

Terrorism and Global Trends

Krunoslav Antoliš*

Original paper
UDC 327.8
Received in May 2002

*This paper tries to determine the cause-and-effect relations in the world trends which generate change in the stability of the world economies, especially of the small states, affecting in that way, global security, i.e. security of the world powers like the U.S.A. and others. Ability to locate potential centers of terrorism in the world is of the utmost importance: for yesterday, today and tomorrow with the aim of achieving effective methodological approach to fight terrorism. Therefore, it is **necessary** to define **economic, political and military factors**, which, at the global level and within the philosophy of **trends**, determine the world scene. Based on such research, with recognized potential consequences of the trends-motifs that produce a critical mass of discontent needed for generating a crisis or a terrorist act, this paper inaugurates a new shape of pre-emptive fight against incoming new wave of terrorism. The paper successively discusses the effects of determined world trends, particularly from the view of economic, political and military stability of the small states and regions being directly connected with security of the big powers, i.e. with global security in the world.*

Key words: terrorism, pre-emptive, economic, political, military, trends, education, permanent threat

1. Introduction

This paper puts forward only one aspect of the issue, while the goal of the main project which Institute for Defense Studies, Research and Development of Ministry of Defense, (MOD) deals with is the scientific-based concept of systematic fight against all shapes of terrorism in the Republic of Croatia in accord with the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1373.

To understand integral achievements from the segment this paper discusses, it is necessary to present the goal of the main project, which is to create the basis for structuring trends needed to make **extrapolating sample model**. Its purpose is to foresee the situations favorable for **appearance, development and support** of all shapes of terrorism today and in future. Prior to this, it will be necessary to give **parameters** of determined trends and then to **quantify** the parameters. No less important goal of the main project is creation of needed prerequisites

for development of **pre-emptive models of fighting** against appearance of terrorism, *preventing its further development and breaking down its supporting systems* at present and in future and finally its **elimination**.

Expected results of this methodological approach by **simulation method** should enable creation of **extrapolation scenarios** - within Croatian state borders, in the region and wider area. These **supposition scenarios**, at scientific level, should give us well grounded indicators and basis necessary to **back-up the system of making strategic, operative and tactical decisions**, regarding location of potential **terrorists centers**, their **appearance, development** and necessary **support system**.

All the indicators should be **aimed** at creating effective **preventive system** to fight terrorism and help us to give **adequate response** to potential **terrorism-caused crisis**.

We hold that **the inaugurated methodological approach and the following six project tasks** of the sub-working team for science and technology of MOD offer solution to the previously defined main issue tasks:

* Assistant Professor, Faculty of Economics, University of Zagreb

Information age and new shapes of terrorism;
Development of methodology of evaluating risk and early warning of terrorism - caused political and security crisis;

Development of simulation to respond to terrorism-caused crisis;

Multi-department structuring of virtual organization to fight terrorism;

Geomorphologic aspects of potential terrorist threats to RC;

Monitoring of submarine area as security priority.

New world order starts to be **shaped** under influence of numerous **trends** originating from **technological changes and expanding liberal life values**. World trends can be, in principle, viewed from some most important aspects as follows: **economic, political and military**, which, indirectly, according to action and reaction principle, influence the appearance of terrorism as a reaction to status quo that has enabled disproportional political, material affluence and power to individuals who do not want to give them up by any means although being perilous for them. Determining the world trends requires consideration of our domestic problems through potential interactions with the problems Croatia will not be spared.

We have determined and divided the theses generating the trends into the groups as follows:

1. *Growing weapons proliferation is primarily present not future matter to consider,*

2. Focusing on domestic problems means limiting national security capacities,

3. Information technology pushes back heavy industry as a basis of national power,

4. International organizations take over important legitimate role despite their limited capacities,

5. *Globalization creates space for transnational threats but also gives new possibilities,*

6. Democracy is getting a general ideal, even a general norm,

7. Sovereign states are faced with fragmentation challenge,

8. Governments give more importance to economic interests than to traditional national security interest,

2. Growing weapons proliferation is primarily present not future matter to consider

Nuclear arms program supported by rogue states has proved to be hard to stop despite nuclear

weapons proliferation threat. Nuclear arms supply of some rogue states can destabilize entire regions and make the situation in Europe but also in the world, complicated in many ways, e.g. in the Middle East (Iraq). Providing arms supply seems to be a growing problem. Many states are developing industrial basis needed for nuclear arms production (for 50 years old technology). Continuing economic problems in the former Soviet Union provide good conditions for committing criminal acts of sabotage with their nuclear arsenal and knowledge of nuclear technology. Access to nuclear and chemical weapons is much easier. Cuts of demands for weapons of mass destruction require structuring of a world order in which such weapons will not be military and political advantage to the states or individuals - proliferators. To decrease regional tension, the concern of the leading powers should be their neighbors' aspirations. The second part of the process is building of an international agreement (consensus) against proliferators and encouraging the world leading nuclear powers to reduce the existing nuclear supplies. The armament control should be focused on counter-proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction. The goals in this field include: providing security measures and destruction of nuclear arms in the former republics of the Soviet Union: Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan; freezing the existing programs as the first step in creating conditions to stop nuclear programs (south Asia, North Korea); thwart nuclear capacities of rogue states by combining denial of technology (Iran, Libya) and imposing a very strict control (Iraq); control of nuclear weapons proliferation where it already exists (south Asia) and development of counter-proliferation measures against the "stubborn" that includes capacity of defense (protection) from weapons of mass destruction. Proliferation agenda, agreement of the field of activity, also includes elimination of chemical and biological arms, as well as tightening the missile technology control. In this respect, Croatia has already made concrete steps which are recognized in conclusions and papers presented at the international scientific symposiums on chemical weapons control.

3. Focusing on domestic problems means limiting national security capacities

The end of the cold war and the establishment of peace between super powers were mostly results of foreign policy and, to a lesser degree, of a pressure made on people in many states. But today, the world public is more preoccupied with domestic

"troubles" concerning social problems, especially the reduced economic growth in the past twenty years.

Focusing on domestic policy in the states worldwide, including Croatia, has the basis in the "crossfire policy" theory. Center believes that a state must improve its economy before it proves its internationalism. Left, however, holds that military and foreign expenses exhaust finances, so it is better to use them at home ("imperial overstretch" theory which they find a cause of national fall). Right believes that success of democracy and ideal of free market move the basis of active intervention abroad. As a well-educated man put down - the leftists do not want the state to influence the world, the rightists do not want the world to influence the state.

The Soviet threat disappeared. Public opinion in many states insists today on cutting down the defense costs. In the USA, North and East Europe and Russia, military power is being reduced and the arms supply is going down faster than expected. Cuts in the USA for example, affect even the budget the USA needs to maintain its presence in the world, its foreign bases infrastructure, intelligence services, military power and military programs of co-operation. The trend of cutting down the (military) power is not a general idea, it is felt in Croatia, too. The powers are partly determined with permanent threats in the regions, e.g. there is still concern in South Europe about the situation in the south and east of the Mediterranean. Military expenses grow in South-East Asia so that bigger states draw up generous military budgets. Priority given to domestic policy in most developed states is indirectly turned into military power. The states do not welcome taking responsibilities regarding common good by making special urgent responses. At the same time, peace-keeping operations are impeded by growing public emotions about the accidents, especially those brought about during the military operations which did not get consensus and public support since they were not needed to protect national interests.

4. Information technology pushes back heavy industry as the source of national power

Superiority of information technology has surprised and pushed back heavy industry as dominating basis of national power, whether through economy or military field.

Industrial growth is much faster in information technology and communications fields and it keeps on with the introduction of new technology "stepping without a break". Expansion of this trend

to battlefield announces that information-based warfare will be more widespread within the next two decades. Military demands will require more investments into information systems and less in industrial-age developed tanks, aircraft and ships. Nature and command of information technologies are becoming a global issue. A state like ours, where legislation in that respect, is yet to be developed while the forms of sophisticated counter-terrorist fight are still based on old hardware-software products, can be faced with great difficulties in that field. The question is how much this internalization trend can cost us, if our experts do not come to grips with it and at least protect important state resources.

5. International organizations take over important legitimate role despite their limited capacities

Partly due to failure of some nation-states, partly due to the world public opinion, which gives them more important status, the international organizations have become more acceptable even when they limit national sovereignty in various domains. Growing importance of the international organizations demands their authorization to use force. Although the cold war legalized free world alliance, on the other side, it made the UN rather powerless. The end of the cold war gave a new role to the UN in legitimizing the use of force. However, the first enthusiasm for multilateral action gradually disappeared, first, due to experience from the early 90s when the international organizations proved less effective in dealing with and responding to humanitarian catastrophe and civil wars. The view of the then Clinton's administration that they had had enough of changes claiming to be overall and multilateral ever since they had been established changed with Administration's careful approach in early spring 1994 bringing about Presidential Decision Directive (PDD) 25. Multilateral action turned to be complicated especially due to disagreement about political goals among the states and organizations and the issues dealing with appropriate and timely decision making, limited military capacities of multilateral organizations, quickly made coalitions, public sympathy for the victims of "accidents" in multilateral operations and the last but not least, due to high financial expenses of conducting multilateral operations. Not the entire world community should be involved in every crisis. Regional organizations have the leading role in settling some local problems that more directly affect their members, but those organizations might need more finances and cohesion and alliance to intervene effec-

tively so that they still need support from abroad. UN assigned their role to the member states - the "powers" most interested in some particular region or problem, the approach called "the region under multilateral influence". Recent events warned that multinational organizations like UN Secretariat, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) have their own institutional interest. Their interests are not in accord with the goals of Croatia's foreign policy, i.e. foreign policy of some small states. Regardless of the influence which Croatia and similar states can have on an organization, the organization normally have its own procedures, decision-making rules, its own staff, and agenda. The respect that Croatia or some other small state pays to the above mentioned organizations does not mean automatic agreement with and implementation of conclusions and decisions or acceptance of their judgment, e.g. of the UN without serious analysis. It can result in attitudes unacceptable to some member states or regions and cause inappropriate reaction to some of the world associations or some UN member state whose initiative was supported but is unacceptable to other parties.

Therefore, overall relations should be carefully studied from the point of potential interpretations and consequences thus preventing potential unwanted actions of terrorist groups.

6. Globalization creates space for transnational threats but also gives new possibilities

The pulse of the planet Earth is going faster along with the dynamics of changes on the world scene. Technological achievements and open societies permit free movement of goods and people without a precedent. These trends are probably proportional to the communications cost drop while the new World Trade Organization (WTO) lifts barriers to free trade. Trade, finances and communications are becoming more general, worldwide and global. Computers, faxes, optical cables and satellite speed of information flow via state borders are the proof of explosive growth of Internet. Most of these border-crossing flows represent progress. However, it is also promotion of freedom since at the same time, governments lose power of control over exchange of ideas. That brings the concept of human rights and democratic rule to the farthest places. Yet, some of the impacts might be harmful. For example, terrorists could share technical information with their dis-

tant fellows. Practically, technical data are easily available both to positive pro-democratically-oriented fighters and to supporters of "ethnic cleansing" who could easily spread their negative ideological views on the Internet scene.

Transnational threats are getting different shapes. The greatest concern is caused by the international organization of crime. Organized crime groups and international terrorism can put the world governments into danger. Trafficking plutonium and enriched uranium could become a serious danger to national security as well as scientifically equipped firms owned by criminals. Barriers to purchasing and transporting dangerous metals are easy to lift. For example, the US soldiers deployed in the UN operations in ex-Yugoslavia are another form of transnational danger, which includes international health care and ecological problems. Due to growing trend of travels and migrations, epidemic diseases like AIDS have become global rather than local punishment. As the earth's resources have been intensively used up, ecological problems have spread from the developed to the less developed nations in the world, e.g. the ozone holes. The danger for ordinary people has been manifold. Global warming, endangered animals and plants, the ozone layer depletion that protects the earth frighten all the world nations.

The third form of transnational danger is forced migration. Many industrial societies feel that migrations have achieved intolerable level. Deteriorated, unstable conditions in troubled small states and easy access to the information on the world industrialization will further encourage migrations. Mass exodus caused by political fights or natural disaster sometimes demands urgent aid and the deployment of military. Large numbers of refugees make their movements hard to keep under control demanding even military force to stop them. That shows the need to build minimum stability of the small states that might become a source of migration trends and cause problems for security of the big states that are their destination. Their stability is directly threatened by potential migrant problems of integration and adjustment to life and work in new environment including terrorist activities.

7. Democracy is getting a general ideal even a general norm

World saw a democratization wave in 1970 when some attempts were made in Croatia to establish more just relations in ex-Yugoslavia, the movement called Croatian spring. In Latin America and

central Europe, democracy has become a standard without exception. Even in Asia and Africa where many governments are practically autocratic, many have the need to present themselves as democratic or being in transition to democracy. But defeat of democratically elected governments in transitional states, the states of the former Soviet bloc is becoming unacceptable practice for the world community, bringing shame on democratic changes and making the situation even worse than before. It shows that elections are not a guarantee of freedom. In some transitional states neo-communists made comeback at the polls as a reaction to slow progress of reforms to improve life conditions of ordinary people. In the others elections were held too early, before the establishment of free press and other basic institutions of civil society which resulted in fear of facing the practice "one person, one vote, one time". Among some other nations, especially in India and Muslim states, religious extremists, enjoying great popularity, appeal for continuing rejection of the rule based on democratic principles as opposed to the rule based on religious principles of "God's will" as they interpret it. That illustrates that undoubtedly positive trend, such as democratization, can be misinterpreted by a number of small states and become an instrument of a bad cause becoming even a light motif of terrorism which is used against something a priori taken as a norm of human living which unfortunately cannot be accepted for many reasons. It is an argument for the thesis that educative component is extremely important that it should create prerequisites for implementation of something that is a standard in developed states in the West, but to be accepted for instant, in small transitional states it should be explained from all aspects and applied in a proper way and at the right time. Only then, such trend can be expected to have positive effects.

8. Sovereign states are faced with fragmentation challenge

Sovereign state is losing its unique role of the foundation stone within the world order. As globalization goes on, governments are losing, to some extent, control and supervision, so they are not able to offer solutions to the problems their citizens are faced with. Frustrated and discontented by the government incapacity to help them, people can turn against sovereign state accepting some other more or less efficient groups. The pressures of fragmentation often decrease the capacity of state to meet the needs of its citizens. Fragmentation pressures take various shapes. One of them is absence of law and appear-

ance of terrorism. The other is encouragement of extreme ideology supported by radical and intolerant fundamentalist religious groups whose challenge is so-called "social bliss", harmony. Drop in national cohesion also influences the shaping of public services and politicians. Restraint and control of such processes are loosening with growing corruption and costs, uninterested public services. Sovereign states are faced with a threat of separation of their organic parts by minorities. The demands of minorities are sometimes justified by their treatment by the intolerant majority. Ideal of nation, independent, ego-decisions is legalization of fragmentation of multi-national states sometimes of the units that cannot be legal nation-states. Sometimes, uni-national mini-states exclude minorities from political life. Democracy is not necessarily a "cure for everything" in the state with national tensions. Tensions are hard to balance and the rules of majority and national self-determination are hard to reconcile when strong minority wants to separate itself from a big state. If there is not guarantee of freedom against oppression of majority, democracy can increase ethnic problems. When voting is nationally based, the result of the elections, i.e. post-electoral policy is often implementation of interests of small groups without compromise although the elections were meant for common benefit. Poor results of such inter-state tensions could be seen worldwide. Forced nationalism, national and ethno-religious bloody conflicts took place in Africa (Angola, Burundi, Nigeria, Sudan, Rwanda), the Middle East (Kurds), South Asia (Sri Lanka) the former Soviet Union (Georgia, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan), and even at the doorstep of European Union (ex-Yugoslavia).

9. Governments give more importance to economic interests than to traditional national security interest

Security interest referring to economic organizations of national power has been given more prominence in industrialized nations. The states of East Asia are satisfied with fast growth that pushes them forward while Europe and North America are concerned with the indicators showing significantly lower growth in the two decades since the oil shock in 1973 in comparison with the post-war decades. Civil servants have important role in creating international business and politics. Big states like the USA give priority to economic interests or regard them as equal to military and diplomatic interests. Similar situation is with the interests regarding the US budget

deficit, low national savings and the need to invest into future. Wide consensus has been made to support the thesis that free economy is the best solution. The question is whether the best solution for the big is acceptable for the small, what the consequences for the small and the effects on their economic stability would be if those solutions were accepted. Big states experience the opposition contempt by those who want to protect domestic goods, the same is normal to expect from some small states. But, for instance, Clinton's administration made progress with respect to open multilateral economy. It was a guarantee of Congressional ratification of NAFTA and replacement of GATT with WTO. It also profiled APRC and institutionalized annual conference, the main one in the USA.

10. Conclusion

Summing up the above-mentioned in order to define and structure the implementation task, a **multi-step three-level approach** is inaugurated which has **strategic, operative-tactic and educative** stage of implementation.

Within strategic level it is necessary to scientifically research and define the terrorism issue especially from the point of view of its appearance, development, the existing and potential support systems to terrorism. The expected output at this stage will serve as input for the next operative-tactical stage of creating expertise and standard operative procedures that will make algorithms and operations concrete, needed to carry out particular tasks or preemptive measures by direct operative-tactical measures in the field conditions.

Since **terrorism** is not a temporary situation but **permanent threat**, which only changes its forms, to everything that was researched, to the ways of systematic resistance, fight and prevention against terrorism, it is necessary to structure a **system of permanent education** at all levels of personnel included in the fight: **military, police, judiciary, managers of all sorts and levels**.

Therefore, we hold that developing prevention system of activities should fight the existing and especially new forms of incoming terrorism. Unfortunately, we are in the situation that **curative** form of fight is **dominant** as terrorism is currently at the stage of **offensive development** and the existing preventive mechanisms are not efficient enough, not even researched enough and consequently not developed.

The accepting of the concept put forward in the paper could significantly contribute to the building of a system to fight terrorism in the Republic of

Croatia and make it our contribution in developing the world system to fight terrorism in accord with our principle that stability of the "small" implies security of the "big"!

Bibliography

1. K. Antolis, V. Grbavac, M. Plenković: Transitional Dynamics Implication in Methodology of Integral Information System Design, *Informatologia*, 29/30, 1996, 3-4/1997, 1-4, pg 141-147., Zagreb, Croatia,
2. K. Antolis, v. Grbavac: New Approach to the Information Security, *Sjemenarstvo* 17(2000)3-4, pg.151-163., Zagreb, Croatia,
3. K. Antolis, V. Grbavac, Z. Brigljevic: Development of Information Strategy as a Factor of Sovereignty of Croatia's state, *Državnost* 3, 1998, pg. 509-529., Zagreb, Croatia,
4. K. Antolis, V. Grbavac, D. Rotim: Key Trends of Security Factors in Information Era, *Modern traffic*, Vol.22, pg. 60. – 65. Special issue, 2002. University of Mostar, BiH,
5. K. Antolis, V. Grbavac: Determination of the Command Communication in the Information Age, 14 Annual International Communication Course & Conference "COMMUNICATION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS", 1-6 Sept, 2002. Dubrovnik, Croatia,
6. K. Antolis: Security and Info-technology as National Interest in the Information Age, ISEP 2002, "SAFETY AND ECOLOGY OF TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS", 3-4 Oct. 2002. Ljubljana, Slovenia.