originating from these services with a view to assessing the terrorist threat. It daily evaluated the terrorist threat on the Belgian territory.*

[3] *Law of 10 July 2006 relative to the analysis of the threat.*

[4] *Council Framework Decision 2002/584/JHA of 13 June 2002 on the EU arrest warrant and the surrender procedures between Member States (vide L190/Volume 45/18 July 2002 as well).*

The second framework decision defines a common concept of terrorist offences, and the EU prompts the Member States to include it into their legal system. The existence of a common framework makes the police and judicial cooperation easier and prevents terrorists from being able to find refuge in a more lenient European Member State. This framework decision shows in the law of 19 December 2003, defining what a terrorist offence is and foreseeing heavier sentences when the offense is considered as terrorist.

The article 137 §1 of the penal code defines the terrorist offence as: "any act (§§ 2 and 3) that by nature or context may seriously damage a country or an international organization where committed with the aim of: seriously intimidating a population, or unduly compelling a Government or international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act, or seriously destabilising or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation" (Council Framework Decision, 2002:3).

These terrorist offences are divided into two categories in the paragraphs 2 and 3, namely some existing offences of common law (§2) for which the incrimination as ῾terrorist offence᾽, under art. 138 §1 PC, brings about a worsening of the sentence, and a few new offences (§3) whose sentences are fixed by the art. 138 §2 PC.

Article 139 of the Penal Code (PC) describes a ῾terrorist group᾽ as being: "A structured group of more than two persons, established over a period of time and acting in concert to commit terrorist offences as mentioned under article 137. An organization whose real purpose is exclusively political, trade union related, philanthropic, philosophical or religious or that purely seeks after other legitimate goal cannot as such be considered a terrorist group in the sense of the 1st paragraph". The participation in a terrorist group will be punished under articles 140 and 141 of the Penal Code, depending on the nature of the participation.

The fight against founding terrorism

Belgian Financial Intelligence Processing Unit (CTIF), established by the Law of 11 January 1993[5] on preventing the use of the financial system for purposes of laundering money and terrorism financing, is the core of Belgium's fight against laundering of money coming from crime and against the financing of terrorism.[6] The Unit is an independent administrative authority with a legal status. The CTIF is charged with the analysis of suspicious financial transactions conducted by institutions or individuals. Information showing obvious offence evidence is handed over to the public prosecutor. The analysis of several files related to terrorism financing (CTIF, 2007:84) attest the importance of the necessary means to the upkeep of the networks. The CTIF maintains many relations internationally, for example with the *Office for Money Laundering Prevention* of the Republic of Slovenia.

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[5] *Law of 11 January 1993 on preventing the use of the financial system for purposes of laundering money and terrorism financing. (http://www.ctif-cfi.be/doc/en/bel_leg/Law_1993_EN-25_April_2008.pdf)*

[6] *http://www.ctif-cfi.be/menu.php?lang=fr&page=about*

1.3   Decisions Post (to) Madrid attacks (2004)

In the midst of the Spanish trauma (25 March 2004), the position of an anti-terrorism coordinator was established by the Heads of State and the Government of the EU Member States. 'Mister Terrorism' is mainly in charge of coordinating the work of the EU Council in the field of terrorism and of ensuring the optimization of the exchange of information between the different Member States and with third countries as well. Belgian Mr. Gilles de Kherkove is currently in office.

1.4   Decisions Post (to) London attacks (2005)

Following the attacks in London, the Council of the European Union completed the 2001 action plan with an EU Counter-Terrorism Strategy.[7] This strategy is based on four pillars known as the '4 Ps'.[8] Belgium has taken this strategy over and has intensified its efforts to combat terrorism by a group of measures described below.

2.4.1   Prevention

The 'prevention' pillar aims to combat radicalization and recruitment of terrorists by identifying the methods, propaganda and instruments they use. Although these challenges lie with the Member States, the EU helps to coordinate the national policies, determine good practices and share information[9], clarifies the EU. In Belgium, this pillar has been subject to an update of the 'anti-radicalisation' plan (see below).

2.4.2   Protection

The 'protection' pillar aims to reduce the vulnerability of targets. At the meeting of the Defence Ministers in Berlin in 2005, Belgian Defence Minister André Flahaut suggested that Belgium (should) run the research on the protection of critical infrastructures in the framework of combating terrorism also known as Defence Against Terrorism (DAT).

A working-group has been established within the Defence staff-headquarters that, in cooperation with the *Commission for Defence related National Problems* (CPND)[10] updates the list of critical infrastructures depending on the evolution of the threat and risks (*Defence against Terrorism/Critical Infrastructure Protection - DAT/CIP*). This initiative aims to improve the concepts, doctrines and emergency response plans of the countries to increase the protection of infrastructures of utmost importance (Riga/guide, 2006:154).

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[7] *European Union: Council of the European Union, The European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 30 November 2005, 14469/4/05 REV 4.*

[8] *http://register.consilium.eu.int/pdf/en/05/st14/st14469-re04.en05.pdf.*

[9] *http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/fight_against_terrorism/l33275_fr.htm.*

[10] *The CNDP is a cell that is administratively dependent upon the ministry of Defence. For its effectiveness, this cell has been integrated within the General Direction of the Crisis Centre also known as DGCC.*

2.4.3 Prosecution

The aim of the third pillar is to pursue terrorists across borders by disrupting terrorist networks, cutting off access to materials, putting an end to sources of terrorist financing and impeding the communication. In Belgium, various instruments have been installed. The federal police received as of 2003 'special search methods' enforced by law (see below).

2.4.4 Preparedness/Response

The risk of terrorist attacks cannot be reduced to zero. It is for the Member State to take into account a possible terrorist attack on their territory. It is therefore necessary for the institutions and citizens to be aware of the risk and for the state to be able to deal with it when it occurs.

3 THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM IN BELGIUM

3.1 Terminological caution

Although subject to caution in terms, it is widely accepted – also in Belgium – that the fight against terrorism comprises four interrelated parts: counter-terrorism, anti-terrorism, consequences management and information to the citizens.

The 2003 Belgian Defence Strategic Plan, under chapter II, went back to this approach to state the will of then minister of Defence André Flahaut to participate in the fight against terrorism to the best of their means.

Counter-terrorism "is a group of measures aimed at fighting terrorism before the terrorist act occurs. It is the preventive component of the act and it implies a combination of political measures, of very specialized methods of network infiltration and the search for active intelligence information abroad etc. It requires very few but highly qualified personnel and a close international cooperation as well" (Baud, 2005: 298).

Anti-terrorism "gathers means of fight against terrorism after the terrorist act occurred. It is a pre-emptive and reactive component of the act and often results from a failure (or a defect) in the counter-terrorist strategy. It generally implies heavier structures, an important surveillance system requiring expensive technical means and more personnel. It also calls for an intervention capacity".

Counter-terrorism is therefore this part of fight against terrorism whose purpose is to work at understanding the CAUSES of terrorism, whereas anti-terrorism aims at working on its EFFECTS.

Usually, counter-terrorism is perceived as a task allotted to the intelligence services before the federal police proceeds to repression, even if pro-active research under

the law of 06 January 2003 on particular research methods looks similar to the intelligence services' tasks.

Consequences management is the use of reactive measures to soften the destructive effects of terrorism. The General Direction of the Crisis Centre (DGCC) has the jurisdiction to do this (see below).

Authorities' communication in matter of terrorism

The information given to the population with regard to the missions and measures taken by the Belgian authorities towards terrorism requires coordination and standardization. Factual, political, strategic and operational information is coordinated thanks to all involved players who act in accordance with the communication strategy. The Intelligence and Security Ministerial Committee (CMRS) of 27 January 2006 also approved a communication strategy for terrorist threats or attacks. This strategy determines the coordination of the information in order to answer comprehensively the population's need for information. The document defines a 'ONE VOICE' principle in communication among the different authorities to avoid any contradiction in the release of information.

3.2 A joint cooperation in the fight against terrorism

There is of course international cooperation in matter of fight against terrorism to apprehend the whole problem. As a matter of fact, the 'Club of Berne' gathers the Heads of EU Member States' security and intelligence services and the 'Atlas Network'[11], i.e. a structure coordinating formations and techniques of fight against terrorism for intervention units.

Europe decided in November 2009 to enhance the cooperation instruments by the establishment of a Coordination Committee of Anti-Terrorist Centers (CCCAT) that should make possible a general risk assessment. This step turns out to be interesting and important because the international cooperation falls off and "nations turn on themselves", a trend that shows again within most intelligence services. Europe has been spared attacks from Islamist terrorist organizations for a couple of years. Al-Qaeda has moved its action radius in their fight against western imperialism to conflict zones in AFG-PAK where NATO troops are the targets of terrorist attacks.

This chapter focuses more specifically on the coordination of the fight against terrorism in Belgium. Ten years ago our members of Parliament said: "It is clear that the judicial authorities as well as the intelligence and security services will never be able to fully achieve their purposes, among others in matter of follow up and fight against organized crime and terrorism if there are failures in the information flow and communication" (Rapport d'Activités du Comité Permanent de Contrôle des Services de Renseignemen», 2004 :104).

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[11] http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/misill/sections/a_l_interieur/le_ministre/ interventions/pfue-seminaire-atlas.

In Belgium, coordination has been established at several levels.

3.2.1 Inter-intelligence cooperation

The inter-intelligence cooperation has been established by (1) the Law relative to the intelligence services[12] (under articles 7, 8 and 11) which defines the missions each service has, and (2) by a draft agreement[13] that sees to the organization of bilateral meetings, the aim of which is to share intelligence between analysis desks on main and specific phenomena such as terrorism. Intelligence flow can also be organized at operational level either occasionally or monthly.

3.2.2 Cooperation with the federal police and public prosecutor's department

Public prosecutors of the Court of Appeal form together a College, also known as 'The College of Public Prosecutors'. This college comes under the minister of Justice. The College is entitled to implement a coherent and coordinated policy in matter of crimes. Since 2005, the federal public prosecutor, federal police and intelligence community have established a three-way relationship as contained in the Public prosecutors' agreement.[14] This agreement regulates the relation between judicial authorities and intelligence services, meaning that the public prosecutor can file the technical assistance request at the named services. The agreement also envisages a procedure that will enable an inclusion of a group of protective measures and intelligence services data in judicial procedure. As for our relationship with the federal police, there is no agreement regulating our operational contacts. They are based on 'gentlemen agreements' for the exchange of 'soft information' and through the federal public prosecutor and technical assistance for the operational part. In other words, the federal public prosecutor fulfils and coordinates the public action in matter of terrorism and makes the international investigation coordination easier. The federal public prosecutor's special missions consist in an unchanging and coherent implementation of *specific investigations methods*, monitoring of the working of the federal police and the chairmanship of the *commission for the protection of witnesses* (Delval, 2008).

3.2.3

The analytical coordination of inter-intelligence services results from an agreement that provides for the exchange of information. It also happens that common studies are handed over to our decision-makers. Globally, OCAM works as a 'fusion centre', i.e. the analytical cooperation, the summary of analyses from different support services, such as the intelligence services, federal police, Foreign Affairs, Customs and Taxes among others. The result of this analytical fusion is redirected to different services but, above all, to the Ministerial Committee of Intelligence and Security (CMRS) and to the Prime Minister's staff where OCAM has a representative.

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[12] *The Organic Law of 30 November 1998 on the Intelligence and Security Services.*

[13] *Agreement of 12 November 2004 that lays down the collaboration between the State Security and SGRS.*

[14] *Legislative document n° 3-1150/1, 9 March 2006: a report covering the activities of the Permanent Committee R for the year 2004.*

3.2.4 National (or governmental) plans

A couple of years ago, Belgium launched several 'national plans', whereby making possible a cross-disciplinary reading of cooperation in matter of fight against terrorism. Indeed a few themes require the mobilization of several ministerial services. The department Criminal Policy of the Federal Public Service of Justice made at the initiative of both Interior and Justice Ministers a framework note on comprehensive security (2004). This document aims to carry on the making of a framework for a comprehensive and integrated security policy. This note provided the basis for a 'National Security Plan' managed by the Federal Police and for the 'NBRC Emergency Plan' managed by the ministry of Defence under the aegis of the Direction of the Governmental Coordination and Crisis Centre.

Following the judicial interventions in Belgium in response to the 11 September 2001 attacks, the Ministerial Committee for Intelligence and Security came to a decision in which the 'Radicalism Plan' (2006) took off. It is a plan of action aiming to prevent the expression and diffusion of subversive, racist, anarchist and extremist ideas and whose purpose is the promotion of democratic values and mutual respect as well as the avoidance of radicalization among the different fringes in our society.

The Plan gathers a panel (National Task Forces) Intelligence/Police that applies an integrated global policy under the supervision of the Intelligence and Security College. In March 2009, the minister of Justice, Interior minister and the Federation of Belgian Enterprises (FEB) signed an agreement for the creation of an Early Warning System (EWS) in the context of the Panel for permanent dialogue for the Security of Enterprises (PSCE). This Early Warning System is presided by the Criminal Policy Service and sees to procedures of information exchanges in the context of protection of the economic sector against acts committed by terrorist organizations. The OCAM is responsible for the analytical follow-up on this matter.

4 THE MUCH NEEDED CONCEPTUAL UPDATE OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES IN THE FACE OF EMERGING RISKS AND THREATS – MAKING OF A EUROPEAN TRANSNATIONAL STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE

Since 11 September 2001, the intelligence services have learnt from the glaring global organizational failures that make it possible for terrorists to achieve their goals (Barger, 2005). Most European intelligence services have either adapted their strategy or been subject to internal reorganization. Some countries, such as France, have rethought the 'intelligence community' with a result of reduction and rationalization of their structures, preservation of the know-how (Squarcini, 2009). The international and European cooperation in the fight against terrorism has been enhanced over the last ten years in a complex way though. Very little room is left for the intelligence services in the policy of fight against terrorism in Europe. As a matter of

fact, the policy adopted is essentially judicial and police-related, i.e. ensuring the legal and practical structures for counter-terrorism co-operation. Still, the *EU's Joint Situation Centre* (SitCen) regularly provides assessments on the evolution of the terrorist threat to the EU authorities.

"SitCen's files combine intelligence gathered from both the internal and external security services at national level, and the Club of Berne. These analyses are often shared with EUROPOL (the EU's police agency) and EUROJUST (the EU's unit of national prosecutors). [There is a lack of confidence between intelligence services and these two bodies] that have a tendency to duplicate each others' efforts and still fail to work properly together, despite habitual pressure to do so from their political masters", states Hugo Brady. "One reason for such failings is that these two bodies operate in a horrendously complex legal environment. EUROPOL in particular must adhere to an inflexible and dogmatic data protection regime. This means that the office is often held to higher standards than national police forces when sharing information within the EU and with outsiders. The Bundeskriminalamt (BKA), Germany's federal criminal agency, exchanges data on individual suspects with its Russian counterpart, while EUROPOL cannot do likewise, even though it has a co-operation agreement with Russia" (Brady, 2009). In a briefing to interior ministers in mid-2009, Mr. Gilles de Kerkhove, EU Counter-Terrorism Coordinator, lamented the continual failure of many Member States to transpose EU rules designed to combat terrorist groups into national law and insisted on the need of national intelligence services' cooperation with SITCEN and EUROPOL. Mr. Gilles de Kherkhove also "recommended that all Member States set up *fusion centres* like the British Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre (JTAC), the German Joint Counter-Terrorism Centre (GTAZ), the French Counter-Terrorism Co-ordination Centre (UCLAT) and Belgium's OCAM, where strategic analyses are strongly based on intelligence coming from police and intelligence services" (Brady, 2009*)*. We can therefore suppose that the intelligence and security structures at the European level have not yet fully reached their effectiveness capacity. Nevertheless, the Belgian and European intelligence services have set Islamist terror, which they consider to be an important risk, as a priority, namely the fight against radicalization and jihadist recruitment for conflict areas. Other risks posed to the national and international security are pandemics, climate changes and more specifically, the resurgence of the extreme left that becomes violent as the social and community crisis worsens. Over the last months there has been an increase in 'micro-attacks', especially with Molotov cocktails. They are attributed to anarchists and/or escheating youth.

The police forces most specifically, but also banks and any other symbols of capitalism are targeted and considered to be responsible for the crisis (Snoeck, 2009). The first elements state that the anarchist and autonomous networks responsible for these acts are 'transnational'.

In a global world where global risks require global responses/answers, the States cannot operate in isolation, and the current cooperation proves insufficient. In the

past, the States ensured their security through temporary (cooperation in conflict areas) and durable alliances (NATO). These security alliances are more interdependent than globalizing and will remain.

How should the today's ideal European security structure look like to prepare the unthinkable, the unexpected? Torn between the 'global war on terror', term the USA is moving away, and the multilateral cooperation, Europe has shown its limits. The transnational Europeanization of the intelligence could be an avenue worth considering for Europe's global security.

4.1 A few brief considerations on Europe's global security

Europe does not interfere in the home security affairs of EU Member States. Article 4.2. (article 3 a under 2) of the Lisbon Treaty does remind this clearly: "The Union shall respect the essential State functions, including ensuring the territorial integrity of the State, maintaining law and order and safeguarding national security. In particular, national security remains the sole responsibility of each Member State". The Lisbon treaty sees to the setting-up of a standing committee for EU's internal security committee (COSI) involving SITCEN, EUROPOL, EUROJUST and FRONTEX.

"A permanent committee has been established within the Council in order to promote and strengthen coordination of operation actions of the Member States competent in the field of internal security", clarifies Article 71 of the Lisbon Treaty. "Without prejudice to article 240, the Standing Committee shall facilitate and ensure effective operational cooperation and coordination of the entitled EU bodies". COSI should therefore not be over stated: it would be concerned with day-to-day issues. Clearly, COSI would never be a policy-maker in position to be assimilated to a tool at the disposal of decisions-makers, even though the presence of a European External Action Service (EAS) is ensured in the future (Brady, 2009). The EAS shall not be involved in conducting operations but will cover where appropriate judicial and intelligence-related cooperation.

When looking back to the deep divisions between European countries over the operation '*Iraqi freedom*' in 2003, is it not high time Europe adopted a trans-governmental intensive regime (Grevy, 2006–2007) instead of a competitive international intergovernmental regime. In matter of security and international relations, now that security is a global issue (Vercauteren, 2009), should not Europe see its future as an international player at the risk of not being considered a reliable international security player by lack of a strategic culture (Grevy, 2006–2007)? In this case, the transnationalization of strategic intelligence is essential as a tool at the disposal of the EAAS because the intelligence is a key element to international relations (Forcade, 2009). When applied to research on national security, the intelligence is core to the process of political decision. Transnationalization of the intelligence cannot exist if there is no 'homeland security'.

What kind of homeland security for the European Union? (Sablon, 2009). This question is even more relevant with the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty and the pinpointed obstacles ahead (cross-pillar divisions, fragmentation, intra-institutions turf wars, opaque situation etc.) post the publication of Sablon's paper.

Europe needs a governing body offering a devised, coordinated, coherent and common homeland security approach based on a simplified administration financially and legally entitled with reduced running costs.

Transnationalization cannot operate without the civil society. The British intelligence community has already some experience contrary to France and Belgium where there is opaqueness (Squarcini, 2009). Initiatives have been and are taken to establish/strengthen the relationship with the civil society. In Belgium, the Belgian Intelligence Studies Association has fizzled out mostly due to disinterest from a group of elite of the intelligence community who were still imbued with the Cold War practices and policies. Nonetheless, stepping back and realizing they do not have the monopoly on knowledge and coming to the basic idea of admitting that the university world, think tanks or well-established NGOs would be advantageous albeit the strict observance of classification. It is what the initiative Global Futures Forum (GFF) initiated by the CIA tries to do and bears today.

Transnationalization cannot operate without the creation of a European Intelligence Community. The way terrorist, public health, economic, climate and other risks/threats are perceived is State-related. The concept security as well as the 'realistic' conception of international relations is inevitably called into question due to an increasing complexity of security problems the States are facing (Vercauteren, 2009).

Transnationalization of intelligence needs a *European Agency for Prospective Analysis* that examines issues transcending the 'day-to-day issues' that are to be handled by the COSI. It is impossible to tell the future indeed, still, it is possible to work on how to better anticipate the events through 'analysing prospects' (Tan Hong Ngoh Edna and Hoo Tiang Boon, 2008). The European diplomacy needs such a tool that is part of the European intelligence and connected to different agencies. To prepare for the unthinkable will most certainly be a very useful tool for the EAS.

Conclusion Today, the intelligence concept is in a real turmoil nationally and internationally to achieve our goals: <u>ensuring the global security of our institutions and fellow-citizens against the multiplicity of global risks.</u> In order to deal with these risks, the intelligence community must adapt ahead of the times (Barger, 2005), regularly reconsidering the 'state of the strategic revolution' of its structures. Is the concept Intelligence Community out of date? The question is legitimate. Can we speak of an 'intelligence system'?

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Fu Xiaoqiang   Strokovni članek

TRI ZLA IN KITAJSKA POLITIKA BOJA PROTI TERORIZMU

THREE EVILS AND CHINA'S COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICY

Povzetek   Terorizem je postal ena od največjih groženj mednarodni skupnosti in človeštvu. Protiterorizem je postal pomemben del kitajskih domačih in diplomatskih dejavnosti. Pravzaprav se je kitajska protiteroristična kampanja začele še pred 11. septembrom, vendar je Kitajska šele po napadih začela sodelovati in postala pomemben člen v mednarodni protiteroristični koaliciji. Sile »Zahodnega Turkistana« pomenijo tri zla, ki vključujejo terorizem, ekstremizem in separatizem, kar je imelo v zadnjih letih za posledico kar nekaj krvavih incidentov s terorjem in nasiljem. To je bila resna kršitev temeljev človekovih pravic glede življenja in razvoja vseh ljudi v Xinjiangu. Kitajska je aktivno udeležena v mednarodnem sodelovanju v boju proti terorizmu. Prav tako podpira Združene narode in njihov Varnostni svet pri prizadevanjih za prevzemanje vodilne vloge v boju proti terorizmu. Kitajska prevzema aktivno vlogo v regionalnem ali subregionalnem sodelovanju proti terorizmu in je tudi poglobila dvostranska sodelovanju v boju proti terorizmu z ustreznimi državami.

Ključne besede   *Mednarodni terorizem, Xinjiang, kitajska politika boja proti terorizmu.*

Abstract   Terrorism has become one of the major threats to international community and human beings. Anti-terrorism has become an important part of China's domestic and diplomatic agenda. China's anti-terrorism campaign started even before 9/11, but it was only after the attacks that China participated fully and became a significant player in the international anti-terror coalition. The three evils of 'East Turkistan' forces – terrorism, extremism and separatism – caused a number of bloody incidents of terror and violence in recent years, and have seriously violated the basic human rights to life and development of all the peoples of Xinjiang. China has been actively participating in international cooperation against terrorism. It has supported the United Nations and its Security Council to play the leading role in counter-terrorism and has

taken an active part in regional or sub-regional cooperation against terrorism. China has also deepened bilateral cooperation against terrorism with the relevant countries.

Key words *International terrorism, Xinjiang, China's Counter-Terrorism Policy.*

Introduction Terrorism has become one of the major threats to international community and human beings. Since 9/11, China has actively participated in international campaign against terrorism. Three-evils, in the forms of terrorism, extremism and separatism are China's major security concern. China has a strong will to promote international cooperation against terrorism in future.

1 TERRORISM AS ONE MAJOR THREAT TO THE WORLD

Since the end of the Cold War, especially the September 11 incident, the system of international relations has been transforming from the one balance of power in international anarchy to a new one, mainly characterized by mutual interdependence between countries. The transformation will experience a long-term transition period, during which there will be full of complicated struggles; the road will be even tortuous. During the transformation of the system of international relations, terrorism has become one of the major threats to international community and human beings.

Terrorism, as one of non-traditional security threats, has great impacts on international relations. Non-traditional security threats are also regarded as global problems, transnational problems or low politics problems, including terrorism, environmental pollution, global warming, population exploration, drug trafficking, international crimes, and so on. Non-traditional security threats have two major characteristics. One is that they exist in the whole world and concern all human beings. Another one is that they threaten the existence and development of human beings. With growing impacts of non-traditional security threats on international relations and rising common interests between countries, countries, especially major powers, have to resolve disputes between them through consultation and coordination, and to cooperate to deal with non-traditional security threats.

Terrorism as one of non-state actors has been putting more implication on international relations. Non-state actors include terrorist organizations, transnational companies and non-governmental organizations, multilateral organizations, and so on. In recent years, non-state actors have become important actors in international relations. Now some non-state actors even have as much capital and means as those owned by states. Some big transnational companies have more capital than some middle or small states. In international society, there are many kinds of non-governmental organizations, the roles of which are spectacular in international relations and international politics. Since the end of the Cold War, terrorist organizations and their actions have developed and become new threats to human society. Although

terrorism has existed for ages, global terrorism is a relatively new phenomenon. Transnational and multiethnic, it is international in scope, with terrorists representing all walks of life, from poor to rich, third world to first world, illiterate to educated. Ironically, the same mechanisms that have fueled economic globalization have also enabled terrorism on a global scale. Those non-state actors have very important impacts on international relations.

The world has become more aware of the threat of terrorism, and has increasingly stressed the importance of international cooperation and the role of the United Nations in the fight against terrorism. Regional and bilateral cooperation in fighting terrorism has been enhanced, while many countries have come up with new anti-terrorism strategies. More funds and human resources have been devoted to developing new means of preventing and combating terrorism. A number of countries have incorporated anti-terrorism into their national security strategy, a move rarely taken before the September 11 attacks. In order to strike the international terrorist force, with al Qaeda as its core, the United Nations Security Council has established a special counter-terrorism committee, drawing up 12 related resolutions, agreements and conventions; multilateral and bilateral counter-terrorism cooperation has been expanding and deepening unceasingly. Many countries have brought counter-terrorism into their national security strategy, established or revised relevant laws, increased the input of manpower, material resources, and funds, actively researched and developed new technology, and strengthened all kinds of counter-terrorist measures. Theoretically, international society has created an "inescapable net" for terrorism.

But, the effect of comprehensive counter-terrorist measures in international society was not effective and has even developed into the embarrassing situation that "the more you strike, the more fierce the terrorism is".

First, the international terrorist influence is evidently characterized by miniaturization, decentralization and global networks. "Al Qaeda" colluded with other terrorist organizations in Central Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Middle East, forming a high-risk region from Central Asia to the Middle East where terrorist events happened frequently. Second, the international terrorist's capacities of mobilization, organization, planning, coordination and action are improving steadily; the conspiracy of destruction is becoming more covert and comprehensive; and the scope of attacks is gradually expanding from the U.S. to America's counter-terrorism allies and pro-America countries. In recent years, Spanish, Britain and Germany have successively experienced terrorist explosions and terrorists infiltrations. Al Qaeda is still posing great threats to global security. Third, the conflicts between the western and the Islamic world have been further deepened by the military counter-terrorist activities of the U.S. and other western countries. Apart from these, more and more young people born in the 1970s and 1980s are joining the ranks of terrorists.Homegrown terrorists have become a major force in terrorist attacks in various countries.

2   CHINA'S POLICY TOWARDS TERRORISM

Shortly after 9/11, China established its National Anti-Terrorism Coordination Group (NATCG) and Secretariat led by Hu Jintao. The National Ministry of Public Security also simultaneously launched an anti-terrorism bureau, responsible for the research, planning, guidance, co-ordination and undertaking of the national anti-terror agenda. The NATCG's office was subordinated under the anti-terror bureau of the National Ministry of Public Security. In addition, all the provinces followed suit by organizing their own anti-terrorist co-ordination groups and offices, with Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong, Xinjiang and Tibet at the forefront. In view of these expanded efforts, China has also made remarkable achievements in strengthening its anti-terror mechanism since 9/11. The capabilities of the "East Turkestan" group were severely weakened following the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan and the subsequent strikes on terrorist bases. However, following the U.S.-led war in Iraq, the group has somehow revived, coinciding with the resurrection of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, and the security situation in Central Asia has deteriorated again. To counter the emerging threats in the post-9/11 environment, the following measures have been taken by the NATCG and the National Ministry of Public Security.

Firstly, an early warning and prevention system has been set up. The objective of this system is to monitor the activities of terrorist groups, forestall terrorist attacks, and cut terrorist financing.

Secondly, a quick response mechanism is now in place. The purpose of this is for relevant authorities to take speedy and determined measures to neutralize perpetrators, restrict their fallout, and work for a quick resolution in the event of a terrorist strike. China has greatly enhanced the capabilities of its quick-response anti-terror troops over the past years both in personnel and equipment. They are now deployed not only in Xinjiang, but also in almost every provincial capital city.

Thirdly, a crisis control and management system is now being established. This system focuses on damage-control of human losses and infrastructural damages in the wake of terrorist attacks or during their initiation. China, drawing especially upon the experience of authorities in New York City handling the 9/11 disaster, seeks here to improve the co-ordination of policemen, fire-fighters, armed troops, civilian rescuers and medical personnel in the event of a terrorist attack. Training and exercises at various levels have already been conducted for this purpose.

Fourthly, a mass education and mobilization system has been initiated. Various authorities in China have carried out a series of education and training programs among civilians to raise awareness of counter-terrorism efforts. A number of schools have added anti-terrorism to their curriculum, while some research institutes and universities have set up anti-terror research centers. Besides, the Chinese legislature – the People's Congress – is also currently drafting an anti-terrorism

law. Promoting counter-terrorism capability is especially important as China experienced terrorism threats in the 2008 Olympic Games and is hosting the 2010 World Expo in Shanghai.

3 THREE EVILS: EAST TURKESTAN SEPARATISM, EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM

Over a long period of time, the 'East Turkistan' forces have unremittingly instigated separatist activities. The term 'East Turkistan' first appeared in the late 19th century. In the early 20th century, a tiny number of separatists and religious extremists in Xinjiang further politicized the term 'East Turkistan', and fabricated an 'ideological and theoretical system' about the 'independence of East Turkistan'. Separatists of different shades in Xinjiang raised the banner of 'East Turkistan' and formed 'East Turkistan' forces, trying to establish a so-called 'East Turkistan' separatist regime. From the early 1930s to the mid-1940s, with the instigation and support of hostile foreign forces, the 'East Turkistan' forces shouted slogans like "killing the Han and annihilating the Hui" and "opposing and expelling the Han", creating many disturbances and even wantonly slaughtering innocent people in their attempt to split the motherland and set up an illegal regime. What they did meet was strong opposition from people of all ethnic groups in Xinjiang.

Since the founding of the PRC, Xinjiang has entered a new stage, enjoying ethnic unity and social stability. However, the 'East Turkistan' forces have persisted, carrying out clandestine actions. Supported by hostile foreign forces, the 'East Turkistan' forces both inside and outside China created many riots and launched armed insurrection in their attempt to split the country. In the 1990s, influenced by terrorism, separatism and extremism, the 'East Turkistan' forces both inside and outside China turned to terrorist violence as the chief means of their separatist activities. In the four decades from the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989, 'East Turkistan' separatists rarely undertook armed activities within Chinese borders. However, the end of the 'jihad' against Soviet troops in Afghanistan combined with the chaotic situation unfolding there in the early 1990s somewhat spilled over, providing separatists with an opportunity of waging a 'jihad' in Xinjiang. In April 1990, separatists launched an attack in Baren in Akto county of Xinjiang, killing nearly 60 civilians and policemen. This turmoil represented the beginning of terrorist violence committed by the 'East Turkistan' group. After 1996, with the support from the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, religious extremists and terrorist organizations in Central Asia built up their cross-border networks. Certain organizations of the 'East Turkistan' campaign like the 'East Turkistan Islamic Movement' became very active among these cliques, and Osama bin Laden has reportedly been quoted as saying: "I support your jihad in Xinjiang [referring to ETIM]".

The terrorist nature of the 'East Turkistan' forces was eventually recognized by the whole world. In 2002, the United Nations Security Council added the 'East

Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM)' to its sanction list of terrorist groups. In recent years, the 'East Turkistan' forces have continued separatist activities under the banners of "democracy", "human rights" and "freedom", trying to escape strikes against them or to clear themselves of the name of terrorism. In 2004, the 'East Turkistan' forces patched together the World Uyghur Congress (WUC) outside China. Since then, they have plotted and organized a number of separatist and sabotage actions. On the one hand, they have stepped up infiltration to the ideological field by preaching separatism and 'holy war'; on the other, they have intensified their efforts in the acts of terror and violence, organizing and instigating some individuals within China to go abroad to receive training in religious extremism, separatism and terrorist skills, and openly calling on extremists inside China to create terrorist incidents, including bombings and poisonings aiming at kindergartens, schools and the government institutions, or attacking China's military forces and government departments.

Since 2008, the 'East Turkistan' forces have started a new round of sabotage activities, and created a number of bloody incidents of terror and violence aimed at the Beijing Olympics. In particular, the seriously violent incident of July 5, 2009, which erupted in Urumqi, capital of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, was masterminded by terrorist, separatist and extremist forces both inside and outside China. The violence caused great damage to the lives and property of people of all ethnic groups, seriously jeopardizing the normal order and social stability of the region. After the eruption of the riots, the central government and the government of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, relevant departments of the central and state organs, the military and armed police relied firmly on the cadres and masses of all ethnic groups to safeguard social stability, the socialist legal system and fundamental interests of the people, and took decisive and powerful measures to stop the violence in accordance with the law, to quickly bring the incident to an end and restore social stability in Urumqi.

The 'East Turkistan' forces have seriously violated the basic human rights to life and development of all the peoples of Xinjiang. Since the 1990s, the 'East Turkistan' forces have organized large numbers of acts of terror and violence, seriously jeopardizing the security of lives and property of people of all ethnic groups in Xinjiang. According to incomplete statistics, from 1990 to 2001, the 'East Turkistan' forces both inside and outside China created more than 200 bloody incidents of terror and violence in Xinjiang by means of explosions, assassinations, poisoning, arson, attacking, riots and assaults. As a result, 162 citizens, including people of various ethnicities, cadres at the grass-roots level and religious personnel, lost their lives, and over 440 were wounded. In 2002 they again organized several bloody incidents of terror and violence in Xinjiang. The most recent 'July 5' riot in Urumqi caused huge losses in lives and property of the people of various ethnic groups. By July 17, 2009, 197 people died (most being innocent victims) and over 1,700 were injured, with 331 shops and 1,325 motor vehicles destroyed or burned, and many public facilities were damaged.

The 'East Turkistan' forces have seriously interrupted the economic development of Xinjiang. Firstly, they have seriously undermined the environment for investment, as evidenced by the drastic reduction in investment from other parts of the country. From 1997 to 1998, when crimes of terror and violence were frequent, the economic development of Xinjiang witnessed a remarkable slowdown. Primarily, outside investment declined as foreign investors withdrew their funding one after another, thus depriving Xinjiang of many development opportunities. Secondly, tourism suffered as a result. Tourism is an important industry in Xinjiang. The 'July 5' riot in Urumqi in 2009 produced a serious adverse impact on Xinjiang's tourism, causing a sudden drop in both the number of tourists and revenue of tourism. Thirdly, precious resources have been dispersed. Plenty of human, material and financial resources have had to be put to guard against and combat crimes of terror and violence in order to safeguard the security of the country and social stability. Fourthly, exchanges between Xinjiang and foreign countries have been interrupted. The development of international thoroughfares and foreign trade in Xinjiang has been seriously affected.

The 'East Turkistan' forces pose a threat to regional security and stability. The 'East Turkistan' terrorist organizations, with ETIM as representative, have carried out actions in Central and South Asia over a long period of time, creating many bloody incidents of terror and violence, including assassinations, arson and attacks on police. They also secretly participated in terrorist activities plotted by international terrorist organizations, posing a threat to the peace and stability of all countries concerned.

In order to cope with these terrorist challenges that threatened China's security and unity, the Chinese authorities began to formulate an anti-terrorism strategy seriously, focusing mainly on combating 'East Turkestan' terrorist forces to ensure the security and stability of Xinjiang. Anti-terror corps were organized in Xinjiang, the first among China's provinces and autonomous regions, under the fiscal support of the central government. Meanwhile, as the 'East Turkestan' movement had international connections and was transnational in nature, this inadvertently implied that any Chinese anti-terrorist strategy was forced to rely on international cooperation. Indeed, this became one of the driving forces behind the institutionalization of the 'Shanghai Five' and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) mechanisms. From the Chinese perspective, it was of particular importance that China could now, within the framework of the organization, count upon the support of the other five member states (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Russia) in its campaign against the 'East Turkestan' movement.

4   CHINA'S EFFORTS TO PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGAINST TERRORISM

China has been actively participating in International Cooperation against Terrorism. On January 20, 2003, Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan put forward four-point proposition for deepened war on terror at the Anti-Terrorism Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the UN Security Council. First, with peace and security for all mankind

as the central theme of counter-terrorism, efforts should be made to cultivate a new security concept featuring mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and cooperation, and to resolve or mitigate such regional hotspots as the Middle East and Iraq. Second, with universal development and common prosperity as the foundation of counter-terrorism, efforts should be made to promote the economic development of all countries, narrow the wealth gap and attain the development goals laid down by the UN Millennium Summit. Third, with closer communication among and integration of different civilization as the safeguard of counter-terrorism, efforts should be made to promote understanding and tolerance among diverse civilizations and cultures. Fourth, with stronger exchange and cooperation as the key to counter-terrorism, efforts should be made to give scope to the leading role of the UN and help developing countries build up their capacity in compliance with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter.

China has supported the United Nations and its Security Council to play the leading role in counter-terrorism and opposite terrorism in all forms and manifestation. It has actively taken part in counter-terrorism discussions at the UN and its Security Council. It voted in favor of Security Council Resolutions 1456, 1465 and 1561 on counter-terrorism, and worked earnestly with the Counter-Terrorism Committee of the Council.

China opposes terrorism of all forms. Its position also includes: a comprehensive approach to address both the symptom and root causes of terrorism, enhanced capacity building of developing countries against terrorism, and rejection of double standards, and simple practice of linking terrorism with specific countries, ethnicities and religions. China also holds that the fight against the East Turkistan terrorist forces was part and parcel of the worldwide campaign against terror, and China stood ready to step up its cooperation with the relevant countries on this front in the interest of regional peace and stability.

China has taken an active part in regional or sub-regional cooperation against terrorism. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization has developed into an important mechanism of promoting regional security, stability and development. In 2003, China participated in joint military exercises under the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), a move that significantly deterred the terrorist forces operating at home and broad. In September 2003, the Foreign Ministers of six member countries of the SCO signed the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism and the Agreement between the SCO Member Countries Concerning the Regional Counter-Terrorism Agency. In 2003, the Chinese side also participated in the meeting of the attorney-general and the first meeting of the Council of the Regional Counter-Terrorism Agency of the SCO, playing an important role in guiding and strengthening the cooperation of the organization. In January 2004, the SCO Secretariat and the SCO Regional Counter-Terrorism Agency were formally inaugurated in Beijing and Tashkent respectively. In June 2004, during the Summit Meeting of the SCO in Tashkent, leaders of member countries of the

SCO signed the Agreement on cooperation of anti-illegal transportation of narcotic drugs, mental drugs and their materials. The SCO also established the mechanism of regular meetings of Secretaries of National Security Councils of member countries, so they can strengthen their security cooperation. At the same time, China has facilitated the adoption of counter-terrorism initiatives by Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and other organizations.

China has deepened bilateral cooperation against terrorism with the relevant countries. In 2004, it held the fourth counter-terrorism consultation with the U.S. and the third consultation of China–U.S. working group on financial anti-terrorism. In July 2003, the customs authorities of China and the U.S. signed the bilateral declaration on the principles of Container Security Initiatives (CSI) cooperation and the annexes in Beijing, which opened a new area of China–US cooperation against terrorism. In addition, China held the frequent counter-terrorism dialogues with Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, EU and other countries.

China has also participated in various bilateral and multilateral anti-terror exercises. For example, it conducted a joint bilateral anti-terror military exercise with Kyrgyzstan in October 2002. In August 2003, it took part in the multilateral anti-terror military exercise dubbed "United-2003" with other fellow SCO members. Some of the more recent exercises include "Great Wall-2003", held on September 26, 2003, attended by President Hu Jintao, as well as "Peace Mission 2005" under SCO auspices. Since 2006, China has held anti-terror military exercise with Pakistan, India and Russia.

Conclusion China is a country with an ancient civilization and likewise a history of more than 5000 years. Sages and men of virtue in ancient China had successfully solved a great many vital issues in the long process of history and come up with a good deal of valuable strategic thinking shining with Oriental wisdom, which still merit our attention. For instance, a Chinese ancient masterpiece named "Discourse on Warring States", written more than 2000 years ago, stated: "It is better to win the heart of the people than to capture the city". In other words, psychological victory is better than military success. To examine the present situation of counter-terrorism with this thinking will enable us to see that mere military means is not the answer to a thorough and final solution to the issue of terrorism. Counter-terrorism is a systematic project which should be tackled with integrated measures such as political, economic, diplomatic, cultural and military means.

Counter-terrorism needs to be tackled in a comprehensive way. There has to be a synergy on all fronts – political, economic, diplomatic, cultural and military – to achieve success. Confucius, the great ancient Chinese thinker, had once said: "A gentlemen gets along with others, but does not necessarily agree with them." The ancient saying still holds good while waging a protracted war against terror. The international community should look in the face of the various differences existing in the current anti-terror cooperation and follow the principle of "seeking common

ground on major issues while leaving aside the minor difference". Only by doing things this way can the international community reach more common ground and push the struggle against terrorism forward.

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Florina Cristiana (Cris) Matei

Strokovni članek

ROMUNSKE PROTITERORISTIČNE ZMOŽNOSTI: PREOBLIKOVANJE, SODELOVANJE IN UČINKOVITOST

ROMANIA'S ANTI-TERRORISM CAPABILITIES: TRANSFORMATION, COOPERATION, EFFECTIVENESS

Professional article

Povzetek   Učinkovit boj proti terorizmu za varnostne sile v Romuniji ne pomeni odgovornosti glede varnosti. Terorizem je bil grožnja za romunsko nacionalno varnost že pred letom 1989 in že dolga leta med komunističnim režimom so protiteroristične elitne sile Securitate pronicljivo preprečevale teroristične napade. Vendar je terorizem iz obdobja hladne vojne drugačen kot terorizem v enaindvajsetem stoletju. Tisto, kar se je spremenilo po padcu Železne zavese in predvsem po terorističnih napadih v Združenih državah 11. septembra 2001, sta smrtonosnost in ostrina namenov ter ciljev teroristov. Napadi v Združenih državah, Španiji, Veliki Britaniji in drugje so Romunijo prisilili (tako kot tudi druge države), da preoblikuje celoten varnostni sistem, s čimer se bo lahko učinkovito ter sodelovalno borila proti terorizmu in terorističnim mrežam ter drugim asimetričnim varnostnim grožnjam in izzivom. V tem članku ocenjujemo preoblikovanje romunskega varnostnega sistema po hladni vojni, ko gre za učinkovito preprečevanje in odvračanje terorizma ter spopadanje z njim.

Ključne besede   *Romunski boj s terorizmom, romunsko protiteroristično sodelovanje, reforma romunskega protiterorizma, boj proti terorizmu v Jugovzhodni Evropi, varnostno sodelovanje v Jugovzhodni Evropi.*

Abstract   Fighting terrorism effectively is not a new security responsibility for the security forces in Romania. Terrorism was a menace to Romania's national security before 1989, and for years during the Communist regime. Securitate's anti-terrorist elite force's acumen averted terrorist attacks. Yet, Cold War terrorism is different from Twenty-First Century terrorism. What has changed after the fall of the Iron Curtain, and chiefly after the atrocious terrorist attacks in the United States (US) on September 11, 2001 (9/11), has been the lethality and virulence of terrorists' intents and goals. Attacks in the US, Spain, Great Britain, and others urged Romania (as much as other countries) to transform its overall security system to be able to fight terrorism and terrorist networks,

as well as other asymmetric security threats and challenges, effectively and collaboratively. This paper reviews Romania's security system' post-Cold War transformation, in pursuit of effectively averting, countering and combating terrorism.

Key words *Romania's combat with terrorism, Romania's anti-terrorism cooperation, Romania's counter-terrorism reform, South Eastern Europe's combat with terrorism, South Eastern Europe's security cooperation.*

Introduction Fighting terrorism effectively is not a new security responsibility for the security forces in Romania. Terrorism was a menace to Romania's national security before 1989 (Laslau, 2005), and for years during the Communist regime Securitate's anti-terrorist elite force's acumen (Tudor, 2002b) averted terrorist attacks. Yet, Cold War terrorism is different from Twenty-First Century terrorism. What has changed after the fall of the Iron Curtain, and chiefly after the atrocious terrorist attacks in the United States (US) on September 11, 2001 (9/11), has been the lethality and virulence of terrorists' intents and goals. Attacks in the US, Spain, Great Britain, and others urged Romania (as much as other countries) to transform its overall security system to be able to fight terrorism and terrorist networks, as well as other asymmetric security threats and challenges, effectively and collaboratively. This paper reviews Romania's security system' post-Cold War transformation, in pursuit of effectively averting, countering and combating terrorism.

1 ROMANIA'S SECURITY INSTITUTIONS

Romania's security forces include the armed forces (army, navy, air force) under the Ministry of Defense (MOD), police forces (gendarmerie, border etc.) under the Ministry of Administration and Internal Affairs, and six[1] intelligence agencies.

2 TERRORIST THREAT TO ROMANIA'S SECURITY

Terrorism does not pose a major threat to Romania's security. Yet, Romania could become a terrorist target for a variety of reasons. First is Romania's membership (and Eastern Border) in Western collective security institutions such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU), whose countries have often become terrorist targets (Vaduva, 2005). Second is Romania's unstable geographical surroundings (neighboring the Black Sea and the Balkans yet not far from the Caucasus and Near East) (Matei, 2007b). Third is the relatively high Muslim/Arabic representation in Romania, which may transform it into a hub for terrorist traffic targeting both Romania and other countries (Matei, 2007b; Tudor, 2002b;

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[1] *Three are independent: Romanian Intelligence Service (SRI), Foreign Intelligence Service (SIE), Guard and Protection Service (SPP), and Special Telecommunication Service (STS); and, three ministerial: MIRA General Directorate for Intelligence and Internal Protection (DGIPI), MOD Directorate for General Information of the Army (DGIA).*

Laslau, 2005; Bolocan, 2003).[2] Fourth, even without a 'direct' Muslim threat (Matei, 2009a),[3] Romania's friendly relations with the US, the implementation of the relocation of US military bases in Romania since 2007, and its contribution to the international anti-terrorist efforts and peace operations could, as well, make Romania a target (Matei, 2009a).

3 REFORM AND TRANSFORMATION TO FIGHT TERRORISM

Fighting terrorism effectively calls for a modern, agile, resilient, and multi-tasking security system. To this end, especially after 9/11, Romania has channeled its countering and combating terrorism efforts toward improved terrorism prevention, counter-terrorism intervention, and consequence management capabilities. These endeavors have enveloped, *inter alia,* the following: a more robust anti-terrorism (AT) and counter-terrorism (CT) legal framework; effective and timely intelligence (organization, structures, personnel [including education and training], quality of analysis, and equipment); more agile security forces, increased information sharing, coordination and cooperation; improved capabilities of tracking down and weeding out any human, financial, logistic and operational involvement and/or support for terrorist activities; strengthened intervention capabilities (capturing terrorists, freeing hostages, reinstating order); better guard and protection capabilities and activities; civil emergencies, public affairs, and outreach activities.

3.1 Strengthened anti-terrorism legal framework

As mentioned earlier, terrorism has long been a security concern for Romania. As a result, its AT/CT legal framework started to develop in the early 1960s, and, as expected, has undergone some changes after 9/11, as demanded by the new security environment, Romania's determination to join the international arena in averting, countering, and combating terrorism, as well as by the requirements of NATO/EU membership. Post 9/11 legislation stipulates, besides other provisions, increased anti-terrorism powers and responsibilities for the security sector, and heightened cooperation.

A few of the most relevant AT/CT laws include: all thirteen United Nations (UN) conventions on combating terrorism; UN Security Council Resolutions 1540 (on arm proliferation and ballistic missiles), 1566 (against international terrorism) and 1373 (which set up the Anti-Terrorism Committee); Government Emergency Ordinance 141/2001; Government Emergency Ordinance 159/2001; Law 51/1991 on National Security; Romanian Penal Code; Law 14/1992 (which assigned SRI the main roles and mission with regard to terrorism prevention and countering); Law on the approval of the Government Emergency 1/1999 on the state of siege and state of

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[2] *Terrorist organizations have had active cells in Romania since Nicolae Ceausescu's tightly controlled regime: Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, Hizbullah, Party of Islamic Freedom; Palestinian Liberation Front; The Abu Nidal Organisation (aka the Fatah Revolutionary Council Kurdistan Workers' Party – PKK), Grey Wolves, Revolutionary People's Liberation Front - (DHKP-C), Al Saika.*

[3] *The Muslim/Arab population in Romania is better integrated than in other countries, and, there is a warm relationship between Romania and Arab and Muslim world going back to the Cold War.*

emergency; Law 535/2004 on preventing and combating terrorism; Law 42/2004 on the armed forces' participation in missions outside Romanian territory; Methodology of the organization and execution of counter-terrorism intervention of 2006; Strategy of information communication on the prevention and limitation of a terrorist risk and terrorist crisis situation, of 2007; other strategies, doctrines, and rules.

3.2   Romania's national system on preventing and combating terrorism

Given the multifarious, easily adjustable, network-style nature of the terrorist groups, it became clear to the Romanian security decision makers that effectively fighting terrorism definitely not be the job of one agency, but rather, the outcome of a concerted action of a variety of security institutions. In this context, in 2001, the National Supreme Defense Council (CSAT), as the strategic coordinator of anti-terrorism strategies and policies, designated the SRI the nation's main authority (technical coordinator) in AT/CT activities. The SRI is hence authorized to conduct independently or, if needed, in cooperation and coordination with other security forces, anti-, counter- and combating terrorism operations (Craciun, 2006; Bogdan, 2006). During the same year, the SRI had established a Department for Preventing and Combating Terrorism (DPCT), featuring a Center of Counter-Terrorist Operational Coordination (CCOA) as a permanent technical coordinator of the interacting agencies within the National System on Preventing and Combating Terrorism (SNPCT) – an integrated structure focusing on prevention and co-untering terrorist threats, which was, at that time, pending becoming operational (Matei, 2007b).[4] The CCOA is charged with collection, analysis, and field intervention (Matei, 2007b). In 2002 a National Strategy on Preventing and Combating Terrorism was adopted, which regulates the roles of all security institutions, together with a General Protocol on the organization and functioning of the SNPCT.[5] The SNPCT became fully[6] operational in 2005 after the CSAT's adoption of a Regulation on the Organization and Functioning of the CCOA.[7] The SNPCT is tasked with preventing and combating terrorism via consultative, cooperative and collaborative efforts with additional security agencies in Romania and foreign counterparts abroad.[8]

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[4]   *The system comprises the following agencies: CSAT; all security forces; Prosecutor's Office attached to the High Court of Cassation and Justice; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Economy and Commerce; Ministry of Agriculture, Forrest and Rural Development; Ministry of Environment and Water Management; Ministry of Transport, Building and Tourism; Ministry of Health; Ministry of Communication and Information; Ministry of Technology; Ministry of Public Finance; Ministry of European Integration; Ministry of Justice; Romania's National Bank; National Agency for Exports Control; National Office for Preventing and Countering Money Laundering; National Commission for the Control of Nuclear Activities. Profil, no. 8, August 2005, pp. 1-36, www.sri.ro, pp. 1-36 (February 02, 2007).*

[5]   *http://www.sri.ro/categorii/23/antiterorism--contraterorism.html; 2008, 'Activitatea Naţională de Prevenire şi Combatere a Terorismului', Intelligence, no. 11, May, www.sri.ro; '24 Decembrie. Ziua Luptatorului Antiterorist', Intelligence, no. 14, December 2008 - February 2009, pp. 43-45, www.sri.ro, (November 10, 2009).*

[6]   *The System had been partially operational since 2004, with the enactment of Law 535/2004 that stipulates the roles and institutions in the SNPCT. http://www.sri.ro/categorii/23/antiterorism--contraterorism.html; 'Activitatea Naţională de Prevenire şi Combatere a Terorismului', Intelligence, no. 11, May 2008, www.sri.ro.*

[7]   *http://www.sri.ro/categorii/23/antiterorism--contraterorism.html; 'Activitatea Naţională de Prevenire şi Combatere a Terorismului', Intelligence, no. 11, May 2008, www.sri.ro, (November 10, 2009).*

[8]   *For details on the wide spectrum of roles and missions of the System, see: http://www.sri.ro/categorii/23/antiterorism--contraterorism.html; 'Activitatea Naţională de Prevenire şi Combatere a Terorismului', Intelligence, no. 11, May 2008, www.sri.ro, (November 10, 2009).*

Each SNPCT component has as well undergone transformation in view of better tackling the vagaries of the world's current security landscape. This paper will further dwell upon the transformation of the security forces' specific anti-terrorism roles, missions, and capabilities.

Romanian Intelligence Service (SRI). As previously stated, AT/CT transformation after 9/11 has started with SRI's becoming the anti-terrorism leader in the country. Its Department for Preventing and Combating Terrorism (DPCT) is the coordinator of Romania's domestic AT/CT efforts, charged with the integrated planning, organization, implementation and execution of all activities involving the prevention, detection, and annihilation of terrorist activities and actions in the country (Vaduva, 2005). Its intelligence component is charged with collection and analysis on all national security risks, challenges and threats, including terrorism.[9] DGPCT's operational component, the AT Brigade (BA), created on the ruins of Securitate's former Special Unit for Fighting Terrorism (USLA), ensures the AT protection of Romanian and foreign dignitaries, and conducts AT/CT operations in venues under attack or seized by terrorists, being capable to deploy and execute ground, air, and maritime missions everywhere in Romania within two-and-a-half hours (Matei, 2007b).[10]

Foreign Intelligence Service (SIE): The SIE ensures the collection, assessment, and dissemination of relevant threat development (including terrorism) outside Romania's territory, as well as field intervention.[11] It established an elite intervention unit, trained in the U.S. at Delta bases, and in Great Britain at SAS facilities, which specializes in possible interventions outside Romanian territory, including freeing hostages and ensuring the guard and protection of embassies abroad (Matei, 2007b). After 9/11, the SIE also underwent a transformation and reorganization process, following the model of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Guard and Protection Service (SPP): The SPP is Romania's agency charged with the guarding and protection of the life and personal integrity of the President, as well as other Romanian and foreign diplomats and leaders. It has collection, analysis, and field intervention responsibilities and capabilities. Its Anti-Terrorist Intervention Section (SIAT) is charged with the prevention and countering of terrorist risks, challenges, and attacks aimed at the persons/facilities the SPP is safeguarding.[12]

Ministry of Defense: Romania's Armed Forces are integral part of the SNTP; since the end of the Cold War and especially after the terrorist attacks in the US and Europe, its anti-terrorist units have embarked upon an systematic transformation, to adjust to the new security threats effectively, and become more interoperable with NATO/

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[9]   *http://www.sri.ro/categorii/23/antiterorism--contraterorism.html, (December 17, 2009).*

[10]   *http://www.sri.ro/categorii/23/antiterorism--contraterorism.html, (December 17, 2009).*

[11]   *http://www.dci.ro/En/Arhiva/interviu3.html, (December, 15, 2009).*

[12]   *'Trupe Speciale la Brasov', Ziua, http://stiri.kappa.ro/actualitate/03-10-2006/trupe-speciale-la-brasov-107161. html; http://www.spp.ro/misiuni.htm; http://www.spp.ro/orgchart.htm, (December 20, 2009).*

EU similar structures. The Armed Forces' AT/CT contribution involves intelligence, operational, and combat actions (and adjacent support).

First, MOD's General Directorate for Defense Intelligence (DGIA) ensures the military intelligence: the collection, processing, assessment, analysis, storing and utilization of information and data on all security risks, challenges, and threats (military and non-military, domestic and international), which impact Romania's security from the perspective of national defense; counterintelligence activities; the protection of national, NATO and EU classified information within the MOD; and combat and field interventions and operations (Savu, 2009). It contributes with Liaison Officers (HUMINT)[13] and analysis to the various UN, NATO or EU operations (Rotaru, 2009). The DGIA makes Romania one of the few NATO members to have an Integrated Multisource Collection Capability (IMCC), which receives information from theaters of operation as well as from operational and strategic sources, and uses HUMINT, IMINT, MASINT, and SIGINT (Matei, 2007b). These capabilities have also been used for preventing and combating maritime terrorism at the Black Sea (Rotaru, 2009). The DGIA has recently developed a functional cyberintelligence (CYBERINT) structure, charged with the surveillance and collection from cyberspace, aimed to prevent and stop any malicious, hostile and deceptive cyberthreats or cyberattacks to Romania's security (Botos, 2009). Its overall 'INT' capabilities, coupled with the recently adopted system of communications monitoring through satellite (MONSAT) (Matei, 2009a) make the DGIA an effective intelligence with regard to asymmetrical threats, including terrorism.

Second, various MOD components have developed modern, NATO interoperable AT/CT intervention capabilities and task forces. The DGIA has a Rapid Intervention Detachment (DIR), charged with: guarding and protection of MOD facilities, assets, leaders, and personnel, both in Romania and abroad (including those in the theaters of operations); technical AT control and CT actions and intervention (in cooperation with its SNPCT counterparts); and guarding and protection of all foreign military facilities and personnel operating on the Romanian territory (Savu, 2009; Dragomir, 2008; Rotaru, 2009). The MOD General Staff has a Special Operation Force (SOF) Battalion, 'Vulturii' for out-of-area operations under NATO or Multinational Forces command (Matei, 2007b). The SOF have a land component (e.g. the 1st SF Battalion and disparate assets [reconnaissance, paratroopers, infantry, mountain troops, NBC, engineers, communications, psychological operations, and logistical support]), a supporting air component (e.g. fighters, bombers, transportation aircraft etc.), as well as a supporting naval component (e.g. SEAL-type elements, and transportation boats) (Cucu, 2004). Its combating terrorism operations encompass hostage rescue, recovery or capture of sensitive material, and the targeting of terrorist organization infrastructure (Dobocan, 2004). The Navy has two NATO certified SEALS Detachments[14], whose

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[13] *DGIA has a HUMINT battalion. "Batalionul HUMINT la 5 ani de la infiintare", http://www.stirilocale.ro/ Batalionul_Humint_la_5_ani_de_la_infiintare_IDN9878.html, (December 21, 2009).*

[14] *The Detachment of Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) Divers, and, the Special Operation Force Naval Detachment Alpha 1 (DNFOS 1).*

main AT/CT duties involve defending anchoring places and deep water routes, mine detection and demining, defending oil drilling platforms, and preventing underwater diversions (Craciun, 2006; Parvu, 2006; Rus, 2007). The DNFOS conduct sea, air and land missions, any time and in any place, and comprise combat incursion divers and command officers, and is part of the Special Operations Force Naval Group (GNFOS) (Rus, 2007; Parvu, 2006; Martinescu, 2008).[15] They are multi-tasking, in that, besides divers, they are paratroopers, mountain troops, scouts, and snipers.[16] The Marines have the Infantry Battalion, an intervention unit that conducts commando operations, reconnaissance actions, and other.[17]

Third, additional AT/CT efforts reside in the following: Air Force support to CT intervention (e.g. personnel transportation to the immediate proximity of the risk region, combat support, evacuation, etc.); Navy contribution with data and information, transportation to the target, and in certain circumstances, combat support; and Army contribution with infantry battalions (e.g. paratroopers, mountaineers), military police, NBC, engineers, EOD, as well as logistic and medical support (Craciun, 2006; Bogdan, 2006).

Ministry of Administration and Internal Affairs: The MIRA has developed intelligence capabilities and AT/CT intervention teams. The General Directorate for Intelligence and Internal Security (DGIPI) is MIRA's intelligence unit which does collection and analysis on terrorist threats and organized crime (Matei, 2007b). Gendarmerie has a Special Intervention Brigade, 'Vlad Tepes', charged with countering serious and violent street crimes and terrorist activities (hostage rescuing, counter-terrorist operations, sensitive objectives protection, etc.).[18] The Brigade was named after the notorious king Vlad Tepes, whose reign was crime-free, due to the strong hand of his rule. 'Vlad Tepes' features, among others, the Special Protection and Intervention Group 'Acvila', which handles protection of dignitaries protection (especially those who received death threats), special police intervention (against individual or organized criminals), and AT/CT intervention (in cooperation with other CT structures).[19] The Border Police has the Security Rapid Intervention Force (SASI) that fights organized crime and terrorism at the border area.[20]

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[15] *http://www.navy.ro/media/rmr/rmr119.pdf, (December 20, 2009); Marina Romana, Special Edition, no. 2 (132) 2009.*

[16] *Discussion with Romanian MOD officers.*

[17] *Observatorul Militar, no. 19 (May 20–26, 2009); Revista Marina, no. 5 (127) 2008, Marina Romana, Special Edition, no. 2 (132) 2009.*

[18] *'Bataie cu jandarmii in Piata Charles de Gaulle', Ziua Online, March 3, 2008, http://www.ziua.net/news. php?data=2008-03-03&id=4119, (December 19, 2009).*

[19] *http://romanianspecialforces.com/acvila.html; 'Acvila' va functiona in cadrul Brigazii Speciale de Interventie a Jandarmeriei', March 16, 2009, http://www.frontnews.ro/social-si-economic/eveniment/luptatorii-acvila-ameninta-cu-demisia-o-unitate-de-elita-nu-poate-lucra-cu-birocratie-26878; 'Luptatorii "Acvila" ameninta cu demisia: O unitate de elita nu poate lucra cu birocratie', http://www.frontnews.ro/social-si-economic/eveniment/luptatorii-acvila-ameninta-cu-demisia-o-unitate-de-elita-nu-poate-lucra-cu-birocratie-26878; 'Trupe Speciale la Brasov', Ziua, http://stiri.kappa.ro/actualitate/03-10-2006/trupe-speciale-la-brasov-107161.html, (December 20, 2009).*

[20] *http://torun.indymedia.org/4564; http://www.igpr.ro/siias.htm (December 20, 2009).*

Special Telecommunications Service (STS): The STS organizes and coordinates the lawful telecommunications activities for Romania's public authorities and other users. The institution performs SIGINT functions. With regard to combating terrorism, STS implemented the European emergency call number 1-1-2 in Romania (Matei, 2007b).

3.3 Combating terrorism is 'everyone's business'

3.3.1 Domestic efforts

The CSAT is the main coordinator of Romania's security activity. In line with CSAT's directives, policies, and protocols, and in compliance with a series of interagency cooperation and coordination rules, laws and regulations, all components of the SNPCT have established coordination and cooperation agreements among themselves, with other security institutions, and with international counterparts. In addition, they have also established avenues of communication, information and collaboration with representatives of civil society. All these have paved the way toward information and intelligence sharing, common education and training, mutual support (with regard to personnel, education and training), and joint field and combat operations.

The CSAT issued a cooperation protocol among all security institutions to enable information and intelligence sharing (Matei, 2007b; Matei, 2009a). The intelligence agencies have additional specific protocols on sharing, protection of classified information, SIGINT, and monitoring satellite communications (Savu, 2009). Anti-terrorist brigades and intervention units of the anti-terrorist system are training together,[21] exchange personnel (Tudor, 2002a; Martinescu, 2008)[22], and act together (Craciun, 2006; Bogdan, 2006; Savu, 2009; Dragomir, 2008; Rotaru, 2009)[23] under the SRI's coordination.

Since "security is everyone's business", the security organizations (including intelligence) have also established communications and information avenues with the civilian decision makers (executive and legislative members), civil society (NGOs, media, think tanks, and academia representatives), and even directly with the population (schools, high schools, and even kindergartens), aiming, on the one hand, at informing the population on the threats and challenges posed by terrorism to Romania's security, explaining their capabilities to protect the citizens, and, on

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[21] *MIRA, SRI, SPP have common CT exercises. They also invite other Romanian counterparts and foreign guests; in 2006 they invited FBI agents operating in Romania, Israel military attaché in Romania, DIICOT personnel etc. 'Trupe Speciale la Brasov', Ziua, http://stiri.kappa.ro/actualitate/03-10-2006/trupe-speciale-la-brasov-107161.html; Likewise, AT/CT intervention teams of SRI, MOD, MIRA have specific common naval AT/CT training. http://www.cronicaromana.ro/stiri-58.html, (December 20, 2009).*

[22] *SRI DA assists SPP with AT protection of officials, whenever they face terrorist threats. Some SPP personnel come from the Marines' Infantry Battalion.*

[23] *With regard to AT intervention, for example, when MOD targets are involved, the main units operating are DIR, SOF 'Vulturii' Battalion, and (GNFOS), but only in cooperation with the SRI and, if needed, with other security forces. If the target is a vessel, hijacked by terrorists within the territorial waters, intervention is ensured by SRI' unit and MOD, under SRI's command, while if the target is outside territorial waters, MOD forces could intervene, but only with CSAT approval. The MOD, MIRA and SRI have also cooperated in ensuring protection and guard activities for rotation the foreign troop in the Balkans theaters.*

the other hand, encouraging the citizens to alert the security agencies on potential terrorist threats. Round tables, seminars, meetings, visits to education facilities are but a few efforts in this context, undertaken by the intelligence agencies (and even their anti-terrorist intervention units) (Matei, 2007b).[24] These endeavors seem to have served their purposes; not only have the citizens become more aware of the terrorist threats to Romania's national, regional and international security, but they have also become more willing to notify the security institutions on threats. As former SIE director Ioan Talpes noted, much of the information that contributed to averting and combating terrorist threats in Romania came from the populace (Diac, 2004).

3.3.2 International outreach and cooperation

Romania has also been an active supporter of the global efforts aimed to deny terrorists and terrorist groups the oxygen of evil doing. To this end, immediately after 9/11, Romania fully supported NATO's decision on the implementation of Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, allowed U.S. aircraft to utilize its airspace for combat actions in Afghanistan, contributed military troops, police and intelligence personnel for NATO's missions in Kosovo and Afghanistan, joined the Coalition of the willing in Iraq, and dynamically engaged in the myriad global, regional and subregional collaborative AT/CT enterprises (Matei, 2009a; Diac, 2007).[25]

Within the UN, NATO, EU, the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL), etc., as well as within various international networks of countering terrorist financing (e.g. Egmont Group), Romania's security agencies have been active participants and positive forces in supporting security and security cooperation (Matei, 2007b; Matei, 2009a). In South Eastern Europe (SEE), Romania has been participating in a variety of either bilateral or subregional collective security initiatives and institutions, including the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI) Center for Combating Trans-Border Crime, European Network and Information Security Agency (ENSIA), European Police Office (EUROPOL), International Bomb Data Center, Balkan Communication Network, numerous Black Sea cooperative initiatives, the Brdo Process, the Regional Arms Control Verification and Implementation Assistance Center (RACVIAC), and others (Matei, 2007b; Matei, 2008; Matei, 2009a).

As intelligence agencies are first in line of AT/CT defense, and from the premise of 'fighting networks with networks', Romania's intelligence agencies have established specific intelligence sharing and exchange mechanisms with foreign partners, on information sharing, mutual support (including financial, acquisitions and procurement), visits, and joint training (Matei, 2007b; Matei, 2009a). SIE, SRI and

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[24] Relevant is the campaign "Terrorism … Near Us" of the SRI (which also involves its AT Brigade). MIRA's intervention units also go to kindergartens and schools to explain their capabilities (Source: discussion with Romanian police officers, 2009).

[25] Apart from combat troops, Romania's contribution encompasses AT/CT and intelligence units, as follows: in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, with National Intelligence Cells (RONIC), police personnel and divers of the Marines' Infantry Battalion; in Afghanistan, with a Detachment of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, and SOF; and in Iraq, with a Military Intelligence Detachment.

SPP intervention teams, either based on bilateral agreements, or under the umbrella of the previously-mentioned collective security organizations, have participated in numerous common training programs and exercises with U.S., French, and U.K. counterparts. DIR has been actively participating in all NATO and non-NATO anti-terrorist exercises organized by the Romanian Armed Forces, joint exercises with the 1st Battalion/10th Special Forces Group (Airborne), U.S. Special Operations Command Europe, or with Bulgarian and Serbian counterparts (on border and counter-terrorism issues) (Olaru, 2009).

With regard to the armed forces AT/CT cooperation, besides the Romania's military participation in NATO exercises, relevant, too, are the naval operations 'NATO Active Endeavour' and 'Black Sea Harmony', which brought together various South Eastern European countries (Craciun, 2006), and the effective counter-terrorism simulations within the South Eastern Europe Defense Ministerial (SEDM) (Prezelj, 2008).

On the same note, within the framework of EUROPOL, besides cooperation with EU members, Romania's law enforcement agencies cooperate and share information with counterparts from various countries and organizations, including countries from SEE countries that are not members of the EU (e.g. Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Turkey) (Matei, 2008). Likewise, within the SECI Center's Anti-Terrorism Task Force Romania's law enforcement agencies have been cooperating with SEE counterparts, through regular meetings, as well as information and experience exchange and sharing.[26] It is also worth mentioning Romania's MIRA AT/CT brigades joint training and exchange of expertise with international counterparts, especially from Germany.

3.4 Analysis of Romania's anti-terrorism effectiveness: challenges and accomplishments

Romania has implemented dramatic changes in its security system since the end of Communism and accession to NATO and the EU to better fight current security threats, including terrorism. Yet, these changes did not happen overnight; they involved a lot of work, efforts, and willingness, and had to face a series of challenges.

First is the challenge of time: it takes time to build professionalism and expertise. With regard to intelligence, for example, the purge of former Securitate personnel (mainly those involved in abuses and transgressions during the communist regime) from the post-communist agencies left a vacuum of expertise in the new structures. Recruiting, educating and training new collection agents, analysts and even intervention personnel has been an onerous process (Matei, 2007a; Matei, 2007b). In the same context, since expertise requires time to build, some of the AT/CT units have become operational and interoperable after a few years since establishment, while others are yet to be fully operational.

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[26] http://www.secicenter.org/p263/Anti_Terrorism_Task_Force, (January 11, 2010).

Second, parts of the legal framework on security are obsolete, enacted when Romania was not a member of any regional collective security organization, and was surrounded by a different geopolitical context, in which the terrorist threat was not as high as now; these have also obstructed the modernization of some security agencies, including AT/CT transformation (Matei, 2009b).

Third, resources and resource allocation are essential in achieving effectiveness (Bruneau and Matei, 2008). Some special intervention units are still in need of up-to-date equipment and assets. For example, parts of the deep sea diving techniques within the Military Divers Center where DNFOS and EOD detachments are trained is thirty years old and needed to be replaced a while ago; due to limited resources, upgrading of the technique has been incremental (Martinescu, 2008).

Fourth, and most important, even with a rather solid legal framework for cooperation, developing security cooperation (including in the field of anti-terrorism) in Romania has been cumbersome, due to agencies' rigidified bureaucratic environment (which has delayed and/or hindered information sharing and collaboration), too many intelligence agencies (which fueled dishonest competition and rivalry among agencies, because of redundancy and overlapping roles and missions), politicization, and political infighting (Matei, 2009a). Security and intelligence cooperation/collaboration is still an issue, in that some agencies still prefer bilateral approaches, while others are still reluctant to share information, especially in a multilateral format, unless a crisis comes up.[27]

Fifth, Cooperation at the international level was also difficult at first; Romania remained isolated from the West, as many NATO and Western counterparts were reluctant to share information with Romanian intelligence personnel who had previously worked for the Securitate and remained employed by the agencies after the regime change in December 1989 (Matei, 2009a). In addition, AT/CT cooperation among the countries of South Eastern Europe (including Romania) has been hampered by a series of discrepancies in terms of country development, institution-building, and European and Euro-Atlantic integration; hence different paces of security sector reform (SSR) and transformation, different counter-terrorism and organized crime legislation, resources, capabilities, methods, and equipment (Matei, 2008).

Sixth, and related to the previous point, problematic too, could be the existence of too many intervention units, which may, at a minimum, become a bureaucratic burden, due to potential overlapping and duplication of responsibilities and missions.

Seventh, the security institutions, in particular intelligence agencies, have been the subjects of various media scandals due to negligence (e.g. avoiding to monitor a Romanian businessman of Syrian origin, charged with terrorism, who later disappeared), malfeasance (using terrorism prevention to wiretap innocent people), leak of classified information (e.g. information involving AT/CT issues), and politicization;

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[27] *Discussions with intelligence, military and police personnel.*

these practices have affected the overall security reform process, which also impacted the AT/CT transformation (Matei, 2007a; Matei, 2007b; Matei, 2009a; Matei, 2009b).

In time, Romania's security agencies have been able to overcome these challenges and, through elaborated transformation endeavors in terms of personnel, structure, organization, resources, and acquisitions, become more effective and more network-like, both internally and abroad. Romania's counter-terrorism forces have transformed their AT/CT collectors and analysts, revamped and strengthened the interoperability of their intervention and combat units (especially as a result of NATO/EU membership), and deployed professional teams in the theaters, capable of effectively predicting, averting, and countering concrete security risk factors and crises (Matei, 2007b; Matei, 2009a).

At the domestic level stand out the numerous AT/CT cases of effectiveness[28], a direct outcome of the robust security transformation, on the one hand, and of improved collaborative[29] actions of the intelligence agencies, police, and other security organizations, seconded by Romania's willingness to contribute to the international conjugated efforts to stave off terrorism (Matei, 2007b; Matei, 2007a). At the international level (especially in Iraq and Afghanistan), stand out Romania's effective HUMINT, IMINT and GEOINT capabilities within hostile operational environments (Matei, 2007b). Romania's professionalism and expertise has led to the establishment in Romania (as a NATO decision) of a NATO HUMINT Center of Excellence (COE), which ensures HUMINT training, participates in NATO documents development, and other issues related to NATO standardization process (Medar, 2009; Savu, 2009). In addition, SPP officers have proved professionalism in conducting guard and protection missions of various UN officials in Sudan, Iraq and Afghanistan, which may lead to the creation of a center of excellence (both training and research and development) in Romania, in support of UN activities (Matei, 2009a).

On the other hand, to overcome challenges to the democratization of the security forces (e.g. intelligence), and prevent the use of 'terrorism prevention' as a pretext for abuses, the Romanian authorities, whether pressured by the civil society and international partners, or following their own will to change, have institutionalized processes to support both the effectiveness of the security agencies, as well transparency and democratic control (Bruneau and Matei, 2010).

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[28] *Cases solved include: in 2005, annihilation of an Islamic radical group of five al-Qaeda members, which had recruited new followers in Romania and tried to recruit foreign citizens of the Muslim religion; in 2006, the apprehension of a Jordanian suspected of allegiance to the Muslim Brothers group; in 2006, arresting in Timisoara a bomb plot suspect suspected of affiliation to several terrorist organizations and planning to stage a terror attack in response to the close U.S.–Romania relationship '24 Decembrie. Ziua Luptatorului Antiterorist', Intelligence, no. 14, December 2008 – February 2009, pp. 43-45, www.sri.ro, (November 10, 2009).*

[29] *Notable are the expedite information and intelligence sharing via a common data based used by all security institutions, and the CSAT-created National Intelligence Community (CNI) set up to foster interagency cooperation and coordination.*

Conclusion   Terrorism is omnipresent and no country (Romania included) is exempt from its threats and challenges; as former SRI Director Radu Timofte once stated, "Al-Qaeda does not wear a 'visitor' badge when present in one country or another".[30] Events like 9/11 were not isolated, one-time, singular actions, but part of a progressive chain of vitriolic terrorist attacks (Madrid, London, Istanbul, Sharm el Sheikh, Mumbai, Bombay, and others). Romania has been a vehement opponent of terrorism and terrorist attacks, as well as an active participant in the international endeavors to curb it.

Since the regime change in 1989, and especially after the terrorist attacks in the United States in 2001, Romania has embarked upon a comprehensive reform and transformation process aimed on the one hand at the democratization of its security forces, and, on the other hand, at their effectiveness in fighting the post-Cold War security threats and challenges, including terrorism. In time and after having totally or partially overcome a number of challenges, Romania's security forces are now full and effective contributors to the international fight against terrorism, at national and international levels, as follows: capabilities of collection, analysis, dissemination of relevant and timely information to the national and international decision makers; assets and capabilities of effective AT/CT intervention; team players and professionals in the CT coalitions within various theaters of operations. Their professionalism and effectiveness in the joint fight of terrorism has been repeatedly recognized by foreign counterparts (Matei, 2007b). Based on the principle of indivisible and cooperative security, Romania's security forces (with intelligence in the first line) will continue their involvement in the international and regional efforts to stop terrorism.

In South Eastern Europe, Romania is well linked with other SEE countries (which share similar security concerns and challenges) in the fight against terrorism, through several cooperative mechanisms, ranging from bilateral agreements and subregional arrangements, to regional organizations and alliances. The Romanian security forces' profuse connection with SEE countries involves, on the other hand, habitual meetings, experience and information sharing avenues, common education, training, and exercises on anti-, counter-, and combating terrorism issues, and, on the other hand, joint AT/CT interventions and missions. Effective AT/CT responses in SEE are due, besides others, to the Romanian security forces' contribution, too.

Admittedly, challenges have tested and will keep testing South Eastern Europe's security cooperation. Yet, despite any present or future challenges, SEE's fight against terrorism will continue to benefit from Romania's important geostrategic position, good relations with its neighbors and other regional partners, and reliable AT/CT capabilities. Romania's security forces will strengthen their AT/CT contribution to NATO, EU (EUROPOL) and the SECI Center, will maintain and improve bilateral and trilateral cooperation and information sharing with those SEE countries that are not (yet) NATO/EU members (while supporting and assisting the membership efforts of SEE NATO/EU aspirant countries), and will deepen cooperation at the Black Sea.

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[30] *'Radu Timofte: "Al-Qaeda nu poarta ecuson de "vizitator"', http://www.phg.ro/stire.php?id=4608&cat_id=10, (December 20, 2009).*

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Edin Hasanspahić

VOJAŠKI OBVEŠČEVALNI SISTEM BOSNE IN HERCEGOVINE V OBVEŠČEVALNEM SODELOVANJU IN PROTITERORIZMU

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN INTELLIGENCE COLLABORATION AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

Povzetek   Bosna in Hercegovina je država v tranziciji in izvaja reforme v varnostnem in obrambnem sistemu. Reforma obrambnega sistema se uresničuje na najboljši mogoči način. Ta članek prikazuje vlogo vojaškega obveščevalnega sistema v protiterorizmu in poudarja pomembnost oblikovanja učinkovitega sistema sodelovanja in povezovanja med obveščevalnimi ustanovami v Bosni in Hercegovini ter potrebo po sodelovanju med državami zahodnega Balkana in širše. Vojaški obveščevalni sistem Bosne in Hercegovine je sestavni del obveščevalne skupnosti v Bosni in Hercegovini in je zelo pomemben v boju proti mednarodnemu terorizmu. Članek poudarja tudi potrebo po oblikovanju skupnih institucij za usklajevanje protiterorističnih dejavnosti kot največji izziv pri nepredvidljivih grožnjah. Poudarja, analizira in daje priporočila v štirih glavnih in uspešnih kategorijah v sistemu boja proti terorizmu v Bosni in Hercegovini ter na zahodnem Balkanu: vojaški obveščevalni sistem in njegova vloga, vojaško obveščevalno sodelovanje in izmenjava obveščevalnih podatkov, strategija protiterorizma v Bosni in Hercegovini in vizija ter priporočila za učinkovito spopadanje s terorizmom v prihodnje.

Ključne besede   *Protiterorizem, sodelovanje in usklajevanje vojaških obveščevalnih služb (MI), varnostne grožnje.*

Abstract   Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) is a country in transition and reform of security and defense system. Reform of defense system is realized in the best possible way. This article shows the role of Military intelligence system in counter-terrorism and emphasizes the importance of establishing an efficient system of cooperation and coordination between intelligence institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as the need for cooperation between the countries of the Western Balkan region and beyond. The military intelligence system of Bosnia and Herzegovina is an integral part of the intelligence community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and as such it is very important in the fight against international terrorism. This article also stresses the

need to build common institutions for coordination of activities in counter-terrorism as the biggest challenge and unpredictable threat. It emphasizes, analyzes and provides recommendations in four major and successful categories in the counter-terrorism system in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Western Balkans: military-intelligence system and its role, military intelligence cooperation and exchange of intelligence; strategy of counter-terrorism in Bosnia and Herzegovina and vision and recommendations for the effective fight against terrorism in the future.

Key words   *Counter-terrorism, MI cooperation and coordination, security threats.*

Introduction   As a starting point for anti-terrorism activities of the International Community, in the beginning of the 21st century the assessment of terrorism is getting a transnational dimension, and countries with weak administration systems, ethnic, cultural, and religious differences, tensions, scarce economy and porous boundaries provide a suitable ground for terrorist actions. In such countries, local terrorist groups or individuals dealing with terrorists present a big challenge for governmental structures since they attempt to link with transnational terrorist networks seeking strongholds and suitable ground for taking action. The age of globalization and information systems enable terrorist network to spread worldwide in form of smaller operational groups in order to be efficiently associated with daily communication and global function, applying selective targeting method.

The region of South Eastern Europe, Western Balkans and Bosnia and Herzegovina suffers from war events that occurred at the end of the 20th century. The Western Balkans have a specific geo-strategic position that gives them great importance in Europe and the world. The natural paths across the Western Balkans connect the East and the West. There are also many historical, cultural, ethnic and religious differences, and all of them placed a great burden on this area throughout the history. Interests of major powers in this region were permanently present and were opposite of each other. All these differences led to the culmination of the security situation, which turned into a rat. At that point there comes the expansion of the influence on the region from all over the world. As a result of such influence in the region and in Bosnia and Herzegovina it came to different phenomena and activities which were hard to prevent. People in Bosnia and Herzegovina could not prevent such unwanted consequences of influence, primarily due to political and military interests of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the strong political influence from the outside. Post-war time was very burdened with war events and was indoctrinated with different external influences, which led to the development of infectious ideology of conflict in religious interpretations. Bosnia and Herzegovina is now faced with a difficult situation: without a clear political vision for a democratic future by political leaders, without the necessary legislation, without adequate and organized political, security, military, social and economic systems with porous, inefficient borders, burdened with a very strong influence from outside. All that benefits to a very fragile security situation and

the development of various influences and activities that are of great detriment to the development of democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Infectious ideology and religious ideological campaign lead to the development of competing radical beliefs on both the political and security plan that also allow the creation of imported radical groups associated with local extreme groups. The ideology of such groups has been directed against U.S. and Western democracies with a tendency to be more involved in all segments of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. With the help of the international community, especially the U.S., very soon after the war very successful reform of defense system in Bosnia and Herzegovina was established. One Army is organized at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the intelligence and security agencies are formed at the state level, legislation is established, equipping and education is successfully implemented, NATO and EU standards and requirements are effectively adopted. All these measures and activities within the intelligence and security community in Bosnia and Herzegovina contribute to building an effective security environment. Coordination and cooperation with European regional and global intelligence-security systems contribute to compatibility and interoperability as well as the realization of common objectives in the fight against modern security threats and challenges. Successful reform of the defense system has resulted in the admission of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the PfP. Currently, all defense/military requirements for admission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to NATO are filled, but there lacks a political will to successfully complete the process. Successful reform of defense system guarantees that there is no danger of terrorism in the structure of defense, there are very effective measures for terrorism protection, and there are no indications that the defense structures have any connections with terrorist groups. There also exists a very efficient system of data protection, installations, personnel and activities of terrorist influence. An efficient system of vetting personnel in the defense system has been developed that is compatible with NATO standards and requirements. Personnel education contributes to the development of an efficient system of counter-terrorism and there are organs and units whose task is the prevention and fight against terrorism at all levels of the defense system. The whole defense system has been established to be effective as a part of NATO and EU security and defense structures. The aim of this paper is the inter-agency, regional and international cooperation and coordination of intelligence agencies in terms of taking measures and activities to prevent and combat terrorism. Cooperation between defense ministries in fighting terrorism presents a narrower segment of counter-terrorism since there are various authorities within each country that operate against terrorism, such as the Ministry of the Interior (the police), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, intelligence services, administrations or agencies for civil protection and disaster relief, etc. There are many initiatives in the region which bring the countries closer in the area of security. Among them are those which mainly provide political cooperation as well as those which mainly provide operational cooperation. Only some of them address terrorism or counter-terrorism in addition to other goals. Thus, there are no fully specialized initiatives for regional counter-terrorist cooperation. Cooperation in the field of counter-terrorism involves comparative,

efficient and simultaneous influence and action of all security agencies in one state with other states and other countries in the region and beyond. The military intelligence (MI) system of Bosnia and Herzegovina is taking the necessary measures within the intelligence community in Bosnia and Herzegovina and complementary intelligence services of neighboring countries and NATO. These activities relate primarily to MI bilateral cooperation with neighboring countries and NATO states, the exchange of intelligence information, exchange of experience, personnel training, equipping of MI staff, the creation of common databases, etc. The MI system has an effective system of internal cooperation and communication. In other words, cooperation and coordination among the military intelligence agencies and units is very effective. Within Bosnia and Herzegovina, the MI system realizes the cooperation with intelligence and security agencies, the Ministry of Security, Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Internal Affairs. The MI cooperation has been established with MI agencies of neighboring states as well as with NATO. Key factors in counter-terrorism within the MI system are MI organs and units at all levels of the military structure. At the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the main players for the counter-terrorism are: the Ministry of Security with the following composition: the State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA) – the Bosnian agency with primary responsibility for counter- terrorist operations; the Border Police and Interpol. Also, at the state level there exists a military security agency (OSA) the primary goal of which is the collection of intelligence data about all threats that involve B&H security, including global security threats – terrorism. At lower levels of government (entities, Brcko District, cantons) there are counter-terrorism bodies which are very committed to international cooperation to effectively combat terrorism. All in all, at present Bosnia and Herzegovina has an efficient system of counter-terrorism and protection. An indicator of this is that there have been no significant terrorist threats and actions. According to official documents and relevant institutions in B&H, there are no organized cells and networks of terrorists in the territory of B&H. In the future, the security system will continue to develop and strengthen in terms of an adequate response and prevention of security threats, risks and challenges. The important factors of stability in the Western Balkans and Bosnia and Herzegovina are certainly representatives of international community, as well as its agencies and organizations.

1 INTELLIGENCE

Intelligence is a crucial element of national power supporting B&H foreign policy, and military intelligence underscores this relationship in the B&H pursuit of future defense and collective security partnerships. This country, however, can ill-afford to establish 'Intelligence' for its own sake – operating as a policing mechanism as in past security environments. Our security environment has changed. Today, B&H faces new challenges, shared by most nations, in which intelligence is the core element in countering new forms of international terrorism, organized crime, while providing support for new military alliances and partnerships. In this context, cooperation amongst domestic and foreign intelligence agencies is of vital importance. Intelligence is

information but not all information is intelligence. Information is anything that can be known, regardless of how it may be discovered. Intelligence refers to information that meets the stated or understood *requirements* of decision-makers & commanders concerning actual or potential adversaries. The point here is: what really defines intelligence, in the context of 'cooperation', is the origin of the information. Information becomes intelligence when it comes from an intelligence agency. And, each agency focuses on its intelligence mandate and category of functional concern – they produce knowledge on adversaries or potential threats, challenges and risks.

1.1 New role of intelligence

The elimination of traditional, external military threats to B&H is a current reality. Now, MI must support collective security arrangements and missions (PfP, niche intelligence capabilities, etc.) with agile structures and capabilities to protect the force at home and on deployments. The role of intelligence has changed with changing security threats. The asymmetrical, non-state level threats that now afflict the international community can be found within B&H, too. These threat phenomena increasingly blur the traditional intelligence approaches and operations taken against threats. The resulting situation creates new challenges that require comprehensive, cooperative and cohesive approaches to intelligence. Not only must domestic intelligence organizations be more closely linked internally, but the new threat requires increased state-to-state intelligence cooperation as well. In fact, our new alliances may bring new threats which require new intelligence roles and relationships. For example, terrorist threats are more concealed or hidden than conventional ones. They can be multi-national, multi-ethnic and most often 'state-less' in origin. The common terrorist or criminal threat today is usually simply unknown. Under these circumstances, the need for coordinated intelligence becomes even more critical. But our old methods and procedures do not necessarily support new threat identification. We must meet these new challenges with new, cooperative methods. Throwing more money at the problem or raising the level of effort is not a practical solution here in B&H. What can we do? Detecting these new threats in the B&H environment will be 'tricky' business! Notwithstanding all the new reorganization of security services, and given the nature of previous threats and current reforms, developing cooperation between intelligence agencies must go beyond signed agreements delineating sectors of intelligence effort. We must fully establish and intensify information sharing. This means we must understand and agree upon the intelligence requirements process, share threat perspectives and harmonize common policies and procedures. The role of intelligence can not stand alone: cooperation between domestic and foreign intelligence organizations is inevitable and necessary. MI needs to be prepared to lead this effort, fully cooperate and quickly adapt.

1.2 The need for cooperation

Intelligence personnel are traditionally the most ideologically conservative and secretive of all government employees – no matter what country they operate in. Cooperation amongst previous enemies and competing services is clearly

problematic. Distrust may still be rampant. Mindsets between civilian and military intelligence professionals, irrespective of their country, are always competitive and awkward. Sharing information and procedures between disparate organizations is difficult. Undertaking intelligence cooperation between new countries and alliances is similarly a complicated business. Cooperation of MI system in B&H with complementary institutions is regulated by law, but still not implemented entirely. It can be said it is nevertheless a good start. The law must be implemented entirely because it is a perfect chance for the establishment of an efficient system. It is apparent that the extensive exchange of intelligence between organizations and countries usually reflects trust and tight bonds. These types of interactions are often initiated and operate on a *quid pro quo* (something for something) basis. The B&H MI community should move quickly beyond this starting point procedure. We should strive to become a vital ingredient within the evolving intelligence community to reinforce a culture of reform that supports the country's leadership in efforts to join new coalitions. This cannot be done, however, if we support the uncooperative legacy of past procedures, which includes uncooperative personnel from the past. New cooperation and new approaches may require new personnel. Finally, cooperation is often hampered by rivalry for responsibility. This problem has been intensified by the new security environment and threats. The fusion of threats (terrorist & criminal) often causes intelligence organizations to chase or 'case' the same targets, resulting in duplicative efforts and a waste of scarce resources. On the other hand, overlapping intelligence coverage can be good, but only if cooperation and coordination amongst intelligence agencies is paramount. In a resource-scarce nation such as B&H, we need less overlap and much, much more coordination.

1.3   MI Internal (B&H) Cooperation – some recommendations

The above 'generalities' attempt to underscore the need for more state-level cooperation among B&H intelligence organizations. This concept is not new and, in fact, it is not legally mandated. Our task to implement the Agreement on Cooperation with complementary agencies and institutions is a big step forward in the right direction. I would suggest we adhere to the Agreement agenda and recommend the following:

1. exchange and share information on our respective doctrine and procedures in briefings for principals and appropriate supervisors;
2. translate principles of cooperation into functional, mutual objectives:
   - delineate organizational communications and coordination measures between MI and complementary institutions and agencies (Recommend an exchange of briefings on organizational and operational activities underway, as appropriate for mutual understanding and 'need to know');
   - achieve mutual understanding and agreement on common terms and definitions, necessary to implement the Agreement and follow-on mutual actions;
   - analyze, define and implement joint doctrinal approach to conducting mutual intelligence functions and operations. Specifically: how to conduct special operations for gathering information about asymmetric threats; when applicable, draft and recommend changes to current laws governing intelligence

procedures; draft joint intelligence policy on how to apply shared resources to strengthen B&H security support for peace and humanitarian activities within the region and globally; review and adopt standards of conduct and operations to reflect NATO and EU acceptability.

3. develop joint policy and plans for special plans and programmes of training, especially in aspect of facing current threats and in cases of MI support in peace and other operations under leadership of support from the UN, NATO, and EU;

4. establish MI communication security network and database at state, regional, and international levels. This network or link needs to accelerate information production and information/data exchange, and it is connected if needed to external MI organizations that serve to NATO, EU or other bilateral exchange that we establish;

5. prepare a list of bi- and multi-lateral defense intelligence agreements between B&H MOD and foreign country agencies. Develop criteria and policy for establishing such cooperative programmes to share with complementary agencies and institutions;

6. develop state-wide, secure Intelligence Communications Network and database in B&H and at the regional level as well. This network or link would speed up information production and information/data exchange, and link, as required, to outside intelligence organizations in service of NATO, EU and other bi-lateral exchanges we commonly establish;

7. establish Common Intelligence-Operative Centre in B&H and also at the regional level. This center should be filled with analysts from all intelligence agencies and it should produce fully integrated intelligence product that will entirely support the system of opposition and combat against asymmetric and other threats, challenges and risks not only at the state level but also at regional and global level;

8. establish the 'Central System for Intelligence Cooperation' that will be led by the 'Executive Intelligence Committee', and link it to similar organs at the regional and wider level. This would provide timely reaction on threats from the highest level of military and civil-political decision-making level.

2 COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGY 2006–2009

Terrorism presents a regional and global problem. Its threat is present also in the region of South-East Europe and West Balkans. It is clearly defined and recognized as a threat to B&H.[1] Having this in mind, B&H is undertaking required measures to prevent terrorism and build an efficient system in counter-terrorism. B&H does not have the law about terrorism prevention and counter-terrorism, although there is a CT strategy document for the period 2006–2009. The document defines key players and objectives, its primary function being the provision of guidance for the reform process. In the middle of 2009, the activity of a development of a new counter-terrorism strategy for 2009–2012 has begun. To implement the B&H CT strategy, each

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[1] *"The Constitution of B&H defines basic objectives of the fight against terrorism". See, "2006 Survey of Overall PfP Interoperability: Bosnia and Herzegovina", PFP/SC(PARP)N(2007)0014(B&H.), 31 May 2007, NATO/ PFP, p. 42.*

ministry/agency[2] was directed to draft their respective component of the state CT plan; the Ministry of Security would then coordinate component drafts into a comprehensive state document. The Ministry of Defense and the B&H Armed Forces have completed and submitted their draft component plan. It was explained that after the state CT plan is finalized and approved by the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Defense is to develop its own CT plan for the Defense establishment. The Joint Staff will then develop a plan for the Armed Forces. It was briefed that the CT strategy calls for the Ministry of Defense and Armed Forces to be prepared to support civilian ministries and agencies – particularly law enforcement agencies – upon the occurrence of terrorist acts; and second, to establish and implement CT measures within the Ministry of Defense and the armed forces.[3] It was explained that the latter were primarily physical security measures, such as security and accountability for sensitive equipment and supplies, to include weapons and the vast quantity of surplus ammunition under Ministry of Defense's control. It was further explained that the strategy calls for the Ministry of Defense and armed forces to take action in five areas: establish a system to coordinate CT activities; eliminate and prevent acts of terrorism; educate and train armed forces personnel; organize and equip response teams; establish an early-warning system.

2.1 Ministry of Security

The Ministry of Security is the lead state agency for counter-terrorism, and as the lead, convenes the State Committee on Counter-Terrorism an inter-ministry working group comprised of representatives from all ministries and agencies, to include representatives from the Ministry of Defense and Joint Staff. This Committee meets approximately once a month to coordinate CT plans and policy. The Ministry of Security will also be the lead agency to establish a State Crisis Management Centre, as required for state operations in the event of a terrorist crisis.

2.2 Preparation for combating terrorism

There are some proposals for responding to CT in the future:
1. collecting and exchange of MI data at the state level and international or regional level has to be improved and become more dynamic, and so is data exchange and MI cooperation at multilateral level. Cooperation of military, civil and police agencies at the state and regional level, and cooperation of these agencies with international security organization;

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[2] *The number of organizations involved in CT include: "...the B&H Prosecutor's Office, Ministry of Security of B&H (comprising State Agency for Investigations and Protection—SIPA, State Border Service, Interpol NBC Sarajevo), Ministry of Defense of B&H and Intelligence and Security Agency". See, "2006 Survey of Overall PfP Interoperability: Bosnia and Herzegovina", PFP/SC(PARP)N(2007)0014(B&H.), 31 May 2007, NATO/ PFP, p. 42.*

[3] *"As they are undergoing transformation, the Armed Forces of B&H still have not formed units with the primary aim of meeting this [CT] obligation. It has been envisaged that these tasks will be accomplished by personnel of the Military Policy Battalion of the Tactical Support Brigade of the Armed Forces of B&H. Collection, processing and dissemination of information supporting these activities will be provided by the Military Intelligence Battalion of the same Brigade".*

2. the Armed Force's general training programmes should address CT, but this capability is clearly lacking. The identified problem areas were the education of military intelligence structures, data protection issues, CT training for PSO (peace support operations) units, and the further delineation of tasks and responsibilities between the military intelligence battalion and the military police;

3. existing legislative solutions from cooperation domain and functioning of MI organs and elements that directly or indirectly refer to counter-terrorism need to be implemented entirely;

4. faster and efficiently implement legislative provisions for the establishment of bilateral cooperation of MI system in B&H with complementary agencies of NATO and PfP states. This way accomplishes data exchange and other cooperation that involves counter-terrorism and prevention of terrorist activities;

5. in accordance to legislature, establish MI elements of support to Armed Force units of B&H in PSO and other operations under the leadership of NATO, EU and USA.

2.3 Technical Preparation

We need to establish technical connection and system of direct communications among MI organs in system of MI of B&H, implement training, equip units, and prepare existing capacities for data collection to be functional as much as possible. There is no emergency communications system, nor is there, to date, an emergency control centre. Some concern was expressed about the effectiveness of inter-ministerial communications, particularly at the higher levels of state leadership. Technical aspects of inter-ministerial communications systems also seem to need attention. Apparently, there is no established national communications system for crisis response, nor is there a common inter-ministerial counter-terrorism data-base. Data sharing arrangements are also weak.

2.4 Emergency response

At the level of Ministry of Defense of B&H, in accordance with the new state counter-terrorism strategy 2009–2012, an operative plan of counter-terrorism with concrete obligations of all organizational organs of Ministry of Defense and Armed Forces of B&H with an emphasis on military intelligence system and military police is to be established.

2.5 Recommendations

1. Create a new comprehensive CT Strategy 2009–2012 that effectively describes how CT will be conducted in B&H and clearly defines institutional responsibilities and functions.

2. Review existing legislation; draft new legislation, where necessary, and adapt draft legislation in order to facilitate the establishment of an effective CT structure.

3. Vet all existing CT documents with the view of de-confliction and ensuring their currency.

4. Develop standing and formatted rules of engagement (ROE), particularly for CT.
5. Make further efforts to create regional structures for CT and emergency response.
6. Create a government-wide comprehensive emergency response plan and improve, or establish, coordination of ministry-specific emergency response plans.
7. Establish an emergency communication system and an emergency control centre.
8. Create a media support plan for Government, all agencies involved in CT and the Ministry of Defense and the intelligence community apropos combating terrorism.

3   VISION OF THE FUTURE

3.1   Cooperation of MI Community

1. Creation of a legal, tangible, personal, functional, but above all the political pre-conditions for efficient intelligence cooperation and the fight against terrorism.
2. At the regional level, establishment of permanent MI bodies and agencies and strengthening the existing intelligence, state and regional intelligence community within the Western Balkans and South-Eastern Europe.
3. Signing of bilateral MI and intelligence agreements of cooperation and exchange of intelligence between the countries of the region.
4. Establishing intelligence contacts through i.e.: intelligence officers/liaison officers.
5. Establishment of joint intelligence centres for analysis and fusion of data, and centres for counter-terrorist education, training and exercises.
6. Exchange and dissemination of intelligence information on a daily basis between the countries of the region and creation of a central database on terrorism.

3.2   Euro-Atlantic, regional and other integrations

1. Unambiguous political declaration, orientation and tendency towards member-ship of all countries of the region in the EU and NATO.
2. Acceptance and implementation of standards in order to achieve full interoperabi-lity of MI and other forces on the issue of resources, procedures and capabilities.
3. Reduction and adaptation of MI and other forces and installations and setting up structures.
4. Daily bilateral and multilateral military intelligence and other cooperation through the adoption of expert teams, exchange of military experiences and lessons learned.
5. Participation of MI bodies and units as well as armed forces in peace support operations and other missions led by the UN, EU and primarily U.S., as a sign of commitment and contribution to future membership in NATO and the EU.

3.3   Parliamentary, democratic, control of MI

1. Respect, use and apply the experiences of Western democratic states with a clear vision of the structure and bodies within intelligence and security community.
2. Constantly interact and communicate with the parliament and all the factors of the intelligence community regarding the new security challenges.

3. Be prepared to hear, consider, accept and implement the experience of Western democracies, countries with stable political systems and effective and functional organizations, and societies that guarantee and provide their citizens the full spectrum of security (military, legal, economic/financial, social) and full range of fundamental human rights.
4. Ensure that the states of South-Eastern Europe are included in all regional and international security forums and organizations, to accept the international obligations and to effectively execute them.
5. Introduce and inform the public about the harmfulness of terrorism and raising awareness on the need to prevent and combat.
6. Take up the struggle against ideological support for terrorism[4].

Conclusion   Analysis of the MI role in counter-terrorist cooperation in Bosnia and Herzegovina but with neighbouring countries and in the region of the Western Balkans and South Eastern Europe has shown the importance of forming system mechanisms for the co-operation between Defense Ministries of the countries in the security-wise most challenging region in Europe, against the most unpredictable threat - terrorism. There are certain capacities and possibilities for counter-terrorism, but we also need to significantly improve those capacities. The Ministry of Defense has clearly defined its obligations and has done its operative plan of counter-terrorism. Regardless of cooperation deficiency and coordination among institutions in B&H, the results on this plan exist, and they will be more significant in the future. It is important to emphasize a lack of legislative support in approach to counter-terrorism, but soon this deficiency will be solved. The article highlights several important issues that need to constantly improve in order to effectively respond to modern security threats, risks and challenges. First of all, it is necessary to ensure legislative requirements and political will for effective action and the fight against terrorism at the highest political and legislative level, and to create conditions for cooperation within the intelligence community and the state intelligence services of other countries, pursue cooperation and action in a professional manner and without any barriers (political, ethnic, ideological, religious etc.), prevent any form of support for terrorism, especially disable ideological support for terrorism, permanently take measures on a regular exchange of intelligence information with all relevant institutions to fight terrorism and build a common mechanism for information exchange and cooperation.

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[4] *Develop combat against ideological support for terrorism and other security threats to B&H (the direction of organised crime "crime is worthy of doing it"-the seizure of unlawfully acquired property is used as an integral part of the security policy of BiH). Although the ideology of radical indoctrination calls for "family togetherness" let's not forget that among them remains a social distance because there are many differences in religion, culture, language, customs and way of life, and that historically different groups or civilizations exist only virtually and short, even if they have the common goal. So that is the weakest chain where we must find ways of defense against terrorism, directing all religions in dialogue and their own development of strategies in the fight against these malignancies by development of social awareness and status, and linking of civilisation in development of positive ideology of concern for humanity because the classic forms of criminal policy and policies to combat crime have no answers to these problems. We all talk today about terrorism, fear him, but we are not making a step forward in the social development of human consciousness directed towards positive communication.*

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Mladen Pemper

Strokovni članek

VPLIV NOVIH OBLIK MEDNARODNEGA TERORIZMA NA KREPITEV NACIONALNIH PROTITERORISTIČNIH ZMOGLJIVOSTI V REPUBLIKI HRVAŠKI

THE INFLUENCE OF NEW FEATURES OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM ON THE STRENGTHENING OF NATIONAL COUNTER-TERRORISM CAPACITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

Professional article

Povzetek
Pojav novih oblik mednarodnega terorizma je vplival na novo razumevanje nevarnosti in boja proti terorizmu, v skladu s tem pa je mednarodna skupnost sprejela ustrezne ukrepe za preprečevanje novih groženj. Odzivne ukrepe lahko obravnavamo z globalne, regionalne in nacionalne ravni. Republika Hrvaška je prav tako izvedla več ukrepov za zaščito pred terorizmom in njegovo preprečevanje tako na nacionalni ravni kot s sodelovanjem na regionalni in globalni ravni. Da bi potrdili ali ovrgli tezo, da nove oblike mednarodnega terorizma vplivajo na krepitev nacionalnih protiterorističnih zmogljivosti Republike Hrvaške, je bilo treba analizirati, katere so te nove oblike in prek primerjalne analize ugotoviti, zakaj so drugačne od razumevanja terorizma. Opravljena je bila analiza, da bi ugotovili, na kateri od treh omenjenih ravni naj bi to vplivalo na nove oblike groženj mednarodnega terorizma. Tako so bili analizirani protiteroristični instrumenti Združenih narodov, EU in Nata, s tem pa naj bi ugotovili, ali in na kakšen način je Republika Hrvaška okrepila svoje protiteroristične zmogljivosti tako individualno kot prek mednarodnih instrumentov.

Ključne besede
Mednarodna stabilnost, varnost, globalni terorizem, nove oblike, odzivi, protiteroristične zmogljivosti Republike Hrvaške.

Abstract
The appearance of new features of international terrorism influenced the new understanding of the danger and fight against terrorism, and in accordance with it the international community undertook adequate measures with the aim of suppressing the new threats. The response measures can be viewed at from the global, regional and national perspective. The Republic of Croatia also carried out a range of measures with the aim of preventing and suppressing terrorism, both on the national level and also through its participation on the regional and global level. In order to confirm or refute the thesis that new features of international terrorism influenced the strengthening of national counter-terrorism capacities of the Republic of Croatia, it was

necessary to identify these new features and to make a thorough comparative analysis why they differ from the understanding of terrorism as it was up to now. After that an analysis was carried out in order to establish in what way the three stated levels attempt to influence new forms of threats from international terrorism, analyzing co-unter-terrorism instruments of the UN, EU and NATO in order to establish whether and in which way the Republic of Croatia strengthened its counter-terrorism capaci-ties, either individually or by means of international instruments.

Key words   *International stability, security, global terrorism, new features, responses, coun-ter-terrorism capacities of the Republic of Croatia.*

Introduction   If we examine the stability of the international system in relation to the period of bi-polar structure or in relation to the multi-polar period which existed before the outbreak of two world wars in the last century, we could come to the conclusion that the current structure which is rather uni-polar than multi-polar is the reason for a favourable stability situation. However, such conclusions can be reached only if we understand the changes of stability[1] in traditional categories which relate to the absence of wars between great powers of the international system or to the impending confrontation between those powers. Hence, during the period following the restructuring of the international system after the cold war era there was no con-frontation between great powers nor were they in such relations that would lead to the possibility of wars between them. However, the question appears whether only the wars among great powers are the true measure for stability of an international system. From the structural aspect, changes of forms of an international system de-finitely are and certainly represent the worst case scenario for our civilization if we analyze stability in neo-realistic categories. The structural aspect that can have re-percussions also on the appearance of new features of global terrorism can be un-derstood from the statement of Rosenau, according to whom the characteristic of structural change means that, apart from the traditional state-centered world, a mul-ti-centered world was also created that involves a wide range of various players on the local, regional, national, international and global level, and in which more and more educated, organized and mobile individuals are involved trans-nationally on various levels. This bifurcation of the global structure hence causes turbulences and complexity of the world policy (Taylor and Horgan, 2003: 179).

We can agree with the statement that the current system is stable and we can also agree that there is a small chance of the breakout of great wars. However, the question whether this structurally stable system that we have is also safe opens a quite different chapter that relates to international security. According to Grizold (1998:30), in-ternational security does not represent only the addition of all national securities, but it also indicates adoption of certain values in international relations and in the state itself. Security in general and therefore also international security is influenced by sources of threats where the focus has moved recently from wars towards new

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[1]   *See more in Theory of International Politics by Waltz K.*

sources of threats: danger from climate change, global terrorism, diseases, poverty, organized crime, proliferation of mass destruction weapons and others.

With the appearance of global terrorism, its suppression went beyond state borders and the exclusive competence of national law enforcement agencies and a completely different dimension that can be seen in the launch of 'global war against terrorism'. There is also a modification of traditional characteristics of armed conflicts that takes place, since fewer countries are involved in armed conflicts – the conflicts start in the "Global South" and the conquering of the territory ceases to be the main motive for conflicts (Tatalović, 2007:11).

The power of global terrorism is manifested in the terrorist attack on the USA on 11 September 2001 which revealed the absence of measures carried out by the international community in addressing this problem. Vukadinović (2004: 256) stated that: "Many authors state already today that the terrorist attack on the USA on 11 September 2001 was the turning point for the establishment of a new structure of international relations. It is argued that from 1989 until 11 September a certain inter-phase existed, whereas the beginning of new global international relations took place in the period from the biggest terrorist act up to now".

This tragic event marked a turning point both in the fight against terrorism and in the understanding of international security. It became obvious that international security can no longer be observed in the traditional way.

New features of global terrorism demanded a new response and the international community did not wait long to carry out the respective measures.

The differences between the "new" terrorism and the terrorism we had observed and studied up to then became obvious very soon. According to Čaleta and Anžić (2007: 53): "It is obvious that modern terrorism tightly correlates with the phenomenon of globalization and successfully exploits all advantages that globalization brings into the 21st century. Even in previous history, it was impossible to connect the phenomenon of terrorism with any single religion or socio-political system. […] Today terrorism in its own dimension is international and transnational, which means that state borders have lost their former meaning and significance".

Therefore it was necessary also to redefine the approach of fight against terrorism by international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Council of Europe (CoE). Suppression of terrorism started to be viewed from the global level through the regional up to the national level, and with that national counter-terrorism capacities started to increase as well, both directly and indirectly. Hence, the analysis in the following text will attempt to show in what way the appearance of new features of contemporary terrorism led to the strengthening of counter-terrorism capacities of the Republic

of Croatia, having in mind all three main levels on which procedures are carried out in the attempt to suppress global terrorism.

1 CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW FEATURES OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

In order to establish the cause-and-effect relationship of the appearance of new features of international terrorism with the strengthening of national counter-terrorism capacities of the Republic of Croatia, it is necessary to ascertain the characteristics of these new features, i.e. where the differences derive from the terrorism in the past and terrorism we have focused on in our analyses so far. In order to follow the analysis more easily it is assumed that the comparison would be efficient if we take the analyses before and after 11 September 2001 and isolate the differences between the two concepts of terrorism. With the aim of providing the complete picture of features of "new" terrorism we will apply the case study of the attacks carried out on the USA. This case shows that the Al Qaeda had the intention to demonstrate that the USA can be successfully attacked, that according to their opinion it is possible to take revenge on the USA for the killing of Muslims by the Americans and that in this way it is possible to publicly demonstrate the "justification" of aims for their fight. Further on, the intention was to harm the American prestige, economy, military power, leadership, to intimidate the public and to prevent through fear any further actions by the USA and to attack the freedom of their citizens (Robbins, 2002: 395).

Besides the aspects mentioned above, where the relationship of new terrorism with the attack target is visible, an important role is also taken by the key features, according to which the "new" terrorism differentiates itself from the terrorism known until then.

In accordance with Howard's comparison the 'new' terrorism has become more violent than the previous one, and in comparison to the terrorism that has existed so far it concerns not only the media coverage but also mass human casualties and material damage. In contrast to the previous one, in which sub-state actors attempted to provoke a change of local politics, terrorism nowadays is "trans-national", acts globally and has the aim of destroying the West and all secular Islamic countries. Modern terrorists are much better financed than their predecessors. They obtain considerable financial means through legal and illegal activities and are not so much dependent on the sponsorship of countries supporting terrorism. The next feature is a higher level of training of 'new terrorists' which became obvious from the seized materials during operations in Afghanistan and other parts of the world. It is also obvious that the penetration into their surroundings is more difficult and that "new terrorists" have the intention of obtaining the weapons of mass destruction (Howard and Sawyer, 2002: 75-76).

As it has been indicated before, global terrorism has used all the benefits of globalization, starting from the movement of people and goods and reduction of restricting effects of national borders up to technical possibilities. We can mention the use

of Internet as an example, which is not only used as a means of communication but also as a means of radicalization, training, gathering of interesting security information, attacks etc. It is also important to stress that: "globalization has improved the technical capabilities of terrorists and given them global reach, but has not altered the fundamental fact that terrorism is the weakest form of irregular warfare, representing the extreme views of a limited minority of the global population. In other words, globalization has changed the scope of terrorism but not its nature" (Baylis and Smith, 2006: 495).

The appearance of new forms of international terrorism and its features has resulted in and will continue to result in the forthcoming period in changes of the work, methods and the structure of security systems, both national and multi-national, such as NATO (Deplech, 2002: 14).

The next part of the paper analyses the changes that occurred on the global and regional level, and the way these changes in the international security system influenced the changes in the system of national security of the Republic of Croatia with the focus on counter-terrorism capacities.

2   UN RESPONSE TO NEW FEATURES OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

If we analyze the measures carried out by the United Nations Organization after the attack on the USA in 2001 by examining reference documents from the UN, it becomes obvious that this organization recognized the danger from global terrorism and that it carried out a range of measures based on that fact. The actions that the UN initiated are surely an answer to the new features of contemporary international terrorism, but since contemporary international terrorism cannot be successfully suppressed by focusing only on the differing features in relation to the previous features of classic terrorism, only the most important global actions of the UN have been taken into consideration in this analysis. The UN is fighting terrorism by setting up universal counter-terrorism instruments which are implemented by member countries. These instruments are the international community's response to this threat. Thus, in accordance with resolution 1373, any policy for the adoption of the 12 universal counter-terrorism instruments is mainly aimed at ensuring that each member state is equipped with the necessary mechanisms to prevent and punish acts of terrorism.[2]

Bearing in mind the fact that UN member states are obliged to carry out measures stated in Resolutions of the UN Security Council, it is apparent that by implementing the measures on national level conditions are fulfilled to claim that successful implementation of these measures is related to the improvement of the situation in comparison to the situation before that. In order to establish a connection between

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[2]   *See more in Guide for the Legislative Incorporation and Implementation of the Universal Anti-terrorism Instruments. 2006. United Nations. New York.*

the appearance of the new features of international terrorism and strengthening of Croatian counter-terrorism capacities, the Security Council Resolution 1373 shall be used. With this resolution, amongst others, states are required to carry out adequate measures for suppressing the financing of terrorism. After that, the Republic of Croatia reacted and made improvements in the legislative field. This means at the same time that it strengthened the counter-terrorism capacity that existed so far by amending the article of the Criminal Code concerning international terrorism. Namely that article was amended also according to the International Convention on Financing of Terrorism which was also a response of the international community to the emergence of new features of international terrorism. Likewise, besides the incrimination for financing terrorism, subsequent assistance to perpetrators of criminal offences of terrorism is also incriminated in accordance with the previous decision of the Security Council Resolution 1373 of the UN (Degan and Pavišić, 2005: 250).

The following subject of the analysis is the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy of the UN that is implemented into to the National Counter-Terrorism Strategy of the Republic of Croatia. This is evident in the very beginning of the Croatian strategy where the following is stated among other things: "In addition, the Strategy supports the goals and values set out in the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy of the UN and the Counter-Terrorism Strategy of the EU, and other main counter-terrorism documents within the field of work of the UN, EU, NATO, OSCE and the CoE".[3]

In view of the new activities and initiatives of international organizations as a response to new challenges which also includes new features of international terrorism, and in consideration of the need to create and implement a uniform strategy for the prevention and suppression of all forms of terrorism, at its session held on 21 April 2005 the Government of the Republic of Croatia adopted the Decision establishing the Inter-Ministerial Working Group for the Suppression of Terrorism[4]. The inter-ministerial group was tasked with monitoring the national implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions 1267 (1999) concerning measures against the Taliban regime, 1373 (2001) concerning the suppression of terrorism, and 1566 (2004) concerning threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts. It was also tasked with the implementation of the provisions of other relevant international documents, i.e. initiatives of the European Union, NATO, the Council of Europe and the OSCE in the fight against terrorism. The inter-ministerial working group is also the framework for cooperation between law enforcement agencies and security services. Hence, by adopting UN counter-terrorism instruments and through their implementation into the national counter-terrorism system the Republic of Croatia has significantly increased its counter-terrorism capacities when compared to the time period before 11 September 2001.

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[3] *See more in Croatia Profiles on Counter-Terrorist Capacity. 2009. Available at: http://www.coe.int/t/e/ legal_affairs/legal_co-operation/fight_against_terrorism/4_theme_files/apologie_-_incitement/Codexter%20 Profile%20(2009)%20Croatia.pdf .p.2.[Accessed 05 November 2009].*

[4] *See more in Croatia Profiles on Counter-Terrorist Capacity. 2009. Available at: http://www.coe.int/t/e/ legal_affairs/legal_co-operation/fight_against_terrorism/4_theme_files/apologie_-_incitement/Codexter%20 Profile%20(2009)%20Croatia.pdf .p.2-3.[Accessed 05 November 2009].*

3 EU, NATO, OSCE AND STRENGTHENING OF CROATIAN NATIONAL COUNTER-TERRORISM CAPACITIES

The analysis of measures undertaken by the EU, NATO and OSCE as a response to the appearance of new features of international terrorism shall focus on those measures that have improved the Croatian counter-terrorism capacities, i.e. to the implemented measures that Croatia did not have prior to 11 September 2001.

By establishing these measures in the national counter-terrorism system and by its comparison with the period prior to the appearance of new features of international terrorism, the thesis would be confirmed that the appearance of new features of global terrorism influenced the strengthening of Croatian counter-terrorism capacities. Here it is also important to mention that 11 September 2001 is only put as a framework for comparison because new features appeared also before that date if we take, for example, the attack on the World Trade Centre in 1993.

If we make a comparative analysis of the counter-terrorism strategy of the EU and the Republic of Croatia it can be seen that that the Croatian strategy implemented regulations of the European strategy in segments which refer to the characteristics of new features of international terrorism. So, for example, in point 9 of the European Strategy[5] it is stated that practical steps exist that every individual must undertake to become involved in terrorism and that the ability to put the ideas in action has significantly increased through globalization. As a confirmation of the implementation of the above mentioned into national counter-terrorism capacities of the Republic of Croatia it must be noted that the subject issue is treated in the national counter-terrorist strategy, where the following is stated in point 29: "The measures of prevention include disabling the promotion and calls to terrorism, and any form of encouraging terrorism, and recognizing and thwarting radicalization and extremism which might grow into terrorism"[6]. As a confirmation of the previous statement it is also important to point out that two separate criminal offences were incorporated into the Croatian criminal legislation, namely: public enticement to terrorism and recruiting for terrorism which is connected with the new features. Further on, as a confirmation of the thesis of this paper, the fact must be pointed out that the Republic of Croatia completely fulfilled its international obligations towards the EU with regard to adoption of counter-terrorism standards. Since, however, the EU considers by that also measures through which also new features of international terrorism are treated, it can be seen that national counter-terrorism capacities have been improved.

[5] *According to the stated strategy this implies easy travelling, transfer of money and communication including the Internet, whereby the access to radical ideas and training is made easier. It is also stated that it is necessary to detect such behaviour and stop such behaviour by restricting activities of those who play a role in the radicalization; further on prevention of access to terrorist training by establishing a strong legal framework for prevention of encouraging and recruiting and by restricting terrorist recruitment through the Internet. See EU Counter-Terrorism Strategy. Available at: http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/05/st14/st14469-re04.en05. pdf p.8.[Accessed 05 November 2009].*

[6] *See more in National Strategy for Prevention and Supresion of Terrorism. Croatian Official Gazette.2008. no.139. Available at: http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/default.aspx [Accessed 14 January 2010].*

As regards NATO, it is very easy to prove that new features of international terrorism influenced the strengthening of national counter-terrorism capacities. Namely, NATO reacted most promptly and most concretely to the new features, i.e. to the new threats of international terrorism. As a confirmation for that, we can mention the call of the Secretary General Lord Robertson only few hours after the attack on the USA to unite NATO forces in the fight against creators and actors of the mentioned terrorist act (Čehulić, 2003).

The response of NATO forces to new threats can also be seen in the counter-terrorism campaign in Afghanistan and in the engagement in control at seas and many other operations such as providing security for the Olympic Games in Athens etc. Forces of the Republic of Croatia were engaged in the counter-terrorism operation in Afghanistan even before joining NATO. Hence it can be seen that our country has increased its counter-terrorism potential both through NATO and by the mere fact of joining NATO.

As regards the OSCE, it is apparent that regional approach and cooperation takes a significant place in the fight against terrorism, wherefore the mere engagement in initiatives of OSCE definitely had influence on improving counter-terrorism capacities.

4 CONCRETE CHANGES IN THE STRENGTHENING OF COUNTER-TERRORISM CAPACITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

The mere fact that the Republic of Croatia developed a National Strategy for Prevention and Suppression of Terrorism which did not exist before speaks itself about the systematic improvements of counter-terrorism capacities on the level of the entire state and all relevant institutions for prevention and suppression of terrorism.

Concerning the improvements that have been made after the appearance of new forms of terrorism, it should be pointed out that in the Republic of Croatia a whole range of legal acts were adopted which strengthened the counter-terrorism capacities in the normative aspect. First and foremost, they included the changes of the Criminal Code and the Criminal Procedure Act that enabled criminalization and reaction in all cases of preparation, perpetration, assistance and participation in all activities that lead to terrorist acts. For illustration we can mention the improved new definition of the criminal offence terrorism in the amended Criminal Code with the following wording of Article 169: "Whoever aims to cause major fear among the population, to force the Republic of Croatia, foreign states or international organizations to do or not do something or suffer, or who aims to seriously jeopardize the fundamental constitutional, political or social values, constitutional set-up of the state government and economic units of the Republic of Croatia, of a foreign state or an international organization, who commits one of the following offences: assault against life, limb or freedom of another; kidnapping or hostage taking; destruction of state or public objects, traffic system, infrastructure including information systems, fixed platforms in the epi-continental belt, general goods or private property that might result in endangering the people's lives or significant economic

damage; hijacking aircrafts, ships, means of public transportation or transport of goods that might endanger lives of people; making, possessing, obtaining, transporting, supplying or using weapons, explosives, nuclear or radioactive materials or devices, nuclear, biological or chemical weapons; researching or developing nuclear, biological or chemical weapons; releasing toxic substances or causing fires, explosions or floods or undertaking other generally dangerous actions that might endanger people's lives; disturbing or stopping the supply of water, electricity or other basic natural resources that endanger people's lives, shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than five years. Whoever threatens to commit a criminal offence referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be punished by imprisonment for one to five years. If, by the criminal offence referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article, the death of one or more persons is caused, the perpetrator shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than ten years or by long-term imprisonment. If, by the criminal offence referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article, the death of one or more persons or large-scale destruction is caused, the perpetrator shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than ten years"[7].

In addition to normative improvements, administrative capacities were enhanced as for example by establishing the Office for Suppression of Money Laundering which is also responsible for suppression of financing of terrorism, further on by setting up the Terrorism Department in the Criminal Police Directorate responsible for prevention and suppression of all forms of terrorism.

Also inter-agency cooperation is improved among bodies tasked with prevention and suppression of terrorism through an inter-agency working group already mentioned before, and on this basis the flow among law enforcement agencies and security services that deal with the issue of terrorism is enhanced.

At the same time there is an improved cooperation between the civilian and military sector which became operational during numerous mutual exercises on the national and international level.

There have been improvements also concerning measures of protection of the Croatian territory from possible misuse by terrorists in terms of state border protection and other measures. In this sense, the following measures are intensified:
a. prevention of the use of the territory of the Republic of Croatia for the existence and activity of terrorist groups, their training and drill, and all persons and subjects connected with terrorism, the activity of whom is aimed against the Republic of Croatia, other states and/or international organizations;
b. disabling the transit of all persons suspected of connections with terrorism through the territory of the Republic of Croatia;
c. thwarting the transport and procurement of weapons, explosives and other materials intended for potential terrorist activities;

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[7] *Amendments to the Criminal Code. 2008. Croatian Official Gazette no. 152. Available at: http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/default.aspx [Accessed 14 January 2010.]*

d. preventing the use of weapons of mass destruction and military and dual-use items to terrorist ends;

e. thwarting the funding, collection of funds or any form of assistance to terrorist organizations or persons suspected of connections with terrorism;

f. thwarting all forms of recruitment for terrorist groups, the activity of which is aimed against any state;

g. preventing criminal activities which might be directly or indirectly connected with terrorism (transnational organized crime, proliferation of chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear weapons and materials, smuggling of weapons and explosives, military and dual-use items, narcotics and other products, counterfeiting of documents and money, illegal migration and trafficking).

Concerning the side effects related to the participation of the Republic of Croatia in international counter-terrorism measures it should be pointed out that so far no negative effects have been noted. Nevertheless, this fact needs to be taken into further consideration when making security assessments in the future.

Conclusion Despite more or less optimistic prognoses, neither the possibility of eradication of terrorism is assured nor can this be concluded from the past experience. If we speak about 'more optimistic prognoses', we can agree with the following Rapaport's (2006: 22) statement: "Thus, the fourth wave may last longer than its predecessors, but the course of the Iranian revolution suggests something else. If history repeats itself, the fourth wave will be over in two decades" and: "That history also demonstrates, however, that the world of politics always produces large issues to stimulate terrorists who regularly invent new ways to deal with them. What makes the pattern so interesting and frightening is that the issues emerge unexpectedly – or, at least, no one has been able to anticipate their tragic course". Also if we speak about 'less optimistic prognoses' we can agree with Alexander's (2005: 7) statement:" There it is explained that several specific reasons exist why terrorism will grow in the future. The first of it is that terrorism has proven to be very successful in attracting publicity, disrupting the activities of governments and businesses, and causing significant amounts of death and destruction. The second reason is that arms, explosives, supplies, financing, and secret communications are readily available, whereas the third reason is that international support network of groups and states exist that greatly facilitates the undertaking of terrorist activities."

Regardless of these considerations, our focus needs to be aimed at most efficient suppression of all forms of terrorism which cannot be achieved on national level as it has been shown in the previously given deliberations and analyses.

With the appearance of new features of international terrorism a reaction followed by the international community in implementation of measures for prevention and suppression of international terrorism. This had as a consequence the strengthening of national counter-terrorism capacities. However, the states themselves carried out

adequate measures for protection against terrorism by strengthening their internal capacities. Here it needs to be pointed out that the Republic of Croatia directed its attention to the strengthening and development of its own capacities not only through international but also through its own mechanisms. Therefore, the national counter-terrorism strategy highlights new features that the national security system needs to address, e.g. the fact that terrorism has a tendency to cause the maximum number of victims possible, increase the level of public fear of the consequences of terrorism, and the greatest possible destruction of material objects; terrorism targets the procurement and use of weapons and means of mass destruction, and military and dual-purpose items which can be used to terrorist ends; terrorists use an intricate logistics system, especially in the procurement of weapons, equipment and other resources; terrorist groups and organizations develop alternative ways of funding by using a number of covers and agents; modern terrorism takes advantage of the presence, availability, complexity and openness of communication and information technologies, especially the Internet, for attracting extremists and for communicating and disseminating terrorist ideologies etc. In the end, it can be concluded that the appearance of new features of international terrorism influenced, both directly and indirectly, the strengthening of national counter-terrorism capacities of the Republic of Croatia.

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ZAŠČITA PRED TERORIZMOM NA POLJSKEM

TERRORISM PREVENTION IN POLAND

Povzetek   Članek se ukvarja s teroristično dejavnostjo, ki predstavlja grožnjo Republiki Poljski, in z dejavnostmi države, ki naj bi preprečevale takšne grožnje. Avtor predstavlja različne ravni aktivnosti Poljske države in naloge posameznih ustanov, vključno s prepoznavanjem in zaščito ter z odzivom po morebitnem napadu. Posebej pomembna je ministrska skupina za teroristične grožnje, ki jo sestavljajo predstavniki vseh ustanov, ki se na Poljskem ukvarjajo s terorističnimi grožnjami. Srečujejo se enkrat na mesec, razpravljajo o pomembnih zadevah in sprejemajo hitre odločitve. Gre za zelo učinkovito rešitev. Delovanje stalne skupine strokovnjakov zagotavlja ustrezno pomoč ministrski skupini pri pripravi različnih rešitev. Člani te skupine se srečujejo enkrat na teden. Članek prav tako predstavlja stopnje alarma, ki veljajo na Poljskem, in primere za njihovo sprožitev.

Ključne besede   *Teroristične grožnje, zaščita pred terorizmom, protiterorizem, Poljska.*

Abstract   The article is concerned with the matter of terrorist activity that poses threats to the Republic of Poland, as well as the country's actions toward preventing those threats. The author presents varied levels of Poland's activity and the tasks of particular institutions, including recognition and prevention as well as reaction after a possible attack. Especially important is the Ministerial Team for Terrorist Threats, which is composed of representatives of all institutions dealing with terrorist threats in Poland. They meet once a month, discuss important issues and make quick decisions. It is a very effective solution. The operation of the Permanent Expert Group provides adequate assistance for the Team in elaborating different solutions. The members of the group meet once a week. The article also presents the alarm degrees valid in Poland and instances of their initiation.

Key words   *Terrorist threats, terrorism prevention, anti-terrorism, Poland.*

Terrorist threats

Terrorist threats are currently one of the most significant issues of safety in Europe and the whole world, recognized and treated with proper attention in Poland as well.

The danger of terrorist attacks in Poland is in fact low; however, the possibility of such activity within the country cannot be excluded. The pro-western policy of the country, especially the strategic alliance with the United States, as well as European integration (Poland as a border state of the European Union) and Poland's accession to the Schengen Area fosters the development of terrorism. Due to political support for terrorism prevention, and the physical involvement of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland and the Police in peace missions in the areas of armed conflicts, the country is considered a faithful ally of the United States, and Polish soldiers are often threatened with attacks.

Although there are no local terrorist groups in Poland, and geographically the inhabitants live at a long distance from the main centres of terrorism, the country is frequently mentioned in Al-Qaeda's statements as a potential target of a revenge attack on account of the involvement in Iraq.

Additional factors that create favourable conditions for terrorist activity within Poland are the effect of the globalization of economic processes. Wide border opening eliminated travel barriers, which has a significant impact on the number of foreigners residing in Poland permanently and temporarily. Citizens of high-risk countries may legalize their stay through e.g. marrying a citizen of Poland, apparent scientific or economic cooperation, obtaining false documents or purchasing properties. These are a few examples of the opportunities to create a logistic background by terrorist organizations in Poland.

It is possible that the members of terrorist organizations, as well as inactive members of organized structures are currently residing in Poland. The number of Muslims is significant and radicalization of their attitudes cannot be excluded. The radicalization of attitudes of the Polish who converted to Islam is also possible. Considering the increasing number of emigrants from countries in which wars take place, especially Iraq, Afghanistan or Chechnya, there is a justified suspicion that members of terrorist organizations are among these emigrants.

The normalization of relations between Poland and Israel and tightening mutual contacts are further reasons for conducting a terrorist attack in Poland. Threat increase also considers mass sports events, planned in our country. UEFA European Football Championship 2012 and Men's Volleyball World Championship in 2014 are the main concerns.

The publications about prisons in Poland are unfavorable, allegedly terrorist are detained and tortured. Threats toward Poland were made by Arabic terrorists, and propaganda materials were distributed also in Polish language.

Numerous explosions occur every year in Poland; the Police are gathering hundreds of kilos of explosives. The occurrence of terrorist acts with the use of explosive devices is considered a criminal activity or settling accounts between criminals and it is connected with the crime syndicate and not with terrorist groups. The possibility of crime syndicate's involvement in terrorist activity and the connections of members of terrorist organizations with the crime syndicate must be taken seriously. The criminals use methods typical of terrorist activity while struggling amongst themselves for influences or in criminal activity. The two worlds are nowadays approaching each other.

1 TERRORISM PREVENTION IN POLAND

Despite the 'merely' potential character of terrorist threats in Poland this subject is treated with proper attention; Poland undertakes numerous initiatives regarding the prevention of this phenomenon.

In the system of terrorism prevention and elimination valid in Poland, three levels can be distinguished:
– Strategic – implemented by the Prime Minister and the Ministerial Group for Terrorist Threats,
– Operational – implementing the operational reconnaissance actions conducted by national services. This task is implemented by the Anti-terrorist Center operating within the Internal Security Agency,
– Tactical – executed by services and institutions responsible for terrorism prevention (inter alia: Internal Security Agency, Intelligence Agency, Police, Border Guard, General Inspector of Financial Information).

1.1 Ministerial Team for Terrorist Threats

The Ministerial Team for Terrorist Threats (MTTT) is the most important part of the strategic level of terrorism prevention. The Team is supervised by the Minister of the Interior and Administration[1].

Besides the Head (Minister of the Interior and Administration), members of the Ministerial Group for Terrorist Threats are: Head's deputies – Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Finance, Minister of Defense, Minister of Justice and Member of the Council of Ministers – minister in charge of coordinating the activities of secret services. Other members of the Group are: state secretaries or undersecretaries of the Ministry of the Interior and Administration who supervise the operation of government administration, Board Secretary for Secret Service, Head of Civil Defense, Head of the Internal Security Agency, Head of the Intelligence Agency, Head of the Government Security Bureau, Commander in Chief of Police, Commander in Chief of Police of the National Fire Brigade, Commander in Chief of Police of Border Guard, Head of the Military Intelligence Service, Head of Military Counterintelligence

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[1] *Established by ruling No. 162 of the Prime Minister from 25 October 2006 on the formation of Interministerial Group for Terrorist Threats.*

Service, Commander in Chief of Police of Military Police, General Inspector of Tax Audit, General Inspector of Financial Information, Commander in Chief of Police of the Border Guard and the Director of the Government Security Center.

The tasks of MTTT include: monitoring terrorist threats, evaluating and analyzing these threats and presenting the opinions and conclusions to the Council of Ministers. The MTTT also deals with the elaboration of standard and procedure projects regarding terrorism elimination; especially, the evaluation standards of hazard occurrence and determination of the hazard level. Initiating, coordinating, and monitoring actions undertaken by proper administrative authorities, especially those regarding information use and recognition, prevention and elimination of terrorism, is an important task as well.

The Group may also undertake actions to organize cooperation with other countries in the area of terrorism elimination, as well as coordinate information exchange and organization of common operations.

An important function in terrorist threat monitoring is performed by The Permanent Expert Group (PEG); the Team serves as essential support for the MTTT.[2] Members of PEG include supervision level experts of the services and institutions represented by the members of MTTT. Among the basic tasks of PEG – monitoring, analyzing and evaluating terrorist threats, as well as evaluation of the level and type of terrorist threats – must be mentioned. The Permanent Expert Group also monitors the actions of proper government administrative authorities in the area of the use of information regarding terrorist threats. Furthermore, it evaluates the preparations of Poland's public administration to recognize, eliminate and prevent terrorism. The PEG also elaborates propositions to improve the state of preparation of the public administration to prevent and eliminate terrorism.

Basic responsibilities regarding terrorism prevention and elimination are held by the institutions subordinated to the Prime Minister.

1.2   The Internal Security Agency

The scope of responsibility of the Internal Security Agency (ISA) with regard to prevention of terrorist threats is wide. The tasks of ISA include recognition, prevention and detection of the following crimes:
– espionage, terrorism, violation of national secrecy and other crimes threatening national security,
– regarding the production and sales of articles, technologies and services of strategic significance for national security,
– illegal production, possession and sales of weapons, ammunition and explosive materials, weapons of mass destruction, narcotics and psychotropic substances, in international sales.

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[2]   *The Permanent Expert Team was established by decision No. 2 of the chief of the Interministerial Group for Terrorist Threats, 2006.*

Furthermore, the Head of ISA coordinates the secret services' operational and reconnaissance actions which may have an influence on the state's security.

One of the part of ISA's structure is The Anti-Terrorist Center (ATC)[3]; the objective of ATC is to coordinate the activities of the state's services and institutions in the field of exchange of information concerning preventing terrorist activity, and to cooperate with the equivalents on international level. Officers in charge of terrorism prevention, seconded from national services and institutions participate in the actions of ATC.

1.3   The Intelligence Agency

The Intelligence Agency (IA) holds an important function in terrorism prevention. The basic task of IA is to recognize and prevent external hazards threatening the safety, defensibility, independence and territorial inviolability of Poland. The above recognition concerns international terrorism, extremism and international crime syndicates, as well as – which is especially important in view of terrorist organizations' functioning – recognition of international sales of weapons, ammunition and explosives, as well as articles, technologies and services of strategic significance for the state's security, recognition of international sales of mass destruction weapons, and the hazards connected with dissemination of these weapons and means of their transportation.

It is worth to notice government administration is obliged to provide the Head of IA with information significant to external safety and the international position of the Republic of Poland, which concern especially:
– external hazards, threatening the security, defensibility, independence and territorial integrity and border inviolability of Poland,
– international terrorism and extremism and international crime syndicates,
– international sales of weapons, ammunition, explosive materials, narcotics and psychotropic substances, as well as articles, technologies and services of strategic significance to the security of the Republic of Poland and to maintain international peace and security.

1.4   The Ministry of the Interior and Administration

The Minister of the Interior and Administration implements tasks regarding the prevention of terrorist threats, as well as elimination of the effects of possible attacks. These tasks are carried out directly or through the actions of subordinate services (Police, Border Guard, Government Security Bureau and the National Fire Service).

Supervision of the Ministerial Team for Terrorist Threats in the system of terrorism prevention is especially significant in view of the coordinative function of the Minister of the Interior and Administration.

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[3]   *Established by the ruling of the Prime Minister, 2008.*

The Section for Terrorism Prevention functions as part of the organizational structure of the Public Security Department within the Ministry of the Interior and Administration. Tasks of the Department include, inter alia: preparing analysis and prognoses of terrorism threat level, as well as preparing conceptions of preventing threats related to terrorism, and participation in the preparation of projects and programs in this field.

The Division for Terrorism Prevention also prepares information and materials connected with the issue of terrorism for the Head of the Ministerial Team for Terrorist Threats – the Minister of the Interior. The Division also serves as substantive, official and technical assistance for the sessions of MTTT and the Permanent Expert Group. Reports on the state of security and public order in the country are elaborated for the management of the Ministry of the Interior and Administration, taking into account motions, prognoses and evaluation of the implementation of the tasks (regarding prevention of terrorist attacks) of the Police, Border Guard and the Government Security Bureau.

Basic tasks of the Police include the issues connected with the protection of human life, health and the properties from illegal actions which pose threats to these goods, protection of safety, public order, detecting crimes and offences, as well as pursuing the culprits. This responsibility obliges the Police to undertake tasks regarding terrorism prevention (despite the lack of detailed legal tasks in this field).

Because the issue of terrorism prevention and elimination considers public safety and public order, distinguished prevention and anti-terrorist squads are part of the Police. The Department for Combating Terrorist Acts operating within the Central Investigation Bureau of the Police Headquarters is responsible for combating criminal terrorism, terrorism and extremism. The Anti-Terrorist Operations Bureau of the Police Headquarters (AOB) deals with physical terrorism prevention and recognition and elimination of terrorism acts. Furthermore, the it deals with the supervision of actions of the independent anti-terrorist subdivisions of the Police and antiterrorist units. The AOB also cooperates with the national and foreign authorities in charge of preventing terrorist acts.

The Central Investigation Bureau coordinates the operational reconnaissance actions (obtaining and verifying information about events connected with threats) of the Police, in the field of terrorism and extremism recognition and prevention. The CIB cooperates with police services of other countries; this cooperation especially regards exchanging information regarding persons and events. The Police Working Group on Terrorism (PWGT), as well as the information exchange channels of Europol, Interpol and liaison officers serve as a platform of cooperation in this area.

In case of public safety danger or disturbance of public order, especially by a terrorist threat, or crimes committed towards objects of significant importance for the safety

and defensibility of the country or those that may pose threats to human life, the Prime Minister may order the use of armed squads of Police (on request by the Minister of the Interior).

Additionally, it is worth noticing that policemen may be seconded to serve abroad in order to realize the tasks in the Police quota assigned; inter alia, to participate in the actions of preventing terrorist acts or the effects of these acts.

The Border Guard has a detailed legal task to conduct actions in order to recognize and prevent terrorist threats. This task is carried out especially by the Operational Investigation Management of the Main Command of the Border Guard. Furthermore, in perspective of terrorism prevention, one should recognize the Border Guard's tasks regarding the execution of security control in the territorial range of the border crossing, and in the means of international transport, protection on aircrafts, which provide air transportation for the passengers, as well as protection of communication routes of special international significance from the crimes, the prevention of which is included in the tasks of the Border Guard. The Border Guard is also responsible for the prevention of illegal import and export of the following items: waste, harmful chemical substances, nuclear and radioactive materials, as well as illegal import and export of the following: narcotics and psychotropic substances, weapons, ammunition and explosive materials.

A special quota may be assigned to recognize and prevent terrorist threats, as part of the Border Guard, to realize certain tasks abroad.

The tasks executed by the Government Protection Bureau (GSB) are connected with the prevention of terrorist acts, which may target persons under the protection of GSB:
– President of Poland, Speaker of the Seym, Speaker of the Senate, Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, minister in charge of the interior and minister in charge of foreign affairs,
– foreign delegations residing on the territory of the Republic of Poland;
– Polish diplomatic representatives, consular offices and the representatives of international organizations outside the Republic of Poland,
– objects and devices of special significance.

The Government Protection Bureau also deals with the recognition of pyrotechnic radiological objects of the Seym and Senate, as well as the protection of objects serving the President of Poland, the Prime Minister, minister in charge of the interior and minister in charge of foreign affairs.

1.5 Financial sector

Effective terrorism prevention is largely dependent on the proper prevention of its financing. The government administration authorities in charge of preventing pro-

perties from illegal or undisclosed sources being introduced for financial circulation, and the prevention of terrorism financing are, above all[4]:
– minister in charge of financial institutions as the supervising authority for financial information,
– General Inspector of Financial Information.

Important tasks in this area, indirectly connected with terrorism prevention, are conducted by the Border Guard and the General Inspector of Tax Investigation.

Among the tasks of the General Inspector of Financial Information (GIFI) is; above all, obtaining, gathering, transforming and analyzing information and undertaking actions in order to prevent properties from illegal or undisclosed sources for financial circulation.

In the field of preventing terrorism financing, the GIFI provides the concerned institutions with information on entities suspected of having connections with terrorist acts, and cooperates with foreign institutions preventing this process.

Withholding transactions and blocking accounts, as well as initiating other actions which prevent the use of the Polish finance system for legalization of income from illegal or disclosed sources, is a significant right of the GIFI. This includes staff training of the employees of institutions obligated in the range of tasks imposed on these institutioThe Customs Service of the financial resort is an important part of the system of terrorism prevention. The tasks of this formation serve the implementation of the country's custom policy concerning import and export of articles. This property is connected with preventing terrorism by controlling import and export of articles that may be used in a terrorist act. The responsibilities of the Customs Service include recognition, detection and prevention of crimes and offences connected with importing and exporting articles; defined in restrictions or bans, to the Polish customs area, especially such as:
– harmful waste,
– chemical substances,
– radioactive materials,
– narcotics and psychotropic substances,
– weapons, ammunition, explosives,
– technologies defined in international control.

The Tax Intelligence Service has similar tasks in the context of terrorism prevention. Tax control includes recognition and elimination of crimes connected with foreign sales of articles and technologies, which are defined in international controls.

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[4] *In accordance with the ruling on prevention of properties from illegal or undisclosed sources being introduced into financial circulation, and on prevention of terrorism financing, 2000.*

1.6 Responsibilities of the Ministry of Defense

The tasks of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland in the field of eliminating terrorist threats resulted from their legal responsibilities. The Armed forces in justified cases may participate in:
– eliminating natural disasters and their effects,
– anti-terrorist actions,
– search and rescue actions,
– clearing fields from explosives and hazardous materials of military origin and disposing of these materials.

In the cases when the use of armed squads of the Police is insufficient, the squads of the Armed Forces may be assigned to assist the Police (on the basis of a regulation of the President of the Republic of Poland, issued on request of Prime Minister). Assistance may also be provided as independent counteraction of the Armed Forces toward threats or crimes, in cases when the squads of Police are insufficient to respond to these threats.

Among many tasks of the Military Police in the context of terrorist threats, the protection of human life and well-being, as well as military properties from acts which pose a threat to these goods and cooperation with the Military Counter Intelligence Service are most important.

The Military Counterintelligence Service (MCS) performs especially the tasks regarding recognition, prevention and detection of the following crimes:
– committed by soldiers on active military duty, officers of MCS, Military Intelligence Service, employees of the Armed Forces and other organizational units of the Ministry of Defense,
– connected with terrorist activity, posing a threat to the state's defensive potential, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland and the organizational units of the Ministry of National Defense and of the country providing mutual assistance.

In these situations, the MCS must cooperate with the Military Police and other authorities entitled to combat crimes on the basis of their scope of responsibilities. Preventing all sorts of danger (including terrorist danger), which may pose a threat to the state's defensibility and the combating capacity of the Armed Forces, and informing proper authorities of the country about those threats are among legal tasks of the MCS.

The responsibilities of the Military Intelligence Service, in cases of international terrorism threats, include broadly defined recognition and prevention. Especially important tasks are also exercised in the field of recognizing the international sales of weapons, ammunition, explosives, as well as articles, technologies and services of strategic significance to the state's security; recognizing the international sales of weapons of mass destruction and the threats connected with the dissemination of these weapons and means of their transportation.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Defense implements Cooperative Airspace Initiative – an initiative carried out within NATO-Russia Council, concerning cooperation in the field of aerial space use and aerial traffic management.[5] The basic goal of CAI is to create the possibility of mutual exchange of information concerning aircrafts which may be used to execute a terrorist attack (RENEGADE), between NATO and Russia.

1.7 Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The function of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in the system of terrorism defense includes: maintaining relations of Poland with other countries and international organizations, as well as representing and protecting the interest of Poland, Polish citizens and Polish legal persons abroad. The Ministerial Group of Poliferation Security Initiative[6] functions within the MFA. It is a consulting advisory institution of the Council of Ministers. The tasks of this institution include elaborating statements which concern the most important issues of preventing the illegal dissemination of weapons of mass destruction, means of their transportation, materials and technologies required in their production, and articles of double use. Elaborating the conception of 'the national mechanisms of interception' of illegal transports of the earlier mentioned weapons, means, materials and articles; and analyzing the problems and legal documents, as well as providing the Council of Ministers with propositions of appropriate legislative acts, are also important tasks.

1.8 The Ministry of Justice

The Ministry of Justice deals with issues connected with jurisdiction and prosecutor's office. Furthermore, it ensures the preparation of the projects of law codification, including criminal law, on the basis of which the prosecution of terrorists is conducted.

Tasks connected with the prevention and elimination of terrorist threats, and the neutralization of the effects of possible terrorist acts are conducted by proper services and authorities, and emergency services. In this field, two main areas of tasks realized by proper services and subjects are distinguished:
– prevention of terrorism attacks (prevention and elimination of terrorist threats),
– emergency response after a possible terrorist attack (neutralization of the effects of terrorist acts).

The role of the public prosecutor's office is to guard the law and order, as well as to supervise the pursuits of criminals. This task is executed by the General Prosecutor and prosecutors subordinated to him through:
– conduction or supervision of preparatory proceedings in penal trials and holding the function of a public prosecutor before courts,
– conducting research on the issues of crime and its elimination and prevention,
– coordinating actions regarding the pursuit of crime, conducted by other national authorities;

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[5] *Established by ruling No. 140 of the Prime Minister, 2008.*

[6] *Established by ruling No. 36 of the Prime Minister, 2008.*

– cooperating with the national authorities and organizational units as well as social organizations in order to prevent crime and other violations of the law.

Conclusion   Modern terrorist acts are targeted against a large number of victims and spectacular effects. A number of factors hinder the struggle with this phenomenon. These factors include: the lack of a defined, real territory of the enemy, anonymity and secretiveness of the enemy, unpredictable suddenness and violence of the enemy's actions, developing globalization and the use of new methods and means of combat. The terrorists are always a step ahead of the services responsible for the country's internal security. Despite the services' specialization, prevention of terrorist acts is incredibly difficult; precise prediction of the place and time of a planned attack is practically impossible. Therefore, the country's multi-levelled activity, regarding recognition and prevention as well as the elimination of terrorist threats aiming, above all, to protect the citizens, is very important.

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Ylli ZYLA

ALBANIJA IN IZZIVI BOJA PROTI TERORIZMU

ALBANIA AND CHALLENGES AGAINST TERRORISM

Povzetek   Države iz naše regije so si pod komunističnim režimom, ki je v Vzhodni Evropi vladal več desetletij, delile podobno preteklost. Po zlomu komunizma so preživljale gospodarsko in politično tranzicijo, ki je, čeprav različna glede trajanja in oblik, imela nekaj skupnega. Trajala je dlje in bila je težja, kot je bilo mogoče predvidevati v začetku devetdesetih let. Spremembe, ki so vključevale države komunističnega bloka v Vzhodni in Jugovzhodni Evropi, so bile večinoma spodbujene z željo po demokraciji v naših družbah, po gospodarskem razvoju ter integraciji v evropsko in evroatlantsko skupnost. V globalizacijskem obdobju integracij in odprtih meja je mednarodni terorizem sorazmerno nov, vendar skrajno ogrožajoč pojav za regijo. Tragediji 11. septembra v Združenih državah in pokol 11. marca v Španiji sta dokaz terorizma brez meja in brez jasnih ciljev, ki ima za posledico stotine žrtev med civilnim prebivalstvom. Pomanjkanje izkušenj v boju proti terorizmu je razlog, da je naša regija še bolj ranljiva zaradi mogočih terorističnih napadov. Še več, teroristične organizacije lahko prek dejavnosti, ki se zdijo zakonite, našo regijo izkoristijo zase kot izhodišče za logistično podporo in financiranje.

Ključne besede   *Mednarodni terorizem, sodelovanje, pomanjkanje izkušenj.*

Abstract   The countries of our region shared a similar past under the communist regime that ruled over the Eastern Europe for decades. After the communist collapse, our countries have undergone an economic and political transition, which although different in timeline and features had something in common: it took a longer period and it was harder then perceived at the beginning of '90s. The changes involving the countries of communist block in the Eastern and Southeastern countries were inspired mostly from eagerness for democracy of our societies, for economic development, integration within the European and Euro-Atlantic society. In the globalization era of integration and open borders, the international terrorism presents a

relatively new but extremely threatening phenomenon for the region. The tragedies of September 11 in the United States of America, the massacre of March 11 in Spain, are evidences of terrorism without borders, without distinguished goals, resulting in hundreds of casualties among civilian population. The lack of experience in fighting terrorism makes our region vulnerable to the potential terrorist attacks. Moreover, terrorist organizations, through activities seemingly legal, may exploit our region as a basis for their logistic support and financing.

Key words   *International terrorism, cooperation, lack of experience.*

The Common Challenge Against Terrorism

The challenge that the Southeastern Europe encounters is the religion-motivated terrorism, based on fundamentalism, bigotry and absence of religious tolerance. A dangerous factor is Islamic fundamentalism, the goal of which is the fusion of religion, state, politics, modern technologies and terrorism. In this context it implies the imposing of Islam belief by the fundamentalist unions.

The fight against this phenomenon can not be won within a short time and requires a multi-directional commitment. Deployment of military troops within NATO coalition, to nib this in the bud and to rebuild failed states is not enough, neither is entirely sufficient the fight against the terrorism limited to state borders. The challenge against terrorism needs the necessary cooperation among counterpart state institutions within the region and the work co-ordination with common planes.

Nowadays, it is obvious that our responsibility as citizens and institutions is not solely an undisputed obligation for us, being consumers of security (even of the regional one), but also producers and contributors of such security. The obligation regarding the fight against organized crime and terrorism is primarily a national obligation. But this obligation is extended in the international domain as well, for the simple reason that international contribution and cooperation are absolutely inevitable, especially when dealing with effective prevention and uncompromised fight against the organized crime, terrorism, international narcotics smuggling, human trafficking, money laundering and other similar phenomena.

We are well aware that the organized crime and terrorism constitute nowadays a serious threat, not only for the regular economic-social development and the welfare of the citizens of a certain country, but also for those of every country in the world. These trends are becoming increasingly dangerous, should we take into account that some of these criminal organizations, operating in international level, are being involved into activities of organized crime and terrorism.

From this perspective, the fight against the organized crime and international terrorism requires:
1. Strengthening of intelligence services at national level and the reinforcement of cooperation and activity coordination among them.

2. The further consolidation of border control, via comprehensive measures in the cross-check points, and through the reinforcement of the mutual cooperation, in order to have safeguard borders and to make them impenetrable by the criminal activities in the field of organized crime and terrorism (Ibraj, 2005).
3. The enlargement of the tracking and investigative capacities of the law enforcement agencies, to guarantee results during the implementation of special investigation techniques. This would require not only the equipment and means and the continuous training of the personnel, but also the inter-regional experience exchange and planning of mutual operations.
4. The establishing of a common network, the base of which would be a server, supplied and provided with the data about individuals, groups, associations or foreign and local organizations identified as extremist and fundamentalist.

The shaping base of terrorism can define the phenomenon of global terrorism as a well organized and dangerous informal power. Furthermore, the invigoration of terrorism promotes and establishes conditions for all the current informal phenomena. The biggest challenge against it is the one between the state institution formality and institutionalized informality accomplished by the groups and organization that sponsor and provide terrorism.

While the formal institutions are official and organized, the informal institutionalization is organized, but possesses a pyramidal hierarchy.

Official institutions have military capacities and high technology, intelligent services and specialized interception network, but unofficial institutions have people who sacrifice themselves for the cause, possess means, certainly in a smaller quantity and limited potential (Kabo, 2008).

The official institutions have financial sources and media means with a massive use against extremism and terrorism, the informal entities have money, a lot of money and media means. The difference is that the state allocates the money carefully and according to a rigid bureaucracy, whereas the informal entities allocate and transfer the money faster on emergency casual grounds. The state institutions may regain superiority by monitoring carefully the bank transfers or suspicious trade transactions.

1 ALBANIAN EFFORTS AGAINST TERRORISM INFRASTRUCTURE

During a meeting with Albanian authorities Patrick O'Brien stated: "Albania has shown an enhancement of capacities in the fight against terrorism financing, but the issues of informal activities are large in Albania, starting from the use of 'cash'. Terrorism, being a venture that requires continuous financing for recruitment, training, armament and movement, certainly has to find a way for money transfers. The enhancement of international endeavor to stop the terrorist financing through the normal bank channels has forced the terrorist to look for alternative ways for the money transfer in cash. In such a context, the informal economy, by making legal the

circulation of money in cash form, creates an attractive environment for the organizations which sponsor terrorism" (O'Brien, 2007).

Truth be told, official Tirana is assessed to abide regularly to the requirements of UN in the fight against terrorism. Albania has thwarted (frozen) over 40 bank accounts, and buildings, land, wealth of people who are listed by the UN as suspected terrorists. The confiscation of Foundation assets ˈGlobal Relief Foundation' (GRF), established in October 22 , 2002; the expropriation of Foundation assets ˈRingjallja e Trashegimise Islame', known as ˈRevival Of Islamic Heritage Society', RIHS, established in January 22, 2003; the forfeiture of the foundation ˈAl Haramania', established in June 6, 2004; the confiscation of the foundation assets ˈTaibah of Islamic', established in March 10, 2005, also known as the International Association of Aid, are some of the operations of Albanian institutions in fulfilling the requirements of UN.[1]

During the last years, promoted and assisted by our Euroatlantic partners, Albanian state have intensified the efforts to establish the necessary infrastructure to fight the terrorist financing and prevent money laundering stemming from crime. Part of these efforts are the approval of specific laws concerning the fight against these phenomena; the necessary amendments in the Criminal Code and Penal Procedure and the establishment of efficient structure in the courts, prosecution offices and law-enforcement agencies as well.

Terrorist criminals use different financial routes to provide (secure) and transfer the money. Some groups are supported by usual criminal activities. Others receive support by trade enterprises, donations and funds provided by the charity organizations in order to finance their activities and to transfer materials and personnel. Using charity as shell organization to secure funds, the supporters of terrorist groups establish businesses and transfer funds to each other. They also attempt to corrupt or establish partnership with the legal companies to invest, collect or transfer funds of their own.

The case of cell of Egyptian Islamic Jihad, busted in Albania some years ago and deported to Egypt, showed that the aforementioned methods were used to be settled in Albania. This cell has infiltrated his members in some charity organizations such as: 'Global Relief Foundation' (GRF); 'Revival of Islamic Inheritance'; the foundation 'Al Haramaina'; the foundation 'Taibah of Islamic' etc. These organizations sponsored the *salafi* movement in our country. The departure of this organization from Albania does not mean that the tracks of their activity are swept away. Some of them are legitimized under Albanian names. The people who worked within these associations have started their own businesses and continue to self-sponsor their activities. According to Patrick O'Brien during his visit in Tirana "[...] it results that a small part of these business have been used or are currently used to collect money

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[1] *Statistics from the Albanian Financial Intelligence Unit (Ministry of Finance), reference http://www.fint.gov.al, http://www.fint.gov.al/doc/u7.pdf.*

which later finance terrorism. The recommendation for Albania would be to establish strong checking authorities, keeping record and regulate these organizations".

Since 2001, approximately 140 million dollars have been frozen over the world. This has caused hardship to the terrorists for the financing through the regular bank channels, which generally leave paper trail behind. By international cooperation and communication, the law-enforcement agencies have been capable to track some of this paper trail, thus discovering terrorist organizations and their supporters. Therefore, terrorists are looking for new financing and fund transfer forms. They have started to use alternative ways, the money transfer in cash.

Hence, the criminal groups prefer places where the border check does not constitute an issue for them, where the most of the money circulate outside the banks and where the monitoring systems do not work properly. Such environment is suitable for these groups whose goal is to finance terrorism or money laundering of the illegal activities profits. Stephen Cristina, the special representative in the United States embassy in Tirana, stated that: "Albania has a lot of to do in order to control the money".

Informal economy and the circulation of the money outside the bank channels are quite serious concerns in Albania. The current situation, the high scale of informal economy, the climate in Albania is a favorable per groups which aim to finance terrorism and money laundering.

In order to hinder the terrorist capability to finance the operation, the efforts must focus not only on the regular bank sectors, but also on the alternative financing means and especially on the fight against informal economy. To fight informal economy means to create a suffocating climate for the sponsors of terrorism and money laundering originating from criminal activities.

2   THE INDISPENSABLE COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE STATE AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

In Albanian case, although the legal framework since the communist collapse has sanctioned the freedom of religion, a real guarantee of this freedom can not be stated as the local religious communities, in most of the cases, have no financial means and material resources to enable their free activity. More than half of their budget is supplied by foreign sources. The freedom of religious activity for each community, in this case, depends on the outer aid, rarely unconditioned, aid provided by the community itself.

Recently, Albanian state has signed an agreement between the state and religious community, thus giving room to compilation and approval of a legal set which will fulfill the existing legal vacuum in the country regarding the financing of religious communities, religious education system and the return and indemnity of the properties to these communities (Shala, 2008). This constitutes a serious investment for our national security.

The agreement with the Albanian Muslim Community is of a special importance, as the state is in charge for the protection of this community from every rival and usurpation attempt. The article 5 of the agreement states that: "The state respect the Albanian Muslim Community and recognize as its representative only the individuals authorized by the Albanian Muslim Community and guarantee the protection of the Albanian Muslim Community from any person or group that claims its name, ritual objects, properties, symbols and stamp".

Also, the agreement states clear–cut that will be protected the traditional religious version of Albanian Islam, thus interrupting every attempt for the wahabist extremist movement. Article 2 of the agreement defines "Albanian Muslim Community is an organization of Muslim believers who express and/or exercise the convictions, principles and religious rituals determined by the Islam legislation sources, Legal Religious School ʻHanefi' and the statute of Muslim Community of Albania".

The aforementioned agreement is a clear evidence of the twofold persistence of state and Muslim Community, against every deformation and extremist trends.

Hence, the article 3 states clearly that this agreement purpose is to "[r]ecognize and guarantee the reactions and actions of the Albanian Muslim Community itself against the deformation, extremist trends or any other signals of austerity among its believers. The Albanian Muslim Community notifies the respective authorities for any case of that kind."

Conclusion

As a conclusion, nowadays, the Southeastern Europe is facing a wide range of issues, challenges and serious threats concerning security and threat stemming from religious extremism and terrorism. The aforementioned factors, twined with the criminal net of organized crimes constitute an emergent concern, especially for the Balkan countries, where the state institution power and the law enforcement is still fragile and incomplete. There is a symbiosis between the terrorism and high unemployment, unstable economy, high level of organized crime and corruption. Once these forces extent undisturbed, strengthen and twine, then preconditions are formed for the lack of stability not only internally but also regionally. In times when religious belonging may supersede the national identity and replace inter-religious tolerance in search of another extremist identity which is not part of a Balkan culture, a series of issues and extremist tendencies can only be prevented from erupting in the region in the near future by strengthening the national institutions, with the support of international community and a close regional collaboration, to establish a quiet coexistence and a complete integration of the region in the European Community.

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Zoran Ivanov

ČETRTA GENERACIJA VOJSKOVANJA IN MEDAGENCIJSKEGA SODELOVANJA TER USKLAJEVANJA V BOJU PROTI TERORIZMU: MAKEDONSKA IZKUŠNJA

FOURTH GENERATION OF WARFARE AND INTERAGENCY COOPERATION AND COORDINATION IN COMBATING TERRORISM: MACEDONIA EXPERIENCE

Povzetek   V tem članku poskušamo predstaviti drugačen pogled na medagencijsko sodelovanje. Izhodišče je trditev, da so potrebne prilagoditve glede na nove usmeritve v zvezi z vojskovanjem. Začenjamo ga z analizo evolucije vojskovanja, ki bo pomagala pri razumevanju glavnih sprememb in tega, kako prilagoditi trenutne zmogljivosti novim metodam vojskovanja, da bi lahko izkoristili vse mogoče sposobnosti. Članek na splošno podaja strategijo teroristov in poskuša prepoznati proces njenega uresničevanja. Nadaljujemo s splošno sliko strategije boja proti terorizmu v primerjavi s strategijo teroristov. Na koncu podajamo makedonsko izkušnjo kot primer, kaj se lahko dogodi državi, če obrambni sistem ne more pravočasno zaznati groženj vojskovanja zunaj pravil in išče rešitve za obrambo integritete države, ko vladne agencije ne sodelujejo med seboj.

Ključne besede   *Protiterorizem, vojskovanje, četrta generacija, medagencijsko sodelovanje, sodelovanje.*

Abstract   This article tries to give a different perspective on interagency cooperation. The starting point is that in the light of new trends of warfare adjustments are needed. It starts with giving an explanation of evolution of warfare. This analysis will help understand major changes, and how to adjust today's capabilities to new methods of warfare in order to exploit all potential capacities. It outlines terrorist strategy and identifies process in its execution. It continues with giving a general picture of strategy of combating terrorism as a comparison with the terrorist strategy. In the end it gives the Macedonian experience as an example of what happens in a country when the defense system cannot not identify the threats from irregular warfare and struggle for a solution in a timely manner to defend the country's integrity if governmental agencies do not cooperate with each other.

Key words   *Counter-terrorism, warfare, fourth generation, interagency, cooperation.*

Introduction The 9/11 became a point where all governmental agencies participants in defense of the country changed their mind set in countering threats. New stage of communication and cooperation between agencies was set, as a result of experiencing the consequences from the unknown and unexpected. The long-standing barriers built roadblocks among agencies, and now there is a felling that these blocks are crumbling down. The need for information in combating terrorism and criminal activities has become a main battle (Fusion Center Guidelines, 2005).

Combating terrorism is not just taking measures from one or two governmental agencies. There is no doubt that in some states this is the case. The terrorists are given the freedom of operations by failing to set the government system in place to combat terrorism. Successful combat against terrorism needs to include the whole governmental system with all its agencies. It is in human nature to compete and try to reach awards and credit, and so do the agencies. With the time, this selfishness turned into competition. However, there is no space for competition in combating terrorism. A lot of money, resources and time have been spent, and there is still a lack of quality in final products. In other words, terrorists gain the advantage.

On the other hand, there is a very big difference between structures in governments and terrorist organization. Governments are organized vertically. Terrorist's organizations are organized horizontally. Why is this important? Countering the threats requires a system that is capable of disrupting the enemy's tempo of operations. For example, making a decision and taking an action on the ground requires a chain of command, no matter whether it is a military or civilian agency. Next is making decisions and giving orders to the subordinates. This process takes time. Most of the time, targets are time sensitive. In this type of warfare, time is critical.

In comparison with government systems, terrorist organizations have full freedom of operations. This means that if it is necessary to make a decision and take actions, the cells are doing so, in order to fulfill the mission. Each of the cells is responsible for fulfilling the given mission. This is a one-way communication. Receiving the mission is the only communication with superiors. It is fast and effective with no bureaucracy.

All of this presents a big challenge to us. There are so many moving parts in the system that needs adjusting in order to achieve the desirable objective. Having a very good understanding of threat environment and how it fits into the new type of warfare is key to a successful cooperation between agencies. Moreover, the willingness to understand that threats are present throughout the whole specter of government system and willingness to accept mutual support will increase cooperation between agencies.

Having this in mind, let us first try to explain the evolution of warfare and threats.

1   EVOLUTION OF WARFARE: FOURTH GENERATION WARFARE

It is essential to understand warfare environment in order to successfully counter the threats to the national security. Understanding threats that are very flexible and adaptive to our security measures is not an easy job.

The fourth generation of warfare is a modern type of war which is characterized by overlapping the lines between war, politics, civilian realm, peace and conflicts, battlefield and security. Evolution of warfare environment will challenge international and interagency cooperation and collaborations.

This doctrine was first introduced in 1989 by a team of American analysts[1]. In the broader term, the fourth generation of warfare includes losing monopoly over armed forces by the nation/states and turning back towards uncontrolled ways of combat. In other words, the fourth generation of warfare includes every war in which adversaries are not just nation/states, but also violent ideological networks.

2   DEFINITION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF FOURTH GENERATION OF WARFARE

Although the fourth generation of warfare sounds very similar to or implies a form of guerrilla warfare, terrorism and asymmetrical warfare, there are some essential differences between them. It is very logical that this type of warfare is a successor to previous warfare as a result of rapid evolution of technology, society and the mindset of the people in the new era.

The first generation of warfare can be recognized by the tactics of lines and columns, which evolved in the time of muskets and rifles with single and slow reloads. It lasted until the introduction of the machine gun, barbwire and indirect fire.

The second generation of warfare is recognized by the tactics of linear fire which was supported by indirect fire (the original proverb was: "Artillery is the Queen of battle"). This type of warfare ended with WW I, with the appearance of the tank and aircraft.

The third generation of warfare is recognized by the tactics of infiltration behind enemy lines in order to round enemy positions (avoiding direct contact whenever possible) and defense in depth. The German *blitzkrieg* is a classic example of infiltration and encirclement, while Soviet defense is a classic example of defense in depth. Characteristics of this type of warfare are the use of the maneuver as the decision point of combat success. This warfare was a characteristic of WW II. It appeared at end of WW II and evolved during the Cold War, when the superpowers and other

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[1]   *William S. Lind, Colonel Keith Nightingale (USA), Captain John F. Schmitt (USMC), Colonel Joseph W. Sutton (USA), i Lieutenant Colonel Gary I. Wilson (USMCR) in the magazine "Marine Corps Gazette" with title "The Changing Face of War: Into the Fourth Generation".*

colonial states tried to conquer new territories away from home, facing the enemy who was highly motivated, but not powerful, forced to employ guerrilla methods of warfare: secrecy, terror and confusion in order to fill the technological gap.

Fighting in the next generation of warfare with tactics of the third generation, on which modern armies base their doctrines, will take a toll due to their inertness and rigidity.

The fourth generation of warfare includes:
– complex and long-lasting wars with guerrilla tactics,
– terrorism,
– multinational adversaries and transnational bases,
– direct attacks towards adversary culture,
– psychological warfare through manipulation of media,
– using all available networks: political, economical, military, social etc.,
– low intensity conflicts, including all actors from above-mentioned networks,
– non-combatants or civilians (a controversial subject of discussion and a big dilemma for conducting operations).

It also includes insurgent groups or other organizations who want to overthrow the government and set up their own. However, most effective ones are those with an aim to delegitimize and disorganize it. In this case, their end state is to extort more manpower and finances from the government to in order to keep the environment secure until it collapses and starts to negotiate with insurgents.

This type of warfare can be recognized in the states that are unstable, very close to bankruptcy, also in ethnic, religious and civil conflicts. The number of reasons the states are losing monopoly on the wars increases every day because (of):
– modern technology and economic integration allow global operations;
– ascent of cultural, ethnical and religious conflicts which can be initiated by smaller groups of people;
– globalization itself (mainly through IT-connections which make open societies and economies highly vulnerable);
– technological development is boosting effectiveness of many independent combatants;
– global media saturation allows manipulation with public opinion;
– today's technology enables terrorists an easy life and allows the formation of in-surgents cells and network.

As regards classic weapons, the main weapon of the fourth generation of warfare is the idea – which is proved to be stronger than technology. A good example is Islamic fundamentalism which originates from a pan-Arabic idea.

Clashes between cultures, not states, are typical of this type of warfare. Many authors consider that after the WW II and colonial wars the old conflict between civilizations

and cultures is back. After 300 years of strategic defense, from the Ottomans at the door of Vienna in 1683, Islam is restoring its strategic offense against the western cultures and values, spreading in all directions. The invasion of Islamist emigrants into the western world, can be considered more dangerous that the invasion of armies (Lind, 2004).

Tactics of fourth generation of warfare

The fourth generation of warfare is still new to us, and nobody can fully understand it because it constantly evolves. The one to first understand the need of changes will gain the advantage and vice versa. The nations that will be slow in adapting the new way of warfare, will not survive.

Even if the goal is accomplished without violence and the process takes place in peace, it can be considered a victory, at least some kind of war (ideological in this case), in other words, a battle without a war.

All wars are fought on three levels, and the victory depends on their balance:
1. the physical level (armed battle itself),
2. the mental level (the will for fight, faith in victory) and
3. the moral level (justification of using violence).

In comparison with other types of warfare, physical force is less important and co-unter-productive. The moral level is very important and includes respecting cultural, sociological and religious values. The main dilemma lies in the fact that physical victory does not lead to moral victory. Big armies can win all battles, yet they can lose the war.

A battle can be fought without the physical level of fighting, employing non-violen-ce methods. A good example is Gandhi's resistance against Britain, who challenged them on moral and mental level through provocation of using violent methods against peaceful resistance. Thus the state was losing international support on moral level.

Every generation of warfare contributes to changing the battlefield. Today's or the fourth generation of warfare includes the whole society in the battlefield. It is not about the physical destruction of the enemy; more important is the destruction from the inside. The goal is to defeat people's support and destroy the enemy's culture. Accurate identification of the enemy's strategic center of gravitation is essential.

Tactical and strategic levels will combine when the enemy's political infrastructu-re and civilian society become military targets. Smaller groups of people can make more damage for a short period of time. Psychological operations will become the dominant strategic weapon in the form of media and information intervention.

Computer viruses and software will be used to attack military and civilian operations. Media manipulation will be normal in order to influence domestic and international

opinions. The domestic audience will become the enemy's target group in order to weaken their support. TV news might become the strongest weapon.

In the general fourth generation of warfare, the concept will be extended and undefined. The difference between war and peace will almost disappear or they will overlap. War is asymmetric from the point where battlefields and fronts are gone. There are no differences between combatants and civilians. There are no HQ and commands because of the vulnerability of strategic infrastructure. Success will require coordination between all actors: police, military, judicial system and other government agencies, because their responsibilities will overlap. The third generation of warfare had all of this, but in fourth these will be essential.

3   MACEDONIAN EXPERIENCE

The 11 September became a decision point in reforming national strategies in combating terrorism and reforming intelligence apparatus, not only for the US, but also for everybody else. Before the 9/11 attacks, terrorism threat was real and present, but no one was aware of its power. When the attacks happened and the US was struggling to recover from them and trying to set the next step in combating terrorism, the rest of the world realized that when a big power such as the US could not protect itself from the same threats, the 'wakening bell' started to ring.

It is very simple and logical. Once the threat pushes the right collapsing button, it will continue with its movement while we struggle with our recovery, security and intelligence reforms, interagency frictions and unity of effort (Krawchuk, 2005). This elusive threat will continue looking for new opportunities to strike again. It is essential to have a good understanding of terrorist's and insurgent's organization, tactics, policies, communication, ideologies and personalities. Only a cogent understanding of their networks would help to produce an appropriate strategy to defeat them. (Krawchuk, 2005).

In the same time of the US terrorists attacks, the Republic of Macedonia was threatened by Albanian insurgency, spilled over from Kosovo.

Before the conflict was started in Macedonia, the threats from a new type of warfare could be recognized the moment, when for the first time in fifty years' history, NATO went to war on March 24, 1999, against Milosevic regime (Daalagher, O'Hanlon, 2001). In same time the Albanian insurgency – KLA was active in Kosovo. The KLA was doing its best to overthrow Milosevic regime and gain Kosovo's independence. On the other hand, NATO had moral and strategic rectitude on its side in using military power in the Balkans. First, upholding human rights and alleviating humanitarian tragedy are worthy goals for American national security policy. Doing so reinforces the notion that the United States is not interested in power for its own sake but rather to enhance stability and security and to promote certain universal principles and values. Second, the United States and its allies have a special interest

in upholding these values in Europe, a continent that has become generally free and undivided since the cold war ended but that remains conflict ridden in the Balkans. Third, in addition to these humanitarian and normative rationales, traditional national interest argues for quelling violence in the Balkans because instability there can affect key allies more directly than instability in most other parts of the world (Daalagher, O'Hanlon, 2001:11-12).

After the Alliance air campaign, Serbian leaders and NATO agreed to a peace settlement in which Kosovo would be under UN governance, with the KLA demilitarized and transformed into the Kosovo Protection Corps. Encouraged by the success in Kosovo, the ideology of fighting for Albanian rights continued to spread around the region. Soon after, two organizations were identified in South Serbia and northwest Macedonia very similar to the KLA with the ideology of liberation of the ethnic Albanian territories: the NLA and UCPMB (Babanovski, 2002).

On the other hand, Macedonian defense was still in some kind of transition period, implementing new NATO tactics, techniques and procedures. While the defense system was sitting on two chairs, it was not just facing the insurgency, but also the new type of warfare, where there are no lines between soldiers and civilians; the fronts were gone. Macedonian military leaders in that time were officers from the former Yugoslavian Army. They had a leading role. This was not the case only in the Army. A majority of the leaders in the whole Macedonian defense system of that time were from the old system. In absence of a good understanding of consequences by the Kosovo insurgency since the conflict started, conventional military and police forces were triggered to fight the 'enemy' who could even hardly be seen. While the Macedonian Defense system was struggling to find the best way to fight the threat, suddenly the whole governmental system was under attack. The targets were Macedonian politics, military and police forces, intelligence and diplomatic system. The Albanian insurgents' strategy was: Building a close relationship with the media to give legitimacy to their terrorist actions and justify their cause in order to change future structure of the government and to consolidate their direct and complete control over territories where ethnic Albanians live. The Albanian insurgency strategy in Macedonia can be used as an example of processes of terrorist strategy (Maley, 2009):
– focusing attention (international more often);
– winning acknowledgement (international more often);
– obtaining recognition;
– seeking authority, and
– consolidating control.

The only answer to the threats that Macedonia experienced were conventional military and police units. Many times in the history of counterinsurgency was it proven that fighting insurgency with conventional forces equals failure. Besides, Macedonian military leaders were still using conventional tactics and procedures to fight Albanian insurgency. Many times, the Macedonian Parliament discussed

whether to declare the state of war or not. In absence of proofs to identify the enemy, Macedonian decision makers decided not to declare it. The enemies the Macedonian defense system could not identify were somewhere between combatants and civilians. They utilized psychological operations in order to gain international support and to show that Macedonian security forces were occupiers in their own country. The tactics of small insurgent groups against larger security forces delegitimized security operations. Their intent was not to fight for the territory. The goal was to overthrow the present political government[2]. Even though Macedonian intelligence agencies were trying to identify the real threat, they were not flexible enough to recognize the potential threat. On the other hand, the intelligence agencies for the first time faced the enemy who was very hard to define. The Macedonian intelligence was not the only to fail to identify threats from irregular warfare. A good example is the United States intelligence in general and the CIA in particular which failed to warn with sufficient clarity and specificity of the 11 September 2001 conspiracy that caused the deaths of nearly 3,000 civilians in the American homeland (Russell, 2007). The same thing happened to the Macedonian intelligence (Military Service for Security and Intelligence, Intelligence Agency and Department for State Security). By the time the conflict was over, all three agencies failed to succeed in achieving the unity of effort in intelligence operations[3]. Not only were the reports not coordinated between agencies, sometimes they were even contradictory. Since all three agencies were very well respected, additional time for confirming the information was asked for by National authorities in order to clarify the contradictions,The very slow progress of Macedonian defense system to adapt to the threats from irregular warfare made the system very vulnerable, allowing some of the irregular forces to enter into it.

Many lessons are learned from the conflict. Reforms at all levels of national power (military, law enforcement, informational, financial, diplomatic and intelligence) are constantly adjusting. It is finally understood that cooperation and coordination are needed between security and intelligence agencies. In 2003 with the decision of the President and the Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia, an Act was signed which regulates coordination and exchange of intelligence information and cooperation in order to achieve the unity of effort[4]. Also in 2005, an interagency working group was formed to implement NATO - Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism[5].

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[2] These conclusions are from many analyses made in MOD of RM some years after the conflict.

[3] In that time I worked with Military Service for Security and Intelligence in MOD of RM, the operations that were planned and executed were without cooperation and coordination with other two civilian Intelligence Agency and Department for State Security in MOI.

[4] Act of President and Prime Minister of RoM (document - DT.br.07-9 from September 17, 2003 and document - DT.br.66/1 from March 16, 2003).

[5] MOI organizational structure and function of Department for Security and Counterintelligence.

Conclusion   As a result of asymmetrical threats, a characteristic of this new type of warfare, it is very obvious that changes and adjustments are needed in interagency cooperation in order to adapt to the new threat environment. Agencies are very different in their perspectives and organizations, and most of the time they have overlapping responsibilities. On the other hand, most agencies continue with their evolution strategically and operationally in order to obtain effective and actionable intelligence (Krawchuk, 2005).

In the article "Combating Terrorism: An Interagency Approach", Krachuk (2005), talks about closing the interagency gaps, with the right leaders in the right places, who can be able to answer the following challenges:
– educating the interagency community on capabilities and limitations;
– shaping and sharpening interagency plans and operations;
– providing timely information that would potentially accelerate the national decision making process and improve the flow of critical information;
– helping establish systems and procedures to institutionalize the CT/COIN planning and operations and tighten the seams between the military, law enforcement, intelligence and diplomatic communities (vertically and horizontally); and
– developing relationships and networks that will provide better support for policymakers and operators alike at all levels.

Having in mind the fourth generation of warfare and it characteristics, it seems that Krachuk's challenges are in very close relationship. Combating terrorism requires actions and measures throughout the governmental spectrum. This was not the case with Macedonian defense system during the conflict in 2001. It has to be a joint effort. It is a national decision which agency will take a lead, but at the end it has to be done through mutual interagency support and cooperation.

Although terrorism campaign has international dimensions, it needs to be fought regionally. The reason is simple: neighboring countries share a lot of similarity, politically, economically, security threats. It is much easier to reach an understanding over definitions of threats between few neighboring countries and take joint initiatives to counter them.

Terrorism campaign is too strong to fight internationally. But trying to eliminate regional terrorism threats at the same time will have a greater effect. Throughout history it has been proven that unconventional threats cannot be defeated with conventional forces and methods.

As the old Macedonian saying goes: "With your stones, against your head". In other words: start fighting global insurgency by exploiting guerrilla tactics. Where "guerrilla" will be countries in the regions and the "insurgency" will be initiatives for combating terrorism. It seems odd, but it can be effective.

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Zoran Krunić

NEKATERI VIDIKI TERORIZMA IN BOJA PROTI TERORIZMU V RUSKI FEDERACIJI

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF TERRORISM AND FIGHTING TERRORISM IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Povzetek   Terorizem v Rusiji nikakor ni nov pojav. Ogrožal je že carsko Rusijo, v času Sovjetske zveze, posebno Stalinove vladavine pa je obstajal državni terorizem v obliki tako imenovanega rdečega terorja. Po razpadu Sovjetske zveze je v 90. letih prejšnjega stoletja v Rusiji prišlo do islamskega, predvsem čečenskega terorizma. Avtor ta terorizem imenuje »divjaški«, saj je povzročil ogromno žrtev med nedolžnimi otroki (Beslan), napada pa tudi bolnišnice, kulturne prireditve ipd. Ruski državi dolgo ni uspelo najti pravih odgovorov na sodobni terorizem. Akcije njenih varnostnih organov so bile pogosto kaotične in so povzročile veliko žrtev med talci. Avtor zagovarja tezo, da je med regijama nekdanjih Sovjetske zveze in Jugoslavije veliko podobnosti in bi v Jugovzhodni Evropi morali ruske izkušnje podrobno analizirati, da bi se vnaprej ustrezno pripravili na morebitne pojave islamskega in drugega terorizma.

Ključne besede   *Terorizem, protiterorizem, obveščevalna služba, varnostna služba, talci, islam.*

Abstract   Terrorism is by no means a new phenomenon in the Russian Federation. It was present in the Tsarist era and in the Soviet Union, and the period of Stalin's rule was marked by the so-called "red terror" state. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, Islamic terrorism occurred in the Russian Federation, especially among the Chechen population. The author calls this form of terrorism "savage" in light of the killing of innocent children (in Beslan) and the selection of targets (hospitals, cultural events etc.) these terrorists adhere to. The Russian government has long struggled to respond efficiently to modern terrorist threats. Its security service has often taken chaotic measures, leading to numerous deaths among hostages. The author's intention is to highlight the similarities between the former USSR region and former Yugoslavia and show that South-Eastern Europe could learn a lot from Russian experiences and prepare for the potential occurrence of Islamic and other terrorist movements in the region based on that knowledge.

Key words   *Terrorism, anti-terrorism, intelligence service, security service, hostages, Islam.*

Introduction   Terrorism is not a new phenomenon and it is not likely to be eradicated in the near future. It has affected all corners of the globe, though arguably some regions feel its consequences more than others. It is by no means a "third-world phenomenon"; even countries at the forefront of democracy, such as Sweden (e.g. the murder of Olaf Palmer, the assassination of the Yugoslavian Ambassador Mr Rolović, hijacking of aircrafts etc.) must deal with it, as well as several Western European countries ("right-wing" or "black" terrorism, "left-wing" terrorism), former Yugoslavia (mostly affected by nationalist terrorism) etc. The only "white spot" after the Second World War was the former Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, though, admittedly, these regions were familiar with the threat of state terrorism and the so-called "red terror". Today, the situation is very different. While terrorism is in decline in Western Europe,[1] the Russian Federation must now deal with it daily. This article aims to address terrorism in the Russian Federation and partly analyze the Russian approach to fighting terrorism.

Former USSR and Russia share several similarities with former Yugoslavia:
- both were multinational federations, and the collapse of both has led to the establishment of a number of sovereign states;
- all these new countries have witnessed significant political changes (socialism → capitalism, often accompanied by ''wild'' privatization; one-party system → multi-party parliamentarianism etc.);
- the collapse of both led to extensive violence and even wars. Weapons and military equipment became widely accessible, trained and experienced ex-warriors resorted to violence to express their disappointment;
- both regions still have several nationalist issues to resolve;
- both face the threat of Islamic terrorism. Terrorism, particularly Islamic terrorism, is a major problem in the Russian Federation and some other former USSR-countries, whereas our region faces the latent possibility of a re-occurrence of such terrorist movements (Bosnia and Herzegovina[2], the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Kosovo[3], parts of Serbia, Greece etc.);

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[1]   *This does not mean, of course, that these countries are immune to terrorist threats in case of an economic crisis, social moral crisis etc. fuelling public discontent.*

[2]   *Some estimates show that nearly every Islamic terrorist action in the United States and Western Europe included at least one Bosnian citizen. In January 2010, for example, a Bosniac Adis Medunjanin was arrested in the US for plotting a terrorist attack in New York; in June 2009, Anes Subasic was arrested in the US for planning a violent jihad, and Asim Cejvanovic from Brčko was arrested in Vienna in 2007 – he was trying to enter the US Embassy with a backpack filled with grenades and nails. Terrorists are just as likely to hit Bosnia and Herzegovina or the wider Balkans region, choosing Serbs, Croats, international organisations and the like as their targets.*

[3]   *An Albanian from Kosovo, Hysen Sharifi, was arrested in the US while preparing a terrorist attack, and Albanians from the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) - Driton Duka, Eljvir Duka, Shain Duka – were stopped by the FBI as they were preparing to hit Fort Dix Army base in New Jersey. Earlier, Sead Jakup, who came to the US from Bosnia and Herzegovina, tried to burn down a synagogue in Brooklyn, New York. Numerous Albanian terrorist organisations are known to have operated in Kosovo and FYROM (e.g. ANA), and the author believes they could very possibly resume their activities in the region.*

– criminality is a major problem in both regions, where criminal organizations are sometimes linked to certain political elites.

The Russian example is instructive in terms of Islamic terrorists' objectives and methods, but it also allows us to draw lessons on the Russian approach to fighting terrorism within various segments of the security system. It reveals many flaws that can and should be avoided in South Eastern Europe. There is no point in waiting for terrorists to strike.

1   THE HISTORY OF TERRORISM IN RUSSIA

Terrorism is by no means a new phenomenon in Russia. It goes back to the Tsarist regime when it mostly included social movements fighting for change. In this sense, Decabrists may be considered as a terrorist organization in a way, as well as the Nihilist movement, the Anarchists, and a movement called Narodnaya volya (The People's Will) etc. After several attempts, the partisans of the latter even succeeded in assassinating Tsar Alexander II in March 1881. Terrorists were largely inspired by anarchy theories by Bakunin and Nechayev[4]. In his National Catechism, Bakunin defended the use of "selective, discriminatory terrorism", while Nechayev argued in the Catechism of a Revolutionary: "Day and night, his sole aim must be: merciless destruction." (Combs, 1997, pp. 28) What is of interest here is the decision of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party to establish an illegal ''Combat Organization'' to carry out terrorist operations[5] without compromising the political goals of the Party itself. This "revolutionary terrorism" strived to destroy or fundamentally alter the state structure. Although their theoretical writings emphasized that a terrorist must have mercy on no one, they only targeted government officials in practice. The government took strict repressive measures, which paradoxically only led to an increase in revolutionary activities. While state authorities, particularly ''Ohrana'', the tsarist secret police, were at the forefront of the fight against terrorism, an ''Alliance of Russian Men'' also undertook to fight them ''with all available means'' (including illegal, such as assassinations, bombings)[6]. Then with Bolshevism came "red terror", pursuing the opposite aim, i.e. to affirm the Bolshevik rule and political apparatus. This is characteristic of "state terrorism" (Picture 1), aiming to intimidate the civilian population and exterminate "enemies of the people". The movement was particularly strong during the rule of J. V. Stalin, and especially between 1936 and 1938. Stalin first dealt with all existing and potential opposition within the Communist Party[7] and the state apparatus, only to incite widespread paranoia and repression among the civilian population. In line with this, Stalin stated the following at the plenary

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[4] *Their impact could also be noted among terrorist organizations of past and present days in Western Europe, for example ETA, the IRA, the Red Brigades etc.*

[5] *This method was later also used by some terrorist organizations in Western Europe, e.g. the IRA.*

[6] *Later, the so-called Anti-terrorist Liberation Groups (GAL) in Spain used the same methods to fight ETA.*

[7] *After Lenin died, Stalin was the only one of the seven AUCP(b) Politburo members to survive; Grigory Zinovyev and Lev Kamenev were executed, Mikhail Tomsky committed suicide, and Alexei Rikov and Nikolai Bukharin were shot in 1938. The last remaining member of the Politburo Leon Trotsky was killed by Stalin's secret police agent in Mexico in 1940.*

session of the Central Committee of AUCP(b) in February-March 1937: "Is it not clear that for as long as we have capitalist encirclement, we shall have wreckers, spies, diversionists, and killers sent to our rear by agents of foreign states?" (Linder, Čurkin, 2006:553). This period in history is known as the era of "pogroms", "the great purge", "the great terror" etc. Some estimate that as many as 20 million people were killed in the Soviet Union in that period[8], equal to the number of lives lost on the part of Soviet Union during the Second World War. Stalin tried to justify this approach by saying the country must pursue economic and other development: "We are 50 to 100 years behind advanced countries, and we must cover this distance in ten years. Otherwise, we will be crushed." (Pettiford and Harding, 2005:181). After Stalin's death and the process of De-Stalinization initiated by Nikita Khrushchev, state terrorism was in decline, although it never really vanished until the arrival of Gorbachev and the collapse of the Soviet Union[9].

Immediately after the Second World War, the Soviet Union also saw the rise of anti-state terrorism (ex-collaborationist groups, the "vlasov army", the organization of Ukrainian nationalists under Bandera etc., who called for reforms of the social structure and/or national independence), which was also present during the Cold War, at least to a limited degree. A certain level of paranoia against imperialist spies, sabotage and terrorism was incited throughout that period. The Soviet secret service – the KGB – thus defined a terrorist act as "one of the most extreme acts of subversion, carried out by capitalist intelligence services, their agents and anti-Soviet elements within the state, including assassinations of government officials and state representatives, inflicting severe physical injury to such individuals and damage to their government offices with the aim of undermining or weakening Soviet authority. Terrorism is a criminal act against the state in its most severe form. Rather than threatening the security of individuals, a terrorist strives to weaken the Soviet regime." (Mitrokhin, 2002:393-394). On the other hand, many Western authors (e.g. Claire Sterling) accused the Soviet Union of supporting terrorist organizations and individuals acting against Western countries or their interests[10].

During the Cold War, the Soviet Union was a sort of "white spot" compared to Western Europe and some other parts of the world, tainted by severe terrorist attacks. But after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation and some other territories of the former Soviet Union saw a rapid expansion of terrorism. Some of the reasons for this trend may be:
– weakened control structures or even a collapse thereof in Russia and other former USSR countries;

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[8] Stalin was then allegedly quoted as saying: "The death of one man is a tragedy, the death of millions is a statistic."

[9] There was a joke reflecting the state of affairs in the Soviet Union in that era: A new prisoner arrives in prison, and other prisoners ask what his punishment is. "Fifteen years," he answers. "So what did you do?" "Nothing!" the newcomer responds. "Oh come on, stop lying! You'd only get ten years for nothing."

[10] Authors often point out, however, that the Soviet Union was much more discrete in supporting terrorists than, for example, Syria, Libya etc.

– strengthened nationalist tendencies and demands for independence among some non-Russian peoples within the Russian Federation (Chechnya etc.);
– external forces (extreme Islam, fights over energy sources and transport routes for oil and natural gas, etc.).

2 TERRORIST ACTS IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AFTER 1993

According to some statistics, the number of terrorist attacks in the Russian Federation during 1993-2007 is well above 150 and up to even several hundred (Terrorizm v Rossii). Between 4 September 1999 and 1 September 2004 alone (hence without including the Beslan victims), at least 1005 people were killed in terrorist attacks (excluding deaths among terrorists themselves; Palter-Zyberk, 2004). Most terrorist activities during that period took place in the Caucasian region, especially in Chechnya and Dagestan, although at least 15 attacks were carried out in Moscow. Terrorists were mostly members of groups fighting for independence from the Russian Federation, namely Chechen groups, and most of these groups had ties with extreme Islamic movements. Oddly enough, some members of extreme Russian nationalist groups were also involved in some of the terrorist attacks. Terrorists targeted public transport, including aircrafts (at least three hijackings and destructions), helicopters (at least one), buses and bus stations (at least seven attacks), metro stations (at least six instances), trains and train stations (at least seven attacks), apartment buildings (at least seven attacks), as well as hospitals (at least three attacks), cultural facilities (at least two attacks), pop concerts[11] (where the majority of victims are inevitably young!) and even schools on at least two separate occasions – one of which was the notorious attack in Beslan. The fact that they target schools (children!), cultural in-stitutions and hospitals shows just how ruthless these terrorists are and how strong their hatred is against the Russian people as well as the Russian government. At the same time, it proves just how savage they are in their nature. It reminds us again that there is no excuse for terrorism. Its means may differ (explosives, hijacking, taking hostages etc.), but the end is always the same: to kill as many people as possible. Terrorists seldom target military or police facilities, FSB centers etc., but prefer places where large numbers of civilians gather (e.g. railway, bus and metro stations, schools, hospitals, markets etc.) in order to cause more damage. It is also important to note that at least three attempts or attacks were carried out on 9 May (Victory Day), probably as an expression of adherence to Nazism[12]. Terrorists are very often willing to sacrifice their own lives as well – a known phenomenon are the so-called "black widows" or "brides of Allah", as journalist Julija Juzik called the Chechen women who had lost their spouses or brothers in combat against Russian forces.

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[11] *On 6 June 2003, the "black widows" killed 16 people with explosives at a rock concert at Tushino airport outside Moscow.*

[12] *On 8 May 2007, a VAZ-2107 car was discovered in Moscow, packed with explosives; on 9 May 2004, an explosion occurred at Grozny's Dynamo stadium; and on 9 May 2002, 42 people were killed and over a 100 injured in a blast in Kaspisk, Dagestan.*

In addition, several critics of the current situation in the Russian Federation were assassinated, for example journalist Anna Politkovskaya and former FSB officer Alexander Litvinenko. There are many in the Russian Federation and especially abroad who actually believe these individuals were killed by the government which is trying to silence all opponents. The authorities strongly oppose any such insinuations. If these allegations are true, however, then Russia is actually dealing with state terrorism, the intention of which is not only to eliminate particular individuals, but also to discourage all others from expressing criticism[13].

2.1 Case studies

2.1.1 Bombardment of apartment buildings

Several bombs were set off in apartment buildings in Moscow, Buynaksk and Volgodonsk during September 1999, killing about 300 people. These attacks caused quite a shock. People organized night watches in front of their apartment buildings in Moscow and other cities. These bombings also led to (or were used as an excuse for) the second Chechen War[14]. Nobody in Chechnya ever took responsibility for the attacks, and some in Russia and abroad claimed that FSB staged the Russian apartment bombings and then blamed it on the Chechens to justify a new invasion[15]. One of the most fervent advocates of this conspiracy theory, the former FSB agent Litvinenko, was later poisoned with radionuclide polonium-210 in London. A member of the State Duma Sergei Kovalev started an independent investigation, and two members of the Kovalev investigation commission – also members of the State Duma – were found dead in an apartment. Its legal counsel and investigator, Mikhail Trepashkin was arrested. New suspicions about the apartment bombings were raised after an incident in Rjazan on 23 September 1999 where the police arrested three people who were trying to plant the same explosive (hexogen) in an apartment building as the one terrorists had used in Moscow. The "terrorists" turned out to be FSB agents, and the Director of the FSB Patrushev said it was a rehearsal (Litvinenko and Felshtinsky, 2007:79–125). On 13 September 1999, Gennady Selyeznov, the speaker of the Duma, interrupted the Duma session and announced he had just received a message that a bomb had exploded in an apartment building in Volgodonsk. But it wasn't until three days later that the bomb actually went off in Volgodonsk, killing 19 people (Goldfarb and Litvinenko, 2007:291–292).

Naturally, Russian officials denied these allegations and claimed they had indeed prevented a bombing attack on an apartment building in the Borisovskie prudi Street in Volgodonsk on 12 September 1999. Boris Yeltsin went even further and stated it

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[13] *Our region also bares some resemblance in this respect: during the Milošević regime, journalist Slavko Ćuruvija was assassinated, as well as Momir Gavrilovic, a high official of the Serbian State Security Service and some others.*

[14] *The Russian Federation refused to grant independence to Chechnya and deployed 40,000 troops to the region instead in 1994. 80,000 people (on both sides) were killed in combat, and Russian forces decided to withdraw in 1996. The second invasion in 1999 led to the deaths of 100,000 people (Martin, 2008:105–106).*

[15] *Similar allegations exist about the US administration plotting the 9/11 attacks to justify its military intervention abroad.*

was "a professional and moral crime to propagate such malicious theories about the causes of the second Chechen War" (Yeltsin, 2000: 293) and claimed that Russian authorities had discovered explosive devices identical to those used in the Apartment bombings during an investigation of Chechen bases. Yeltsin understood the accusation as a conspiracy against the Russian government: "Someone obviously has a strong interest to propagate these lies." (Yeltsin, 2000:294)

2.2 Crashing of two passenger airliners

On 24 August 2004, two passenger aircraft crashed almost simultaneously after leaving Domodedovo Airport in Moscow. The first, owned by Volga-Avia Ekspres, was headed to Volgograd, whereas the second was an OAO Sibir Airlines airplane flying to Sochi. The second airplane reportedly sent a hijack alarm above Rostov. The first airplane crashed just outside Tula, and all 34 passengers and 9 crew members were killed, whereas the second plane crashed near Glubokoje village in the Rostov region, with all 38 passengers and 8 crew members killed. Eyewitnesses saw the airplanes explode before the crash, and FSB did indeed find traces of hexogen (explosive) in the debris. The radical Islamic group the Islambuli Brigade claimed responsibility for the crashes, but Shamil Basayev challenged this and said he was the one organizing the attacks. He said he had spent 3,300 euro on the operation. The investigators discovered that the attacks were carried out by two "black widows" - Satsita Dzhebirkhanova and Amanta Nagayeva, both from Grozny – who boarded the planes just before takeoff. The terrorists bribed two Domodedovo Airport officials and the officer at the check-in desk, who allowed them to board the airplanes without any ID. Moreover, the police officer who was supposed to inspect all passengers for any weapons or hazardous items did not do this, said the investigators.

2.3 Attacks on passenger trains

A Grozny–Moscow train derailed on 12 June 2005 just outside Uzunovo, 90 kilometers south of Moscow because of explosives on the tracks; before that, on 5 December 2003, another train exploded near the town of Yessentuki between Kislovodsk and Mineralne Vody. The morning Kislovodsk–Mineralne Vody commuter train is also called the "student train", because many students from Kislovodsk take it to attend classes in Pyatigorsk. The explosion, with the power of 30 kilograms of trinitro-toluene, (TNT) killed 41 people and injured 177. Russian authorities immediately activated the "Uragan-4" plan to find and arrest the terrorists. The investigation revealed that four terrorists were involved in the attack – one male and three "black widows", and they all died in the attack.

Later, the Moscow—St Petersburg "Nevsky express" derailed on 13 August 2007, and security officials soon discovered the cause: the tracks had been damaged in an explosion of 0.5 kilogram of TNT. Two anarchists from St Petersburg – Andrei Kalenov and Denis Zelenyuk – were arrested at the Malaya Vishera train station soon after the attack. A few days later, the Prague radio station Svoboda (Liberty) received a call from an associate of Said-Emin Dadayev (a Chechen commander). He claimed

that the Riyadus-Salikhin Reconnaissance and Sabotage Battalion of Chechen Martyrs group, established in 2002 by the Chechen warlord Shamil Basayev, was responsible for the attack. The local police and FSB agents then carried out a vast investigation in the town of Chudovo in the Novgorod region and arrested a 25-year-old Chechen Hasan Didigov. According to FSB officials, Didigov carried out the attack with the help of Kalenov and Zelenyuk.

Another attack was carried out on the "Nevsky express" train on 27 November 2009 near the town of Bologoye. 30 people were killed and 96 injured. The very next day, the Russian nationalist group Combat 18 claimed responsibility for the attack on the Movement against Illegal Immigration (DPNI) blog, followed by Chechen terrorists who said the operation was commanded by Emir Dokka Umarov[16].

3 FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

3.1 Case studies: anti-terrorist actions in the Russian Federation

3.1.1 Budyonnovsk

14. On 14 June 1995, a group of Chechen terrorists, lead by Shamil Basayev, besieged a hospital in the town of Budyonnovsk in Stavropol Krai and took several hundred hostages. Basayev said he would only release the hostages if Russian forces withdrew from Chechnya and free elections were carried out. Agents of two elite Russian special forces units – Vimpel and Alfa – attacked the hospital premises at 5 a.m. on 17 June and only managed to take the ground floor and the first floor, thereby liberating around 70 hostages. Victims were recorded on both sides. As Russian security forces were preparing to proceed to upper floors, the Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin decided to agree to Basayev's conditions and sign a truce in Chechnya. The terrorists were allowed to retreat safely with lorries, taking their dead and wounded as well as a group of hostages with them. After reaching Chechnya, they released the hostages. Basayev said later that they were able to reach Budyonnovsk (with large trucks filled with terrorists, weapons and equipment) without any problems – they simply bribed the police officers at control points, even those at the Chechen–Russian border. He even said they had actually intended to strike in Moscow, but ran out of bribe money on the way. In total, 166 people were killed, and over 400 were wounded.

This operation shed light on some of the major deficiencies in the Russian approach to combating terrorism: poor skills for dealing with hostage situations, poor coordination, questionable political decisions and corruption within Russian security services, namely the police officers at control points.

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[16] *Basayev was killed in an explosion in 2006, and Abu Havsk and Dokka Umarov took over command.*

3.1.2 Prvomajskoe

On 9 January 1996, a group of 300 Chechen terrorists led by Salman Raduyev[17] invaded the town of Kizlyar in Dagestan and seized another hospital and some surrounding buildings. Terrorists took as many as two or even three thousand hostages, and Raduyev, too, demanded that the Russian Army withdraws from Chechnya and the entire Caucasian region before he would release them. Terrorists seized some important bridges and even planned to take hold of the local airport as a means of escape. When this plan failed, they stayed inside the hospital. A large number of hostages was released after a night of negotiations, but 165 hostages were kept and they left the town in two trucks and 11 buses. The quick and relatively successful operation was most likely due to the threat by local residents that they would not only kill all the terrorists, but also track down and slaughter all their family members in Chechnya unless they released the hostages and leave town. On 10 January, the group reached the Dagestan-Chechnya border just outside the village of Prvomajskoe. Russian forces demolished a bridge, although there was no need to, and planned to attack the group, when terrorists stormed the village and took another 100 hostages, including 37 Russian policemen who offered to be taken in exchange for women and children. The terrorists did not, however, keep their promise to release the women and children. They took refuge in the local school, mosque and hard-built houses. On 13 January, they killed 6 captured policemen and threatened to kill all hostages unless they were allowed to return to Chechnya. The Russian Army then decided to storm the village, and the attack began on the morning of 15 January. After two days of artillery and rocket attacks and special units operations, the situation was still not resolved. Three days after the attack, only 41 hostages were freed. The terrorists upheld the pressure for five whole days, and the Russian Army decided to use the grad multiple-launch rocket system and the infantry to break the terrorists' defense. By then, their sole mission had become to destroy the terrorists at any cost. Finally, on the night of 17 January, Raduyev and most of his people managed to escape to Chechnya. On 19 January, President Yeltsin notified the public that 82 people had been saved, 153 terrorists killed and 30 captured, whereas 26 members of the Russian security services had been killed and 93 had been injured (Džamić, 1999:197). A number of questions arise regarding this event:

– How could it be that the local population had been involved in the Kizlyar operation?
– Why did the Russian forces choose a classical military tactic to solve the hostage situation rather than using anti-terrorist tactics? Attacking terrorists with artillery and MLRS as well as infantry is highly inappropriate as many hostages are bound to be killed and a possibility exists that terrorists may even escape. Rather than dealing with the situation with surgical precision, the Russian Army tried to settle it like butchers would.
– Why did the Russian authorities neglect the GRU military intelligence agency data of 23 December 1995 indicating that Chechen terrorists were preparing an attack similar to the one in Budyonnovsk?

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[17] *Raduyev was the son-in-law of Chechnya's President and former Soviet Air Force general Dzhokhar Dudayev.*

– How could such a large group of terrorists move past all of the Russian control points with all that equipment and weapons?
– Why were the residents of Prvomajskoe not evacuated before the operation?
– Why did the Russian forces not seize the village before the terrorists arrived?
– How could the objectives be modified during the operation itself?
– How could more emphasis be given to destroying terrorists than to freeing hostages?
– How could as many as 100 terrorists, including Raduyev, escape?

And, most importantly - how is it possible that yet another such tragedy took place in Beslan?

3.1.3 Beslan

1. At the start of the Russian school year, at 9.30 on 1 September 2004, 33 terrorists seized School Number One in Beslan, attended by children of elite members of the Ossetian society. This attack was also organized by Shamil Basayev, and it was carried out by Ruslan Tagirovich Khuchbarov (nickname "Colonel"). Basayev later said that the "warriors" (terrorists) included 14 Chechens (of which two were women), nine Ingushes, three Russians and two Arabs. All of them were highly trained and equipped. They mined the school, deployed their snipers and look-out, and installed eight surveillance cameras. They started off by killing some hostages they thought might cause trouble and resist, and they issued a warning that they would retaliate for every death among their number by killing 50 hostages, and every wounded would result in the death of 20. They treated their hostages, mostly children, extremely inhumanely, and wouldn't let them use the toilet, for example, and even forced them to drink their own urine. When some of the terrorists involved expressed their concerns and dislike for such methods, their leader Khuchbarov shot one dissenting terrorist and blew up two female terrorists who objected to the way the children were being treated. This was the fifth hostage situation in the Russian Federation since 1995. The terrorists demanded that Russian forces withdraw from Chechnya, that all terrorists that had been captured in Ingushetia be released and that President Putin resign from office. Arguably, the real intention was to shed blood and provoke widespread ethnic war throughout the Caucasian region.

Operational headquarters were set up near the elementary school, in Technical School Number 8, under the command of North Ossetia's President Alexander Dzasokhov. Soon, the Director of FSB Patrushev and the Minister of the Interior Nurgaliev arrived as well. What is very instructive in terms of the relationship the Russian government appears to have with its population and to terrorism, is the decision by the Russian Duma not to return to session during its days off, although the Duma Speaker's Deputy Rogozin did arrive at Beslan. Admittedly this, including the actions of local and other politicians during the operational stage, naturally turned out to be a mistake.

Two security perimeters were established to seal off the area, but the approach was entirely inappropriate; while the first was set up by members of the 58 Russian

Armada and local police, the inner circle was made up of special unit agents and undisciplined armed local residents causing a lot of chaos. Civilians, particularly armed civilians, have no business in a serious anti-terrorist operation. The Russian public was thus right to question the ability of the authorities in resolving this crisis situation, which was what led parents of the hostages and other local residents to decide to take part in the operation in the first place. In fact, they even warned the special unit agents that they would be killed if they decided to attack the school.

On 3 September, terrorists allowed four members of the Civil Protection Service to take away the bodies of 21 hostages they had killed two days earlier. The terrorist helping them evacuate the bodies spotted an army vehicle and armed local volunteers, which led him to believe the security service was planning to attack. As he started to run back into the school, armed local residents opened fire. This triggered a number of explosions inside the school and caused panic among hostages as terrorists started shooting them. Some believe that at that point the terrorists' intention was not to defend themselves, but merely to kill as many hostages (school children!) as possible. What is hard to comprehend here is that the Vimpel and Alfa special force units allegedly only acted 30 minutes after the shooting had started[18]. Fighting lasted until after midnight, when the last terrorist was eliminated.

But that was not the end of the chaos. Official Russian sources provided different data on the number of hostages, victims and even the number of terrorists involved in the siege: whereas official government representatives said there were 354 hostages, the North Ossetia's Ministry for Education claimed there were 1181. The ORT television station reported that 259 hostages had been killed and 531 had been hospitalized, while the spokesman for the President of North Ossetia said that 322 people had died and over 700 had been injured, and the Interfax agency stated that 338 had lost their lives etc. The numbers of killed and arrested terrorists did not match either. For example, the Military Attorney General Sergej Fridinskij said that 30 terrorists had been found dead and one had been arrested, whereas Attorney General Ustinov said that 32 terrorists had been involved in the operation, of which 30 were eliminated, one arrested and one lynched by civilians. Later statements confirmed that one terrorist had indeed been lynched by the crowd, which sheds light on important security issues in the operation. General Andreyev later said that three terrorists had survived the attack, which is in line with Shamil Basayev's statement that 33 "warriors" had taken part in the siege. Controversies also exist regarding the nationality of the terrorists involved. The North Ossetia's FSB leader General Andreyev said as many as 10 terrorists were Arabs and an advisor to President Putin Aslakhanov said there were nine, whereas Basayev spoke of two Arabs.

Furthermore, several other flaws can be highlighted regarding this operation:
– negotiations were led by untrained and inexperienced civilians;
– at first, Russian security forces underestimated the number of terrorists involved (they believed there were 17, where in fact there were 33);

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[18] *Some sources say the special units had been training just 30 km outside Beslan (e.g. Cohen).*

– no real security perimeter was established; instead of preventing unauthorized individuals from accessing the area, such persons were actually used to form this perimeter defense;
– armed local residents and relatives of the hostages were involved in the anti-terrorist operation, which is likely to have caused the bloody outcome;
– surrounding buildings were not evacuated;
– the exact number of hostages remains unclear to this day;
– there was a myriad of press statements given by politicians and other government officials, and most of them were inaccurate. The discrepancies in the number of hostages they spoke about raised fears among the local population that they were in fact preparing to downsize the scale of damage and the total number of victims in subsequent reports;
– after the Beslan school hostage crisis, President Putin said they had underestimated the terrorist threat that Russian and the world were facing. One must wonder how that could have happened after the tragedies in Prvomajskoe and elsewhere.

3.2 Anti-terrorism legislation and other measures

The attitude of people changed in Russia after the tragedy in Beslan; indeed, some call it the Russian 9/11. President Putin said that back then defence and security were neglected and the judiciary and police were corrupt. He said Russia would allocate 27% more funding to security and fighting terrorism in the following year, and promised better funding, better equipment and coordination between all security and intelligence agencies (Plater-Zyberk). Russia would not negotiate with terrorists, but destroy them. The language Putin used in that statement is uncommon for such a high representative: "We will kill them in the shit-house." (Yeltsin, 2002:289). This is probably more than just a spontaneous reaction of a "real man" (as Yeltsin referred to him), but rather intentional use of primitive language to really get through to terrorists, who use really savage techniques.

In the Soviet Union, two administrative services were responsible for fighting terrorism, i.e. the Fifth Department (so-called ideological) and the K Department (foreign counter-intelligence). In the early 1990s, the newly formed FSB (former KGB) established an Anti-terrorist Centre with similar tasks. In 1999, the Centre became the counterterrorism department, and the service for constitutional regime protection was included therein. Within the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), the CIS counterterrorist center was established with its headquarters in Moscow. In 1998, the Russian Federation adopted the statute "About the fight against terrorism", which set the legal and organizational framework of fighting terrorism within The Russian Federation for the first time, along with addressing questions of coordination between various segments of the security system and the rights and duties of citizens. It was first amended after the attack on the Nord-Ost theatre in Moscow, and again after Beslan. Then, Putin issued a decree ordering ministries and other authorities in the Russian Federation to draft proposals on how to improve the system. They were given two weeks to prepare their proposals, and the reforms were implemented in the spring of 2005, although many find them purely superficial.

As a rule (before August 2004), hostage situations and other terrorist acts would be handled by operative headquarters under the command of the republic's FSB Director, and »ordinary« crimes involving demands for money would warrant the command of the local head of the Internal Affairs department. But reality was different; in Budyonnovsk, the operative headquarters were first headed by Viktor Erin, the Minister of Internal Affairs, while the FSB Director Stepashin was merely his assistant, and later the Deputy Minister for Internal Affairs General Michail Jegorov took over command. In August 2004, Operational Groups of Russian Forces (GrOU) were established in the Southern Federal District, lead by Russian Army colonels. The head of the GrOU was to automatically take command of the operative headquarters in hostage situations, and would adopt his decisions independently of Moscow politics; the names of GrOU leaders were secret. But in practice, the GrOU head had no powers whatsoever in Beslan. In February 2006, President Putin signed the Anti-terrorism Decree, thereby establishing the National Anti-Terrorism Committee (NAC; Picture 2). This order gave the FSB the leading role in fighting terrorism, whereas the Army is not even mentioned in the document. Regional operative headquarters are now led by local FSB heads. A month later, in March 2006, a new Counter-Terrorism Law was adopted (Rossijskaja sistema). Without a doubt, Russian security forces have become more active and daring since the Beslan school hostage situation.

At the same time, they have increased their international cooperation as well. The former FSB Deputy Director (Anatoli Safonov) was appointed the Russian President's special representative for international cooperation in the fight against terrorism and organized crime in October 2004. In December 2004, the FSB director and FBI head signed a cooperation accord, particularly in the field of fighting against international terrorism and the fight against crimes using weapons of mass destruction. Appointing the special representative is no doubt a step in the right direction, but it does not enable daily exchanges of operative data with other countries' intelligence services. Furthermore, Russian security forces have set up close cooperation with the Israeli counter-terrorism structures, although they are keeping this relatively secret to avoid issues with Arab states. In more ways than one, the Russian security forces have adopted an approach similar to that of the Israelis (coercive fight against terrorism[19]).

The Russian Federation now also controls explosives, because it appears that large amounts of explosive materials are in the hands of unauthorised individuals. This led the Russian police to carry out a large operation in 2003 and confiscate as many as 8.1 tons of explosives from unauthorised persons (at that time, 650 tons of explosives were produced in Russia every year). Such operations should be carried out on a regular basis, and accompanied by stricter control of other hazardous substances and firearms.

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[19] *Theory and practice also identify proactive, persuasive, defensive and long-term approaches to fighting terrorism.*

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│           Президент                  │
│       Российской Федерации           │
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│ Федеральный оперативный штаб │   │            штаба             │
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│  субъектов Российской Федерации│   │    Российской Федерации      │
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The Committee is made up of: the FSB Director (Head of the Committee), Deputy Head of presidential administration authorities, Minister for the Interior (Deputy President), Deputy Director of the FSB, Deputy President of the Federal Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, Duma Speaker's Deputy, Foreign Minister, Minister for Justice, Minister for Health and Social Security, Minister for Transport, Director of the Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR), Chief of General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces, Deputy Secretary of the Security Council of the Russian Federation etc. The Committee drafts proposals in the field of national counter-terrorism policy and legislation for the President; it coordinates counter-terrorism activities of federal and subordinate bodies; it analyses counter-terrorism measures; it is responsible for international co-operation to combat international terrorism and prepares international agreements for the Russian Federation to conclude in this field; it drafts proposals on social protection for victims of terrorism and counter-terrorist measures etc. The Committee heads the federal operational headquarters, working alongside territorial operative headquarters and counter-terrorism commissions in territories of the Russian Federation.

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[20] *Legend (lines from left to right): President of the Russian Federation, National Anti-Terrorism Committee, Federal operative headquarters, Apparatus of the National Anti-Terrorism Committee and Federal operative headquartes, territorial counter-terrorism commissions of Russian Federation territories, territorial operative headquarters of Russian Federation territories, staff (made up of higher officers of Russian Federation territorial administrations), staff (established under the aegis of territorial security services).*

The Supreme Court of the Russian Federation adopted a list of 17 terrorist organisations based on information provided by the FSB and a proposal by the prosecution services.[21]

This list only includes organisations acting against the Russian Federation within its territory. It is interesting to note that Chechen terrorists suggested they would cooperate with Hezbollah and Hamas; Chechens would come to help them fight Israel during the hard winters in the Caucasus, and their allies would come to help them fight their battle in the summer. Hamas and Hezbollah declined. According to General Sapunov, head of the FSB Department for Combating International Terrorism, all 17 organisations are linked in one way or another to the extremist Muslim Brotherhood and strive to establish a caliphate "from the Red Sea to the Caspian" (Borisov, 2006).

Russian sources provide the following definitions of notions related to terrorism:
– <u>Terrorism</u> – violence or the threat to use violence against persons, destruction (damage) or the threat to destroy (damage) property or other things, illegal inter-vention or the threat of illegal intervention in media and information systems and other acts which threaten the lives of people, cause extensive material damage or other generally dangerous consequences, with the aim of intimidating the popula-tion or affecting the decision-making processes by public officials, public autho-rities, local authorities or international organizations to act in line with the social policy and other terrorists' interests (Rossijskaja sistema).
– <u>Terrorist</u> – a person in any way involved in terrorist activities (Bezopasnost Evrazii, 2004:407).
– <u>Terrorist activity</u> – criminal activity including: the organisation, planning, pre-paration and execution of a terrorist operation; instigating terrorist operations, violence against natural persons or organisations, destruction of material goods for the purpose of terrorism; organisation of illegal establishment of armed groups, criminal groups, organised groups performing terrorist operations and taking part in such operations; recruitment, armament, training and the use of terrorists; funding of terrorist organisations or groups or any cooperation with such a group (Bezopasnost Evrazii, 2004:407).

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[21] *1. Supreme Military Council of the Caucasian Mujahideen*
2. Congress of the Nations of Ichkeria and Dagestan
3. al-Qa'ida
4. Asbat al-Ansar
5. Egyptian Islamic Jihad
6. Al-Ghamia-al-Islamia
7. Al-Ihvan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brotherhood)
8. Hizb ut-Tahrir
9. Lashkar-e-Toiba
10. Jemaah Islamiya
11. Taliban
12. Islamic Party of Turkestan (former Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan)
13. Social Reform Society
14. Society of the Revival of Islamic Heritage (Jamiat Ihya at-Turaz al-Islami)
15. Al-Kharamein foundation
16. Islamic Jihad — Jamaat of the Mujahideen
17. Jund Ash Sham

- Terrorist group – a group of individual who gather(s) to perform terrorist acts; an organisation carrying out terrorist acts or an organisation, a significant part of which is involved in such illegal activities (Bezopasnost Evrazii, 2004:407).
- Terrorist organisation – an organisation which is established to perform terrorist activities or which allows the use of terrorist acts in its activities. An organisation is considered to be a terrorist organisation if one of its elements is involved in terrorist activities and one of its leading bodies knows about this (Bezopasnost Evrazii, 2004: 407).
- International terrorism – violent acts against persons or objects, which are protected under international law (Voenij enciklopedičeskij slovar, 2002:1276).

It is obvious that the notion of terrorism has been given a new dimension since the Soviet era. Today, terrorism is no longer the consequence of activities carried out by "capitalist intelligence" and entails attacks directed against the civilian population as well as the state apparatus.

Conclusion Terrorism is not a new phenomenon in Russia. While the past was marked by terrorism in pursuit of ideological goals (e.g. to oppose Tsarism, anarchism, "red terror" etc.), the greatest terrorist threat to modern Russia takes the form of Islamic terrorism linked with movements by some ethnic groups struggling to gain independence from the Russian Federation. Many of the methods and theories of terrorist movements of the past (at the turn of the 19th century and in the 1960s and 1970s) have also been used by the extreme left in Western Europe (the Red brigades, the RAF, the IRA, ETA etc.). But Western Europe has also adopted some of the anti-terrorist methods of the Tsarist regime; government authorities decided to counter terrorism by secretly supporting other terrorist organisations (e.g. GAL in Spain, Gladio in Italy, the UDA in Ireland etc.). Unlike terrorists in the Tsarist regime, who mainly targeted government officials and authorities, contemporary Russia must deal with "savage terrorism" and its unprecedented methods. Islamic terrorists tend to hurt innocent civilians and attack hospitals, cultural institutions and even elementary schools.

Even though Russia has had to face terrorism for a long time already, it still seems that the Russian Federation has not been able to provide efficient and adequate solutions to defend against it. More often than not, Russian security forces have dealt with hostage situations in an entirely inappropriate way, causing numerous civilian casualties and even allowing the terrorists to escape in the end. This may be due to inadequate and defficient counter-terrorism intelligence, a lack of training, equipment and coordination within Russian security forces, undevised or inadequate procedures to respond to such situations, corruption and a lack of respect for every individual life. Instead of striving to save lives, Russian security forces have often given priority to destroying terrorists at all costs; "surgical precision" thus often had to give way to military combat, often including armed civilians. While the USA focuses on international terrorism, Russia has to battle it on its own ground. But

Picture 2:

Terrorism in Russia

PERIOD	TYPE OF TERRORIST THREAT	OBJECTIVE	METHOD
Tsarist Russia	Revolutionary	To overthrow the existing social order	Selective attacks against government authorities
Soviet Union	State (internal)	To affirm Soviet rule	Mass terror against the civilian population
Soviet Union	State (external)	To destabilise Western governments	Support to terrorist organisations in the West and in the Third World countries
Russian Federation	Islamic	National independence, the creation of an Islamic state	Unselective mass terrorism (savage terrorism)
Russian Federation	State?	To affirm the existing ruling structures	Selective assassinations against critics

there is at least some resemblance between the two: both the USA and the Russian Federation have embarked on this "war" against terrorism and are trying to defeat it with all available means, including military. After of series of failures, the Russian Federation has introduced significant changes to its counter-terrorism strategies, adopted new legislation and established new bodies to coordinate activities within the system. The leading role has been given to the FSB. But despite some positive results (Russian security forces have succeeded in preventing several terrorist attacks), many experts warn that the changes are largely superficial, whereas the basic problem – Soviet-style bureaucracy – still burdens the system. Even with a special body in charge of coordinating counter-terrorist activities (NAK), Russia still faces the same problem as many other countries – much too often, international coo-peration in the field is much more efficient and smooth than within national borders. Furthermore, many accuse Russia of supporting state terrorism to silence the critics of the current political structures.

Russian methods of countering terrorism inevitably affect international cooperation as well. Nevertheless, further cooperation with the Russian Federation is necessary in the fight against terrorism. We must realise we have a common enemy[22], and that there is no such thing as good or bad terrorism. In light of this, the following could prove valuable:
– further exchange of intelligence information on terrorists;
– sharing past experience on fighting terrorism based on concrete examples;
– assistance in providing adequate equipment to Russian security forces;
– assistance in finding suitable organizational structures to coordinate and command various segments of the counter-terrorism security system;

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[22] *I witnessed some Western colleagues mocking a Russian Army general as he talked about Chechen terrorists, pointing out that we are all in the same boat.*

– assistance in adopting appropriate legislation which must enable efficient counter-terrorism activities, at the same time guaranteeing the protection of civilian lives and human rights.

Furthermore, we should analyse closely the past experiences of the Russian Federation and the wider Soviet Union; a careful study of the modus operandi of various terrorist groups in the Russian Federation, their recruitment methods, funding, equipment, training, their objectives, etc. would provide a valuable insight for our region as well. And an analysis of the responses to terrorism by Russian security forces would allow us to identify the weaknesses in the fight against terrorism that our region and our countries must deal with just as much as the Russian Federation does.

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Strokovni članek

MEDNARODNI TERORIZEM MED NAGLIMI UKREPI IN SISTEMSKO ZAŠČITO

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BETWEEN SWIFT ACTION AND SYSTEMIC PROTECTION

Professional article

Povzetek
Avtorja v svojem prispevku obravnavata mednarodni terorizem kot vsebino prepletanja, neskladja in ločevanja med pravom, deklarativnimi političnimi interesi ter varnostno prakso ter odsevi na stanje v Sloveniji. Temelj terorizma je konflikt, ki sproži ne le posledice, temveč tudi protiukrepe.

Diskurz o odzivnosti organov oblasti na konkretna teroristična dejanja kaže na ugotovitev, da so posamezne države na ta vir ogrožanja odgovarjale naglo, večkrat že kar stihijsko, ne dovolj pripravljene v smislu uporabe sil in sredstev, predvsem pa brez oblikovanja jasnih ciljev in medsebojnega sodelovanja v smislu delitve informacij. Poleg težav naglega (prenaglega) ukrepanja, je treba opozoriti še na povsem neprimerno retoriko, kot je vojna proti terorizmu ali boj proti terorizmu in podobno. V začetku so vodilno vlogo v protiteroristični dejavnosti imele oborožene sile ob skoraj popolni odsotnosti policije in tudi obveščevalne službe.

Vojakom so namenjali vloge, ki jim niso lastne in za katere niso usposobljeni. Tako so opravljali policijske naloge paznikov v zaporih v Guantanamu, Iraku in Afganistanu, kjer se je pokazala še pomembnost spoštovanja človekovih pravic. Da bi se izognili pomanjkljivostim in napakam, je treba oblikovati strokovno utemeljeno sistemsko zaščito najprej na nacionalni in šele nato na globalni (regionalni) ravni ter vzpostaviti sistem, ki bo omogočal delitev informacij, da bi teroristično dejanje lahko predvideli in sprejeli uspešne protiukrepe.

Ključne besede
Mednarodni terorizem, obveščevalno-varnostne službe, sistemska zaščita, človekove pravice.

Abstract
In this article the authors address international terrorism in the context of intertwining, disparity and divisions between the law, declarative political interests and security practice, and reflect on the situation in Slovenia. Terrorism is generated by conflict, which triggers not only implications but also counter-measures.

The discourse on the responsiveness of authorities to concrete terrorist acts reveals that individual countries responded swiftly, often spontaneously, to this source of threat, were not sufficiently prepared in the sense of the use of force and means, and without having established clear objectives and mutual cooperation in the sense of information sharing. Besides the problems of swift (too swift) action, we would like to warn about an utterly inappropriate use of rhetoric, for instance, the war on terrorism or the fight against terrorism and the like. Initially, armed forces played the leading role in anti-terrorist activity, whereas the police and intelligence services were almost completely absent.

Soldiers were appointed roles which were not in their domain and for which they had not been trained. They therefore performed the police tasks of security officers in prisons, in Guantanamo, Iraq and Afghanistan, where respecting human rights became another important issue. In order to avoid weaknesses and mistakes, a professionally founded systemic protection must be established at the national and later at the global (regional) level, and a system that will enable information sharing must be set up so that terrorist acts can be foreseen and successful measures can be adopted.

Key words   *International terrorism, intelligence and security services, systemic protection, human rights.*

Introduction   In the Post-Cold War period it appeared that there were no more serious security threats, which is why most countries minimized the resources allocated for national security. Nevertheless, decision-makers "overlooked the so-called parallel reality: the ongoing threat to peace, democracy and stability in the world, which are more difficult to recognize and their extent more difficult to evaluate" (Gates, 2000:9–11). Among these threats, Gates classifies the following:
– proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, as more and more countries possess nuclear, biological and chemical weapons;
– global organized crime reveals new characteristics and dimensions with individual organized criminal structures collaborating rather than competing;
– terrorism is promoted and supported by powerful religions, ethnic and political forces that are inter-connected;
– ethnic conflict reaching genocidal proportions (Africa, the Balkans) and
– increasing the scope and the number of regional conflicts and fights.

Rohan Gunaratna (2001:46-50) believes that the new form of terrorism in the Post-Cold War period revealed new dimensions. During the Cold War, terrorist groups played the role of supplementary war, and were sponsored and controlled by superpowers with their satellite states, so that the Cold War would not grow beyond its limits. We know that the intelligence services of the Eastern Bloc controlled Palestinian, Syrian and Kurdish guerrilla and terrorist groups. In the Post-Cold War Era these groups gained financial independence, got rid of control, and began to choose armament, tactics and targets independently. Gunaratna claims that the reasserted ethnic and religious identities triggered numerous conflicts and caused the

formation of terrorist groups that are inspired by various nationalisms and religions that offer an excuse and reasons for their terrorist acts.

Simeunović (2009) believes terrorism was underestimated in the 1970s, but after September 11 became the center of attention of the entire general public. With the internationalization of news and globalization of the media, individual terrorist groups began carrying out even more spectacular attacks and attained greater recognisability and response from the global public.

Although many "find it hard to accept that terrorism is a new modern threat" (Črnčec, 2009:77) we shouldn't forget that it is the different strategic conditions that are new, particularly the mass use of modern information and communication technologies (the Internet, mobile phones), and hence the reflections of domestic experts on a new intelligence paradigm containing numerous innovative proposals can be understood (Črnčec, 2009:79). Črnec particularly stresses the incorrect and illegal infringement of human rights as a "dark side" of introducing new intelligence paradigm that commenced in the USA with the Guantanamo phenomenon (Črnčec, 2009:233).

It is utterly inappropriate to discuss the war on terrorism, fight against terrorism and the like, together with a problem of swift (too swift) action. We would particularly and clearly like to stress the too hasty acceptance of unverified proof on the true nature of certain terrorist acts, including the attack on the American World Trade Center in New York and the American Pentagon in Washington, as Zwicker (2006:85) argues, there is still some reasonable doubt on the credibility of the official explanation.

Some critics of the American practice have questioned the need to establish a new doctrine on the opposition to international terrorism, as it actually coincides with the beginning of the war in Iraq, and later on with the continuation of the Afghanistan war. Nevertheless, it is true that terrorist acts compelled the USA to change the principles of foreign policy also on account of human rights.

It would be useful if politicians adopting new concepts and doctrines on opposition to international terrorism took greater notice of professional findings and the findings of individual scientific disciplines. In his interview for the daily newspaper Politika (2010), Simeunović criticized not only the scientific circles but also politicians, when he claimed that "science is too subordinated to politics", and "the professional incompetence of politicians who imagine they possess all-encompassing knowledge, even on terrorism", which certainly does not contribute towards joint and unified opposition to terrorism.

The alternative solution to these shortcomings is to form a systemic protection concept, initially at the national, and later at regional and international levels. The concept must include planned and coordinated prevention activities, analyses of actual risk, cooperation between security authorities, intelligence services and other necessary authorities and the armed forces, their functional cooperation with

prosecution services and courts, and the implementation of all measures required for the removal of sources of threat, and, if necessary, disaster relief.

1 INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND COUNTERMEASURES

Modern terrorism is a multi-dimensional political phenomenon that can, in a general theoretical sense, be defined as a comprehensive form of group organization, and rarely as individual or institutional political violence. Modern terrorism is gaining further momentum through media publications, which additionally emphasize physical, psychological and advanced technological methods, characteristic of various crisis (economic, political) situations.

Simeunović (2009) presents a detailed classification of terrorism, and initially defines it in terms of objectives, means, methods and type of entities. The objectives of terrorism are:
– ideologically motivated,
– ethno separatist,
– based on religion, whereby we distinguish between terrorist sects and terrorism based on the interpretation of major religions.

In terms of means, terrorism is divided into classic, biochemical and nuclear terrorism, and in terms of methods, we distinguish between classic, suicide, cyber, and narco-terrorism. In terms of entities, terrorism is divided into individual, terrorism of organizations and illegal groups, and institutional terrorism.

When dealing with international terrorism as a security threat or challenge, we must consider two types of basic questions; one is of a theoretical and the other a practical nature.

At the theoretical level, this subject and study problem can be considered from various perspectives: security, legal, political, sociological, psychological, ethical and other perspectives. Theoreticians of the mentioned scientific disciplines have been trying for a long time to make the mentioned topics meaningful, and to establish and explain causes and implications. In the past decade, particularly in recent years, numerous professional and scientific articles have been published in Europe. Professional and publicist discourses are followed by fewer scientific observations, although there are more theoretical problems than proposed solutions. There are no final or comprehensive answers, for instance, to the question "Where do the reasons for this source of threat lie?" Terrorism is changing rapidly and adapts to various and current conditions. It is clear that no person is born a terrorist; a person who is susceptible to many and several impulses may become a terrorist. The search for these answers will remain a theoretical challenge in various professions for a long time.

At the practical level, the implementation of the national (international) response depends on establishing the awareness and knowledge that the opposition to terrorism

is not only a legal and a legitimate objective and need but also the approved right to self-defense of each country, group of countries or global community. The response is becoming ever more "multi-disciplinary, multi-dimensional and multi-organizational" (Prezelj, 2007:69). Opposition to terrorism, according to Prezelj (Prezelj, 2007:69), besides all "multi-approaches, requires an internal approach," which means the comprehensive and overall cooperation of all competent and responsible bodies in the country, and it also means systemic protection.

The following activities are of crucial importance: critical analysis of legislative regulations at the national as well as international level is required[1]. This should be followed by a critical assessment of intelligence and security services and security services[2]. The next step is reflected in the activity of the country, which should prevent human rights from being violated or threatened on account of national security. The question "freedom or security" should be rejected as dangerous and false. At the same time, we should not assent to the division of these two values or the claims of individuals who argue that opposition to terrorism means a fight between two civilizations. Equally dangerous (and incorrect!) is the claim that action against terrorism is an action against Islam. We should continue searching for all necessary and possible forms of cooperation between law enforcement authorities at the regional and global level. We should cease using the rhetoric of the war on terrorism, or the fight against terrorism and other expressions that carry a military connotation and implication. Already in 2004, the co-author of this article publicly presented his opinion on such military rhetoric: "And the fundamental downside of the American opposition to terrorism is precisely the perception that terrorism can be contained with tanks, missiles, cannons etc., namely with war. It is simply inefficient to fight shadows and the feelings of anger and hatred with such large calibres." (Anžič, 2004:6)

The following step of the professional practice lies in amended, upgraded or modified legal, organizational and other functional solutions. And what is of key importance: a systemic protection concept at the national as well as international (and regional) level should be established, which will introduce changes, amendments and will be easily adaptable. Terrorism changes rapidly and is always a step ahead of its opponents.

Thinking about the security challenge of such dimensions and with such evident implications compels us to search for various forms and contents of opposition. The fundamental idea that makes the political, security, intelligence and security, and other anti-terrorist activities meaningful is the acknowledgement of the necessity to protect fundamental human rights and other values from being very gravely abolished.

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[1]   This is a legal (if not constitutional) problem, when some countries, whose citizens are suspected of committing criminal acts abroad, do not want to extradite them. This should be changed immediately, at least within the framework of alliances, regional connections and the like.

[2]   This was done representatively by a special commission of the American Congress in the report »The 9/11 Commission Report" (2004) although, true enough, many eminent American publicists (Griffin, Chomsky) doubt the authenticity of the report (Zwicker, 2006:97).

The common denominator of intelligence and security services is to establish security as a state and state characteristic. In ensuring security, the presence of the state and the operation of its repression are inescapable, since the basic justification of a state's existence is ensuring the safety of its citizens (and residing foreigners) and their values. However, security is constantly exposed to threat. Security threats are constantly changing, are becoming increasingly transnational, globalized, multi-dimensional and inter-related (Prezelj, 2007:5). Nevertheless, it should be particularly stressed that national security also requires individual assessments of security threat in order to ensure a continuous updating and realistic assessment of national safety because terrorist groups mainly exercise the surprise factor.

International terrorism is thus a global problem that requires a global and national response. Undoubtedly, governments must act, as otherwise people would be left at the mercy of the natural law of the survival of the fittest. However, we do not support swift (do not confuse with rapid) measures that occurred in Iraq. Due to America's position and questionable absence of armed forces of Islamic countries, this mission is now in a position where the Americans are resolving the Shiite-Sunni conflict, while many political parties and even governments of those countries which have their troops in Iraq are thinking of withdrawing, since no strategic aim of the intervention has been attained (democracy, prosperity, destroying weapons of mass destruction, efficient government, national reconciliation, and others). The presence of the terrorist network Al-Qaeda and the implications of terrorist attacks are greater and more fatal. The removal of the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein has not justified the invested resources. Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo recruited more terrorists than any other activities of terrorist leaders aimed at recruiting new members.

However, hope remains that action will take place when countries and the international community will have formed a systemic protection concept. However, until now, things have been quite the opposite: first, the action, (too) swift response, then facing the reaction, and only later on searching for and forming an efficient model. Certain coordination bodies have been established, but no efficient (number-wise) increase in specialized bodies intended to fight against international terrorism have been observed, which is – besides the lack of concrete analytical assessments at the national level - the greatest problem. Therefore, it should not come as a surprise that besides theoretical foundations and despite some attempts, no precise and acceptable definition of international terrorism has been adopted that would differ from various doctrines of radiological, biological and other forms of terrorism. At the same time, no concrete initiatives at the international level containing long-term plans to oppose international terrorism have been detected.[3]

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[3] *In October 2009, Boštjan Videmšek, the journalist with the newspaper Delo, disclosed to the Slovenian public and the Government a message from one of the commanders of the Afghan Taliban who said that the Slovenian Armed Forces in Afghanistan should withdraw, or else, countermeasures would follow. He obviously did not have in mind only a direct attack on the Slovenian soldiers in Afghanistan, but also probably on certain targets in the Republic of Slovenia.*

2   ORIGINS OF THE SYSTEMIC PROTECTION CONCEPT IN THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

At the theoretical and practical level, Slovenia has only been familiar with the objectives and motives of the systemic protection concept for the past ten years, which was initially known by a very narrow circle of experts and scientists and an even narrower circle of politicians and operational officers involved in national security.

The goal of this concept is to eliminate or at least to control the threat to individuals, society (country), and the international community. It aims to control and neutralize possible sources of threat in time. Nevertheless, we are aware at all times that these cannot be entirely eliminated or completely prevented. Terrorists are usually a step ahead of security and intelligence services.

The purpose of the concept is to attain a balance between risk and control. The establishment of the concept must be, in the preventive as well curative sense, consistent with several principles of the state governed by the rule of law, such as, the principle of legality, principle of proportionality and the like. However, these should not be an obstacle to the efficient work of the police and intelligence and security services.

Systemic protection commenced with the integration and functional cooperation of all security activity carriers. Estimates of the terrorist threat were prepared, while the concept was based on the ideas of domestic and foreign experts. Combs, (1997:213) for example, defines three groups of indicators for threat assessment: general indicators, local indicators and specific indicators. Ganor (2005) claims that threat assessment can be made on the basis of terrorist motives and their capabilities. Both authors, nevertheless, stem their claims from their domestic (American, Israeli) situations, while Slovenia lacks more domestic terrorist assessments and analytical forecasts, in particular, because Slovenia is a part of the so-called "Balkans route", not only a drug route but also terrorist routes, secret storages and human resources. Estimates can also be based on publicly available information and the analysis of terrorist events, financial capacity estimates and by other means.

Various threat assessments exist in the professional public and are supplemented by agreement and time interval.

Throughout this time, coordination and working groups for anti-terrorist action were active. The first one, or at least one of the first ones, was an interministerial working group for the implementation of restrictive measures and follow-up action related to the opposition to terrorism. It was led by a government official at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and it included representatives of ministries and the Police. Through the work of this group, Slovenia accelerated the implementation of international conventions pertaining to terrorism. It is a commitment of countries, to report cyclically to the United Nations on the adopted anti-terrorist measures. There was also

an expert group whose task was to prepare guidelines for the preparation of a joint threat assessment for the Republic of Slovenia.

The third form was an interministerial group for the prevention of threat or attacks with means or weapons of mass destruction, which was appointed by the National Security Council in 2003. The group drew up a document entitled "Ukrepi za celovito ureditev področja ogrožanja z orožjem ali sredstvi za množično uničevanje" Shortcomings were also detected and solutions were proposed (43rd regular government session, 16 October 2003)In addition, another unresolved issue is that Slovenia has not yet developed an integral crisis management system at all levels. This means that the system is otherwise relatively well-developed in individual subsystems of the national security system and mainly limited to natural disasters, either to a state of emergency or a state of war (Prezelj, 2005:203). The co-author of the article came to the same conclusion, when he stated:"Slightly bitter, I can proclaim that some security system authorities, which are not at its centre (the Police, intelligence and security services), respond best from Monday to Friday from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. Outside these hours, the response is worse or delayed."(Anžič, 2004:7)

The National Security Council and its secretariat also participated, as umbrella bodies and coordinators of national security. However, it seems that the structure of this body exceeded the rationality framework and swift response, and if we wish to ensure effective operation, a new structure needs to be considered.

The fourth body operating in the field of anti-terrorist activity are the so-called nominated bodies of national security in the narrow sense. Initially, this is the Police[4] as a body under the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior. Within the Police, the central role is played by uniformed police and criminal police. The Organised Crime Division, Terrorism and Extreme Violence Sector is a body under the Criminal Police Directorate with numerous tasks: monitoring the security situation at home and abroad, discovering, investigating and harmonizing suspicions of committing various forms of terrorist acts, etc.

During terrorist attacks and the taking of hostages, the Criminal Police operating under the umbrella of the Police is responsible for resolving crisis situations by forming a crisis response center. However, when smooth operation is required at the level of several police stations, the Criminal Police working under the General Police Directorate (operative center of the GPD) takes over control, where a special unit carries out interventions in anti-terrorist acts at the level of the GPD.

The Police plays a major role in anti-terrorist activity, which is in accordance with the standards set out by the EU security activity. Its tasks include preventive activities (preventing factors crucial for the emergence and operation of terrorism), analytical

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[4] *The State Prosecutor and the court play a crucial role in prosecuting and sanctioning terrorist acts. Since 1996, a special group of prosecutors dealing with the prosecution of criminal acts of organised crime has been operating.*

(strategic analyses of the criminal intelligence operation), technical (securing vital structures), curative measures (investigation of suspicions of criminal acts related to terrorism), and the like (Anžič, Milačič, 2005:145–153)

A major role is also played by the Slovene Intelligence and Security Agency (Sova). In the field of the fight against international terrorism, the Agency acquires and evaluates data, communicates information on the operation and activities of international terrorist organizations, groups and individuals, with the aim of determining the presence of the indicative persons of such acts in the Republic of Slovenia in time, and to determine any misuse of the Slovenian territory for terrorist acts, aimed at third countries. In accordance with the law, the Agency cooperates and exchanges information with foreign intelligence and security services (Šefic, 2005:119–128). However, it has not been confirmed in the public domain whether Sova is competent to carry out operational action against actors of international terrorism on its own or in alliance.

The Intelligence and Security Service of the Ministry of Defence is another body competent to act in the field of anti-terrorist activity. The body operates in the field of defense and the defense interests of the country (Jurca, Preston, 2005:139–141).

The Slovenian Armed Forces and its members also play an essential and integral role. However, some views of Čaleta (2005:137) remain unexplained, when he presents "a new perspective and the role of the Slovenian Armed Forces within the framework of the national and security system in the field of the fight against terrorism," and when he argues there are problems "which are currently reflected in the implementation of measures for the establishment of an appropriate and efficient national security system, particularly in ensuring appropriate and necessary activities for preventing a terrorist threat." Čaleta hereby stresses the incompleteness of statutory and secondary acts, which presumably "strongly hinder the establishment of an appropriate system of opposition to terrorism, particularly the exchange of information and professional management at the national level." We cannot accept such a claim. Effective legislative regulation, particularly legal regulation, is appropriate, satisfactory and in compliance with the EU legislation, however, its practical implementation remains questionable.

The activities of the country or the Government, which began to acknowledge the comprehensive security threat, led to the establishment of the National Crisis Management Centre (NCKU) and various working groups.

3 UPGRADING SYSTEMIC THEORY AND ESTABLISHING A SYSTEMIC PROTECTION CONCEPT

Prezelj (2007:65–80) enumerates several activities and individual entities in the field of opposition to terrorism. Nevertheless, he notes that the "working group for the prevention of attacks with means or weapons of mass destruction ceased to operate before it completed its work." (Prezelj, 2007:76–77). The mere preparation of

documents is not sufficient for the implementation of a systemic protection concept - what is needed is interministerial cooperation at all levels and the exchange of information. The need to "share with others" here and now is becoming increasingly evident, explains Črnčec in the magazine Obramba (2005).

Primarily, we have to continue developing functions of an anti-terrorist approach, which will enable new perspectives on the definition of international terrorism as a universal social problem. We need to establish an integrated conceptual approach that will enable the identification of all components of this occurrence and subject of study, the understanding of differences and will offer possible solutions. And this can only be attained by linking scientific theories of various scientific disciplines. It is therefore not enough for this phenomenon to be studied by political, defense, criminal justice and security scientists, sociologists and others; we need an in-depth and more organized integration of other members of the professional public, such as lawyers, psychologists, theologists, historians, medical doctors and social workers. Only thus will we be able to come up with recognitions that will be scientifically founded and will reveal the need for an organized complexity of the phenomenon. This is true in the general sense, however, in addition, this is important when assessing security phenomena, situations and implications. The systemic approach[5] thus helps us to understand a concrete security phenomenon and form activities, an appropriate security reaction of the state and its authorities. A causal-consequence relationship between the security challenge as a cause and security measures as a consequence is thus established

Those politicians who are able to recognize and apply the ideas of individual scientific disciplines to their practical and security organization and actions in the executive and legislative branch of power are believed to act wisely. Unfortunately however, few such cases of exploitation exist, which is partly understood, since politicians are limited by their term of office. They usually measure their success by the number of adopted secondary acts, laws or their amendments, reorganizations of ministries, staff reassignments and the like.

The establishment of a systemic protection concept is a long-term process, which cannot be limited to a single political term of office[6]. It is a systematic, sustainable, methodical, organized and planned prevention-oriented activity that needs to enable a country the possibility to define a security question, the possibility of its analytical breakdown, setting up responsiveness of security authorities and services, and planned communication with the public. These are professional activity and professional decisions, and not a politically likeable image in public opinion polls.

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[5] *The systemic approach is an upgrade of the methodical approach, and therefore these two terms are not synonyms.*

[6] *The problem, which does not only exist in Slovenia, is that politicians with a new mandate do not continue and finish the process started in the previous mandate (even a good one), because it is not "theirs".*

The systemic approach in Slovenia[7] is still in its infancy rather than being fully developed, as some initial stages have been left unfinished. Nevertheless, scientific works in the form of doctoral theses, research or publications offer hope. The majority of authors come from the Faculty of Social Sciences (University of Ljubljana), Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security (University of Maribor) and the Graduate School of Government and European Studies (Brdo pri Kranju).

This article is not supposed to include scientific work, as these are available in electronic and printed versions. However, we should acknowledge the efforts of these authors from the above-mentioned faculties, who have been enriching this field with their professional and scientific approach.

Unfortunately in recent years, no major steps forward in practice have been observed in the field of upgrading the existing systemic protection concept. It appears that not only the political but also the official part has no special need (or knowledge?) to upgrade the system. Their attention is still focused only on "their" field of work. To a large extent, observers do not detect crisis management, which gives us the impression that only an emergency response without the required vision is in place.

However, differences in theoretical approach, misunderstanding and false interpretation of various military and security doctrines (asymmetric warfare, low intensity conflict, new intelligence paradigm, and the like) can still be observed.

The professional public particularly lacks theoretical and practical contributions from experienced professionals (operational officers) from the field of tactical-operational and strategic level of direct confrontation with international terrorism. Their practical experience and ideas cannot be substituted by any philosophy and discussion at the office level.

Perhaps we could invite a foreign expert from the field of opposition to international terrorism, as, for example, this is the practice of banks and other specialized organizations. Slovenia namely has no domestic experts with international references and actual experience from the mentioned field.

Conclusion   When discussing international terrorism nowadays, we tend to forget that terrorism did not transpire with Slovenia's independence or Al-Qaeda's attack on the American World Trade Center (WTO) in September 2001. Let us remember that Slovenia had an organization TIGR, which fought against Italian fascism since 1927 in the form of terrorism, since this was the only way to maintain the secrecy of its operation. The forms of modern terrorism, which has been identifying itself with the operation of Al-Qaeda since 2001, had been previously known to the world in the Balkans, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia.

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[7]   *By this we mean security field.*

Opposition to terrorism, particularly national and international terrorism, is a legal and legitimate objective of every country. Every country has a national right to self-defense and a duty to protect the rights of individuals, society and the international community. The security response to these brutal challenges, however, should not only be in line with the rules of the state governed by the rule of law. The principle of legality and the principle of proportionality must and should be the guide and a rule in the security response. Opposition to this social evil should not infringe on any human rights. When we as people or as a nation are faced with crime, we quickly tend to forget about human rights. After the WTC attack, people mostly supported detentions of suspicious persons who were detained without indictment for more than a year only because they resembled the attackers or people from the regions where the Americans led wars that served their interests for oil and other strategic raw materials. Even high national authorities, governments and courts rapidly acceded to various forms of suspension of human rights, not only in Guantanamo, but also elsewhere in Europe, where special prisons for persons suspected of terrorist acts were established.

On the basis of professional and theoretical perspectives, the authors claim that special terrorist actions can only be resisted successfully through specialized law enforcement authorities, and by acknowledging the fact that no absolute security exists.

Most recently it seems that the creators of counter-intelligence doctrines and systems are mainly representatives of various policies who have ignored the practical experience of individual successful national intelligence, security and counter-intelligence organizations, and have instead concentrated on establishing various preventive systems, the so-called crisis management, technical and information operations, which, however, cannot replace a direct operational infiltration of an individual terrorist organization since they disable and prevent its activities.

The incorrect approach to discovering suspects of terrorist acts has recently brought about two excluding problems, namely:

do the standards of achieved human rights wholly apply to obvious suspects and persons responsible for international terrorist acts and deeds, or to what extent can they be reduced;

and not least: how to regain the attained standards of human rights protection, or how to compensate for the damage incurred in the morally-ethical and material sense, namely, the released Guantanamo prisoners cannot return to their home countries due to a suspicion that they may be secret agents and the fear that they will be charged of being traitors.

The good news is that this "return" will begin in the USA. At first, the American president ceased to use the horrible rhetoric on war. The USA no longer leads the war on terrorism, at least not in the verbal sense. Some of us in Slovenia have been

publicly opposing this rhetoric since 2002 (Anžič, 2002) or earlier. The intention to close Guantanamo is positive, but in the actual sense this will be a complex task, as all international terrorist acts must not only be discovered but also individually sanctioned, publicly and in line with the provisions of international law, and not in accordance with some specialist and illegal measures of American security agencies.

Instead of war, a systemic protection concept, particularly counter-intelligence protection, must be established at the national as well as international and global level. All forms of functional cooperation between intelligence and security and security services are essential, particularly between specialized counter-intelligence authorities, integrated into an efficient professional and international supra-national organization, which would in turn develop into a multi-national and global systemic protection of opposition to international terrorism.

At this point, we shouldn't forget the timely response of the entire systemic protection concept and all participating authorities, in the initial, indicative phase and when measures are taken.

It is perfectly evident and logical that if we want to prevent a certain terrorist organization which is determined to carry out a planned terrorist attack at the international level (Al-Qaeda or any other) from implementing its activity, all protective safety measures must be organized, and a rapid response is required to neutralize the threat of such a terrorist organization. The most efficient way to prevent the activities of subversive or terrorist organizations is undoubtedly the substantial and rapid discovery of its leadership, membership and material headquarters, financial sources and hidden supporters.

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VSESTRANSKI PRISTOP K POMORSKI VARNOSTI REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO MARITIME SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

Povzetek   Različni dejavniki in grožnje sodobnega časa neposredno vplivajo na spremembe v globalnem varnostnem okolju. Oborožene sile se bodo morale takim spremembam prilagoditi in tako sprejeto novo vlogo. Znano je, da asimetrične grožnje lahko prihajajo s kopnega, iz zraka in z morja. Posebno ranljivo je morje s svojo širno prostranostjo. Gre za področje vedno večje medsebojne odvisnosti, ki omogoča prosto gibanje ljudi, idej, blaga, tehnologij in virov. Hkrati je to okolje, v katerem se ugotavljajo grožnje in izzivi za varnost, kot so: terorizem, imigracija in trgovina z ljudmi, nezakonito trgovanje z mamili in konvencionalnim orožjem ter širjenje orožja za množično uničevanje (WMD). Tako izzivi na globalni ravni zahtevajo iskanje novih načrtnih oblik pomorske zaščite in varnosti. V tem članku poskušamo predstaviti vsestranski nacionalni pristop k zagotavljanju varnosti in vse izzive, povezane z morjem, ki bi nam lahko pomagali teoretično razumeti potrebo po nadaljnjih prilagoditvah v smislu integracije vseh naših nacionalnih in v pomorstvo usmerjenih zmogljivosti v skupno interdisciplinarno službo.

Ključne besede   *Pomorska varnost, operativno pomorsko usklajevanje, vsestranski pristop.*

Abstract   *Various factors and threats of modern times are directly affecting the changing global security environment. The armed forces should be adjusted to such changes, resulting in the redefinition of its role. It is known that asymmetric threats may come from land, air and the sea. Especially vulnerable is the sea due to its wide spaciousness. It is an area of increasing interdependence that allows free movement of people, ideas, goods, technologies and resources. At the same time, this is also the environment in which threats and challenges to security are identified, for example terrorism, immigration and human trafficking, illicit trafficking in drugs and conventional weapons, as well as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Challenges at the global level require the search for new systematic forms of maritime security and*

safety. This paper intends to present a national comprehensive approach to ensuring security and all the challenges associated at sea, and may help us to theoretically understand a need for further adjustments towards integration of all our national maritime-oriented capabilities into a common interdisciplinary service.

Key words   ***Maritime security, operational maritime coordination, comprehensive approach.***

A Global Maritime Security Environment

In the modern world, the sea and its spaciousness is one of the most important resources for the economy and welfare of the country that has access to it. The sea as a natural and legal entity is wide open to impacts of interactions in all aspects of life, and so is the sense of security (Urlič, 2009).

The maritime domain and, in particular, the maritime security environment is of paramount importance to global economy. The volume of shipping is expected to increase during the coming decades, therefore, by definition, its importance will grow, as well (Twrdy, 2003). As the way of living for the modern industrialized world remains largely dependent on an uninterrupted supply of commercial goods and energy, this results in a critical vulnerability. Therefore, one of the greatest threats to our way of living and thereby maritime security as a whole would be the possible disruption of energy supplies and trade flow through sea lines of communication, port facilities, as well as maritime and associated industrial infrastructure (Zuiderwijk, 2009).

We are entering a period of greater uncertainty than has been experienced for several decades. The 21st century promises to present a plethora of various security challenges, which will come from state and non-state players and develop in an increasingly complex environment, where interdependence and unintended consequences are immutable characteristics restricting our freedom of action (Band, 2009).

There are numerous real and potential threats. The rise of piracy and terrorism is a genuine threat to the freedom of the seas. Piracy is at first a local problem. Most of its factors are enduring and can persist for centuries. Although it can be very destructive to the local economy, for a long time, it has remained a limited and circumscribed risk for maritime shipping. The latest developments, however, have shown a new determination, a sophisticated organization, while frequency and violence have reached a new level, which requires a global response to what has become a significant threat (Forissier, 2009). Piracy itself should not be considered or overstated as a maritime threat facing our nation. But it has thrust into the limelight a danger posed to the maritime trade in a particular strategic region. Actually, piracy is more a symptom that must be assessed within a wider array of the emerging challenges combining both security matters and geopolitical issues. Piracy and maritime terrorism should not be confused. Objectives, geographical areas and tactics are not the same, and no links have yet been established, even though vigilance is required. But they are the two principal aspects of maritime security challenges.

1   MARITIME SECURITY THREATS AND CHALLENGES

Various factors and threats of modern times are directly affecting the changing global security environment. Particularly vulnerable is the sea with its wide spaciousness (Androjna, 2008). It is the environment in which threats and challenges to security are identified, for example terrorism, immigration and human trafficking, illicit trafficking in drugs and conventional weapons, as well as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

1.1   Europe

The security seascape, nowadays, is broader in scope and more unpredictable in nature than ever before in modern times and continues to evolve in ways that, even a few years ago, were largely impossible to foresee. The most fundamental change concerns the identity and characteristics of a potential enemy. It is highly improbable that the threat to maritime security will come from conventional naval forces of a particular country. Instead, we are now faced with largely unknown, almost random threats. Small terrorist cells, unofficial militia, even loosely-grouped individuals now have the potential to cause immense damage (Mitropoulos, 2006).

Traditionally, navies are focused on and well prepared to counter military security threats. To counter the new types of threats, navies need not only special means and training, but also information, partners, networks and legal authorization that differs fundamentally from those that are required in full-scale wars between nation-state navies (Nolting, 2009).

Europe has a 70,000 km coastline along two oceans and four seas: the Atlantic and Arctic Oceans as well as the Baltic, the North, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The EU's maritime regions account for some 40% of its GDP and population. Europe's well-being is therefore inextricably linked with the sea. The growing vulnerability of coastal areas to increasingly crowded coastal waters, the key role of the oceans in the climate system and the continuous deterioration of the marine environment call for a stronger focus on our oceans and seas. Ocean sustainability is today widely recognized as a major global challenge, closely connected to climatic changes (Commission of the European Communities, 2007).

1.2   South East Europe

Many of the maritime challenges in South East Europe arise from the nature of the security environment in the Mediterranean. The first challenge is geography. The Mediterranean Sea (including the Adriatic, Ionian and Black Sea) has twenty-eight thousand miles of coastline. Any effort to try to control or regulate it has to take into account the situation of hundreds of points from which vessels can get to sea.

The second challenge concerns the type of threats that must be combated. Basically, there are to types of threats, threats to vessels on the sea and threats from the sea. Although they are related, they require different responses. A challenge also arises

from the issue of how to ensure that vessels, vital to the global economy, can transit the maritime commons without being harmed and how to prevent terrorists and other hostile players from using the sea to do harm ashore or to fund their operations. In both cases, the maritime paths and means employed by criminals and illegal immigrants are likely to be the same as those used by terrorists and WMD proliferators, all these among the tens of thousands of ships navigating the waters of the Mediterranean every year. Sorting through thousands of contacts to identify the few individuals engaged in harmful or illicit activities can be very problematic.

The third challenge arises from the interoperability of countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea. Interoperability is largely a political problem that manifests itself in rules of engagement, legal structures and resource allocations, but it also has an important technical component. The main challenge is how to use current and future technologies to raise situational awareness, which in this context is the ability to identify, process, and comprehend critical elements of information in and around the maritime domain.

The last challenge is resources. Defence spending is limited, therefore, it is necessary to find a way to use current assets more effectively and apply future resources to the capabilities needed to support the operational concepts that are developed (Boyer, 2007).

1.3   Slovenia

According to the Annual Reports on the Work of the Police (2009) and Customs Administration of the RS (2009) we could identify challenges that are affecting Slovenian maritime security. They fall into the following areas: organised crime, illegal border crossing, illicit trafficking in drugs and contraband of undeclared goods.

In the sphere of organized crime, policing was aimed at detecting criminal associations engaged in smuggling people, illicit drugs, weapons, explosives and highly taxable goods[1] along the Balkan route. A total of 359 criminal offences were related to organized crime activities during the investigation in 2008, representing a 22.5 % increase compared to the year before.

There were a total of 171 criminal offences related to illegal crossing of the state border or territory, representing a 12.3 % decrease on the previous year. A better record is attributed to implementation of Schengen standards relating to state border surveillance and good cooperation between foreign law enforcement in detecting smuggling activities along the Balkan route.

Illicit drug abuse rates increased by 4.3 %, from 1,612 in 2007 to 1,681 in 2008. An investigation focusing on a particular international criminal association resulted in confiscations of 98 tons of anhydride acetic acid (precursor substance for heroin

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[1]   *In 2008, 25,086,080 cigarettes were seized. The majority of the cigarettes were discovered in the Port of Koper.*

manufacturing) which was smuggled from the Czech Republic to Turkey. This quantity represented the largest amount of precursor substances ever confiscated worldwide.

In addition, 160 (or 24.0 % more) criminal offences of illegal production of and traffic in weapons and explosives were investigated, 25 criminal offences of smuggling, 17 cases of abuse of prostitution and trafficking in human beings as well as 1 criminal offence of terrorism against an unknown perpetrator who threatened to attack certain buildings and infrastructure.

2 COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH[2]

Faced with these challenges, the Republic of Slovenia has analyzed its capabilities and defined the capacities to build and integrate them to successfully respond to future challenges with an acceptable risk level. It is quite evident that such threats can neither be dealt with by a single agency nor a single nation. Therefore, we adopted a two-way approach: on the one hand, we are to intensify combined, regional and multinational cooperation with our international partners. On the other, we need to find proper solutions for better coordination at the national level between respective Slovenian ministries and agencies. The rapidly changing strategic environment influenced by globalization requires the restructuring and integration of all security institutions. The cornerstone for maritime security within our national area of responsibility is coherent civil-military cooperation. In response to this demand, the Resolution on Maritime Policy of the Republic of Slovenia (UL RS, 1991) was adopted, which imposes on Slovenia the concern for maritime regulation in line with international rules and the development of national services that ensure adequate protection and security of the territorial sea.

The European Union (EU) demands (Commission of the European Communities, 2006, 2007), from all of its members, a more holistic approach to marine management at all appropriate levels and more comprehensive management mechanisms, including improved cooperation and coordination, as well as consistency between agencies that are responsible for maritime domain awareness and for the interoperability of their supervisory systems at the European level.

Therefore, the need was advocated to recognize and to initiate all the necessary procedures for unifying certain entities with the aim to establish an effective authority capable of adapting to and countering the threats that could potentially jeopardize Slovenia's national security.

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[2] *In conceptual terms, comprehensive approach refers to the wide scope of actions undertaken in a coordinated and collaborative manner by national and multinational civilian government agencies, military forces, international and intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector to achieve greater harmonization in the planning, management, and evaluation of coalition interventions in complex contingencies and emergencies (USJFCOM, 2008).*

A series of initiatives were formulated referring to the manner of establishing a state interdisciplinary structure (e.g. the Coast Guard) that would be responsible for a relatively small area of the sea, taking over all the tasks that are currently assigned to our four ministries: Ministry of Defence (Slovenian Armed Forces / Naval Detachment), Ministry of the Interior (Maritime Police), Ministry of Transport (Harbour Master Office) and Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning (Department of Waters). In this context, some of the activities were launched in 1991. Additionally, serious discussions took place in 2004, when the Governmental Interdisciplinary Working Group for examining the establishment of a new common interdisciplinary service was renewed. Despite some public doubts about the rational and effective use of allocated resources (Pavliha, 2005), these initiatives, due to a variety of interests and lack of political will, unfortunately, did not succeed and all these respective security institutions continue to perform their duties in a fully autonomous manner (Geršak, 2008). However, ideas of an integrated security structure at sea have been re-launched recently through the announcement, made by the Ministry of Defence, to purchase a new multipurpose vessel for the Slovenian Armed Forces in 2010/2011 that will have an option to perform a series of tasks from a wide range of coast guard activities.

2.1 Coordination of Services at Sea

In order to effectively and efficiently implement the common tasks that are associated with the sea and to insure information sharing at inter-ministerial level in the pursuit of national maritime security, the Government of the Republic of Slovenia established in 2006 the so-called Coordination of Services at Sea, which integrates all Slovenian national resources related to maritime safety and is not an alternative to the Coast Guard (Pavliha, 2005). Coordination is carried out at two levels (UL RS, 2006):

a. at the higher level, which is the Coordination of Services at Sea,
b. at the operational level, which is the Operational Maritime Coordination.

a. Coordination of Services at Sea is comprised of authorities from different ministries such as:
    – Ministry of Transport, Slovenian Maritime Administration
    – Ministry of the Interior, Police Directorate Koper
    – Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning, The Environmental Agency of the Republic of Slovenia
    – Ministry of Finance, The Customs Administration of the Republic of Slovenia, Customs Directorate Koper
    – Ministry of Defence, Slovenian Armed Forces, Force Command
    – Ministry of Defence, Administration of the Republic of Slovenia for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief
    – Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate for European Affairs and Bilateral Political Relations
    – The Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food, the Inspectorate of the Republic of Slovenia for Agriculture, Forestry and Food

b. The Operational Maritime Coordination is organized at a lower level, comprising the following authorities:
    –   Slovenian Maritime Administration, Harbour Master Office
    –   Police Directorate Koper, Maritime Police
    –   Customs Directorate Koper, Custom Office Piran and Port of Koper
    –   The Environmental Agency of the Republic of Slovenia; Department of Waters
    –   The Inspectorate of the Republic of Slovenia for Agriculture, Forestry and Food, The Hunting and Fisheries Inspection Service
    –   Slovenian Armed Forces, Force Command, 430th Naval Detachment
    –   Administration of the Republic of Slovenia for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief, Branch Office Koper

Responsibilities of the Coordination of services at sea and the Operational maritime coordination are:
–   To solve common problems that are associated to the issues of maritime security and environmental protection at sea.
–   To exam and analyze the situation on the sea.
–   To propose measures related to the improvements of the situation at sea.
–   To work out proposed plans and security measures for the eventual execution.
–   To effectively implement tasks and rationally use all the available resources.
–   To cooperate with other institutions that are dealing with the activities at sea.
–   To inform and advise the authorities about maritime security and environmental protection at sea.
–   To develop and promote all the activities that are aimed to provide greater maritime security, environmental protection at sea and effective search and rescue etc.

The Coordination of Services at Sea normally assembles once a year and, if necessary, while the Operational Maritime Coordination assembles every week or, if required, on a daily basis.

Authorities participating in the Coordination of Services at Sea work close together to implement the tasks laid down by the governmental resolution. They have to put into practice all necessary efforts to perform tasks professionally and in a timely manner. The rules of engagement (ROE) of the Coordination of Services at Sea are an integral part of the proceedings for the participation of authorities of different ministries and provide guidance for the organizational management, functions, working methods as well as for the Operational maritime coordination and cooperation of authorities involved.

The establishment of the Coordination of Services at Sea as such does not apply to any additional financial costs. In other words, it is a cost-effective element in our offshore security. Is this organizational form appropriate to successfully act in response to all future maritime threats and challenges that occur in reality?

2.2 Uniform Maritime Information System

The international security environment nowadays requires all states to build multi-functional structures within their national security systems. Maritime surveillance is of paramount importance in ensuring the safe use of the sea and in securing national maritime borders.

National and regional sharing of Automated Information System (AIS) data is developing fast, and Europe-wide sharing of vessel traffic data is progressing under SafeSeaNet[3] based on the Community vessel traffic monitoring and information system directive EU Directive 2002/59/EC. Concerning the integration and cooperation between surveillance systems and authorities in the Southern EU countries in the framework of border security, the picture varies widely between almost non-existent cooperation in some countries, via different authorities using the same surveillance system, to relatively advanced integrated systems, to which several authorities contribute. All countries have plans to start or further develop integration (Commission of the European Communities, Slovenia is integrated into the EU Maritime Information and Exchange System (EU SafeSeaNet) and achieves rationality and efficiency in solving common problems associated with the sea by employing the Uniform Maritime Information System (Enotni Pomorski Informacijski Sistem – EPIS). It is a platform for Maritime Data Exchange e.g. National SafeSeaNet, between the operational maritime coordination authorities. It supports their tasks and improves maritime situational awareness by means of feasible technical solutions and common procedures. It combines border control data from the Maritime Police, data from the Department of Waters of the Environmental Agency of the Republic of Slovenia, data from the control of fishing vessels (Vessel Monitoring System – VMS) and data from the Maritime Rescue Coordination Centre (MRCC) that are operationally available 24 hours a day and consist of information gathered by the Automatic Information System (AIS) and the Vessel Traffic System (VTS). It's a network/Internet solution based on the concept of a distributed database and provides a simple, reliable and uniform access to data, known as "One-Shop-Concept".[4] It is made in accordance with the EU regulations and is Slovenia's step towards a more interoperable surveillance system that combines together existing monitoring and tracking systems used for maritime safety and security, protection of the marine environment, fisheries control, control of external borders and other law enforcement activities.

It should be emphasized that surveillance is of crucial importance. It may be considered as the practical or physical manifestation of vigilance, which is the state of mind that we all should develop (Mitropoulos, 2006), and the exchange of information, which adds to its value many times over.

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[3] *Community maritime information and exchange system. SafeSeaNet enables the receipt, storage, retrieval and exchange of information for the purpose of maritime safety, port and maritime security, marine environment protection and the efficiency of maritime traffic and maritime transport.*

[4] *EU requires easing the administrative burdens imposed by many different regulations through better use of (electronic) data exchange and information sharing.*

The challenge that still remains opened is to find the appropriate technical means or to improve the existing ones, in order to enhance surveillance in terms of the quality and timeliness of the information gleaned.

2.3 Maritime Operational Centre – MOC

European Union and NATO have addressed Maritime Situational Awareness (MSA) aimed at further improving the Maritime Commander's situational awareness at sea. MSA is a tool to enhance the understanding of the maritime environment and to achieve a clear understanding of relevant information necessary to support maritime operational decision making. It capitalizes on existing systems and on new technology as well as responds to new areas of operational urgency.

NATO has been enhancing its recognized maritime picture, drawing on contributions on both NATO and national assets and capabilities, in order to get a more comprehensive understanding of activities in the wider maritime domain. Furthermore, NATO's Maritime Safety and Security Information System (MSSIS) has been established based around AIS data provided by NATO member states and a number of non-NATO states, tracking the location and movement of about 10,000 ships each day. This data is then analyzed by using a range of software analysis tools, some of which make use of commercial and open source databases, to identify potential anomalies. The analyzed data is then fed into the NATO's Maritime Command and Control Information System which also includes intelligence data, classified data and the real-time location of NATO vessels.

Regarding the maritime situational awareness in Slovenia, a new Maritime Operations Centre is going to be established by the end of February 2010, which will collate information from both civilian and military sources and combine it in order to distinguish normal maritime activities from possible threats and will be integrated in the exchange of data from NATO's Maritime Command and Control Information System.

Slovenian MOC has already been integrated through the information exchange with the Virtual-Regional Maritime Traffic Centre (V-RMTC), an Internet-based network employed by 29 navies to monitor merchant traffic, and today spawning trans-regional applications in a Global Maritime Trusted Information Network.

Conclusion The main issues in this article address the problem of whether Slovenia's comprehensive approach to ensuring security and all the identified challenges associated at sea are adequate or if Slovenia has to initiate all the necessary procedures for unifying its entities into a common interdisciplinary service with the aim of establishing an effective authority capable of adapting to and countering the threats that could potentially jeopardize our national security?

Meeting today's security challenges requires a wide spectrum of civil and military instruments. The rapidly changing strategic environment influenced by globalization and characterized by an unprecedented element of inter-connectivity and inter-dependability (La Rosa, 2008) calls for regular coordination, consultation and interaction among all actors involved, and it requires all states to build multifunctional structures (e.g. Coordination of services at sea / Operational maritime coordination). We must work together; we must build up trust between each other and utilize the positive energy to create a maritime coalition in order to ensure security and safety in the maritime domain.

Given the fact of limited financial, personnel and material potentials and despite having only 46 km of coast, this calls for a detailed analysis and for a concept, in which we have to overcome any narrow interests of individuals, groups or interagency rivalry, on a possible unification of our entities into a common interdisciplinary service to achieve increasing levels of efficiency and consistency in the field of maritime safety, maritime security and protection of the sea. Moreover, a concept could point out some guidelines for developing consistent national maritime policy where flexibility (ability to adapt and adjust budgets and other resources) could be the key to success. There are certain preconditions without which a common interdisciplinary service can be difficult or even impossible to achieve. Firstly, there must be a political will for unification of our entities into a common interdisciplinary service. Secondly, everyone has to accept being coordinated or coordinating with others. Finally, it must be understood that the shift to something resembling a common interdisciplinary service happens between the ears before it can happen in reality.

To summarize, the cornerstone for maritime security within our national area of responsibility is coherent civil-military cooperation. Although the resulting beneficial interdependencies require further adjustments of our organizational and legal framework. Once realized, they will have an impact on our traditional competencies and therefore force us to considerably change our operational and procedural way of acting for which we need to be prepared well in advance.

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Strokovni članek

OBVEŠČEVALNO VREDNOTENJE GEOGRAFSKEGA PROSTORA V PROCESIH NASPROTOVANJA TERORIZMU

INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT OF GEOGRAPHICAL AREA IN FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

Professional article

Povzetek

Republika Slovenija uveljavlja svoje politične interese in mednarodno sprejete obveznosti tudi zunaj geografskega območja držav članic Nata in EU. Odločanje o izvajanju nalog na mednarodnih operacijah in misijah na območjih zunaj nacionalnega ozemlja, še posebej zunaj Evrope, zahteva temeljite geoprostorske analize. V procesih odločanja o uporabi vojaških sil so geoprostorske analize temelj drugim informacijam in obveščevalnim ocenam interesnega območja. Z razvojem komunikacij in velikega števila javno dostopnih podatkov se postavlja zahteva za vzpostavitev učinkovitega geoinformacijskega sistema, ki bo zagotavljal podporo pri odločanju o uporabi sil ob upoštevanju varnostnih tveganj, ki izhajajo iz geografskega prostora. Obveščevalno vrednotenje geografskega prostora obsega učinke in vplive v njem. Njegovi rezultati so v sodobnem času pomemben, celo ključen element delovanja SV in njenih pripadnikov v boju proti terorističnim in drugim asimetričnim grožnjam. Slovenska vojska skupaj z drugimi strokovnimi organi geoprostorske podpore na MO in v zavezništvu vzpostavlja učinkovito in odzivno obveščevalno vrednotenje geografskega prostora, ki je namenjeno kot pomoč odločevalcem in pripadnikom SV v mednarodnih operacijah in na misijah.

Ključne besede

Geoprostorska obveščevalna dejavnost, vrednotenje geografskega prostora, javni viri, Slovenska vojska.

Abstract

The Republic of Slovenia exercises its political interests and international obligations also outside the geographical areas of NATO and EU countries. Every decision to conduct tasks in international operations and missions outside national territory, especially outside Europe, requires detailed geospatial analyses. During any decision-making processes regarding the use of military forces, geospatial analyses provide the basis for all other information and an intelligence evaluation of the Area of Interest. With the development of communication technologies and the existence of a large number of publicly available data, an effective geo-information system must be established, which will provide support in decision-making processes regarding

the use of military forces and at the same time take into account security risks linked to the geographical area. An intelligence evaluation of a geographical area covers the effects and impacts in the geographical area. Its products are important in the contemporary world, and they are often a key element of the functioning of its members and the Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF) in the fight against terrorism and other asymmetric threats. The SAF, together with other responsibilities for geospatial support within the MoD and the alliance, provide an efficient and responsive intelligence evaluation of the geographical area, thereby helping decision-makers and members of the SAF in international operations and missions.

Key words *Geospatial intelligence, evaluation of geographical area, public sources, Slovenian Armed Forces.*

Introduction The Republic of Slovenia also implements its political and economic interests outside the geographical area of the Alliance, relying strongly on geospatial information in defining national defence as well as international operations and missions.

The Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF) have been given a new role and new tasks within the national defense system since Slovenia entered NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the European Union (EU). Rather than being confined to defending national territory, the SAF is evolving into a more post-modern type of military formation, responsible not only for national defense, but also involved in international operations and missions. National territory is a "point of departure" for all operations in the interests of the Alliance and the international community. Becoming a professional army, the SAF has moved from being a "standby at home" to a "real time" armed force, with the alliance constantly availing itself of its capacities in international operations and missions.

The SAF now forms part of the NATO armed forces and together they face various challenges and demands in international operations and missions, which are basically expeditionary operations given their complexity, with peace support operations prevailing. These operations are mainly unpredictable and comprehensive. Armed forces must carry out numerous tasks, ranging from humanitarian and military and police tasks to intense armed combat. This requires a high level of independence, self-sufficiency, endurance and flexibility in the face of the security challenges of the particular area of activity. The geographical area greatly affects the security situation and the quality of life.

Most modern crisis-hit areas have a specific ethnic and religious background (Zupančič, 2006:168). Since the end of the Cold War, conflicts tend to have national rather than international dimensions.

Ethnic conflicts are under the jurisdiction of the nation-state, only to gain international importance when the fundamental rights of an ethnic group (minority) have been

violated. Resulting armed conflicts of various degrees, mostly in the form of complex and intense social conflicts, often occur in the attempt of a group to defend or expand its territory, or to acquire the wealth and status of a people within a defined territory.

NATO and EU military operations outside the geographical area of their Member States (so-called Out-of-Area Operations) require sufficient intelligence support in all operational phases, including the decision-making process to deploy forces (Grizold, 2005:55). During this stage, military intelligence must provide data to support the decision to start an operation, as well as to facilitate tasks such as planning, training, equipment and the preparation of task forces. No doubt the most important task of military intelligence is to provide intelligence support during the implementation phase, when the SAF units face military and security threats, difficult climate, living and sanitary conditions in a foreign social environment (Rode, 2007:7).

The level of classic military threats to the SAF abroad depends on the type of international operation or mission it is involved in. Military threats in combat operations, such as peace enforcement operations, are significantly higher than in peace keeping operations, where terrorist attacks, mostly aimed at civilians, pose the biggest threat.

Classical military threats are now giving way to modern threats to security. The latter mostly take the form of international terrorism, illegal migration, organized crime, drug and human trade, extremism, various ethnic movements, religious fundamentalism, environmental issues, unsupervised biological, chemical and nuclear proliferation, and Internet abuse.

Geospatial intelligence activities to evaluate a geographical area are crucial in all efforts to overcome these modern security threats.

1 GEOSPATIAL INTELLIGENCE

As early as 1928, Viktor Cousin (Bratun, 1999:20) said: "Give me a map of any country, tell me about its geographical position, its climate, waters, winds and physical geographical features, add data on its natural resources, vegetation, geology and such, and I will tell you about its population and the role of this country in human history."

Intelligence activities[1] provide intelligence data to all levels of command of the SAF as well as the Alliance.

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[1] *Intelligence disciplines (ID):*
   a) Reconnaissance & Surveillance
   b) Open Source Intelligence / OSINT
   c) Human Intelligence / HUMINT)
   d) Signals Intelligence / SIGINT)
   e) Imagery Intelligence / IMINT
   f) Technical Intelligence / TECHINT)
   g) Measurement and Signatures Intelligence / MASINT (Canadian Joint Intelligence doctrine - B-GJ-005-200/ FP-000/, 2003: 31–33)

Public intelligence sources are favored when price-to-value is considered, because 80 percent of all intelligence data are available with merely 5 percent investment dedicated to public intelligence sources. Public sources represent 90 percent of all geospatial data acquired by geospatial intelligence from publicly available geospatial reference data sources and other non-confidential information, the public distribution and availability of which may be subject to owner's restrictions or made freely available on the Internet (Grozde, 2008:3).

Geospatial intelligence is one of the functional intelligence disciplines (ID)[2], which includes the use and analysis of images and geospatial data to describe, evaluate and display in visual form various physical characteristics and georeferential activities in a particular geographical area.

Through the use of geo-information systems, geospatial intelligence uses publicly available sources as the basis for geospatial analyses of territories where the SAF operates within the framework of international operations and missions.

Geospatial intelligence evaluation[3] focuses on the impacts and influences of general, physical and social geographical factors[4] on the military, business and other activities of all parties within the particular geographical area.

The results of geospatial analysis depend on the quality of data and methodology chosen in its preparation. A good methodological approach cannot, however, guarantee a quality analysis, unless it is based on data of sufficient quality:

> **poor quality data + good information processing = poor answers**
> **= poor decision-making**

2 EVALUATION OF GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

Crisis hit areas where the SAF operates alongside allied forces are areas affected by fast physiognomic, structural and functional changes, usually aggravating the general situation in the area. They have mostly faced the destruction of their infrastructure (human settlements, traffic routes, energy facilities etc.), chaotic legal

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[2] *Intelligence functional disciplines include the following intelligence activities: biographic intelligence, economic intelligence, political intelligence, targeting intelligence, scientific and technical intelligence, technical intelligence, logistics intelligence, infrastructure intelligence, geospatial intelligence, engineering intelligence, sociological intelligence, health intelligence, security intelligence (Canadian Joint Intelligence doctrine - B-GJ-005-200/FP-000/, 2003: 33–34).*

[3] *Intelligence in the SAF and the Alliance (NATO and the EU) evaluates geographical areas, so the same evaluation algorithm is applicable in the military evaluation of a geographical area as in any other, but with intelligence aspects complementing it.*

[4] *Problematic political geography defines the immediate conflict area (combat zone), the mobilization zone (area with political, cultural and economic ties to the combat zone) and the damage zone (Zupančič, 2006:166).*

circumstances, anarchy within their public institutions or the absence of such institutions, the prevalence of black market and other illegal economic activities, a lack of investments, capital and economic flights, a low level of personal and collective security, the strong presence of various forms of repression by various paramilitary groups, a sudden spike in mortality and drop in birth rates, mass migrations, the presence of refugees, the absence or weak functioning of the education, health and social security systems (Zupančič, 2006:163).

Geospatial information provides a corner stone to any military operation along with other information about the crisis-hit area in question. When combined with intelligence information and information on internal forces, weather, logistics, these data allow the commander a more comprehensive insight into the area, thereby enabling him to plan and command operations more efficiently and define enemy targets more precisely. Geographical information systems (GIS)[5] and other intelligence disciplines combined allow armed forces to take control of the territory.

2.1 Evaluation of a geographical area within the alliance

Geospatial evaluation within NATO is based on standardized geospatial information and data and the controlled application of these data in the planning processes as well as during the implementation of operations and other tasks by the alliance.

Alliance members have the right to control the creation, reproduction and use of geospatial information about their territory and territorial waters and may restrict the distribution and further use thereof, if such restrictions do not interfere with planning and NATO policy tasks performed by its Member States.

Each NATO Member State has the right to capture data and survey non-member states' territories and provide relevant data to Member States responsible for updating and producing these data in the area of interest.

NATO command may demand geospatial support upon consultation with Member States with specific interest to provide such support or with the country whose sovereign rights are being prejudiced.

The exchange of geospatial information (GI) among states for the needs of NATO is subject to no restrictions and is carried out on the basis of bilateral agreements (applicable for geospatial information of NATO and of non-member states). The exchange of digital geospatial data is carried out through the NATO network in accordance with the highest security standards in data transmission processes.

Geospatial evaluation is organized within the framework of intelligence and security bodies J/G/S-2 in all NATO command forces.

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[5] *GIS is an organized collection of personnel, geographical data, computer hardware, and software designed to efficiently capture, store, update, manipulate, analyze, distribute, and display all forms of geographically referenced information (ESRI, 1994).*

The regional command of any individual operation is responsible for geospatial support to forces within its command.

Users must justify their request for any geospatial information, pursuant to the "need to know" principle. Free access is only allowed for basic topographic maps, minefield maps and traffic communication maps, and these maps are available to all NATO/EU countries as well as non-NATO allies. A record of all issued data is kept regardless of the level of confidentiality or the beneficiary.

The evaluation of a geographical area in the EU is carried out by the EU Satellite Centre[6], an agency of the Council of the European Union, established to support the Common Foreign and Defence Policy of the European Union by providing analysis of satellite imagery and collateral data. It collects data via commercial satellites, processes them and then sends them to the Council of the European Union. Member States can get access to data analyses upon request. The Satellite Centre prepares intelligence information that individual Member States mostly cannot at the national level.

2.2 Evaluation of a geographical area within SAF

The SAF is provided geoinformational support by two bodies within the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Slovenia. The Civil Defence Agency (Department of Spatial Planning and Cartography) is responsible for the development of a cartographic system for defense and protection, prepares expert groundwork for the standardization and preparation of cartographic materials, it controls aerial photography and is the custodial of bilateral agreements on geosupport[7]. The Information Technology and Communications Agency (Department of Data Administration and GIS) plans, develops, implements and updates applications and administrates geographical data bases, and designs and manages the spatial data model and any related data bases.

A process is underway within the SAF to promote the use of weapons and support systems on the basis of geospatial (GIS) data bases. The SAF uses GIS in performing command and control tasks and intelligence support tasks[8], in operation planning (planning of aviation operations, planning of radio frequencies, preparation of tactical image, analysis of the effects of weapons of mass destruction etc.), in operation support tasks, in warfare simulations etc.

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[6] *Upon successful conclusion of operation Desert Storm, Ministers of the WEU met in Luxembourg in May 1991 and decided to establish the Torrejon Satellite Centre. In July 2001, the Satellite Centre and the Institute of Security Studies were formally included within the framework of the European Union. The bodies were formally established by the European Council Joint Actions). The Republic of Slovenia is a member of SATCEN.*

[7] *The Republic of Slovenia has concluded bilateral agreements with Austria, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Hungary, the Czech Republic and the USA. Preparatory works are currently underway for the conclusion of bilateral agreements with France and Croatia.*

[8] *In the KFOR operation, the SAF are currently introducing the SITAWARE/tactical GIS system – simple user interfaces for all combat levels, part of the PINK systems (Command and Control). Characteristic: a common battlefield image – within PINK systems, based on GIS data.*

3   EVALUATION OF A GEOGRAPHICAL AREA IN COMBATING TERRORISM

A suitable model of intelligence activity for military geospatial intelligence is provided by Richelson (Grozde, 2006:43), dividing it into three categories:

– documentary intelligence, carried out during peacetime to acquire information about potential crisis areas. It includes short-term (usually for one year) or long-term evaluations and projections of political, geographical, demographical and security risks. The results of such analyses are generally publicly available and published in printed form or on the Internet. An example of a yearly study would be the Political and Economical Risk Map 2009 (AON Corporation, ZDA), whereas one long-term security study is published under the title Global trends 2025: Transformed World (National Intelligence Center, USA, NOV 2008); The DCDC Global Strategic Trends Programme 2007-2036 (The Development, Concepts and Doctrine Center, GB, JAN 2007), Future Security Environment 2025 (FSE) (Supreme Allied Commander Transformation, NATO, MAR2008- ppt);

– situation intelligence is carried out during a time of crisis, in the planning and implementation of crisis management operations, in warfare and when natural disasters occur. In an intelligence evaluation of a geographical area, a modified algorithm may be used, as Bratun did (1997:44)[9] to define the processing structure of a particular area in command decision-making. This algorithm includes the general overview, importance and delimitation of the entire area in question along with its physical and social geographical characteristics. It enables one to assess military capacities, response to natural disasters and other forms of crisis response. Each algorithm is developed for a single crisis-hit area, and it entails the strategic, operational and tactical levels. An expert methodological approach and appropriate technological applications allow us, for example, to enter the locations and forms of terrorist attacks against ISAF, the relevant frequencies and times of these attacks and weather information. Based on this data, an algorithm can then be developed for the evaluation of the Afghan area to allow the preparation of a precise situation map of terrorist attacks against ISAF troops, thereby increasing the predictability of potential terrorist attacks in the future (*National Counter Terrorism Center, Worldwide Incidents Tracking System* -http://wits.nctc.gov/, 2009);

– warfare or implementing geospatial intelligence provides intelligence support to forces in a limited geographical area, with military intelligence authorities conducting the intelligence preparation of the battlefield / area of interest. The process of intelligence preparation of the battlefield entails four steps, i.e. defining the battlefield, describing the battlefield's effects, evaluating the threat and determining the courses of action.

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[9]   *Algorithm of military evaluation of geographical area by Bratun (similar to Collinson's model and geographical approach to analysis of crisis-hit areas):*
1. gathering and concentration line or area; 2. tactical operation objective and military geographical facilities; 3. boundaries of the operation area; 4. higher category area; 5. geological features; 6. surface and passability; 7. hydrographic features; 8. weather conditions; 9. pedological characteristics; 10. vegetation; 11. population and human settlement; 12. communications; 13. social and economic characteristics and capacities of the area; 14. administrative, public infrastructure and regional organisation; 15. potential courses or areas.

4   USE OF SOURCES IN INTELLIGENCE EVALUATION OF A GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

Analysis of a geographical area is conducted in three stages:

Stage 1: data collection, analysis of geographical information and data, the assessment, storing and maintenance of assessed data on land in digital or analogue form. Public sources play a crucial role during this stage as they provide the basis for any reasonable and comprehensive initial analysis of the geographical area in question.

Stage 2: the selection and combination of assessed geospatial data and impacts of specific geographical factors (weather and/or local particularities) on the operation of units. Firstly, geographical data and information about areas outside Europe are normally found on the Internet or in printed publications. It is important to search for primary sources, because secondary sources (containing processed data) may lead to incorrect decisions and major risks.

Stage 3: the preparation of a final geographical area analysis to support the decision-making processes, communication, weapons and other military systems by complementing the decision-making and implementation activities.

5   THE IMPORTANCE OF GEOD IN COMBATING TERRORISM

It is sometimes difficult and, indeed, nearly impossible to separate terrorist threats from military threats against SAF troops. In the area of interest, units usually face threats posed by irregular armed groups, be it terrorist, guerrilla or rebel militant groups. This dilemma was present in Afghanistan and Iraq, and its resolution mostly depends on the political assessment of the nature of activities as either guerrilla, rebel or terrorist. This, however, poses a difficult question about the concrete relationship between the fight for freedom and terrorism. This article will not deal with this philosophical issue; what is relevant here is how the Republic of Slovenia perceives each individual threat against its troops - are they dealing with terrorist or military threats? Perhaps the dividing line between the two could be the wearing of a uniform: if those threatening the military troop do so in a uniform and wear distinctive military insignia, they can be considered as military threats; otherwise, we are likely dealing with terrorists. Terrorism is a multi-faceted phenomenon, and it is important to explore its underlying causes and background in order to identify a threat in a timely fashion and do what is necessary to prevent it. Only by understanding this problem can combating terrorism be effective and successful.

In light of the events of the past decade, terrorism has become an everyday topic. It has become a major issue in the media, on political agendas at the national and international levels, and scientific discussions on modern threats to security. Individuals as well as states and their institutions perceive terrorism as an extreme form of threat to security, menacing the very existence and balanced development of society and individuals (Prezelj, 2000:15–22).

The 9/11 attacks have shed new light on the phenomenon, and efforts are mainly aimed at the preventive identification of potential terrorists and the elimination of damage caused by terrorist attacks. Meanwhile, the international community often fails to address the causes of terrorism, such as religious grievances, fundamentalism, and a clash of civilizations, territorial demands, poverty, oil, weapons, conflicts, injustice, and dissonant political interests (Henigman, 2008).

"Modern terrorism" has taken its most extreme form. Separatist, nationalist, militant religious groups and factions, and anti-Western organizations, merciless extremists who do not hesitate to kill anyone, be it politicians, businessmen, athletes, journalists, workers, bystanders, women and children and other vulnerable groups, have adopted an unprecedented approach. While troops on international operations and missions may be considered legitimate targets of terrorist activities, terrorist attacks aimed at them usually do not upset the local population enough; that is precisely why terrorists are more likely to target the groups mentioned above.

Conclusion

The SAF has come from being a mass home defense army to a small professional military force, able not only to defend Slovenian territory, but also to work alongside others in most international operations and missions in crisis-hit areas outside the geographical area of NATO states. In the planning and preparation of activities under the framework of international operations and missions, the SAF relies on publicly available sources of geospatial data and information, on data provided by Slovenian and foreign scientific, research and educational institutions, as well as those provided by partners and NATO, the EU and the UN.

Working hand in hand with expert bodies within the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Slovenia, the SAF are actively involved in the establishment of an efficient and responsive system of geoinformational support to command and control activities at all command levels.

Such a system is crucial if the overwhelming quantities of public data are to be efficiently controlled and used. Data collection, processing and assessment inevitably entails the elimination of out-of-date, useless and unreliable geospatial data and information, thereby guaranteeing user-friendly, real-time and efficient geo-support to all command levels, which is essential in the effort to identify security threats in any particular geographical area.

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Tanja Greif

UGOTAVLJANJE IDEOLOŠKE RAZLIČNOSTI IN RADIKALNEGA POTENCIALA BOSANSKIH ISLAMISTOV PREK NJIHOVIH INTERNETNIH DEJAVNOSTI V ZVEZI Z DAWO

IDENTIFYING THE IDEOLOGICAL VARIETY AND RADICAL POTENTIAL OF BOSNIAN ISLAMISTS THROUGH THEIR CYBER DAWA ACTIVITIES

Povzetek   Spopadanje s procesi radikalizacije je dolgoročno eden od učinkovitih načinov bojevanja proti terorizmu. Dawa (pridiganje in vabljenje k islamu) predstavlja pomembno stopnjo v radikalizacijskem procesu islamističnih skrajnih skupin in njegova pravilna identifikacija nam lahko pomaga pri določanju njegove radikalizacijske moči. Islamistične skrajne skupine so sprevidele moč interneta pri širjenju dawe in ga temu primerno izkoriščajo. Pri tem bosanski islamisti niso nikakršna izjema. Ker živijo v različnih državah, internet zanje postaja še pomembnejše in primernejše orodje, da ohranijo stik s svojimi simpatizerji iz domovine ali bosanskih imigrantskih skupnosti. Njihove internetne dejavnosti, ki vključujejo spletne strani, klepetalnice in forume, nam ponujajo številne podatke za analizo in nam omogočajo, da identificiramo in razvrstimo islamistične skupine ter natančno določimo njihovo ideološko usmeritev. Analiza vsebin spletnih skupin posameznih skupin razkriva pri bosanskih islamistih različne ideološke smeri znotraj dawe. Začetne več ali manj homogene razlike v islamu, ki so se pojavile v bosanskem muslimanskem okolju, poimenovane kot »vahabizem«, so se razdelile in pojavile so se različne ločine, od katerih je vsaka drugače prispevala k procesu radikalizacije. Nekatere so bližje tistemu, kar bi lahko poimenovali dolgoročni salafi/vahabi islam, ki se osredotoča na miroljubno (a še vedno zelo škodljivo) propagando, druge pa so zveste islamu, usmerjenemu v globalni džihad, z močno podporo gibanja mudžahedinov, nekatere pa pridigajo skrajno radikalno takfeer razlago islama. Vse pa za širitev svojega sporočila pogosto uporabljajo internet. Z raziskovanjem njihove »intranetne dawe« in razumevanjem razlik lahko ugotavljamo cilje, sredstva in celotne možnosti radikalnega potenciala takšnih skupin, kar nam pomaga tudi pri učinkovitejšem spopadanju z njihovimi negativnimi učinki.

Ključne besede   *Skrajni islamizem, bosanski islamisti, dawa, internet.*

Abstract   *Countering the radicalization process is, in a long term, one of the effective ways to combat terrorism. Dawa (preaching and inviting to Islam) represents an important stage in the radicalization process of Islamic radical groups, and its correct identification can help us to determine its radicalizing strength. Islamic radical groups have identified the dawa potential of the internet and are exploiting it accordingly. Bosnian Islamists are no exception to this. Residing in various countries, the internet becomes an even more important and convenient tool for them to keep in contact with their sympathizers from homeland or Bosnian immigrant communities. Their internet activities, which include web sites, chat rooms, and forums, provide rich data for analyses and allow us to identify and classify the Islamist groups and pinpoint their ideological orientation. Analyzing the content of the groups' web sites reveals different ideological trends within Bosnian Islamist dawa. The initial, rather homogeneous Islamic deviation that appeared in Bosnian Muslim milieu called 'wahabism' split and a variety of sects appeared, each one contributing differently to the process of radicalization. Some of them are closer to what we could call long term salafy/wahabi Islam, which focuses on peaceful (but still very damaging) propaganda, others adhere to global jihad oriented Islam with strong support for mujahedeen movements, and some preach extremely radical takfeer interpretation of Islam. All of them use the internet extensively to spread their message. By examining their 'cyber dawa' and understanding the differences, we can identify aims, means and an overall radical potential of such groups, which in turn helps us to better counter their negative effect.*

Key words   ***Radical Islam, Bosnian islamists, dawa, internet.***

Introduction   AIVD's (Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service) report "From Dawa to Jihad" defines radical Islam as a multi-form phenomenon consisting of a variety of groups, whose aims and means vary differently on the scale of radicalism, ranging between jihad (meaning here the actual armed combat) and dawa (preaching and inviting to Islam) (AIVD, 2004). The dawa structures are not necessarily violent, nevertheless they still represent an important security risk by contributing extensively to the radicalization process, which at the end can turn into violence.

Islamist organizations have identified the enormous potential of the internet as a public relations and propaganda (in other words - dawa) tool and begun to exploit it accordingly. Monitoring the internet activities of the Islamists can provide us with useful information on groups' activities, their ideological orientation and helps us to identify the radical potential that lies within their dawa.[1]

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[1]   *For the purpose of this article, the following definition of radicalism by AIVD will apply: "The (active) pursuit of and/or support to far reaching changes in society which may constitute a danger to (the continued existence of) the democratic legal order (aim), which may involve the use of undemocratic methods (means) that may harm the functioning of the democratic legal order (effect). In line with this, radicalization can be interpreted as a person's (growing) willingness to pursue and/or support such changes himself (in an undemocratic way or otherwise), or his encouraging others to do so. " (AIVD, 2004:13)*

In this article we will try to identify and classify some of the main Bosnian Islamist groups using their dawa activities on the internet for analysis and data gathering. By analyzing the content of their web sites, forums and chat rooms and comparing it against the background of actual events, we shall also try to determine the role of these groups in the radicalization process and show some of the practical examples of how their dawa manifests in and influences practical situations. Considering the strength of the radicalizing potential, the groups will be limited to the ones that profess Sunni Islam, more or less influenced by Islamic interpretations close to Saudi Arabia (wahabism). The internet activities of Bosnian Shiite groups are also noted, however their influence is due to a small number of Shiite adherents among Bosnians very limited when compared to their Sunni counterparts. Other Sunni groups that have a different ideological orientation from wahabism, such as Bosnian offshoot of Muslim Brotherhood, have a much smaller radicalizing potential when compared to wahabi groups and will not be discussed here. Considering this, the term "Bosnian Islamists" will generally refer to the groups examined below. It should be also noted that the term is by no means limited to the Bosnian Islamists residing in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) as it refers to the ethnical dimension of Bosnian Muslims regardless of their residence or nationality. In fact, a considerable number of the most active Bosnian Islamists reside outside BiH and connect freely with other ideologically similar groups in various European countries. The ethnical proximity and common language, of course, facilitate the interaction with the homeland and other Bosnian diaspora groups, making them the main target audience, but their activities, as well as their goals are certainly not limited to the geographical borders of BiH. This rationale follows one of the main ideological premises of the Islamist (or global jihadi) movements - being part of the Umma (community/unity of Muslims). In Islamists' thought, Umma transcends any national or other borders (or notions such as citizenship, ethnicity, financial status, etc.) and the only condition to be a part of it is to accept the Islamic faith. An Islamist agenda, therefore, has always a global dimension.

1 DIFFERENTIATING AMONG BOSNIAN ISLAMIST GROUPS – BASIC IDEOLOGICAL DIVISION

When writing about Bosnian Islamists, the media, as well as some of the researchers, tend to present them as a homogenous group, usually labeling it 'wahabis' or 'salafis', and disregard or not being aware of their ideological variations, which, on the other hand, the Islamists themselves are very careful to preserve. The label 'wahabi' is particularly misused. It was first applied to the Bosnian Muslim groups which rejected the religious authority of Islamic community (IZ- Islamska zajednica - the official Bosnian Muslim body in BiH) and its more liberal Hanafi school of Islam, practiced by the majority of Bosnians, and adhered instead to a very conservative interpretations of Islam, charactered by their outside 'wahabi appearance' with men wearing long beards and pants above the ankle, complete cover for women, strict behavioral rules, etc. The principles of Al-Wahhab and Hanbali school (the

most conservative of the four schools of Islam) certainly take an important place in their religious interpretations, making their Islam similar to a type of Islam practiced mostly in the Gulf states. However, their ideological interpretation does not strictly depend on the historical doctrine of Al-Wahhab, and has to be understood within specifics of the development of Islam among Bosnians during and after the war in the 90s, while also considering a variety of outside ideological influences. In addition, the groups do not use the same word when identifying themselves. Names such as Salafiyya, El-Muvehhidun or Ehlu-Ttewhid are sometimes used, while some of them do not use any name at all, simply saying that they are regular Muslims who want to practice 'true' Islam. Thus the label 'wahabi' can be misleading as it does not necessarily reflect a straightforward connection of these groups with the movement of Al-Wahhab, obscuring subtle but important differences in interpretations and it does not respect the ideological variety within the groups. Different ideological groups have different goals and means to achieve them and knowing the differences is important when determining their radical potential.

The analysis of Bosnian Islamists examined below focuses on the identification of the main ideological characteristics and differences between the groups as reflected in the content of their internet activities and examines the ideological influence of their internet dawa in the real environment. This was done by analyzing the content of texts, books, audio and video material published on the groups' web sites, identifying, following closely and comparing the opinions expressed by the members/sympathizers of the groups on the forums, comparing the response on different Islamist 'rival' web sites, gathering additional information through personal emails, examining lectures and debates in chat rooms, analyzing ideologically affiliated web sites of non-Bosnian Islamists and by using the background data in public media. Considering the methods, aims, ideological orientation and radical potential, four basic groups can be discerned among the Bosnian Islamists:
– salafy/wahabi dawa group
– global jihad group
– takfeer group[2]
– other sects[3].

1.1 Salafy/wahabi dawa group

The salafy/wahabi group propagates typical Saudi influenced interpretations of Islam, which are based on conservative, strict and rigid doctrines of Muhammad ibn 'Abd Al-Wahhab and the Hanbali School. While Al-Wahhab's doctrine is being adopted also by global jihad and takfeer groups (among other because of the centra-

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[2] *The author chose the term 'takfeer' do denote the third group, because it is their specific view regarding the concept of 'takfeer' that sets them apart from the global jihad group. In addition, the group's religious opponents use the same term when referring to them.*

[3] *Although the investigation of this group is beyond the scope of this article it is important to note that due to the sectarian nature of Islamist groups, new sects are constantly appearing, and despite their initially limited influence they could evolve into a radicalizing factor (i.e. the group of Sheikh Mahmud Abdul Aziz Jaudah).*

lity of jihad and takfeer in his thought[4]), the difference is that the wahabi group is following mainstream Saudi Islam, respecting Saudi religious authorities, while the other two groups consider Saudi rulers and their religious clique to be the enemies of Islam. The difference between the groups is well illustrated by their response to the letter of Sheikh Salman El-Auda, a prominent religious authority in Saudi Arabia, to Osama bin Laden, written in September 2007. In his letter, Sheikh El-Auda, who himself was once the main instigator against the Saudi family[5], but has recently, after being released from Saudi jail, retracted his radicalism, addresses Bin Laden to stop spilling the blood of innocent Muslims by encouraging them to join his jihadi network, and emphasizes instead a long term 'correct' dawa, which has much greater importance for the Islamic cause (El-Auda, 2007). While salafy/wahabi affiliated web sites published and praised the letter of the Sheikh, the web sites associated with global jihad and takfeer groups strongly condemned the letter and considered it a 'conspiracy of the enemies', which should be completely disregarded by 'sincere brothers in Islam'.[6]

The wahabi dawa is spread actively by a group of Bosnian dais (Islamic missionaries, preachers), educated at the Islamic universities abroad (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Syria…). After returning from abroad, they took an active role in spreading their version of Islam, which they consider to be more correct than the one Bosnian Muslims have been practicing so far. Their general view is that Bosnian way of practicing Islam is too much influenced by local and national traditions and contains too many innovations (Bid'ah) that have nothing to do with 'correct' Islam. They see themselves as the new educators, brining to the Bosnian Muslim environment 'pure' Islam and correct ways of practicing it in order to become a 'true' Muslim.

One of the strongest centers of salafy/wahabi dawa is in Vienna, represented by-Mohammed Porca and his mejlis Tewhid**. The head of the IZ (Islamic community), Rais ul-Ulama Mustafa Ceric, referred on several occasion to Porca as the main leader and financier behind the Bosnian wahabi movement and openly warned Austrian authorities about their wahabi influence.[7] -Porca is connected to a number of influential Bosnian wahabi dais in BiH and abroad (Buturovic, 2007). One of his associates is Safet Kuduzovic, an active lecturer at the foundation Daru-l-Kuran (School of Quran) in Mostar.[8] The school was founded by Dzevad Golos in February 2006, for the purposes of learning 'hifz' (memorizing the Quran). It was set up independently from the IZ and has a clear wahabi orientation. Both, Kuduzovic and Golos, strongly

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[4] More on Al-Wahhab's doctrines: Schwartz, 2002; Gold, 2003–.

[5] On El-Auda: Fandy, 1999; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Kostiner, 1996.

[6] http://www.Islamskadrzava.org (the web site changed to http:// www.putvjernika.com).

[7] Ceric appealed to Austrian authorities to immediately stop the activities of Bosnian wahabi radicals in Vienna, who are preaching wahabi Islam to Bosnians and are also active in EU countries. In Ceric's words, these preachers try to show IZ as renegades of Islam, because they are not following their interpretations. He added that although IZ has wahabi radicals in Bosnia under control, the parallel wahabi institutions, which exist in Austria, are out of their reach. ("Izmedu Beca i Sarajeva", http://www.terorizam.net/GostiClanci.asp?GostiID=72, 2.8.2007).

[8] http://www.darulkuran.org.

criticized IZ's religious authority.[9] In 2008, the school expanded and opened another branch in Sarajevo. In addition to the regular religious education program, the foundation organizes trips, humanitarian work, live lectures in chat rooms, Islamic gatherings, publishes books, video and audio material, etc. Many of the lecturers at the school publish their views and audio lectures on several other wahabi web sites, which are constantly growing in numbers.[10]

Porca is also the head of the shariatic board of newspaper Al-Asr (available also in electronic form), which reflects the views and activities of salafy/wahabi group.[11] Several Bosnian wahabi dais can be found among the writers. The newspaper is published by the djemat in Holland, called 'Stichting Hidzra' and is available in all the djemats of Bosnian diaspora as well as in BiH and Sandzak.

The wahabi group is extremely active in their dawa through publishing activities, numerous web sites, lectures, and Islamic gatherings. The reports of at least 6 'Islamic gatherings' that took place between years 2005-07 in Vienna, Netherlands and Germany were posted on one of the wahabi web sites.[12] The participants (mainly Bosnian Muslims, but also others) came from Germany, Slovenia, Austria, Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Sandzak, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Croatia and France. Such gatherings (bos. 'Islamski susreti') are also regularly organized in BiH and neighboring countries and are very popular among young Muslims. They are an important dawa tool and serve to establish contacts on international level, recruiting and even to collect money for various purposes. The organization of these meetings continues to the present time.

Another Bosnian dai, whose views on Islam left an important impact on wahabi and other Islamist groups is Jusuf Barcic. Barcic was a close associate of Porca (also a colleague from his studies in Saudi Arabia) and a rather controversial figure in the Bosnian religious milieu. During the war, he was an employee of IIRO (International Islamic Relief Organization) – a Saudi charity, associated with terrorist activities (Buturovic, 2007).[13] Barcic was famous for his radical views, such as disregard for traffic rules, which according to him were not in accordance with the rules of Islam (Alic, 2007). He also showed complete disregard for IZ's authority and dismissed its resolutions for not being Islamic. Around Barcic gathered a small group of devoted followers, of wahabi-like outside appearance that followed Barcic on his dawa trips to Bosnian villages. Since the beginning of 2007, Barcic and his group caused many provocations among the local Muslims and IZ's officials by taking over the mosques and preaching their version of Islam. In some of the villages, their behavior caused an open conflict with the locals, which sometimes escalated to physical aggression.

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[9]   "Sta je, po vama, vehabizam i jeste li vehabija?", http://www.darulkuran.org, 4.12.2006; "Saff: Razgovor s povodom: Mr. Safet Kudozovic", www.studio-din.com, 29.3.2007.

[10]   i.e.:-http://minber.ba, http://www.el-ihlas.com, etc.

[11]   http://www.el-asr.com.

[12]   The web site is no longer active.

[13]   Barcic was a representative of the IIRO branch in Zenica (BiH).

Mohammed Porca was believed to be the main financier behind Barcic's group (Alic, 2007). Before these incidents reached their epilogue, Jusuf Barcic (40) got killed in a car accident at the end of March 2007 near Tuzla (BiH). About 3000-5000 sympathizers, arriving with organized buses from Slovenia and Sarajevo and cars from Austria, Germany and Sandzak, attended the burial. His devoted students dispersed and remained active within various Islamist groups. After his death, Barcic became some sort of a martyr to Bosnian Islamists. He is regarded highly by all the Bosnian radical groups and his lectures are published on their web sites.

An important role in spreading wahabi dawa have also former activists/sympathizers of AMY (Active Muslim Youth) and former mujahedeen, however their influence has declined considerably in the past few years (AMY closed down, mujahedeen facing deportation, etc.). The Islamist newspaper Saff[14] (former AMY's newspaper) partially reflects their legacy. Saff tackles current political issues of Muslims worldwide and is particularly critical of events concerning Bosnian Muslims, taking most of the time the position that is closer to the wahabi stance than that of the IZ. Apart from BiH, Saff is sold also in Switzerland, Germany, Austria, US, Canada, Holland, Luxemburg, Australia, Slovenia, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Russia, France and some Arab countries, which testifies to its popularity.

1.2 Global jihad group

The main ideologues of this group express their views on the web site 'Put vjernika' ('The path of believers '– formerly known as 'Islamska drzava' - Islamic state).[15] Most of them reside in Vienna and they started to propagate their views within the wahabi group of Mohammed Porca. Soon, they turned to a much more radical agenda and their current ideological platform contains typical elements of global jihadi groups: they openly support Al-Qaida, mujahedeen organizations in Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Caucasus, Kashmir, Palestinian territories, etc. Their wish is to establish an Islamic state ruled according to shariah, and they believe that the only way to achieve this is through an armed conflict. Updates from jihadi fronts are regularly published on the web site, as well as any major decisions, fatwas or declarations by the main jihadi ideologues (i.e. Bin Laden, Al-Zawahiri, Attiyetullah, Al-Awlaki, Chechen leaders, etc.).-

The group considers itself as part of global jihad movement and its members argue that every 'true' Muslim should contribute to it in any way possible. They believe that their aims cannot be achieved through the participation in political structures of the states (i.e. parliamentarian voting) and they consider such participation un-Islamic. They refuse to work through the established system, because they want to change it and replace it as a whole with an Islamic state. As good though not perfect examples of successful jihad are cited Taliban regime and Islamic courts in Somalia, which were achieved only because of the armed combat of the mujahedeen.[16]

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[14] http://saff.ba.

[15] http://www.putvjernika.com, http://www.islamskadrzava.org.

[16] "Pitanje o metodi uspostavljanja hilafeta", http:// www.putvjernika.com, 25.11.2009.

The radical content of the web site did not escape Bosnian media's attention when the following question and answer appeared in one of the site's sections: "Is it a sin for a man to arm himself with the explosives and blow himself up among the group of kafirs?" The answer given by Nusret Imamovic, one of web site's dais from BiH, was: "We do not consider this kind of fight to be forbidden, although, at the same time, we believe it should not be used in the same way as classical weapons, but only in exceptional situations. Allah knows best!"[17]

Like the wahabi dais, also the global jihad group is very active in proliferating its views. In addition to an abundance of video and audio material available on the web site, the Bosnian dais associated with the group used to give live lectures in pal talk rooms. The details of the lecture (title, name of the lecturer, date and hour, name of the virtual room) were scheduled and published on the web site in advance.[18] This kind of 'virtual mosque' is a clever way to spread the group's message from Vienna to their sympathizers in BiH and elsewhere. The group is also active in organizing Islamic gatherings - one of them took place between 18 and 20 July 2008 in Gornja Maoca (BiH), with lecturers coming from Vienna and BiH. Their internet activities are also expanding: a section for women was added recently with two subsections entitled: 'Woman in Islam' and 'Muslim Woman in jihad', and additional web sites are being opened with more propaganda material.

Ensarije serijata – SOS (Supporters of Shariah) Bosna is another global jihad group in BiH, which used to run their own web site in Bosnian language until recently (now only the forum affiliated with the web site remained). SOS Bosna is a group of Bosnian supporters of London sheikh Abu Hamza el-Misri, the head of the group Supporters of Sharia (Ar. Ensaru al shariah). Al-Misri, currently imprisoned in UK for inciting to terrorism, is a known supporter of Bin Laden and Al-Qaida. He often claimed that he worked with the Muslim community in BiH and used video footage of Serbs killed during the war in BiH as advertising material for recruiting new Islamic warriors. On the web site of Bosnian branch, the group describes its role as Muslims 'who wish to deliver the message of Islam in its whole' and explains that the organization was set up to help mujahedeen and refugees in countries such as Afghanistan, Bosnia, Kashmir, etc. This help consists from "participating in the front line, military training, Islamic education, countering anti-Islamic propaganda and studying the history in order to understand the message and not to be deceived by Western-European society".[19] The web site featured fatwas, speeches and books of Al-Misri and the latest news about his imprisonment and his appointed

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[17] *Original transcript: "Pitanje: Da li je grijeh da se čovjek opasa dinamitom i raznese među grupom kafira? Odgovor:-Ovakav vid borbe ne smatramo zabranjenim, ali isto tako ne mislimo da ga treba koristiti kao što se koristi klasično uobičajeno oružje, nego samo u izuzetnim prilikama i situacijama.-A Allah najbolje zna. Odgovorio: Nusret Imamović". (http:// www.putvjernika.com, 18.11. 2008 – the question and answer were removed from the website).*

[18] *The schedule of the lectures used to be published on the web site of "Islamska drzava".-The current global jihad web site "Put Vjernika" does not publish the schedule anymore, however there is evidence that the lectures in pal talk rooms still continue. The pal talk rooms are used for lectures also by wahabi and takfeer groups.*

[19] *The web site is no longer active (the reference to the web site content is from October 2007).*

representatives. It published various literature and discussions on Islamic topics - especially on jihad, suicide terrorism, killings of civilians - and translations of texts of global jihadi dais. It also included an electronic magazine 'A Letter 'el-Jihad' and audio/video material. All the material on the website was in Bosnian language.

1.3   Takfeer group

The takfeer group has a distant relative in the movement of Takfeer wal-Hijra which emerged in Egypt in the 70s. Takfeer wal-Hijra claimed that the society deviated from the teachings of Islam and labeled it a 'kafir' (infidel) society. To takfeer somebody or something means pronouncing them infidel (kafir). The group, therefore, first advocated hijra – separation from the infidel society – and from such hijra sites an active resistance to state power could be launched. This modern Khawarijite[20] like attitude promotes not only the fight against non-believers but justifies also the actions against Muslims.

In modern takfeer groups, similar attitude is reflected when it comes to mujahedeen and mainstream Muslims. Both are considered by takfeer groups as un-Islamic because, they do not understand Islamic scriptures correctly and their actions are full of kufr (disbelief) and shirk (evil, sin of committing polytheism, worshipping other than Allah). The jihad that mujahedeen fight is based on wrong religious understandings and is, therefore, not a real jihad. Due to this belief, the group takfeers organizations like Al-Qaida, Taliban movement, mujahedeen in Iraq and Caucasus, national oriented Muslim movements like Hamas as well as individual religious ideologues of global jihad (i.e. Al-Maqdisi[21], Al-Zawahiri, bin Laden, etc.).

Takfeer is central to this group's beliefs. In their opinion, every 'true' Muslim has to be able to indentify shirk and it is his obligation to takfeer the ones that cause it. Definitions of shirk are complex and are based on Islamic scriptures. The takfeer group admits as valid sources Quran and carefully selected collections of Hadiths (narrations of words and deeds of prophet Muhammed) and recognizes only certain religious scholars (i.e. Ibn Hanbal, Ibn Taymiyya, Al-Wahhab). Such dawa implies that for every opinion regarding Islam one has to present a proof from accepted sources. And when it is proved that somebody or something is a kafir, it is an obligation for a Muslim to agree with that and takfeer everyone else that refuse to do the same. In the opposite case, he becomes a kafir himself and looses his place in dzennet (heaven). This is the rule of the so-called 'chain takfeer' which became extreme in takfeer group and caused heated arguments with other Islamist groups. It also places a great deal of responsibility and pressure on a believer, which has to be able to interpret Islamic scriptures correctly, without the advice of religious authorities.[22]-

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[20]   *The Khawarij were 7th century movement that withdraw from the greater Muslim community, declaring other believers infidels, and waged war against other Muslims, causing division and civil war. They made jihad a fundamental article of their faith – a sixth pillar. To impose their strict doctrine they would wage violent jihad against both Muslims and non-Muslims. (Dekmejian, 1995).*

[21]   *i.e. Al-Maqdisi was deemed kafir because he accepted to be tried on a taghut (non-Islamic) court.*

[22]   *More on takfeer dawa: Ed-Dehil, 2008.*

Although takfeer groups do not recognize the jihad of mujahedeen as legitimate it does not mean they renounce it. They still consider it a basic Muslim obligation, which lasts until judgment day. The leader of Muslims cannot be a true leader without jihad and the Islamic faith cannot be established without it. Jihad is an obligation to any group, which is big and strong enough to fight against the enemies of Allah in any way possible (with tongue, hand, heart or its numbers).[23] But first, this group has to have a correct understanding of Islamic faith, otherwise a true Islamic state cannot be established. Whenever such group capable of leading a real jihad will appear, the takfeer groups will join it. The jihad can. Therefore. begin anywhere, and is not limited or conditioned by the current jihadi centers.

Takfeer dawa strictly forbids any cooperation with 'taghut' (infidel, secular, rejecting shariah law) structures.[24] It also condemns any 'innovations' in Islam, emphasizes tawheed and has a strong anti-Shiite stance. The group is against any kind of discrimination based on financial status, nationality, ethnicity, etc - the members are judged only by the correctness of their belief and devotion to Allah.[25]

Among Bosnian Muslims, takfeer dawa started first to appear on the web site 'Kelimetulhaq' (Word of Truth).[26]-The site was first affiliated with the global jihad web site 'Islamska drzava', and had a similar content, focusing on jihad. The main ideologue whose lectures and writings were most frequently published on 'Kelimetulhaq' was Ebu Muhammed. Ebu Muhammed, a former student at the University in Medina, currently living in Vienna, is a charismatic dai, who started to preach his dawa within the circles of Porca, then took a more radical direction together with the global jihadi Bosnian dais in Vienna and, at the end, turn to the takfeer dawa (his lectures were initially published also on 'Islamska drzava', but were removed completely after the split).-

Already from the beginning his preaching was very radical, promoting intolerance, often taking takfeer interpretation and emphasizing jihad as an obligation to every true Muslim (Beganovic, 2006). His radical orientation was observed also by Austrian authorities and in 2005, the Austrian antiterrorism unit in Vienna asked prosecutors to bring charges against him and another cleric, Armin Bibars, for justifying London bomb attacks in the Austrian media (Kocina, Nowak, 2005). Ebu Muhammed and Bibars were preachers in the Sahaba mosque - the mosque that had already been under police surveillance for a number of radical dais that preached there. Ebu Muhammed's negative influence was observed also with the group of Muslim youths from Sandzak (Serbia), responsible for several violent incidents that took place between 2005 and 2007.

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[23] *"Obaveza džihada nikada neće spasti sa ummeta", http://www.el-tewhid.com , 8.1.2008.*

[24] *For some of the groups even a simple action like accepting the license agreement for installing software on computers could lead to kufr.*

[25] *The Talibans, for example, insist that the Emir can be only an Afghan.*

[26] *The web site is no longer active.*

Together with a couple of other radical non-Bosnian dais that preached in Sahaba, Ebu Muhammed eventually turned to takfeer dawa. The group found their main ideologue in Kuwaiti Sheikh Ebu Merjem. Ebu Merjem gives live lectures in chat rooms and his dawa is published on several web sites in various languages (French, Dutch, Danish, German, Bosnian, Albanian, Arabic, Slovenian, etc.).[27]-

An influential Bosnian takfeer group, closely connected with Ebu Muhammed is djemat El-Tewhid, located in Holland. They run a website with the same name[28], publishing writings and audio lectures by Ebu Meryem, Ebu Muhammed and Ebu Ahmed (Bosnian dai and a colleague of Ebu Muhammed). The affiliated web sites include a separate web site for women[29], which indicates an active role of women also within takfeer dawa.-

An important aspect characterizing the Bosnian takfeer group is their offensive stance toward the IZ and other Islamist groups. They write long documents, produce videos and lectures as well as engage in heated discussions to demonstrate that the religious interpretations and acts done by the IZ and other Islamist groups are not in accordance with Islam (i.e.: The True Face of (un)Islamic Community - videos speaking against the IZ of BiH, Sandzak and Slovenia; Triumph of religious monotheism over the dawa of Shirk and nationalism - Ebu Muhammed's answer to Semir Imamovic, ed. of wahabi newspaper Saff, etc.).[30] This attitude inherent in the concept of takfeer (for takfeer applies generally to believers) redirects intolerance toward fellow Muslims.

2 RADICALIZATION PROCESS – EXAMPLES

The two cases examined below illustrate the role of dawa structures in radicalization process.

2.1 Sandzak cell

In July 2009, 11 members of an Islamist cell from Sandzak (Serbia) were convicted of planning terrorist attacks and illegal arms possession. They were charged with planning the assassination of Sandzak's mufty Muamer Zukorlic, attacks on the mosque and police station in Novi Pazar and setting up the camp for military and terrorist training on the hill Ninaja near Novi Pazar.

The group was arrested in March 2007, when the Serbian police discovered a military training camp on a hill near Novi Pazar, containing large amounts of arms, explosives and other military equipment. Five people were arrested at the time. About a month later, on April 20, the police raided a house in Donja Trnava near Novi Pazar,

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[27] *i.e. http://tanoshimi.free.fr, http://thirrja-ne-teuhid.com, http://www.al-muwahidun.com.*

[28] *http://www.el-tewhid.com.*

[29] *http://www.suza-za-tewhidom.com.*

[30] *Original titles: "Pravo lice (ne)islamske zajednice"; "Trijumf vjerovjesnockog monoteizma nad dawom shirka i nacionalizma".-The video and text were published on the web site of Kelimetulhaq in 2007. Some of the videos and texts are still accessible on youtube and other takfeer web sites.*

acting on a tip that the house serves as a hideout for some of the members of the group connected to the training camp. An armed struggle erupted with the Serbian police in which one of the members of the cell, 28-year-old Ismail Prentic, was shot dead and two other people were injured.

The timeline of the group's radicalization process:
Since summer 2005, a group of Muslims, of wahabi-like appearance, from Novi Pazar (Sandzak), started to exhibit an increasingly aggressive behavior toward local IZ's officials in mosques. They took the 'tespihs' (Muslim prayer beads) from several mosques and throw them in the nearby river. Often the group interrupted religious services and provoked worshippers. They would pick quarrels and start heated debates with religious officials about the improper conduct of prayers. Similar behavior appeared also in neighboring countries.

– In March 2006, in order to prevent further incidents, IZ issued its first Resolution on Constitutional Changes and Interpretation of Islam "due to observance of inter-pretations of Islam that are outside the tradition of Bosnian Muslims".[31] In the same month, 16 wahabi dais signed public resolution against takfeer.[32] According to IZ and some of the dais from the wahabi group, the group behind the incidents was in-fluenced by the kind of ideas that were reflected on the web site of 'Kelimetulhaq' and propagated by Ebu Muhammed (at the time still preaching global jihadi dawa, with an already visible inclination toward takfeer ideas) (Beganovic, 2006). Both the IZ and wahabi group condemned such interpretations and violent behavior that caused serious tensions among Muslims.

– In June 2006 in the center of Novi Pazar, a group of Muslim youths disrupted the concert of group Balkanika. According to the reports, a group of 10 youths with beard and short pants came on the stage and throw down part of the instruments, causing considerable damage. One of them took the microphone and asked people to go home, because the band works against Islam".-In the incident, Fuad Hodzic, Senad Ramovic and Ismail Prentic, all three of them members of the convicted group, were involved.

– In August 2006 Ismail Prentic was seen as one of the guests at the Islamic gathering in Plav (Montenegro). Such Islamic gatherings were regularly organized (the 6th gathering took place in August 2006) by wahabi dais and Prentic and his brother Mirsad (both members of the convicted group) were regular visitors.[33] Such gathe-rings are popular among young Muslims inclined toward wahabi dawa and attract also visitors from abroad.

– On November 3, 2006 in Novi Pazar, a supporter of a local mufti Zukorlic fired gun shots into a wahabi group of Muslims outside the Arap mosque. Three wahabis were injured by the gunfire – two of them, Jasmin and Erhan Smailovic were members of the convicted group. The violent confrontation was connected to an earlier incident on the same day, which occurred due to a dispute over religious rituals.

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[31] *"Rezolucija o ustavnim promjenama i tumacenju Islama", http:// www.rijaset.ba, 27.3.2006.*

[32] *" Što je više kleveta i laži", http://www.bhdani.com/print.asp?kat=fok&broj_id=459&tekst_rb=3, Dani: No. 459, 31.3.2006.*

[33] *"Vođa terorista posećivao Plav", http://www.novosti.rs, 24.4.2007.*

– On November 8, 2006, IZ published an addendum to the March resolution, as it was noticed that despite the first resolution the improper aggressive behavior of individuals and groups still continues, referring to the incident in the Arap mosque.[34]
– In December 2006, various letters, explanations and articles in support of the wahabis involved in the shooting incident appeared on the web site 'Kelimetuhaq', which clearly linked the web site to the group.[35]-
– March 17, 2007 – discovery of the training camp.
– Beginning of April 2007 – the Kosovo Police Service issued a warrant for Ismail Prentic for illegal firearms possession and smuggling weapons across the administrative boundary between Kosovo and Serbia.
– April 20, 2007 – shooting in Donja Trnava in which Ismail Prentic lost his life
– May 2007 – the web site 'Kelimetulhaq' published a shahid-like picture of Prentic, expressing regrets over the death of "our brother shehid in the hands of kufr".
– January 2008 – 'Kelimetulhaq' continued to publish the latest reports regarding the judging process of the convicted group, expressing sympathies with convicted brothers, until it closed down. The reports continued on the web site 'Put Vjernika'.[36]

Some important facts that came up during the trial should be mentioned: the aggressive behavior of the group's members was focused mainly against the Muslims due to the disputes on religious matters. Their main target was the Sandzak mufty appointed by the IZ in BiH. Twelve of the convicted members did not want to be represented by lawyers because they did not recognize the non-shariatic court and stated that they can be judged only by Allah. When they were defending themselves they often used verses from Quran to explain their actions.[37] They also asked to be allowed to wear specific religious clothing in court (white caps and short above ankles trousers), to be allowed to perform all their prayers and not to be obliged to stand up, when the judging board enters, because "it is forbidden by their religion to stand up to anyone".[38] The propaganda material which was found on their computers included typical global jihad literature and videos, published on web sites of 'Kelimetuhaq' and 'Islamska drzava'.[39] There was evidence that the group established contacts with other members and mentors of similar religious orientation from BiH, Saudi Arabia and Austria through email and telephone. They also admitted to be in contact with Nusret Imamovic (dai from BiH connected to global jihad group) and Ebu Muhammed.[40]

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[34] *"Rijasetova dopunjena rezolucija o tumacenju Islama", http://www.rijaset.ba, 8.11.2006.*

[35] *"Ovo je ono sto vam je vas Gospodar obecao - reagovanja na nedavne nemile dogadzaje u N.Pazaru" (This is what your Lord promised you – reactions to the unfortunate events in N. Pazar), published by-Kelimetulhaq in December 2006.*

[36] *http://www.putvjernika.com, forum, 3.7.2009.*

[37] *"Vehabije se brane citirajući Kuran", http://www.naslovi.net/2008-01-18/mondo/vehabije-se-brane-citirajuci-kuran/548483, 18.1.2008.*

[38] *"Cirkus u specijalnom sudu", http://www.naslovi.net/2008-01-18/kurir/cirkus-u-specijalnom-sudu/548324, 18.1.2008.*

[39] *Messages of Bin Laden, mujahedeen videos,-the brochure "Isukana sablja", which speaks about how to respond when somebody insults prophet Muhammed (still published on Put vjernika), etc. ("SMS poruke kao dokazi na suđenju" http://www.naslovi.net/2009-01-13/b92/sms-poruke-kao-dokazi-na-sudjenju/994960, 13.1.2009.)*

[40] *http://www.putvjernika.com/forum/vijesti-i-aktuelni-dogadjaji/sudjenje-braci-iz-novog-pazara-t337.html, 5.7.2009.*

2.2 Recruiting process of takfeer groups

On May 18, 2008, four audio lectures entitled: 'Confession of a former takfeer member and his return to the salvation group'[41] were published on the web site 'Islamska drzava'. The lectures included a speech by a former member of the takfeer group Abdul Kerim and commentaries of three main ideologist of the Bosnian global jihad group: Ebu Idriz, Idriz Bilibani and Adem Demirovic. The lectures were first aired on pal talk and later recorded for the web site.

Kerim, a secretary of a mejlis in Luxemburg, has been an active practitioner of Islam for about 4-5 years, when he came across takfeer interpretations. His interest in takfeer dawa started in summer 2007 when he came in contact with French speaking citizens of Arab origins, who were spreading Abu Meryem's dawa in Luxemburg. Soon, Kerim came into contact with Ebu Muhammed and other Bosnian brothers from Vienna. His belief in the correctness of takfeer dawa grew stronger and he opened web sites and forums to propagate it. As a secretary, he used his position to spread the dawa among the members of his mejlis. The basic principles of takfeer dawa, such as chain takfeer, correct identification of shirk, etc., slowly caused Kerim to stop frequenting the mosques and severe the contacts with his other Muslim friends, because he did not want to fall into shirk by not takfeering them or for being in contact with potential kafirs. He began to stay at home and became increasingly isolated. He stayed in contact only with people from the takfeer group thorugh the internet and a couple of friends from his home djemat. He was convinced that only members and dais of his takfeer group have the correct proofs regarding the faith. His isolation and preoccupation with the takfeer beliefs resulted in some kind of paranoid psychosis, causing him to constantly doubt about who he is allowed to see or speak with, which books can he read, etc. He tekfeered many brothers from the djemat, mostly without any good proof, but only out of fear that he might step out of his faith. Eventually, he left his position of secretary in the mejlis.-

What provoked in Kerim doubts about the takfeer dawa was his love toward the mujahedeen. He started to examine proofs for takfeer against Bin Laden and the mujahedeen and noticed a series of irregularities. He began to look for other opinions and turned for advice to the dais of the global jihad group, who eventually managed to convince him to abandon the takfeer dawa, repent and return to their group. His speech was highly emotional. He regretted takfeering his brothers in Luxemburg and asked for forgiveness. He was also deeply grateful to Demirovic, Bilibani and Imamovic (the dais from global jihad group), who showed him the 'correct path'.-

Conclusion and Some Security Concerns

The dawa of each of the three groups discussed, contributes in a different way to the radicalization process. The salafy/wahabi group started off with claims to religious authority, parallel and independent from that of the IZ. Despite their relatively moderate position and their long-term dawa orientation when compared to global

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[41] Original title: "Pokajanje bivseg tekfirca i povratak spasenoj skupini".

jihad and takfeer groups, this group proliferates Islam that differs sharply from the moderate, much more liberal, Hanafi-School-based Islam, adopted by the IZ and majority of Bosnian Muslims. Initially, this caused clashes with the IZ, to which the IZ responded accordingly. When clashes escalated, this group distanced itself from radical elements and took a more moderate stance focusing rather on dawa than on power ambitions. This attitude allowed the group to operate more freely with some sort of silent consent from the IZ. Despite their peaceful activities, these dawa structures export a slow but constant flow of a particular kind of Islam, foreign to Bosnian traditions, which offers a perfect platform for setting off to more radical waters. Many of the radical Bosnian dais come from this group, and it is this group that provides the necessary ideological and also practical means to set up independent Muslim communities, which leads their members to further isolation and intensifies conflict with the rest of society. It is problematic to define this group in terms of security threat as its activities are kept within the laws of democratic societies. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that its dawa conveys undemocratic principles such as intolerance toward other social and religious groups, promoting shariatic law, diminishing the rights of women, etc., which further deepen the division between 'the true believers' and the rest and may cause tensions and conflicts within a democratic order.-

The Bosnian global jihad group and its dais were in many ways a product of salafy/wahabi dawa. Similar dominant concepts appear in both groups, such as literal interpretation of Islamic scriptures, disdain for western political systems and lifestyle, rejections of moderate Islam, hatered toward Shiite Muslims and the importance of the concepts of tawheed, takfeer and jihad. Among all these concepts, the global jihad group above all focused its attention on the latter and sees jihad (armed combat) as the only and the correct way to advance its aims. This makes it a fervent supporter of global jihadi movements, even when it comes to their most radical versions. Working from diaspora and inside BiH, the group is building a convenient network and through variety of dawa channels successfully spreading its radical message. The views propagated by this group are obviously problematic and give rise to security concerns. Its ideas were clearly reflected in the motives of some of the Bosnian radicalized groups and some of its dais had an important influence on or been in contact with the group's members (i.e. the case of the Sandzak group).--

If we compare a takfeer group to the global jihad group, we could say that the main difference is that the focus is shifted from jihad to takfeer. That means that for this group to be a 'true believer' (the concept inherent in takfeer) takes priority over the armed struggle, even though the jihad still remains a highly important obligation. The messages of takfeer groups are subtly cloaked in religious terminology, so they might appear innocent and less radical comparing to the global jihadi dawa. Nevertheless, they imply an elitist and uncompromising detachment from Muslim and non-Muslim society, which isolates the individuals and gets them completely absorbed with the Islam they preach. As we could see in the Abdul Kerim's case, the indoctrination methods of takfeer dawa, are very powerful, rapid and work almost in a sectarian like way. This makes the takfeer dawa radical and dangerous.

Kerim's decision to eventually join the global jihad group also reflects an interesting point: the two groups, whose dais were formerly friends, know each others weak points well and exploit it accordingly, especially when potential recruits are at stake. Their similar radical orientation makes it possible for individuals to pass from one group to another. The flexibility and overlapping of Islamist groups' agenda as well as their complementary roles in a radicalization process can be well observed in the case of the Sandzak group. The influence of all the three Islamist groups was at work - from the initial salafy/wahabi one (disputes over different interpretations of Islam) to that of the global jihad (violent acts, armed conflict) and, finally, the takfeer (the group's aggressive actions were primarily directed against other Muslims - the officials of the IZ).

The three Islamists groups have a similar target audience and compete for power not only with official, moderate Islamic structures, but also with each other. Their clams to religious authority are based on the concept 'holier than though'[42], which has an important effect: when the salafy/wahabi group countered IZ's traditional 'communistic Islam' with its pure literal interpretations, supported by Bosnian dais, educated in Islam at prestigious Islamic universities abroad, the IZ could not simply dismiss them. It had to find a way of incorporating them in the system, which, in a long term, will surely have an important impact on the perceptions of Islam among Bosnian Muslims. The growing numbers of wahabi sympathizers support this. A similar process is also noticed among global jihad and takfeer groups. The strong critique of global jihad/mujahedeen movements by takfeer groups, with proofs rooted deeply in Islamic scriptures caused the jihadi ideologues to place greater emphasis on exact and correct interpretations of their visions of Islam. Their aims and the means to achieve them are redefined accordingly: establishment of an Islamic state and shariatic law with no concessions and no national or other limitations, any co-operation with taghut structures (voting, juridical system, international organizations, etc.) is strictly forbidden, any other ideological inputs (i.e. nationalistic, ethnic and similar) are rejected, etc. In this way, the space for mediation, compromise or agreement with such groups is becoming much smaller.-

When analyzing the Bosnian Islamists, we cannot bypass the concept of the Umma, which is crucial to understanding the way the Islamist groups operate. Umma stands for the community of Muslims, being conditioned only by the correct faith - Islam - making any national, state, ethnic or any other limitation irrelevant (this is also one of the aspects of global jihadi ideology that appeals strongly to the feelings of discrimination among Muslims, particularly in the western world). Therefore any events involving Muslims and Islam (i.e. the Palestinian issue, caricatures of the Prophet, etc.) can become a matter of concern for all Muslims. Islamists are particularly good in exploiting this rationale and appeal on emotions of their fellow Muslims by turning such events into global problems, to which each Muslim has a duty to act on. This is why a call to jihad against Denmark (for publishing the caricatures) can appeal

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[42] *The usage of this concept and the consequences are reflected well in Saudi Islamist opposition to Saudi rulers (Teitelbaum, 2000; Kostiner, 1996).*

also to radicalized Bosnian Muslims, and explicit letters calling for the lynch of the Swedish caricaturist Lars Vilks can be found on the web sites of Bosnian Islamists. Therefore, when examining the security aspect of Bosnian Islamists, one should not be limited to the geographical borders of BiH or its neighboring countries and neither should one consider their intensions and goals to be limited to or concerned with the specifics of that area. The Islamist ideology, which, in its most extreme form, advocates terrorist acts, applies globally.

Considering the extent of the Bosnian Islamists' dawa activities in various European countries, we can assume that in addition to the homeland, the diaspora units also present an important target audience. For such global aspirations, the internet becomes a cheap, powerful and convenient tool for Bosnian Islamist groups to spread their message across the Umma. Such virtual dawa structures can create an 'autonomous' radicalization process, for which no personal indoctrination by radical preachers is needed and participants in this dawa structures (i.e. chat rooms) progressively infect themselves and one another with the radical Islamic ideology (AIVD, 2004). They are easily accessible to everyone, provide satisfactory ideological answers, supported by Bosnian dais, who were educated at Islamic universities abroad, as well as provide materials written in their mother tongue and offer familiarity that comes within a common ethnic origin – all these factors allow a rapid process of radicalization.

The influence of the Bosnian Islamist groups discussed above is hard to determine, especially when taking into account their activities in the diaspora. It is however, fair to say that their views and interpretations of Islam are still very limited among Bosnian Muslims in BiH as well as in the diaspora groups. Nevertheless, such ideology, which partly reflects the agenda of the global jihadi movements like Al-Qaida and similar groups, is present among Bosnian Muslims and its influence has been observed on a number of radicalization cases involving Bosnian Muslims, which ended in violent incidents, with some of them amounting to an explicit terrorist agenda (i.e. Mirsad Bektasevic's case in 2005, two arrested Islamist groups in Sandzak in 2007, the latest arrests of members of an Islamist group in BiH in December 2009, etc.). Cases, involving radicalized Bosnian Muslims, keep popping up and should not be simply dismissed as isolated locally produced acts, especially when considered against the background of the well-structured dawa network and its undeniable contribution to the radicalization process, and when their agenda and motives are clearly similar - if not the same - to the ones espoused by the most radical Islamist movements.

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Mladen Pemper *is Head of the Anti-Terrorism Department within the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Croatia. He is a graduated criminalist and holds an MSc degree in international relations and national security studies. He attended as well as participated as a speaker in multiple international scientific and expert conferences and meetings on terrorism issues. The last conference he participated in as a speaker was the International Conference for Scientific and Academics 'The New Strategic Concept of NATO: Challenges and Opportunities', in which he addressed the issue of how NATO could enhance its contribution in the fight against terrorism.*

Dr. Waldemar Zubrzycki

Dr. Waldemar Zubrzycki je doktoriral iz vojaških znanosti na Nacionalni vojaški univerzi. Med drugim je bil pooblaščen za ustanovitev in prvi direktor Pisarne za protiteroristično delovanje v poveljstvu poljske policije ter vodja odseka za preprečevanje terorizma na oddelku za javno varnost ministrstva za notranje zadeve in upravo. Trenutno opravlja naloge svetovalca ministra na oddelku za analize in nadzor. V svoji dolgoletni karieri je opravljal tudi dolžnosti sekretarja ministrske skupine za teroristične grožnje, vodje stalne strokovne skupine in namestnika vodje namenske skupine za pripravo določil zakona o projektu za odkrivanje, preprečevanje in odpravljanje terorizma.

Waldemar Zubrzycki *holds a PhD in military science at the National Defense University. Prior to his present post he was a plenipotentiary for creation of and the first director of the Anti-Terrorist Operation Office of Polish Police Headquarters as well as Governor of Terrorism Prevention Division of the Ministry of the Interior and Administration - Public Security Department. Currently, he is Advisor to the Minister in the Analysis and Supervision Department. Other posts he was assigned to include Secretary of Ministerial Team for Terrorist Threats, Head of the Permanent Expert Group, Deputy Manager of Task Team for Elaboration of Detailed Assumptions for the Project of Terrorism Recognition, Prevention, and Elimination Act.*

Polkovnik Ylli Zyla

Polkovnik Ylli Zyla je leta 1992 diplomiral na Akademiji albanskih oboroženih sil. Od leta 2002 do 2004 je študiral in diplomiral na področju sodne prakse in gospodarstva. Poleg tega je diplomant prava. Poglobljeno se je posvetil študiju področja oboroženih sil in varnostno-obveščevalnih zadev na Regionalni obrambni akademiji v Tirani v Albaniji, ki ga je končal 4. maja 2008. V obdobju od leta 2009 do 2010 se je udeležil nadaljevalnih tečajev obveščevalne dejavnosti. V svojih akademskih raziskavah se je osredotočil na spremembe v filozofiji in razvoju obveščevalnega področja po hladni vojni, asimetrijo in simetrijo groženj, koncept demokratizacije in razvoja tega pojava in perspektiv.

Colonel Ylli Zyla *graduated from the Albanian Armed Forces Academy in 1992 and, between 2002 and 2004, graduated in jurisprudence and economy. He also holds a lawyer degree and has accomplished in-depth studies in the field of Defense Armed Forces and also for security and intelligence purposes at the Regional Defense College, Tirana, Albania on 4 May 2008. Furthermore, between 2009 and 2010, he completed advanced courses on intelligence. His academic researches were following changes in the intelligence philosophy and developments after the Cold War, asymmetry versus symmetry of menaces, concept of democratization, developments of its phenomena and perspectives.*

Major Zoran Ivanov

Major Zoran Ivanov je vodja Oddelka za obveščevalne dejavnosti in vojaške varnostno-obveščevalne službe Ministrstva za obrambo Republike Makedonije. Ima devet let izkušenj kot pripadnik makedonskih specialnih enot in je leta 2006 pridobil izkušnje iz specialnega delovanja v okviru OIF kot poveljnik kontingenta SF. Leta 2006 je prejel bronasto zvezdo ameriških oboroženih sil za OIF. Redno se je udeleževal vojaškega usposabljanja na področju specialnega delovanja in obveščevalne dejavnosti.

Major Zoran Ivanov *is Chief of the Intelligence Department in the Military Service for Security and Intelligence in MOD of Republic of Macedonia. He spent 9 years in the Macedonian Special Forces and gained experience during spec ops in OIF 2006 as SF contingent commander. He was awarded the Bronze Star Medal by the US Armed Forces for OIF in 2006. He has completed extensive military education in special operations and intelligence.*

Mag. Zoran Krunić

Mag. Zoran Krunić, dipl. obramboslovec, magister obramboslovja, delal je na Ministrstvu za notranje zadeve v Ljubljani, kjer je bil predavatelj na Visoki policijsko-varnostni šoli, delal je v Službi za evropske zadeve in mednarodno sodelovanje MNZ, ki jo je eno leto tudi vodil, bil predstavnik Slovenije v delovni skupini za terorizem pri Evropskem svetu idr. Dve leti je kot izvedenec EU delal v Gruziji, kjer je bil zadolžen za reformo policije in varnostnih služb. Krajši čas je kot izvedenec EU delal tudi v Moskvi in na Kosovu. Je avtor ene monografije in več kot 90 znanstvenih in strokovnih člankov s področja nacionalne in mednarodne varnosti.

Zoran Krunić graduated in political science – defense studies and obtained a master's degree in defense studies. He was employed at the Ministry of the Interior, as lecturer at the Police Security School. In addition, he was employed at the European Affairs and International Cooperation Service of the Ministry of the Interior which he headed for a year. Furthermore, he represented Slovenia in the Terrorism Working Group of the European Council, etc. For two years he was assigned as EU expert to the Republic of Georgia, where he was responsible for the reform of the police and intelligence services. For a short period, he also worked as EU expert in Moscow and Kosovo. He is the author of a monograph and more that 90 scientific and professional articles in the area of national and international security.

Dr. Andrej Anžič

Dr. Andrej Anžič, diplomirani politolog, doktor politoloških znanosti, redni profesor na Fakulteti za državne in evropske študije in Fakulteti za varnostne vede Univerze v Mariboru. V svoji dolgoletni karieri je med drugim od leta 1999 do 2005 opravljal naloge namestnika generalnega direktorja Slovenske policije.

Andrej Anžič holds a PhD in political science and is regular professor at the Faculty of Government and European Studies and the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security in Maribor. In his long career, he was assigned to the post of the Deputy General Director of the Slovenian Police between 1999 and 2005.

Mag. Irena Kranjc

Mag. Irena Kranjc, doktorandka na Fakulteti za državne in evropske študije, Brdo. Magistrirala je na Fakulteti za družbene vede, smer komunikologija. Več kot deset let se aktivno posveča raziskovanju javnih virov in njihovi praktični uporabi v obveščevalno-varnostni dejavnosti, predvsem v slovenskem prostoru. Znanje posreduje zainteresiranim posameznikom in diplomantom Fakultete za varnostne vede, predvsem kot so-mentorica pri diplomskih delih.

Irena Kranjc *doctoral student at Faculty of Social and European Studies in Brdo. She earned a master's degree from the Faculty of Social Sciences - Communicology. Since more than ten years, she has been actively engaged in the research of public sources and their practical use in the intelligence and security sphere, in particular in Slovenia. She shares her knowledge with interested individuals and students of the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, in particular in the role as co-mentor of students preparing for their final paper.*

Kapitan fregate
mag. Andrej Androjna

Kapitan fregate mag. Andrej Androjna je poveljujoči častnik 430. mornariškega diviziona Slovenske vojske. Leta 1990 je diplomiral na Mornariški akademiji, je podmorničar, častnik za protipodmorniško in površinsko bojevanje, služil je kot prvi poveljujoči častnik na hitri patruljni ladji Ankaran 21. Poveljnik Androjna je magistriral iz kadrovskega upravljanja na Fakulteti za organizacijske vede. Poleg tega je končal tudi 107. višji tečaj na Natovi obrambni akademiji in leta 2008 diplomiral na Višji generalštabni šoli SV.

Commander Andrej Androjna *is the commanding officer of the 430th Naval Detachment of the Slovenian Armed Forces. A 1990 graduate of the Naval Academy, submariner, antisubmarine/surface warfare officer, served as the first commanding officer of Slovenian "Ankaran-21" fast patrol boat. Commander Androjna holds a master's degree in human resources management from the Faculty of Organizational Science. He is an Ancient of the 107th Senior Course at the NATO Defense College as well as a 2008 graduate of the SVN General Staff College.*

Polkovnik mag.
Žarko Henigman

Polkovnik mag. Žarko Henigman je namestnik vodje Natove vojaške povezovalne pisarne v Beogradu. Je diplomant Fakultete za varnostne vede, na kateri je tudi magistriral. Uspešno je zaključil višještabno in generalštabno izobraževanje na Poveljniško-štabni šoli SV. Delal je na kadrovskih in svetovalnih kot tudi na vodstvenih varnostnih in analitičnih dolžnostih na MO in v SV. V svojih prispevkih se posveča tudi temeljnim protislovjem sodobnega sveta kot gibalom in izzivom varovanja tajnih podatkov.

Colonel Žarko Henigman *is Deputy Head of the NATO MIlitary Liason Office in Belgrade. He graduated from the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, where he also received his master's degree. He has successfully completed a higher staff and general staff education at the Slovenian Armed Forces Command and Staff School. He was assigned to personnel and counselling as well as security and analytical posts within the MoD and the SAF. In his articles, he focuses on the basic controversies of the modern world as a momentum and challenge of the protection of classified information.*

Podpolkovnik
Jože Grozde

Podpolkovnik Jože Grozde je univerzitetni diplomirani politolog, smer obramboslovje. Trenutno je zaposlen kot načelnik enote za podporo GŠSV. Delal je na različnih štabnih dolžnostih, od pomočnika za operativne zadeve na območnem poveljstvu, pomočnika za RKBO in obveščevalne zadeve na pokrajinskem poveljstvu, do pomočnika za pehoto na GŠSV. Je avtor in soavtor različnih strokovnih del in člankov s področja obveščevalne geoprostorske podpore, logistike in RKBO.

Lieutenant Colonel Jože *Grozde graduated in political sciences - defense science. He currently holds the post of Head of the Support Unit at the SAF General Staff. In his past career, he has worked in various staff duties, from assistant for operational affairs at the territorial command, assistant for NBC defense and intelligence affairs at the territorial command as well as assistant for the infantry area at the SAF General Staff. He is the author and co-author of numerous articles dealing with the area of intelligence geospatial support, logistics and NBC.*

Mag. Tanja Greif

Mag. Tanja Greif je diplomirala iz sociologije kulture na Filozofski fakulteti in iz novinarstva na Fakulteti za družbene vede v Ljubljani. Magistrski študij na področju zgodovine Bližnjega vzhoda je opravila na Univerzi v Tel Avivu v Izraelu, kjer se je specializirala za področje islamskega radikalnega gibanja. Po študiju je opravljala raziskovalno delo na Inštitutu za protiterorizem v Herzlyji (Izrael), pri čemer se je osredotočala na islamska gibanja v balkanskih državah. Del njenega raziskovalnega dela je bil objavljen v publikaciji ICTAC (Skupnost za mednarodni boj proti terorizmu) delegacije UN-CTED v Bosni, oktobra 2007.

Tanja Greif graduated in sociology of culture from the Faculty of Arts and journalism from the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana. She continued her master studies in Middle East history at the Tel Aviv University in Israel, where she specialized in Islamic radical movements. After the studies, she conducted research at the Institute for Counter Terrorism in Herzeliya (Israel), focusing on the Islamist movements in the Balkan states. Part of her research was published in the ICTAC (International Counter-Terrorism Community) publication for the UN-CTED Delegation to Bosnia in October 2007.

Navodila avtorjem za oblikovanje prispevkov

Instructions for the authors of papers

NAVODILA AVTORJEM ZA OBLIKOVANJE PRISPEVKOV ZA BILTEN SLOVENSKE VOJSKE IN VOJAŠKOŠOLSKI ZBORNIK

Vsebinska navodila

Splošno

Bilten Slovenske vojske je interdisciplinarna znanstveno-strokovna publikacija, v kateri se objavljajo prispevki o aktualnih temah, raziskavah, znanstvenih in strokovnih razpravah, tehničnih ali družboslovnih analizah z varnostnega, obrambnega in vojaškega področja.

Vojaškošolski zbornik je vojaškostrokovna in informativna publikacija, namenjena izobraževanju in obveščanju o dosežkih ter izkušnjah na področju vojaškega izobraževanja, usposabljanja in izpopolnjevanja.

Kaj objavljamo?
Objavljamo prispevke v slovenskem jeziku s povzetki, prevedenimi v angleški jezik, in po odločitvi uredniškega odbora prispevke v angleškem jeziku s povzetki, prevedenimi v slovenski jezik.
Objavljamo prispevke, ki še niso bili objavljeni ali poslani v objavo drugi reviji. Pisec je odgovoren za vse morebitne kršitve avtorskih pravic. Če je bil prispevek že natisnjen drugje, poslan v objavo ali predstavljen na strokovni konferenci, mora to avtor sporočiti uredniku in pridobiti soglasje založnika (če je treba) ter navesti razloge za ponovno objavo.

Tehnična navodila

Omejitve dolžine prispevkov

Prispevki naj obsegajo 16 strani oziroma 30.000 znakov s presledki (avtorska pola), izjemoma najmanj 8 strani oziroma 15.000 znakov ali največ 24 strani oziroma 45.000 znakov.

Recenzije

Prispevki se recenzirajo. Recenzija je anonimna. Glede na oceno recenzentov uredniški odbor ali urednik prispevek sprejme, če je treba, zahteva popravke ali ga zavrne. Pripombe recenzentov avtor vnese v prispevek.
Zaradi anonimnega recenzentskega postopka je treba prvo stran in vsebino oblikovati tako, da identiteta avtorja ni prepoznavna.
Avtor ob naslovu prispevka napiše, v katero kategorijo po njegovem mnenju in glede na klasifikacijo v COBISS njegov prispevek spada. Klasifikacija je dostopna na spletni strani revije in pri odgovornem uredniku. Končno klasifikacijo določi uredniški odbor.

Lektoriranje

Lektoriranje besedil zagotavlja OE, pristojna za založništvo. Lektorirana besedila se avtorizirajo.

Prevajanje	Prevajanje besedil ali povzetkov zagotavlja OE, pristojna za prevajanje.
Navajanje avtorjev prispevka	Navajanje avtorjev je skrajno zgoraj, levo poravnano. *Primer:* Ime 1 Priimek 1, Ime 2 Priimek 2 V opombi pod črto se za slovenske avtorje navede, iz katere ustanove prihajajo. Pri tujih avtorjih je treba navesti tudi ime države.
Naslov prispevka	Navedbi avtorjev sledi naslov prispevka. Črke v naslovu so velike 16 pik, natisnjene krepko, besedilo naslova pa je sredinsko poravnano.
Povzetek	Prispevku mora biti dodan povzetek, ki obsega največ 1200 znakov (20 vrstic). Povzetek naj na kratko opredeli temo prispevka, predvsem naj povzame rezultate in ugotovitve. Splošne ugotovitve in misli ne spadajo v povzetek, temveč v uvod.
Povzetek v angleščini	Avtorji morajo oddati tudi prevod povzetka v angleščino. Tudi za prevod povzetka velja omejitev do 1200 znakov (20 vrstic).
Ključne besede	Ključne besede (od 3 do 5, tudi v angleškem jeziku) naj bodo natisnjene krepko in z obojestransko poravnavo besedila.
Besedilo	Avtorji naj oddajo svoje prispevke na papirju formata A4, s presledkom med vrsticami 1,5 in velikostjo črk 12 pik Arial. Na zgornjem in spodnjem robu naj bo do besedila približno 3 cm, levi rob naj bo širok 2 cm, desni pa 4 cm. Na vsaki strani je tako približno 30 vrstic s približno 62 znaki. Besedilo naj bo obojestransko poravnano, brez umikov na začetku odstavka.
Kratka predstavitev avtorjev	Avtorji morajo pripraviti kratko predstavitev svojega strokovnega oziroma znanstvenega dela. Predstavitev naj ne presega 600 znakov (10 vrstic). Če je avtorjev več, se predstavi vsak posebej, čim bolj zgoščeno. Avtorji naj besedilo umestijo na konec prispevka po navedeni literaturi.
Strukturiranje besedila	Posamezna poglavja v besedilu naj bodo ločena s samostojnimi podnaslovi in ustrezno oštevilčena (členitev največ na 4 ravni). *Primer:* 1 Uvod 2 Naslov poglavja (1. raven) 2.1 Podnaslov (2. raven) 2.1.1 Podnaslov (3. raven) 2.1.1.1 Podnaslov (4. raven)

Oblikovanje seznama literature

V seznamu literature je treba po abecednem redu navesti le avtorje, na katere se sklicujete v prispevku, celotna oznaka vira pa mora biti skladna s harvardskim načinom navajanja. Če je avtorjev več, navedite vse, kot so navedeni na izvirnem delu.

Primeri:

a) knjiga:

Priimek, ime (začetnica imena), letnica. *Naslov dela*. Kraj: Založba.

Na primer: Urlich, W., 1983. *Critical Heuristics of Social Planning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

b) zbornik:

Samson, C., 1970. Problems of information studies in history. V S. Stone, ur. *Humanities information research*. Sheffield: CRUS, 1980, str. 44–68. Pri posameznih člankih v zbornikih na koncu posameznega vira navedemo strani, na katerih je članek, na primer:

c) članek v reviji

Kolega, N., 2006. Slovenian coast sea flood risk. Acta geographica Slovenica. 46-2, str. 143–167.

Navajanje virov z interneta

Vse reference se začenjajo enako kot pri natisnjenih virih, le da običajnemu delu sledi še podatek o tem, kje na internetu ste dokument našli in kdaj. Podatek o tem, kdaj ste dokument dobili, je pomemben zaradi pogostega spreminjanja spletnega okolja.

Urlich, W., 1983. *Critical Heuristics of Social Planning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, str. 45–100. http://www.mors.si/index.php?id=213, 17. 10. 2008.

Pri navajanju zanimivih internetnih naslovov v besedilu (ne gre za navajanje posebnega dokumenta) zadošča navedba naslova (http://www.vpvs.uni-lj.si). Posebna referenca na koncu besedila v tem primeru ni potrebna.

Sklicevanje na vire

Pri sklicevanju na vire med besedilom navedite le priimek prvega avtorja in letnico izdaje. *Primer*: ... (Smith, 1997) ...

Če dobesedno navajate del besedila, ga ustrezno označite z narekovaji, v oklepaju pa poleg avtorja in letnice navedite stran besedila, iz katerega ste navajali.

Primer: ... (Smith, 1997, str. 15) ...

Pri povzemanju drugega avtorja napišite besedilo brez narekovajev, v oklepaju pa napišite, da gre za povzeto besedilo. *Primer*: (po Smith, 1997, str. 15). Če avtorja navajate v besedilu, v oklepaju navedite samo letnico izida in stran (1997, str. 15).

Slike, diagrami in tabele

Slike, diagrami in tabele naj bodo v posebej pripravljenih datotekah, ki omogočajo lektorske popravke. V besedilu mora biti jasno označeno mesto, kamor je treba vnesti sliko. Skupna dolžina prispevka ne sme preseči dane omejitve.

Če avtor iz tehničnih razlogov grafičnih dodatkov ne more oddati v elektronski obliki, je izjemoma sprejemljivo, da slike priloži besedilu. Avtor mora v tem primeru na zadnjo stran slike napisati zaporedno številko in naslov, v besedilu pa pustiti dovolj prostora zanjo. Prav tako mora biti besedilo opremljeno z naslovom in številčenjem slike. Diagrami se štejejo kot slike. Vse slike in tabele se številčijo. Številčenje poteka enotno in ni povezano s številčenjem poglavij. Naslov slike je naveden pod sliko, naslov tabele pa nad tabelo. Navadno je v besedilu navedeno vsaj eno sklicevanje na sliko ali tabelo. Sklic na sliko ali tabelo je: ... (slika 5) ... (tabela 2) ...
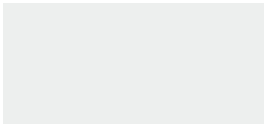
Primer slike:

Primer tabele:
Tabela 2: Naslov tabele

Slika 5: Naslov slike
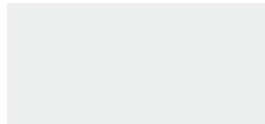
Opombe pod črto

Številčenje opomb pod črto je neodvisno od strukture besedila in se v vsakem prispevku začne s številko 1. Posebej opozarjamo avtorje, da so opombe pod črto namenjene pojasnjevanju misli, zapisanih v besedilu, in ne navajanju literature.

Kratice

Kratice naj bodo dodane v oklepaju, ko se okrajšana beseda prvič uporabi, zato posebnih seznamov kratic ne dodajamo. Za kratico ali izraz v angleškem jeziku napišemo najprej slovensko ustreznico, v oklepaju pa angleški izvirnik in morebitno angleško kratico.

Format zapisa prispevka

Uredniški odbor sprejema prispevke, napisane z urejevalnikom besedil MS Word, izjemoma tudi v besedilnem zapisu (samo besedilo).

Naslov avtorja

Prispevkom naj bosta dodana avtorjeva naslov in internetni naslov ali telefonska številka, na katerih bo dosegljiv uredniškemu odboru.

Kako poslati prispevek

Na naslov uredništva ali članov uredniškega odbora je treba poslati tiskano in elektronsko različico prispevka.

Potrjevanje sprejetja prispevka

Uredniški odbor avtorju pisno potrdi prejetje prispevka. Avtorjem, ki sporočijo tudi naslov svoje elektronske pošte, se potrditev pošlje po tej poti.

Korekture

Avtor opravi korekture svojega prispevka v treh dneh.

Naslov
uredniškega
odbora

Ministrstvo za obrambo
Generalštab Slovenske vojske
Bilten Slovenske vojske
Uredniški odbor
Vojkova cesta 55
1000 Ljubljana
Slovenija
Elektronski naslov
Odgovorna urednica: liliana.brozic@mors.si

Prispevkov, ki ne bodo urejeni skladno s tem navodilom, uredniški odbor ne bo sprejemal.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE AUTHORS OF PAPERS FOR THE BULLETIN OF THE SLOVENIAN ARMED FORCES AND THE MILITARY EDUCATION JOURNAL

Content-related instructions

General

The Bulletin of the Slovenian Armed Forces is an interdisciplinary scientific expert magazine, which publishes papers on current topics, researches, scientific and expert discussions, technical or social sciences analysis from security, defence and military field.

The Military Education Journal is a military professional and an informative publication intended for education and informing on achievements and experiences in the field of military education, training and improvement.

What do we publish?

We publish papers in Slovenian with abstracts translated into English and, based on the decision of the editorial board, we also publish papers in English with abstracts translated into Slovenian.

We publish papers, which have not been previously published or sent to another magazine for publication. The author is held responsible for all eventual copyright violations. If the paper has already been printed elsewhere, sent for publication or presented at an expert conference, the author must notify the editor, obtain the publisher's consent (if necessary) and indicate the reasons for republishing.

Technical instructions

Limitations regarding the length of the papers

The papers should consist of 16 typewritten double-spaced pages or 30,000 characters, at a minimum they should have 8 pages or 15,000 characters and at a maximum 24 pages or 45,000 characters.

Reviews

The papers are reviewed. The review is anonymous. With regard to the reviewers assessment, the editorial board or the editor either accepts the paper, demands modifications if necessary or rejects it. After the receipt of the reviewers' remarks the author uses them in his paper.

Due to an anonymous review process the first page must be designed in the way that the author's identity cannot be revealed.

Next to the title the author indicated the category the paper belongs to according to him and according the classification in the COBISS. The classification is available at the magazine's internet page and at the responsible editor. The editorial board determines the final classification.

Proof-reading	The organizational unit responsible for publishing provides the proofreading of the papers. The proofread papers have to be approved.
Translating	The translation of papers or abstracts is provided by the organizational unit competent for translation or the School of Foreign Languages, DDETC.
Indicating the authors of the paper	The authors' name should be written in the upper left corner with left alignment. *Example:* Name 1 Surname 1, Name 2 Surname 2, Slovenian authors should indicate the institution they are coming from in the footnote. Foreign authors should also indicate the name of the state they are coming from.
Title of the paper	The title of the paper is written below the listed authors. The letters in the title are bold with font size 16. The text of the title is centrally aligned.
Abstract	The paper should have an abstract of a maximum 1,200 characters (20 lines). It should briefly present the topic of the paper, especially the results and the findings. General findings and reflections do not belong in the abstract, but rather in the introduction.
Abstract in English	The authors must also submit the translation of the abstract into English. The translation of the abstract is likewise limited to a maximum of 1,200 characters (20 lines).
Key words	Key words (3-5 also in the English language) should be bold with a justified text alignment.
Text	The authors should submit their papers on a A4 paper format, with a 1,5 line spacing written in Arial and with font size 12. At the upper and the bottom edge, there should be approx. 3 cm of space, the left margin should be 2 cm wide and the right margin 4 cm wide. Each page should consists of approx. 30 lines with 62 characters. The text should have a justified alignment, without indents at the beginning of the paragraphs.
A brief presentation of the authors	The authors must prepare a brief presentation of their expert or scientific work. The presentation should not exceed 600 characters (10 lines). If there are several authors, each should be presented individually as short and as concise as possible. These text should be placed at the end of the paper, after the cited bibliography.

Text structuring

Individual chapters should be separated with independent subtitles and adequately numbered.

Example:

1 Introduction

2 Title of the chapter (1st level)

2.1 Subtitle (2nd level)

2.1.1 Subtitle (3rd level)

2.1.1.1 Subtitle (4th level)

Referencing

In the bibliography only the authors of the references you refer to in the paper have to be listed alphabetically. The entire reference has to be in compliance with the Harvard citing style.

Example:

Surname, name (the initial of the name), year. *Title of the work.* Place. Publishing House.

Example:

Urlich, W., 1983. *Critical Heuristics of Social Planning.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

At certain papers published in a collection of papers, at the end of each reference a page on which the paper can be found is indicated.

Example:

Urlich, W., 1983. *Critical Heuristics of Social Planning.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 45–100.

Referencing internet sources

All references start the same way as the references for the printed sources, only that the usual part is followed by the information about the internet page on which the document was found as well as the date on which it was found. The information on the time the document was taken off the internet is important because the WWW environment constantly changes.

Urlich, W., 1983. *Critical Heuristics of Social Planning.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 45–100. http://www.mors.si/index.php?id=213, 17 October 2008.

When referencing interesting WWW pages in the text (not citing an individual document) it is enough to state only the internet address (http://www.vpvs.uni-lj.si). A separate reference at the end of the text is therefore not necessary.

More on the Harvard referencing style in the A Guide to the Harvard System of Referencing, 2007; http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk/referencing/harvard.thm#1.3, 16 May 2007.

Citing

When citing references in the text, indicate only the surname of the author and the year of publication. *Example:* ..... (Smith, 1997) …

If you cite the text literary, that part should be adequately marked "text"…after which you state the exact page of the text in which the cited text is written.

Example: …(Smith, 1997, pp 15) …

Figures, diagrams, tables

Figures, diagrams and tables in the paper should be prepared in separate files that allow proofreading corrections. The place in the text where the picture should be inserted must be clearly indicated. The total length of the paper must not surpass the given limitation.

If the author cannot submit the graphical supplements in the electronic form due to technical reasons, it is exceptionally acceptable to enclose the figures to the text. In this case the author must write a sequence number and a title on the back of each picture and leave enough space in the text for it. The text must likewise contain the title and the sequence number of the figure. Diagrams are considered figures. All figures and tables are numbered. The numbering is not uniform and not linked with the numbering of the chapters. The title of the figure is listed beneath it and the title of the table is listed above it.

As a rule at least one reference to a figure or a table must be in the paper. Reference to a figure or a table is: (figure 5) (table 2)

Example of a figure:

Example of a table:
Table 2: Title of the table
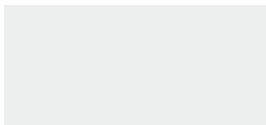
Figure 5: Title of the figure
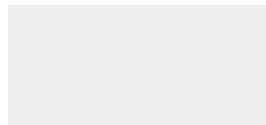
Footnotes

Numbering footnotes is individual form the structure of the text and starts with the number 1 in each paper. We want to stress that the footnotes are intended for explaining thoughts written in the text and not for referencing literature.

Abbreviations

When used for the first time, the abbreviations in the text must be explained in parenthesis, for which reason non additional list of abbreviations is needed. If the abbreviations or terms are written in English we have to write the appropriate Slovenian term with the English original and possibly the English abbreviation in the parenthesis.

Format type of the paper

The editorial board accepts only the texts written with a MS Word text editor and only exceptionally texts in the text only format.

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Each paper should include the author's address, e-mail or a telephone number, so the editorial board could reach him or her.

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