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TERRORISM AS THE MAIN THREAT REGARDING MAJOR POWERS AND EUROPE

ABSTRACT: Based on current trends terrorism will be one of the most challenging security challenges in the future. The many-faced, variable appearance of terrorism creates a new environment in which the direction of the threat often becomes unpredictable, hereby reducing the general sense of security, even if the actual level of threat does not increase. The peaceful and sustainable social coexistence is based on optimizing the sense of security. The fight against terrorism is only part of this task, but based on current trends it can be predicted to be one of the most important segments.

KEYWORDS: terror, terrorism, major power, European Union

INTRODUCTION

“The most important actors of our time, the Non State Actors had become (terrorist groups, organized crime circles, and irregular armed groups).”¹ Present experience shows that the events of Postmodern Security Politics seem to be approving the fact that in the 21st century the major threat to countries and superpowers are not the classic dangers, but terrorism as part of Assymmetric Warfare². Terrorism - which is an unique strategy of violence, threatening with violence with intention mainly to cause fear and chaos thereby to achieve political goals or to remain in power. Terrorism summarized in one sentence: “violent, ruthless technique of intimidation.”³

As terrorism becomes more and more global, or in other words international, along with the change in methods and instruments used by terrorists, participants in counter-terrorism are challenged significantly. After the 9/11 attacks it became clear that the force, methods, and instruments used before had not been able to prevent the acts of international terrorism and the preparation of new actions. Consequently experts were urging the implementation of new, more efficient instruments and more successful strategies in the war on international terrorism. Warfare against fanatic suicide bombers challenges both soldiers and law enforcement agencies because not only the modus operandi of terrorism but the person and types of offenders got into focus. As it can be seen the services have always been ready to adapt to the newformed challenges and to acquire the facilities necessary to fend off those threats. Therefore, one of the requirements of successful actions is to update the acquired knowledge from time to time, exchange experience, reach conclusions, meanwhile “research

¹ Resperger I. “Az aszimmetrikus hadviselésre adható válaszok”. *Honvédségi Szemle* 145/1. 2017. 24–43.

² See in details Resperger I. “Az aszimmetrikus hadviselés és a terrorizmus jellemzői”. *Hadtudomány* 20/4. 2010. 68–77.

³ Boda J. “A terrorizmus rövid története és az ellene való fellépés lehetőségei”. *Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek* 13/16. 2007. 46–51.

results have to be incorporated in government policy, military law enforcement and national security forces' training, and into the general training of the population.”⁴

The main topic of this study is how the complex system of superpowers and terrorism develops resulting in terrorism as the primary enemy. In parallel the modern threat context which influences Europe as a result of Post-modern terrorism, and transforms the continental security environment to a great extent, will be presented.

THE BACKGROUND OF TERRORISM BECOMING CHALLENGE NUMBER ONE

The community of countries being part of the Christian culture which regarded themselves protected from terrorist attacks, the ones under superpower interests and active participants of globalisation, got greatly shocked by the rapid, radical change in the dimension of security following the terrorist attacks against the twin towers in the USA on 11. 09. 2001. The historically significant attack against the United States of America was a cornerstone following the disintegration of the Bipolar world order as it had created a new concept of enemy. This momentum has substantiated terrorism to get ranked among the political definitions and today we can say that studies on “Terrorism agree that terrorism originally is a political phenomenon which is backed by structural and psychological factors as well.”⁵

As a result of the concept of enemy being found outside the formations of reflectible existence of national characteristics, the feeling of general lack of security of the population increased because that way the source of national monopoly of violence became unremarkable. In the new relation system the individual has no knowledge on by whom and when violence will be used. The emergence of insecurity at this level causes political, societal, cultural and economic or, in other words, general instability, which bears the dangers of forming anarchical conditions as the thesis of the state being the one and only legitimate user of the monopoly of violence.

This is the point where war on terrorism as a modern conflict takes asymmetric properties and it becomes clear that when the asymmetric struggle against terrorism ceased, new and more efficient than ever instruments had to be implemented to achieve success. In asymmetric warfare it is not necessarily the strength of army which is determinant.”⁶ Moreover it has to be noted that terrorism can not be defeated by “military, law enforcement and national security measures without transforming public awareness, and the easing of economical, social and cultural tensions.”⁷ It should not be forgotten, however, that the main sources of radicalism and then terrorism are plunging to the peripherals of society, modernization, social hopelessness and democracy.

Many studies discuss the question whether the main reasons of revolt and terrorism often overlap, which could be because the insignificant differences between the reasons of

⁴ Boda J. et. al. “A hadtudományi kutatási irányok, prioritások és témakörök”. *Államtudományi Műhelytanulmányok* 16. 2016. 3–19.

⁵ Gál I. L. “Új biztonságpolitikai kihívás a XXI. században: a terrorizmus finanszírozása”. *Szakmai Szemle* 8/1. 2012. 5–16.

⁶ Padányi J. “Az aszimmetrikus hadviselés során alkalmazandó eljárások, eszközök és módszerek”. *Hadtudomány* 25/1-2. 2015. 81–82.

⁷ Bács Z. Gy. “A radikalizáció és a terrorizmus kapcsolata, egyes formái, gondolatok a megelőzés lehetséges perspektíváiról”. *Nemzetbiztonsági Szemle* 5/1. 2017. 5–26.

revolt and those of rising terrorism. It is hard to define the real differences because defining terrorism fundamentally is not the job of law enforcement or military studies but it is rather political sciences' responsibility. This can be stated because in the end it is not the police, national security or military employees who classify an action as a terrorist operation, but politicians. This causes specific cases in which certain groups in certain countries get labeled as terrorist groups while they do not in other countries. However, we must not forget that international politics is being controlled and shaped by the countries' very own national and economic interests while the main actors of security policy dimension are exactly the very same nations. As a result, any given state's very own interest - usually even in correlation with terrorism - has a priority over the will to conform to given ideological perspectives. So it seems evident that international terrorism is being formed by global power relations and Great Power presence. We could say that modern terrorism can be interpreted as a radical solution for the challenges brought to life by the complex system of international relations, which has the fundamental doctrinal criteria summarized as follows:

- "Resistance is present on a large area. Their most important skill is the capability of manouvering
- It is a system not an organisation, or group
- Leadership covers purpose not controlling, no direct contact with operative units. No orders are given, statements and webpages are in use instead
- Not rooted in a combat zone as a location, the war zone has no boundaries
- The enemy have to feel they can be ambushed anywhere, at any time."⁸

The list above clearly indicates the need to increase the operational and structural complexity of international anti-terrorist operatives, which has to be flexible and asset-backed as it has to cope with the complexity and variable forms of appearance of terrorism. As a result, it is clear that it is necessary to develop and modernise the legal actions of the war on terror, its organisational and human resources, but these have to be adjusted to the level of terrorism being present in the given country. Also the fact should not be ignored, that "despite the ever rising success rate of counter-terrorism successes, a high level of threat has been lingering for years." The main reason is that terrorism is an ever-changing phenomenon, which generates new and new challenges. As a result it is a high priority to identify its expected trends. This task, however, is to be carried out with regard to a particular state, region, or other geographical unit along with taking into account the source and possibilities of terrorism by an in-depth analysis. At this point it is recommended to take a look on Europe's threat level by terrorism.

- The system of postmodern Europe's threat level by terrorism.
- Terrorist attacks in Europe happened since 2015 highlighted the new challenges and trends. The trends strenghtening the appearance of terrorism on the continent issued by international experts mainly as follows:
 - The illegal immigration wave;
 - The failure of the integration of migrants;
 - Radicalisation of 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants;
 - Activation of warriors returning from abroad;

⁸ Kis-Benedek J. and Kenedli T. "A terrorfenyegetettség új tendenciái és lehetséges válaszleépések". *Szakmai Szemle* 11/1. 2015. 16–34.

- The surveillance/intelligence challenges of the fields;
- Violent intervention in order to facilitate the democratic process;
- The following steps in the context of a solution are essential;
- Treatment of the migrant communities' problems, monitoring their activities;
- Implementation of social integration, the eradication of parallel societies;
- Making the action of effective law enforcement agencies, the fight against terrorism more effective by coordinating the activities of these organizations;
- Implementing fast and effective information exchange among institutions;
- Making necessary legislative changes.

On the basis of the above points, the facts analysed at a pan-European level speak for themselves. As most of the World faces the problem of an increasing danger of acts by terrorist groups, it has become clear that in the future Europe can no longer be regarded protected either. During the past years and decades, the global security situation has greatly changed which has fundamentally shaped the continent's security image.

The constantly growing risk of terror roots in numerous complex factors which in combination result in an unusual and highly uncertain status. The active presence of terrorism has resulted in ever-changing security challenges in the European security to which institutions are not able to generate powerful responses, or even if they are, they do so only with difficulty and just partially. The steps taken in line with restoring security are mostly to manage already established conditions, meaning that the political and expert thinking ignores the intention to get prepared for forthcoming events in the future. This in turn can result in the European Union to react to the rapidly and greatly changing security challenges with a considerable delay. In the case of such a question this delay could demand not just considerable material and ideological damage, but numerous lives too.

Since November 2015, starting with the terrorist attacks in Paris, the continent's population have had to face vaguely new types of challenges in European security situation. It has to be noted however, that the mounting terror in Europe, and at the same time the outbursted ethnic-religious opposition can only be settled and reduced by extensively managing extremely complex political, economic and cultural problems as a whole. The current situation in Europe is very complex, with many decades of traditions, in many cases by perceived damage and really done harm, or short-term interest-controlled political and economic causes.

The primary source of the situation arising from untreated problems is still posed by second-generation migrants. It should be treated as a fact, that in the recent period of time the perpetrators of terrorist acts committed in Europe are second generation migrants. This is exactly that part of society, whose integration had failed many times despite any efforts. The lack of success, of course, cannot be considered a fluke, since there was no strong integration – integration, as opposed to assimilation, it must be stressed – program whatsoever to promote integration and which could have started the integration of people coming from a different cultural dimension in particular. Lacking such integration programmes persons who are not able to fit in and deal with social differences – lacking the necessary social toolset to be able to – get casted to the peripherals of society. Due to their being outcasts they could become easily radicalized, which distorts their personality to extreme levels. This manifests as a sociological coexistence process involving many stages, however, in most cases the outcome is a terrorist attack or a preparation of one.

The Western-European countries, primarily a minor part of their Muslim religious groups, are getting radicalized spectacularly meanwhile in the Central and Eastern European

states such shift cannot be detected or just to a minimum extent. It can be concluded that the first generation, which had arrived in Europe in hope for a better life, for employment reasons, is not at all or only minimally interested in radical ideas. However, in many cases the second generation is rootless and its members often rightfully regard themselves marginalised, misunderstood and outcasts. These young people looking for a fix point, without proper backup and support easily become targets of religious extremists who want to exploit and thrive on them being defenseless, helpless. As a result, their radicalization takes place which then leads to strong personality distortion regarding their ways of thinking letting Jihad and terrorism take the lead.

The whole picture becomes more shaded due to the fact that the current security crisis' general issue is the fighters returning from their war. Today it is a tendency that from Western-Europe a vast number of citizens travel to the war ravaged territories to participate in the combat there. Such travelling individuals' radicalization has been successful and they are not just susceptible but utmostly recipient towards extremist ideologies.

In general, decisive European experts say one of the most important problems is presented by fighters returning home because practically most of those returning have the intention to carry out a terrorist attack and only a small percentage of them is willing and open for cooperation. On the basis of European experience, not only the improvement of the current system of migration filters and reintegration has to be reformed, but it is also necessary to structure its major proportion to be able to prevent the returning terrorist fighters from carrying out attacks and radicalizing their environment.

Besides the new types of social problems radical changes occurring on the device side of terrorism should also be noted. Specifically, there is a new trend on the rise regarding the series of attacks in Europe in Nice, Berlin, Heidelberg, London, Stockholm, and Barcelona, amongst other attacks, in which the modus operandi of the terrorist is choosing a vehicle as the instrument of destruction. This type of attack, called a ramming attack during which the attacker rakes through groups of people, was not typical on the continent before. The emergence of new forms of attack, of course, cannot be regarded surprising, as it fits perfectly the formula, in which terrorists want to minimize both the costs and any possible deconspiracy factors they could encounter. The implementation of ramming attacks is the most potent form of this intent to be carried out, since the cost is negligible, the required participants' number is lower, and work is far less compared to the achievable destruction. However, it is likely that in future attacks the classic modus operandi and tools like bombs, firearms or various kind of fires will have determining roles too.⁹ It is a significant change that because of the change of targets, the methodology of committing such crimes had changed too, as terrorists seek to use devices that have more potent destruction power.

The history of terrorist acts committed in Europe shows that those were focused on getting attention, to spread terror and as Peter Talas said many times before "whilst the classic type of terrorism had a few self-restraining factors, postmodern terrorism has no limits in options of attacks."¹⁰ In other words, earlier in the attacks the desire of taking lives of a large number of people was completely missing or was present scarcely. With the series of

⁹ Besenyő J. "Inferno Terror: Forest Fires as the New Form of Terrorism". *Terrorism and Political Violence* 11 July 2017. <http://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/fHaTbH5dyIpwKgr3dGmP/full>, Accessed on 23 Nov 2017.

¹⁰ Talas P. "A nemzetközi terrorizmus és a szervezett bűnözés hatása a nemzetközi biztonságra és Magyarország biztonságára". <http://kisebbssegkutato.tk.mta.hu/uploads/files/archive/904.pdf>, Accessed on 23 Nov 2017.

attacks in Paris in 2015, however, a new trend has emerged where the attackers primarily want to inflict as much damage as possible and to maximize the number of casualties.

A successful step against the newly emerging challenges, mainly against terrorism, is possible through complex actions at governmental and interational levels, implemented expansively, offensively and consciously. Countering terrorism is a system of tasks and operations during which only preventive actions are considered productively efficient because every terrorist attack that was carried out is considered a lost battle along with its moral, material, physical and human losses. Avoiding emergency in this case is only a partial duty of law enforcement, its success rate highly depends on the effectiveness of bureaucratic actions.

As indicated above, unveiling the complex and holistic system of methodology of such successful actions is not the objective of this study; however, it is possible to introduce subjective perceptions that are noted as of high importance. Primarily, the reduction of terrorist threats through combating mass migration can be an option with the use of frameworks which are results of international cooperation. The primary goal of action in this case, is to set up a set of practical measures to be able to keep the migrant masses at a manageable scale, which could be carried out by comprehensive international cooperation. Emitter countries could be marked as the field for primary operations, where a set of practical, welfare-enhancing actions should be implemented first by which the willingness of migrant masses to move could be reduced. In this case, the European law enforcement agencies and secret services should be directed primarily to help reducing the activities of terrorist groups operating as a migrational generator in the emitter countries.

The national security check – which is essential regarding the safety of Europe and the European Union – of those who wish to immigrate into the continent or the borders of Schengen zone can be connected to migration handling.¹¹ It is a pan-European interest to implement measures at a high and efficient level, because tracking the movement of individuals who got into the territory of the Union, and have the probability to bear the risk of terrorism or preventing further relations with radicalized groups means a lot more difficult task to achieve and by this has a higher security risk than making their entry impossible.

Another relation point is the fact that migration has been previously presented as mainly a risk posed by second-generation migrants to Europe in correlation with terror, therefore the most important thing to do is to enhance the social integration of those belonging to this group. It can be concluded that the lack of integration of the immigrant communities leads members down the road to radicalization. The primary method of dealing with the problems of integration would be implementing integrational actions. However, neither the European Community nor any country has been able so far to implement such action or achieve success therefore there is no good model. For the success it would be essential to work out the integration processes, to have political will, and to implement targeted and coordinated actions involving governments, with the active participation of civil society as well.

For the future survival of European societies it is an essential prerequisite in each country – in the absence of integration – to eliminate parallel societies. National character is in grave danger by the fact that factors threatening sovereignty are being present in the political system besides state structures. Especially destructive for the sovereign state power,

¹¹ Besenyó J. “Fences and Border Protection: The Question of Establishing Technical Barriers in Europe”. *AARMS* 16/1. 2017. 77–87. http://uni-nke.hu/uploads/media_items/aarms-2017-1-07-besenyoy.original.pdf, Accessed on 23 Nov 2017.

almost endangering the existence of individual stateship, are the operating non-central assault forces, like sharia police.

In terms of counter-terrorism it is still important in case of an already integrated community to conduct its permanent surveillance to detect radicalisation, and in the current times and near future the task has an utmost importance. When establishing preventive national security programmes at domestic and international levels, the main principles have to be the balance of security and freedom in favour of defending the achievements of democracy.

SUMMARY

In conclusion we can state that counter-terrorism tasks are expected to largely increase in the future. Such expansion must also bring changes in the performance and – where it is reasonable – the structure of counter-terrorism institutions and services. Since it has been shown that continuous and rapid changes are taking place in the nature and activity of terrorist individuals and groups, these processes need to be largely adapted to counterterrorism. One of the most important tasks is also the social implementation of security-conscious way of thinking, especially in this new global environment stricken by increased terrorist activities.

On the basis of current trends terrorism will be one of the most challenging security challenges in the future. The many-faced, variable appearance of terrorism creates a new environment in which the direction of the threat often becomes unpredictable, hereby reducing the general sense of security, even if the actual level of threat does not increase. The peaceful and sustainable social coexistence is based on optimizing the sense of security. Only a part of this task is the fight against terrorism, but based on current trends it can be predicted to be one of the most important segments.

At the same time, particular importance should be ascribed to the fact that based on the rules of political science, the high dissatisfaction of the communities creates new social gaps which result in structural changes. Therefore social problems linked to the processes related to the appearance of terrorism in Europe can change the European political conditions ultimately and in some cases extremely.

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