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CONCEPTUALIZATION OF TERRORISM AS A MODERN FORM OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE¹

Darko Trifunovic – Rastislav Kazanský – Pavel Nečas*

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article was to provide a new conceptual approach to the analysis of terrorism in Security studies. A new approach was presented in which the starting point of the analysis is the position of the victim, which distinguishes this work from the majority of authors that start their research from the position of the perpetrator of the crime. At the same time, the originality of this article is reflected in one innovative approach to the classification of terrorism. The basic classification was focused on internal and external terrorism with different types and subtypes. Key attention in this article was given to the link between terrorism and political violence. The political message sent by violence is an essential element of the crime of terrorism. To carry out any terrorist attack, all elements must be met. In addition to the operational possibility of carrying out a terrorist attack, the most important component is the motivation that in this case comes from the radical ideology of Islamists. The methods that were used in this research are literature review, methods of analysis and synthesis, and comparative methods.

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Key words: terrorism, political violence, ideology, motivation, Security studies, conceptualization.

Introduction

Today's world, the current development of human civilization is very strongly influenced by globalisation and globalisation processes are manifesting themselves in all spheres of society - economic, political, social, environmental, cultural and, of course, in the security sphere (Ivančík, 2019, p. 48). This is one of the reasons why the modern security environment is characterized by the interdependence and complexity of new security actors and sophisticated means of action. We are witnessing and participating in the times when, in the global world, an enormous quantity of information on the scourge of the modern age is being placed through media, flooding the masses. According to Ivančík (2021, p. 135), this is directly related to the fact that our society is more and more tied to the use of communication and information technologies, it is literally dependent on them. The use of these and other new modern technologies brings many new phenomena, in addition to many positives and advantages on the one hand also some completely new security risks or deepening of existing security threats on the other hand. A typical example of such a negative phenomenon is terrorism (Ivančík, 2021, p. 135), which represents one of the most serious security threats to human society in the first half of the second decade of the 21st Century. No country, society or social system today is immune to terrorist activities. Terrorist attacks are taking place in all regions of the world and pose a threat to large numbers of people in many developed and developing countries. Unfortunately, nowadays, also because of the aforementioned deepening globalisation, terrorism can affect anyone, anywhere, anytime. It causes not only enormous material and financial damages but also brings considerable human losses and difficult-to-heal psychological wounds (Ivančík – Ušiak, 2014, p. 91).

History does not recognize times and circumstances when this much space was given to the phenomenon of terrorism. The cause-and-effect relationships are intertwined in a seemingly inextricable tangle of violence and the deaths of thousands of innocents. The basic question that arises from this situation is where it begins and where is the end of this virtual, closed chain?

In the theory of International Affairs and Security Science, numerous definitions of terrorism are provided, as well as its classification. Still, there is no consensus among scholars in the practical valorization of their definitions. What gives glory, approval, and the title of freedom fighter to some, showers the other

with hatred and condemnation of terrorist actions. The view on these differences is determined by socio-political and religious-cultural approaches to the subject of research. However, the interests emerging, above all, from the ambiguity of the previously mentioned differences that results from a different definition of terrorism. This paper refers to a specific form of terror and terrorism that was recognized in literature, but also everyday jargon depicted as "Islamic terrorism".

The term "religious terrorism" implies the existence of a form of violence inspired by a religious motive. Out of 64 known terrorist organisations in 1980, only two of them were characterized as "religious" and both of them were treated as "Muslim" (*Al Dawa* and *the Committee of Islamic Revolution*). The number of terrorist organisations that had religious elements has increased to eleven by 1992. Professor Bruce Hoffman states that "religion is pronounced as the main driving force of international terrorism during the nineties. This is stressed by the fact that the most serious terrorist acts of this decade, whether we speak of political implications and consequences or the number of victims – all had a common religious dimension and/or incentives" (Hoffman, 1998, p.178).

The existence of terrorism inspired by religious beliefs is indisputable. However, in recent times, it is mostly insisted on "Islamic terrorism", which demands the search for numerous responses. The most important research questions of this research are: What is "terrorism"? What is "Islamic terrorism"? Who are "Islamic terrorists"? And, finally, is terrorism imminent to Islam? Those are questions that require a multidimensional and multi-methodological approach, to understand the totality of all processes and values that shape terrorism. Security sciences belong to a young scientific discipline that is still (un)justifiably establishing its position in the corpus of social sciences. It is this science that can provide a comprehensive understanding of this complex phenomenon, incorporating existing knowledge with innovative interpretation using its methodology of scientific research. Accordingly, the methods that will be used in this research are literature review, methods of analysis and synthesis, and comparative methods.

1. The challenge of defining terrorism in Security Science

So, what is Security Science? Whether it's about the Serbian word *bezbednost*, the Latin *securitas*, English *security*, the ancient Greek *asphalei*, or the Hebrew word *bitachon*, the meaning is the same. It describes the condition of the state as an ordered society. It describes processes and phenomena which

affect the above-mentioned condition. Security is Science about the condition of state and processes within the state, specifically, condition and processes which enable normal functioning of the state and development. That condition is depending on internal and external risk/s. Security uses all social scientific methods but Security Science uses a special scientific methodology that is different from all other social sciences. It is a methodology used in the collection, processing, and analysis of data as well as in the security risk assessments, methodology of prediction. So, Security Science is multidisciplinary with general methodology from Social Science to the specific methodology of Security Science coming from Natural Sciences namely from Mathematics. Security Science is grounded in the following theories such as the theory of State and Law as well as the theories of Conflict, theory of System and Games and theory of Catastrophe; starting from Plato's Ideal Society within the Ideal States to Thomas Hobbes and his description of Natural condition of Mankind and Natural Laws and Contract. Security Science is indivisible but it can be viewed from several aspects such as environmental security, nuclear, energy, economic, legal security, and so on. In all these aspects of security, it is a case about a variety of conditions of the state as an ordered society. In all of those aspects, the fact remains that it is a case of basic or fundamental conditions which determine the normal function and development of society as a whole. Whether it is a case of state or society at the national or international level, Security Science follows and monitors all the processes and phenomena that affect the aforementioned conditions. In other words, it is completely wrong to put Security Science into the discipline of Security Studies within the scope of the Science of International Relations. International Relations depend on the condition within states and conditions of states in their mutual relations. So it is on contrary, International Relation is within the scope of Security Science. Furthermore, some authors believe that International Relations is not a science. According to some authors, International Relations is Art, not Science, or as Stanley Hoffmann argued, International Relations is not a science but a discipline Study program. Numbers of authors to whom security is not an original field of research or expertise, contributed to the complete misinterpretation of the Security Science though their works. A careful analysis of the following authors can easily lead to the conclusion that all of them consider Security not a science, but a discipline study program within the framework of the Science of International Relations. (Todorivic & Trifunovic, 2020). Security is a social phenomenon whose research is approached through the prism of various scientific disciplines following their theoretical approaches, subject, and goals of

research within the given disciplines. Accordingly, terrorism has been studied by various scientific disciplines following their scientific approaches such as sociology, psychology, geopolitics, military strategy, etc. Given the fact that many sciences and disciplines deal with the issue of terrorism, that is, that the issue of perceiving the term terrorism is multidisciplinary, it must be stressed that the crime of terrorism is included in the corpus of crimes covered by the International Criminal Law, but represent significant threat regardless of internal or external within the scope of Security Science. The group of criminal acts marked as international criminal acts, above all, includes the following offenses: war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide, and aggression. Besides the previously mentioned, the following crimes are included as well: taking hostages, crimes against internationally protected individuals, crimes conducted by mercenaries, the crime of production and trafficking of narcotics, drugs, and other psychotropic substances, as well as terrorism.

No matter the fact that everyone agrees that terrorism is a dangerous social occurrence expressed in different forms throughout the history of human society, unique attitudes towards this issue have still not been constructed or harmonized. Even within one single state, there are certain confusions regarding the unique definition of terrorism. In the United States of America, the Government (State Department) defines terrorism as predominantly politically motivated violence conducted against non-military targets by subnational groups or secret agents, usually with the attention of making an impact on the public (Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2001). On the other hand, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) uses a different form when defining terrorism: "Terrorism is determined as an illegal use of force or violence against an individual or a property to intimidate or coerce the government, civil population or any other segment to promote political or social goals" (Simeunović, 2009).

The reason for such differences in defining between various agencies or bodies of the same government can be found in different frameworks of action or jurisdiction. Consequently, differences in defining terrorism among countries can be observed according to the same model. These differences are not just a product of a different understanding of the term terrorism, but the changes of other factors that lead to the occurrence of modern terrorism or understanding of terrorism in contemporary conditions as well.

The traditional concept of terrorism has been switched by a new, or as it is called in theory, "super-terrorism" (Stubbs, 1998), presented and used by cults and religiously motivated groups armed with weapons of mass destruction and

ready to use it at any moment. The question of what terrorism is, and what it is not has been torturing the theoreticians, experts, and politicians for quite some time now. Experts might have even made a consensus regarding a unique definition if the issue of terrorism did not contain a political component to such a great extent.

By analysing the content of definitions of terrorism, it can be concluded that, to a greater or lesser extent, the following terms are present: threat; violence; power; fear; political aspect – effect – goal; psychological effect and uncontrolled reaction; non-selective selection of targets and victims; intentionally planned and systematically organized action; the manner of fighting; illegal act; etc. From the previously listed key elements of terrorism, it might be concluded that terrorism represents an illegal act of violence directed against a certain state, to cause fear or collective damage to fulfil a certain political goal. We are speaking of intentional use of force, and terrorism is being used as a manner of fighting for reaching the previously mentioned political goals (Trifunović, 2007, p. 27).

To contain an analytical value, all the previously set definitions must differentiate the following questions as well: the relation of terrorism and other forms of violence, the relation of terrorism and guerrilla warfare in the sense of liberation from occupation, as well as the issue of differentiating terrorism from common crime. The issue of differentiating terrorism and the personality of a terrorist from the freedom fighters have shifted the attempts of defining terrorism from legal science into the field of politics. The debates carried within the United Nations regarding the attempt of defining terrorism (56th Session of the UN General Assembly) usually, as a rule, ended without success because countries had different opinions and understandings not only regarding defining the term but also regarding the presented examples that were supposed to serve as models.

The first serious attempt was the suggestion of experts from Switzerland and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republika Srpska) that the issue of determining a widely accepted definition of terrorism should be approached in a way that is characteristic to all other criminal acts or criminal acts treated by the international criminal law. We are speaking of the principle of defining the term terrorism on the basis that would be considered not towards the perpetrator (whether it is a terrorist or a freedom fighter), but towards the victims, as it is the custom with other criminal acts. Even though separate from other crimes and criminal acts by certain of its characteristics, it holds the following similar traits: it is an act carried out by a man; there is a social danger of the perpetrated act; the guilt for the

perpetrated act; illegality; as well as the determination of the criminal act within the law.

Moreover, taking into consideration the criminal act of terrorism, the central part in defining and determination of the term terrorism from other criminal acts and crimes must have the object of protection. Under the object of protection, it is first defined that objects of protection are a man and a citizen, basic rights and freedoms, independence and security of a country, as well as a constitutional rule. A special place in defining terrorism is taken by the subject, that is, the individual who committed the said criminal act or crime. Strictly legally speaking, a terrorist and a freedom fighter, without any differentiation between these two terms, and in a situation when the crime or a criminal act have been committed, are found in the same position, given that there is an action, an intention, an object and a subject of the criminal act. The motives for conduct can be considered only as mitigating circumstances when determining the sentence.

Therefore, it is important to stress the four main elements of terrorism: the goal of the activity is always or as a rule of a political nature, no matter whether we are speaking of overthrowing a regime, an incumbent, the secession of a certain territory or a part of it; the use of violence or the threat of use of violence; the victims are, as a rule, innocent citizens or state representatives; the inexistence of a direct link between the terrorist and the victim – that is, the attack is not directed towards the victim or victims personally, but the terrorist act is intended for sending a message to a wider community (state, society, etc.) (Trifunovic, 2007, p. 29).

Two more elements should be added to the previously listed ones. Traditionally, it is believed that terrorists tend to attract as much attention as possible upon conducting their activities. The element of “the *public*” has led to the fact that many experts researching terrorism believe that terrorists tend to attract great attention of the public through spectacularism of the conducted action, apart from wishing to cause great damage. Another significant element is the *ideology*, no matter if we are speaking of nuances of political extremism or religious fanaticism. An occurrence of terrorism being used as a method of fighting certain religious and fanatic groups is an especially dangerous situation. This means that religion is being used as a motive for realizing certain political goals.

By analysing all of the above, terrorism as a multidimensional political phenomenon can be determined as a “complex form of an organized group and rarely individual or institutional political violence, marked by not only terrifying brachial physical and psychological, but also sophisticated technological methods

of political fights, used usually in the times of political and economic crises, and rarely in the conditions of realized economic and political stability of a society, intended for systematically attempting to realize "big goals" in a morbidly spectacular way, inadequate to the given conditions, above all to the social situation and historical possibilities of the ones using it as a political strategy" (Simeunović, 2009, p. 80). This comprehensive definition recognizes all constitutional elements of terrorism and provides a valid theoretical basis for further analysis of this phenomenon.

2. Classification of modern terrorism

Classification of terrorism can be done following different principles of division. Due to its complexity, dynamism, and abundance of manifestations, numerous classifications of terrorism by various criteria are possible. According to professor Gaćinović, terrorism is divided into internal (intrinsically motivated, targeted terrorism, including ideological, ethnic-separatist, and religious terrorism and spatial terrorism, including urban and rural), as well as external, that is, international terrorism (interstate or transnational terrorism) (Gaćinović, 2005, p. 61).

According to the definition provided by the American FBI, internal terrorism is defined as the illegal use of the power of violence by a group(s) or two or more individuals against other individuals or properties with the goal of intimidation or coercion of state organs, citizens or any other part of the society and reaching political or social goals (Gunaratna, 2004).

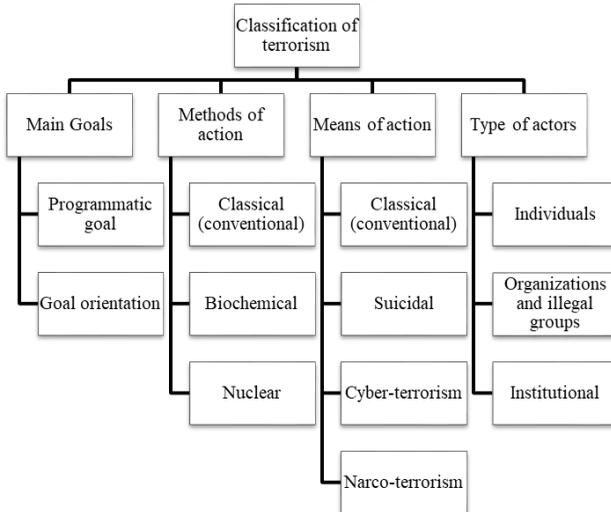
External (international) terrorism has two forms: interstate and transnational. Interstate terrorism exists when the organs of one state organize and conduct terrorist activities against another state or a group of states, whilst terrorist activities become a means of clear international politics. Under transnational terrorism, professor Gaćinović implies all those manifestations of terrorism in international relations conducted by non-state actors, individuals, and groups. When conducting such activities, there is a cooperation between terrorists from several countries, emerging from the convictions of political groups which decide to engage in terrorism that they have a common enemy, whilst there is a rule that terrorist groups are usually marked by a universal ideology, increased mobility and communication network, multinational sources of recruitment and financing, as well as cross-border operations.

According to professor Dragan Simeunović, the most expedient, most precise, and most comprehensive classification of terrorism is the one conducted by the following: the main goals, that is, the programmatic and goal orientation; methods and means of action; and the type of actors – the subject of terrorism (Figure 1). In general, classification can be conducted only if respecting the principle of predominance and determining some feature as the most significant one, and not if we are searching for clear models of terrorism (Simeunović, 2009, p. 82).

According to means being used, terrorism is divided into classical (conventional); biochemical, and nuclear, and according to methods being used, into classical (conventional); suicidal; cyber-terrorism (the use of the Internet for terrorist purposes), and narco-terrorism (Simeunović, 2009, p. 84).

Classification of terrorism regarding actors-subjects of terrorism is the most expedient when conducted following numerous linked criteria: their number, level of organizational connection, and institutional dimension. Therefore, when applied to contemporary and possible manifestations of terrorism, this classification will sound like the following: individual terrorism; terrorism conducted by organizations and illegal groups; and, in the end, institutional terrorism (state, etc.) (Simeunović, 2009, p. 85).

Figure 1: Classification of terrorism according to Simeunović



Source: Authors

This classification demonstrates the complicity of the phenomenon of terrorism, and by identifying elements and sub-elements it's conceptualized most important terms that can be further operationalized into variables. It also shows that terrorists can use non-military means in their activities, such as information technology. Finally, it concludes that in security discourse it is easy to establish new correlations between phenomena that lead to new manifestations, so the basic task of security science is to establish a research model that transcends the simple causal relationship between phenomena.

3. Security approach to terrorism as a form of political violence

According to programmatic and goal orientation, terrorism can best be explained if we observe it as a form of political violence. Violence represents acts as a form of political actions during which force is used, directly or indirectly. It is superficially being interpreted as the use of force of the stronger over the weaker. However, is it always such a case? Violent methods can be used even by the weaker against the stronger (for example, when they surprise them or if the stronger one does not defend adequately), and thus, this is the issue of choice of manners when resolving a conflict (Simeunovic, 2002).

As a multidimensional political phenomenon, contemporary terrorism might be described theoretically in the widest manner as a complex form of organized, individual, and rarely institutionalized political violence (Simeunovic, 2002). Every political action, as well as terrorism, demands the existence of certain political goals to which it refers to. One of the key elements in defining terrorism is that the goal which terrorists intend to accomplish always has a political nature. That nature can be the overthrow of regimes, the overthrow of an incumbent, the change of social system, secession of certain territory or parts of the said territory.

The politically directed goal of terrorists is an important element of differentiating the term of terrorism from other criminal acts and crimes as well. There are also other attitudes in theory like, for example, that there are a quite small number of terrorist acts conducted for non-political reasons (Gaćinović, 1998, p. 29). The practice of conducting terrorist attacks shows that terrorist activities were usually directly or indirectly related to achieving political goals. Every act of terrorism of political perpetrators is defined by the relation towards the government and it is thus concluded that it is, therefore, political. Even if the

political essence can sometimes be blurred by the variety of its forms, its essence will not change (Dimitrijević, 1982).

Professor Simeunović stresses that terrorism is an extremely goal-oriented activity. The goals of terrorists and terrorist organizations always depict the socio-political circumstances and the historical situation of the milieu within which they act in the name of these goals. Exactly action in the name of these goals already defines and structures every classification according to goals. Even though it is wrong to take into consideration only the most significant goal, thus neglecting the other ones, it is far more wrong to equalize some secondary goal of terrorists with the main goal or even to pronounce the secondary goal to be the main one.

According to professor Simeunović, when speaking of its main goals, terrorism can be divided into the following types:

1. Ideologically motivated terrorism:
 - left-wing terrorism,
 - right-wing terrorism;
2. Separatist terrorism;
3. Religiously-funded terrorism:
 - terrorism funded on interpretations of big religions,
 - terrorism conducted by sects.

The goals of terrorists need not always be set in such a way that they have a common range of validity. Some terrorist groups have the goal to make such changes that would impact the entire world, and the others, however, tend to change the circumstances only within their religious or national environment or the state, while the third group has strictly special or narrow goals (Simeunović, 2009, p. 83).

Taking into consideration the goals which terrorists wish to achieve, a difference should be made between the methods and means used for achieving them. This is why special attention should be paid to consideration of the facts linked to one or more conflicts with the use of power, that is, the nature of the conflict in question. According to a rule, all conflicts are divided into conventional and non-conventional conflicts.

To research the nature of terrorism, it is important to direct attention to non-conventional conflicts within which guerrilla warfare and terrorism are more often being used. Guerrilla warfare and terrorism have been used since the end of World War Two until today, usually by revolutionary movements for liberation from colonial empires, but also by small indigenous nations or groups with the goal of

secession and separation of one or more territories. Terrorism is being used not only by revolutionary movements but by anarchists and freedom fighters as well. In that way, they pretend to annul the disproportion that occurs in military power. All these categories have reached for guerrilla warfare or terrorism.

The key difference between these two methods of violent conflicts is reflected in the fact that, when speaking of guerrilla warfare, military personnel and military installations are intentionally targeted to achieve military and political goals. On the contrary, when speaking of terrorism, civilians – citizens, and civilian institutions are intentionally targeted to achieve certain political goals. Terrorists or guerrilla fighters might have completely the same political goals, but the difference lays in the choice of different methods for achieving them. Regarding political goals, different terrorist organizations usually tend to achieve the following: the change of political or other social order or system; anarchism or creation of chaos; revolution – the change of the incumbent structure; and national liberation – the liberation of territory from foreign occupation (Ganor, 2001).

Traditionally, terrorism is related to groups or terrorist organizations that acted on a certain territory and that were small focused on one or several targets. Such groups, such as ELA, November 17, ETA, IRA; etc., are directed towards changing the regime, secession of a territory, or some more limited goals. However, with the emergence of the ideology of Islamic terrorist groups, their actions, especially the strategy of terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda and similar, have spread to the entire world. For this reason, special attention needs to be paid to studying and understanding the strategies of this type of terrorism.

4. Ideology as a determinant of modern terrorism

Ideologies have been described as a more or less harmonious system of ideas that form values and justify the interests of certain groups and societies, i.e., have collective properties and purpose. It can be defined as “a distinctive system of normative, semantic, and/or reputedly factual ideas, typically shared by members of groups or societies, which underpins their understanding of their political world and shapes their political behaviour” (Leader Maynard, 2014, p. 825). In researching of this comprehensive term, scholars are mostly focused on understanding the collective (social) components of ideology because these constitute “imaginative maps that are collectively produced and collectively consumed in unpredictable ways” (Freedon, 2007, p. 18). In other words,

ideology is seen as a map (imaginative, cognitive, etc.) that should provide a path or guide for further actions and create collective conscience.

In the study of terrorism, ideology is imposed as one of the determinants that generate this type of behaviour. However, the focus of researchers must not be focused on only one determinant, given that social phenomena are interrelated and interdependent. So that, despite the traditional categorization of terrorism into ideologically motivated terrorism, that is, "right-wing" and "left-wing" terrorism, ethnical and religious terrorism, in the contemporary conditions, a combination of the previously listed types of terrorism developed a mixed form. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, especially in the newly-formed states of Central Asia, the ideology of communism was replaced by another ideology – religious fanaticism. Attempts to separate parts of territories or entire territories from the main county were not a new occurrence, at least not in Europe.

The former concept of perception of occurrence of terrorism and its links to certain ideology was completely changed with the emergence of religiously motivated terrorism, such as the one used by the so-called KLA in Kosovo and Metohija. The religiously motivated terrorism seen in the Balkans region is, by its characteristics, the same as the one occurring in Central Asia or the Middle East. This commonality is not accidental. Both in Europe and the Middle East, terrorist organizations, no matter who sponsored them, were focused during the seventies and the eighties of the previous century on certain territories with a restricted number of targets. Their motivation was local, and this means the change of local regime, and taking over and secession of a smaller part of a territory.

However, with the emergence of religiously motivated terrorism has come the emergence of a new ideology of Islamists as well, which consequently led to sudden growth in several new religiously motivated terrorist organizations, whose actions had a global character. The terrorist organization of Osama bin Laden, known as Al Qaeda, did not limit its political goal solely to one state but covered the entire world with its actions. So, for example, the terrorist organization Hamas tended to create a Palestinian state and destroy Israel through its actions, but towards what strives Islamic fundamentalist terrorist organization Al Qaeda is the creation of a pan-Islamic Caliphate, within which there would be a place only for Muslims. The author of the book *Inside "Al Qaeda"* Rohan Gunaratna stresses that radical Islam attracts a much greater number of people than the "left-wing" or other ideologies.

Daniel Pipes and Graham Fuller from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy stress that the occurrence of ideologically motivated Islamic terrorism at

first confused the international public. The justifiably asked question "Who is a terrorist" opened up numerous doubts, but also offered some responses. The Response of the US president George Bush administration stated that there is no link between terrorism and Islam. According to this attitude, Islam is a religion of peace, and violence in the name of religion is a form of distortion of true religion. The second opinion states that the responses to the question of who is to blame can be found in militant Islam. According to this opinion, the solution lays within moderate Islam. The world is facing not the clash of civilizations, but the fight between moderate and radical Muslims (Pipes and Fuller, 2003). No matter the different opinions regarding who is a terrorist, and what is not ideology, as a significant factor in Islam, has a far wider circle of supporters than common radical terrorism.

The ideology of radical supporters of Islam has led to dangerous occurrences, such as the ones in Algeria, those entire groups of terrorists threaten the security of this and other states. Islamists are all those who believe and intend to enforce the interpretation of Qur'an within the society, the state, and the entire public life, the ones who wish to impose their ideological stances on others. According to the understanding of Islamists, Islam cannot develop without a Muslim state, and Sharia is the only manifestation of religious teaching. We cannot say whether this is an abuse of religion, and it is obvious that there is a problem.

It is known that terrorist activities are more and more being linked to religion, and especially to Islam. As previously stated, in 1980, out of 64 known terrorist organizations, only two of them had a religious trait. They were both Muslim – Al Dawa and the Committee for the Islamic Revolution in Iran. However, in 1992, the number of terrorist organizations with religious omen increased to eleven. At the beginning of the 21st Century, terrorist groups started accepting far more amorph religious goals and became organizationally less cohesive, with a far more loose structure and heterogeneous members. To avoid conventional state responses, they have fully adapted their structure to asymmetric warfare, taking advantage of globalisation and modern technology.

Conclusions

Efficient security and defence are critical for the preservation of values important to the citizens, such as freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity, democratic order, protection of life, health and basic rights and freedoms, ability

to fulfil the country's obligations arising out of international treaties and agreements, as well as the capability to resolve critical situations and to face threats of violence and aggression. (Andrassy, 2019)

Terrorism is one of the most complex securities and social phenomena of today, also one of the most explored threats to the global world, and consequently, there are numerous definitions of terrorism. Due to its nature, this crime can be freely said to be the most politicized of all. It is a comprehensive form of political violence that conveys a message to one group, people, or members of another religion using different means of action. It is important to emphasize that there must not exist a personal link between the perpetrator of the crime of terrorism and the victim, because if it exists, then it is not terrorism but some other form of crime.

The victims of terrorism are innocent civilians and through violence against them, they want to instil fear, unrest, a sense of insecurity, and intimidation all to achieve political goals. The duality that leads to new misunderstandings is reflected in the fact that some states and governments see terrorists as freedom fighters and others as terrorists. To avoid any uncertainty, it is necessary to precisely define terrorism as a method used by different groups in achieving their goals to avoid possible doubts whether it is a case of a freedom fighter or a terrorist. This gives the Security sciences a serious task to comprehensively explain a phenomenon that is fundamentally political violence that relies on all modern achievements of society and whose manifestations are easily transformed.

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