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THE NEW WAVE OF TERRORISM

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## ABSTARCT

The topic of terrorism is nearly all around these days, nevertheless, the phenomenon is not new the frequency of attacks rose significantly. Through the understanding of causes, the way to find a solution for this complex issue become easier. This paper has two main goals. On one hand, to understand the background of attacks through the analysis of the evolution of terrorism, the European Union's institutional system, the influence of European politics and public opinion. Each of these components have a great role in today's situation and each area need to improve if this security threat wanted to be defeated. On the other hand, the paper attempts to give a basic approach on how to elaborate a counter-terrorism framework. The results of primary and secondary research lead to the conclusion that European terrorism can only be defeated by strengthening the European integration. For this purpose, a model was applied which considers terrorism as a dynamic process with variable components. Each component require a solution which is part of a wider strategy. The original model was applied for Al-Kaida after 9/11 attacks, certainly, the circumstances in the USA were quite different then, however, the given counter-terrorism model is flexible enough to fit to the European environment as well.

## HYPOTHESIS

In order to research and analyse the term "new wave of terrorism", it is necessary to phrase a hypothesis, along the study can be guided and the focus can be kept on the subject. The hypothesis of the study is that **the current foundation of EU with democratic principles is only going to maintain its existence if the leadership of member states join their power to defeat the threat of terrorism**. For this purpose, it is necessary to define certain terms, on one hand, terrorism, on the other hand, the meaning of "new wave".

The hypothesis is examined through primary and secondary research. **Secondary research** is based on literature review of published materials to understand what already have been said on the topic. The review of published materials includes not only scientific materials but media and press hand-outs also. Citizens shape the politics of democratic states and their opinion is mostly influenced by the media, therefore, it is necessary to review how the press covered terrorist attacks and how politics reacted to it.

In the frame of **primary research**, conclusions are drawn from the literature review in order to verify or falsify the hypothesis. Other methods of primary research is the conduct of a survey in which the suggestions and conclusions of literature review is examined in practice. The aim here is to verify the findings of literature review and to get to know more about the people's opinion.

Eventually, the findings of both primary and secondary research are compared and verification or falsification of the hypothesis is possible. Nevertheless, the study covers a wider subject than just the examination of the hypothesis. The further side-topics are described in the next section, in the purpose of the study.

### **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The aim of this research is not only to provide a comprehensive picture of the current situation of European terrorism but also to create a common ground of a thinking by identifying the key causes and their correlation.

Nowadays, it is quite hard to remain objective on this critical issue which can be partly explained with the media's attitude. The media tend to handle the topic as a new kind of danger in the western world which is, indeed, setting new challenges to law enforcement authorities. Important to emphasize that the roots of modern terrorism can be traced back to several decades, which can be divided to certain categories (based on chronology, methods, motivation, etc.). Since the 9/11 attacks a new era has begun in the history of terrorism which seems to spread rapidly in Europe in the past two years, starting with the Charlie Hebdo attack on 7<sup>th</sup> January 2015. A new era always means new challenges, especially if we are considering the facts that, on one hand, Europe had been living in relative peace since the end of the cold war, on the other hand, information revolution completely changed the traditional warfare. An additional difficulty is that the actors of conflicts have expanded to non-state organizations and intergovernmental organizations as well, therefore, the "traditional" approaches of conflicts and warfare cannot be implemented. As a result of the phenomenon's complexity, it is essential to see the elements clearly in order to decide about a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy.

Finding solutions for Europe's security problems also brings a theoretical question to the surface, whether the neorealist approach is right and "institutions have only marginal effects"

or the neoliberal approach is more accurate and there is a “zero sum game between states”. In contrast with neorealist approach the neoliberal approach assumes that cooperation can emerge through the cultivation of mutual trust and the building of norms, regimes and institutions. Through the examination of causes, the EU’s structures and the public opinion this question will be attempted to answer as one of the conclusions.

In order to ease the complexity **the first part of the study** focuses on the theory of terrorism. Theoretical part includes terminology and its difficulties, the history of terrorism and the different motivations behind terrorist groups and individuals. The understanding of basic principles makes us able to examine and identify the current situation.

**The second part of the study** focuses on the evaluation of modern terrorism from a statistical perspectives. The statistics of terrorism is examined focusing on changes in the last decades. By the interpretation of statistical data, a conclusion can be drawn if terrorism truly a growing threat to the security of democratic states.

**The third part** of the study is aiming to examine empirical data with the purpose of establishing a ground to set up a counter-terrorism strategy. Firstly, we need to see which factors determine that the France, Brussels and Germany are the most exposed countries to the attacks, meaning that the causes are identified in this chapter. Among the causes, the importance of intelligence services has to be emphasised. The basic idea of this section is that a few Middle-Eastern states, like Israel and Jordan, have such well-operating intelligence and counter-terrorism agencies which enable them to remain stable despite of the region’s numerous conflicts. Taking a closer look at the operation of these agencies and their possible comparison with the European authorities can lead us to several answers when it comes to the malfunctioning of European intelligence services. Tightly connected to intelligence is the modus operandi of terrorists (in this case; ISIL/IS=Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) and its evolution as it answers the question what makes them the “new wave” of terrorist. The initial aim of the third part is to apply the model of Smith and Talbot (2008) in light of the empirical data. This model considers terrorism as a dynamic process with variable components and it is adequate as a common ground of a counter-terrorism strategy. Furthermore, this model was part of the US’s counter-terrorism strategy after 9/11.

Important to note, that the sensitivity of the topic and the limited access to empirical data does not allow an in-depth analysis of count-terrorism measures, therefore, this section is based on open sources, for instance, statistics, scholars, publications and governmental reports.

**The fourth approach** to the “new wave of terrorism” focuses on the European citizens’ and media’s perspective on the issue. European leaders are being accused of understating the issue of terrorism because nothing has happened apart from promises and high-sound words. EU member states are not willing to give up their sovereign right in the field of law enforcement and intelligence on the altar of European security which has indicated the questioning of the EU’s future. These doubts has been leading to the wide-spread of radical ideologies and parties which may implies that we are not willing to learn from the history of 20<sup>th</sup> century. In order to study these questions, on one hand, different media contents are going to be reviewed, on the other hand, a survey is going to be conducted aiming to get a comprehensive picture of citizen’s perspective. The composition of participants in the survey is going to include German and Hungarian citizens as well, as Germany has first-hand experiences on the topic and they are more exposed to the threat of terrorism.

In the summary, a conclusion will be drawn from the results of the research aiming to help to find the future focus on developing ways of how the numbers caused by terrorist attacks could be reduced. Furthermore, the study is aiming to give a brief overview of the evolution of terrorism in the past decades.

## **1. EXISTING DEFINITIONS OF TERRORISM**

The term, *terrorism* has become part of almost every news report and gain an important significance not only on political level but in our everyday life as well. In order to develop a pragmatic approach to national and international issues, it is necessary to ascertain the definition of terrorism. There is a widely accepted view that terrorism does not have a certain terminology as international law does not provide such a definition. In this introductory chapter the afore-mentioned statement is going to be examined as well as the most

widespread definitions are going to be presented. After the examination of several definitions, the author is going to attempt to choose the one which enables the most wide-spread usage.

### 1.1. Lack of a universal definition

It is essential to note that terrorism is not a new phenomenon, its origins date back way before Al Qaeda's presence stepped into public awareness. The western world has risen its attention to the topic after the 9/11 attacks and lately in light of the European terror attacks since January 2015. However, the roots of modern terrorism can be traced back until the 1880's Russia then it spread quickly in Western Europe, Balkan and Asia in less than a decade (Rapoport, 2004). According to David C. Rapoport, who is considered as the founding member of terrorism studies (Horgan & Braddock, 2011), modern terrorism has four waves which can be distinguished by the motivation of the violent act. These waves and the evolution of the term are described in this chapter. Even before the 9/11 attacks many western leaders referred to terrorism as the greatest threat to democracy (Baron, 2003) however back in those days not many European citizens experienced the danger in first hand. In light of the past two years' events, Europe does not only have to face with this phenomenon but citizens became desperate as they see their leaders' uncertainty about the addressing of this problem. The response to uncertainty is the appearance of stronger or more radical ideologies which is an additional threat to the values of European integration.

Defining terrorism is not only important to academics and researchers but for states also as the drafting of domestic anti-terrorism legislation is draw on the definitions' of international law until customary international law rule prohibiting terrorism emerges or a comprehensive terrorism convention is concluded. The **United Nation's General Assembly** has been trying to reach a legal definition since 1972, however, the best result so far is the **non-binding Resolution 1566** proposed by the Security Council (Schmid A. P., 2012) which has no legal authority in international law.

Before getting to the most common phrasings of terrorism it is essential to see the reasons behind the failed attempts to reach a universal definition in international law.

The chief reason, agreed by several scholars (Fish & Ganor, 2002.), for not reaching a consensus is the so called *cultural relativism*. Cultural relativism could be explained with long



and complicated definitions but to understand its connection to terrorism it's better to make it as simple as possible. Cultural relativism means that there is no superior culture above the others and a person's beliefs or activities should be understood in the individual's own cultural context. The most common example to the approach of cultural relativism is "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" saying which explains why politicians, journalists and security experts are defining it variously. Professor Boaz Ganor, the founder and director of International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) claims that in lack of an objective and authoritative description, which is acknowledged by all nations, the battle against terrorism will suffer from cultural relativism (2002.). According to him, the origin of the problem is that we try to define an unstable and subjective term. A book had been published with the title '*Political Terrorism*' by Schmid and Jongman and it contains 109 definitions which were compared according to the most commonly used phrasings such as "violence", "political", "tactics" etc. Therefore, it is easy to understand that terrorism has different meanings to different entities which is usually shaped by their goals.

The second reason is the concept of terrorism itself. As Schmid points out (Terrorism: The Definitional Problem, 2004), 'terrorism is a 'contested concept' and political, legal, social science and popular notions of it are often diverging'. As a consequence of the diverging notions, the struggle behind finding the right definition can be explained by the special nature of the term arising from the combination of law and politics. Given the fact that all the member states have different backgrounds and regimes, and some of them define it broadly while the others narrowly, a consensus is hardly reachable (Erhan, 2013.). As long as the term is a subjective concept it is really hard to define a certain kind of violence as terrorism and make a separation between legitimate and illegitimate forces. The need for separation of legitimate and illegitimate forces lays, for instance, in the act of judging state sponsored terrorism which has many examples from Saudi Arabia to India and they are always subject of political debate.

The third reason for the deficient terminology has a connection with the second argument. While the states are focusing on the fulfilment of their national interest, there is no real intention on the creation of an unimpeachable definition. Obviously none of the states wish to limit their use of force (Erhan, 2013.), otherwise, the United Nations would have not failed all attempts to make a conclusion on this matter since 1972.

## 1.2. Definitions according to four major aspects

The lack of having one general definition leads us to several other descriptions depending on which aspect of terrorism is being examined. The various definitions consist objective and subjective elements. According to György Vass (2009) the four major areas of fighting against terrorism are politics, military, law enforcement and finance.

The international **political aspect** of terrorism is based on a more than 12 years old conclusion by the United Nations' Security Council Resolution 1566 that describes terrorism as the following:

*"criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act."*

(UN Security Council, 2004.)

Europe has been suffering of terror attacks in the last two years and there are signs that member states would like to strengthen their cooperation to restore the faith of European citizens in security. However, the Maastricht Treaty, which came into force in 1 November 1993, had introduced three pillars; European Communities, Common Foreign and Security Policy and Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters. Important to emphasize that the first pillar which includes economic, social and environmental policies, is the only supranational pillar, where states waived their rights and the decisions are being made on a community level. This means that the other two pillars are still the subject of intergovernmental cooperation where member states have the right to make their decisions on their own. Terrorism belongs to the third pillar, therefore this integration level does not require a European definition. The one which is used for legal purposes is the following:

*"given their 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 organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization. "*

(EU rules on terrorist offences and related penalties, 2002.)

The **military aspect** of terrorism necessitates the examination of the most important international cooperation which is the North Atlantic Treaty. NATO has its own terminology of terrorism which has been fully considered by member states when planning their own defence strategy, meaning, that it could be directly implemented in certain cases.

*"The unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence, instilling fear and terror, against individuals or property in an attempt to coerce or intimidate governments or societies, or to gain control over a population, to achieve political, religious or ideological objectives."*

(International military staff, 2016.)

From a **law enforcement** aspect we cannot talk about a widely adopted definition because this policy area has not established such an international organization as the UN. However the juridical system of western democracies have a general common view on terrorism therefore the legal definition of the United States is going to be quoted in this section.

*the term "international terrorism" means activities that—*

*(A) involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State, or that would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States or of any State;*

*(B) appear to be intended—*

*(i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population;*

*(ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or*

*(iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and*

*(C) occur primarily outside the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, or transcend national boundaries in terms of the means by which they are accomplished, the persons they appear intended to intimidate or coerce, or the locale in which their perpetrators operate or seek asylum;*

(Cornell University Law School: 18 U.S. Code § 2331 - Definitions)

It is important to note that terrorism could have several goals, for instance political, personal or against property. The reason while it has to be handled differently from other acts of crime is because it endangers public safety and the functioning of state and social organizations (Horváth, Kereszty, Mráz, Nagy, & Vida, 1999).

The **financial aspect** of terrorism means the funding of terrorist activities. It can have several different ways such as fundraising from legitimate sources (personal donations, profits from businesses or charity organizations), as well as from criminal sources (drug trade, smuggling of weapons, fraud, kidnapping, extortion). Each country has its own way of defining the financial aspect – money laundering, as an example the Canadian regulation is going to be quoted. Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada (FINTRAC) gathers, analyses, assesses, and discloses financial intelligence in order to battle money laundering and terrorist financing.

*"Terrorists use techniques like those of money launderers to evade authorities' attention and to protect the identity of their sponsors and of the ultimate beneficiaries of the funds. However, financial transactions associated with terrorist financing tend to be in smaller amounts than is the case with money laundering, and when terrorists raise funds from legitimate sources, the detection and tracking of these funds becomes more difficult. To move their funds, terrorists use the formal banking system, informal value-transfer systems, Hawalas and Hundis and, the oldest method of asset-transfer, the physical transportation of cash, gold and other valuables through smuggling routes."*

(Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada, 2015.)

### 1.3. Common elements

The previous chapter brings one type of categorization but it is enough to demonstrate the variable approaches to terrorism. All the different areas require different expertise and methods, however, the act of terrorism is such a complex issue that none of these areas can

be missed. Even though a universal definition does not exist, it is possible to select the most common elements of the different definitions. This is not only helpful because of the theoretical framework but it also enables the development of practical approaches.

Christian Walter (2003) argues that even countries with past experience in terrorism, like Spain or Russia, have only implemented the phenomenon of terrorism to their national law after the 9/11 attacks. The author of the book "Terrorism as a Challenge for National and International Law: Security versus Liberty?" says that two categories can be made from a typological aspect. There are groups which pursue a specific freedom fight for a country's population, like, the IRA in Northern Ireland or ETA in Spain. Important to note, the persuasion of the freedom fighter image does not necessarily mean the agreement of the majority and it does not legitimate the aggressive act at all. The other groups belong to those which pursue a political concept without any linkage to a specific part of a country's population. The Brigade Rosse in Italy is a good example of this. It is important to mention these typological aspects because the legal experts of the field agree that the differentiation had and continuous to have an enormous aspect on the deliberation of international definition (Walter, 2003).

The examination of the different definitions lead to the conclusion that there are objective and subjective elements. The objective element is an act which is unquestionable and unchangeable from its nature. The subjective element is variable time to time, therefore, it is legally or ethically questionable.

The most uncontroversial **objective element** is the use of serious violence against persons. C. Walter notes that violence against persons is a sufficient criterion of international consensus but there is no unanimity of violence against persons to speak about terrorism. The Earth Liberation Front is a decentralised group with the purpose of the damaging the assets of those corporations which are responsible for environment pollution. The operation of Animal Liberation Front is similar to the afore-mentioned group with the exception of targeting those companies which are suspected by the mistreatment of animals. From these two examples, we can see that we do not necessarily need a human target to speak about terrorism. This statement is also confirmed by the several national definitions which include the possibility of attacks against properties also. The definition of Homeland Security Act (2002.) by the USA includes the abuse of human life, essential infrastructure or resource and violation of the USA

or any of its states' criminal law with the purpose of (1) intimidation or concussion of the civil population or (2) the manipulation or concussion of the government.

The **subjective element** of definitions is the intension and motivation of the attacks. C. Walter argues that this element traces back to the roots of modern terrorism in the French Revolution. The creation of fear and an atmosphere where the population partly loses trust in the authorities' capability to protection. This element can be found in almost each and every definition of national laws. The European countries national laws usually refer to the European Union's definition which was accepted by the member countries in 2002 (Official Journal of the European Communities, 2002.):

*"...given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organisation 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."*

Some definitions also deal with the number of perpetrators, however, this is the most variable element. As in the past few years, the practice so as the phenomenon of lone wolves have spread, therefore, it is pointless to create terms according to the number of perpetrators. In several cases lone wolves cannot be directly linked to a certain group just because they share the same ideology which is acquired online (Gartenstein-Ross & Barr, 2016.). As an example of lone wolf attack the case of Bastille Day in July 2016 can be mentioned where despite that the IS claimed responsibility for the attack, no evidence proved the linkage between the Tunisian terrorist and the jihadist group.

#### 1.4. The History of Terrorism

The literature review of the definitions of international and national criminal law did not come with the expected result of finding a universal definition of the term "terrorism". However, now we are able to see the most important objective and subjective elements and also the complexity of the topic. A short historical overview of terrorism could be helpful in order to create categories which enables and helps the research of the development of terrorism.

It has to be noted that the use of aggression as a tool of coercion against the dominating political power had always been present in the history. One of the earliest examples is the assassination of Caesar, the Dictator of Roman Republic. Ancient texts, like, the Bible, Egyptian hieroglyphics, Odyssey also refer to similar cases in the area of the Mediterranean Sea.

The sources used by the literature review (Maras, 2013.) agree that the ancestor of terrorist groups is the medieval Nizari Ismailis or, in another name, the **assassins** which was a Shiite Islamic sect in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Their secession from the Shiite majority was based on quite a similar debate like Sunni Muslims and Shiite Muslims. The origin of this debate started when the Prophet Muhammad died in 632 and Shiite Muslims said that the only way to understand the Quran is when it is explained by a divinely inspired man, by somebody who is a direct descendent of the Prophet Muhammad, who was Muhammad's cousin, Ali. However, the Sunni Muslims believed that Quran can be interpreted by the diligent study and the guidance of the scholars. As years were passing by the Shiite Muslims became further divided on the subject of who to accept as the direct successor of Ali. Eventually, the Nizari Ismailis accepted a man called Ismail bin Jafar (the seventh imam in their line of succession) who was not accepted by most Shiites. The Ismaili Shiites, a minority within a minority were the predecessors of the Assassins.

The group was present almost for two centuries between 1090 and 1273 and they were playing a sinister and singular role in the Middle-Eastern area. Their leader was Hasan-i Sabbah and they were accused of several aggressive acts against other religious and political groups (Gray J. M., 2010.). Scholars agree that they have been no match for conventional military power of any of their several enemies. Their name can be associated with the invention of a special vest which can be worn as a protector against stylets and swords. However, the most interesting fact from the viewpoint of terrorism is that members of the militant group were trained for suicide actions as well. Academics (Louis, 2013) are still arguing if the origin of suicide actions can be identified with the assassins but certainly the name of this group almost always arises at the first place when it comes to this topic. However, there is one important difference between the assassins and the current terrorist groups, the assassins' activity contributed to the power balance of their era, as their targets were political, military, and religious leaders (Gray J. , 2010). Therefore, the activity of assassins considered to be legitimate and means of self-defence, as they focused on high-ranking military, political, and religious leaders who had taken hostile actions against the Ismaili community. According to Gray, there is little doubt he

would have viewed the tactics employed by modern Middle Eastern terrorist groups—particularly their targeting of unarmed civilians—with incomprehension and disdain. The group disappeared in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, nevertheless, their ideological background was so strong that they were able to reorganize themselves in 1830 and became the main enemy of the Iranian Shah.

Indeed, the most famous historical example of terrorists groups is the assassins; but there are some others to be mentioned. Guy Fawkes was a member of a group of provincial English Catholics who planned the failed Gunpowder Plot in 1605 or the La Mano Nera operating at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the US. Despite of these examples, the historians agree that modern terrorism can be traced backed to the French revolution in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Maximilien Robespierre, member of the Estates-General, the Constituent Assembly and the Jacobin Club, was openly advocating democratic institutions, universal male suffrage and the abolition of slavery on French colonies (Maras, 2013.). Besides his innovative approaches, he was the first who openly declared terror as a legitimate weapon against those who oppose the revolution. The results were unbelievable; 22 people captured a nation with a population of 22 million people and 40 000 were killed who were thought to be enemies of the democratic changes. That is why his name is commonly associated with “the reign of terror”. Besides the historical significance of using terror as a legitimate tool, the French revolution had proven that kings and nobles cannot influence the matter of wars anymore in contrast with the voice of ordinary citizens (Maras, 2013.).

In order to examine the historical evolution of terrorism, David C. Rapoport’s categorization is going to be used which was published in 2004 under the title “The four waves of terrorism”. The waves can be separated from each other according to the mainstream political topics and the generational changes in the society. Meaning that when these two were about to radically change, these changes effected the phenomenon of terrorism itself, therefore, Rapoport could distinguish four waves.

Rapoport traces back the routes of modern terrorism to the 19<sup>th</sup> century’s Russia, where the **first wave** of terrorism started. The widespread of aggression can be connected to the revolution when the rebel groups started to protest against the repressive regime. Anarchists and philosophers, who were advocating terror, were originally from Russia, like, Sergei Nechaev and Mikhail Bakunin. Following the 1917 revolution the Russian terrorism expanded



even more and received a support from the communist leadership as well. The first wave of terrorism swiped through Europe; the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by a Serbian nationalist, Gavrilo Princip led to the First World War which ended with the death of millions of people.

The **second wave** of terrorism can be dated after the Second World War, to the era of decolonization. Meaning that nationalist targeted the members of public administration on the colonized lands, as a sign of their intention to become an independent country. According to Rapoport, the second wave reached its peak in Southeast-Asia, in the Vietnamese war. The Northern-Vietnamese and Vietcongs used terrorism to depose the US-backed government from the power. Interestingly, the Vietnamese war was not only significant because of the methods used in Southeast-Asia, but the war created the greatest terrorist movements in the US's territory as well, in order to protest against the Vietnamese war. After the war ended these kind of terrorist movements also disappeared but their activities did not fade away without any trace. The "next generation" of terrorist were Eco terrorists, radical animal-rights activists and anti-globalisation activists. The conclusion of this era is, that terrorism can be implemented as part of a political-military strategy which does not allow the leadership to fight against it on the long-term. The success story of Vietnam has inspired many other groups, however they barely called themselves terrorists.

The **third wave's** most important organization is the Palestine Liberation Organization, PLO was enduringly fighting for the Palestinian territory after it was left alone following the Six Day war in 1967. In spite of the fact that they were fighting for their land the PLO has all the attributes as a fundamentalist Islamic group, therefore, the activity of this group played a significant role in the evolution of fundamentalist groups. To be more specific, they were not only targeting the Middle-East but they were responsible for the attacks of the Olympic Games of Munich in 1972, known as the "Munich massacre". According to Marie-Helen Maras, the significance of the third wave is the risen number of death caused by terrorism between 1980 and 1990 compared to the 1970's. The experts of the topic agree that third wave terrorist were acting rationally in a calculable way in order to achieve certain political goals. They preferred traditional methods over modernization to minimize the possible risks.

A **new era** has begun at the end of 1970's when the Iranian revolution resulted that the country became the main sponsor of **Islamist terrorism**. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was the last Shah

of Iran between 1941 and 1979 who enjoyed the support of the United States. There were a lot of issues against him that eventually made the people disillusioned of the leadership, for example, following the oil crisis in 1973 Iran was the only oil seller to the US and Israel that brought a lot of money to the country. However, a vast amount was spent on the strengthening his administration, while the quality of life and economy remained the same. The people believed that religion and strict rules capable to stop corruption and the limitless power of the political leader. Eventually, this led to demonstrations against the Shah which turned to the Islamic Revolution led by Khomeini Ayatollah. The historical movement of the revolution was the so called Iranian hostage drama in 1979 when students occupied the Embassy of United states and took 55 hostages who were kept in captivity for 444 days. Following this event Iran became the main sponsor of radical Iranian terrorism.

This event proved that the US is exposed to the power of Islamic terrorism; however, they tried to collaborate with them in the Afghanistan war against the Soviets. The rise of Al-Kaida is strongly connected to the war because they were sponsored by the US which eventually led to their prosperity. Following the battle, many warriors got closer to Osama bin Laden because they were not capable of reintegration to the society. Bin Laden considered the Saudi regime as his greatest enemy and as the US supported them, they also became targets.

Rapoport's categorization is based on the history of non-state terrorism, therefore, the four waves is rather a historical overview of the evolution than a categorization of the different ideologies. Rapoport did not use the phrase 'motivation', he said that different energies drive the four waves; nevertheless, he uses a chronological order. The different waves; anarchist, anti-colonial, New Left and religious wave represents different eras with different kind of social problems, representing the challenges of historical struggles.

### **1.5. The motivation of terrorists – an ideological review**

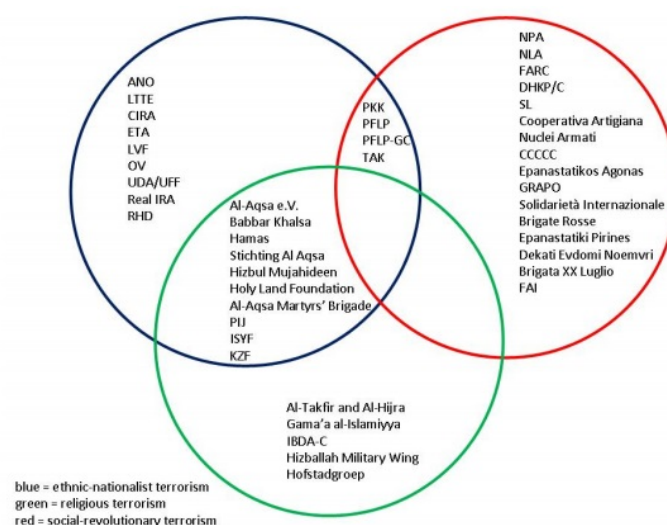
In order to understand the evolution of terrorism it is necessary to categorize the terrorists according to different ideological backgrounds. The importance of this is indisputable because the targets, methods, communication channels and a lot of other factors vary on the ideology behind the operation of a terrorist group. This may seems complex to understand but after reviewing the different ideological approaches we are going to be able to see how big the differences are in between political ideologies and religious ideologies.

Waldman (2001) refers to terrorism as attacks against political authorities or a state's system of governance. It focuses on the terrorists' motives and self-conceptions and considers religiously motivated terrorism independent of political objectives. According to his classifications there is social-revolutionary terrorism, ethno-nationalist terrorism, and religious terrorism. Marxist/Leninist/Maoist ideals are the base of social-revolutionary terrorist groups, meaning, that these groups chase an utopian society based on equal rights and opportunities.

The ethno-nationalist terrorist groups represent a minority of the society with the aim of becoming independent from the rest of the society. Their objective is either an independent state or an autonomous territory. These groups usually try to prove the legitimacy of their demand by cultural or historical explanation, for example, that they had been present before the hostile regime. The understanding of these groups is maybe the simplest because their aggression derives from the oppressed minority role (Waldmann , 2001).

Religious terrorism is connected to religious fundamentalism, where the main goal is to return to the fundamental principles, by rigid adherence to those principles, and often by intolerance of other views and opposition to secularism. Wadman emphasizes that religious fundamentalism can be found in all the three chief monotheistic world religions but the currently most violent form is the radical Islamist terrorism.

According to these attributives Liane Rothenberger & Kathrin Müller (2015) categorized the terrorist groups listed by the European Union.



1. Categories of terrorist groups, Source: [http://www.cco.regener-online.de/2015\\_2/pdf/rothenberger-mueller2015.pdf](http://www.cco.regener-online.de/2015_2/pdf/rothenberger-mueller2015.pdf)

In spite of what the media is showing, the research concluded that the religious terrorism represents the smallest segment. The main driving motive is still ethno-nationalism and the demand for a social revolution. The most meaningful ground of the groups operating in the Middle East is the opposition of Israel and the creation of the autonomous state of Palestine. These groups believe that the liberalization can be achieved by arm struggles therefore they oppose peace negotiations (Rothenberger & Müller, 2015).

Another type of categorization is implemented by Marie-Helen Maras who divided the groups into two; those who can be associated with political ideologies and those with religious ideologies. In the following section the subgroups of these two categorizes are going to be described.

### **Terrorist groups with political ideologies**

One of the most widespread political ideology has its roots in the views of **Communism**. According to Communist ideologies there is a class conflict in between proletariat (the highly productive majority) and bourgeoisie (the minority of private owners sponsored by the state). The system of public administration, politicians, army, police are considered to be the enemies of these ideologies because they assist the minority to keep their power. These ideologies can be divided to three subcategories which are associated with historical figures of communism. The **Stalinist Communism** is based on a socialist revolution aiming to create a one-party system which is organised around personal cult and dictatorial exercise of power. Important to note that Marx advocated a revolution starting from proletariat, Stalin promoted a revolution starting from a dictator and oppressing the people.

**Maoist Communism** has quite a similar approach, nevertheless, Mao substituted the European proletariat with farmers and he changed the approach according to the Chinese conditions. As Maras explains, nowadays, there are a lot of terrorist groups following this approach in Latin-America because it is easier to build on the rural "farmer" population than on the inhabitants of cities.

**Guevara Communism**, inspired by Fidel Castro and his deputy, Che Guevara, also have to be mentioned. The ideology is based on the approach of personal cult and exporting communism to other countries in Latin-America. The importance of Guevara communism is not questionable, one of the strongest guerrilla movement of these days, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People's Army (FARC) is based on this ideology. This group has

cause a lot of struggles to the Colombian government and the neighbouring area but on 24<sup>th</sup> November, 2016 the Colombian government and the FARC signed a revised peace deal.

The Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement was a Peruvian radical group operating between 1982 and 1997. Túpac Amaru was a rebel Inca leader in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the members of the group promoted a socialist state with imperialist elements. The other example is a group called Shining Path which built its ideologist on Maoist approaches and they also wanted to change Peru's political system to communism. A closer example is the Red Brigades which were aiming to punish Italy because of its alliance with Western countries and NATO membership. They are responsible for numerous kidnappings and assassinations until the 1990's, however, their operation has renewed in 2002 when a lot of new and young members joined the organization.

### Terrorists groups with religious ideologies

**Islamic extremism** represents the idea that Islam has to be the only acceptable religion in the world, meaning, that Western influence has to be defeated and the oldest traditions have to be followed. The cultural and economic influence of western countries, cooperation with Western governments, the creation of the state of Israel and the ease in traditional Islamic law (Saria) are all sins against the Quran.

According to **Christian extremism** each of the political decisions have to be based on the ideology that Jesus is the only way of salvation for the soul. Ecumenical Marxism and Christian Identity are the two sub-groups.

The **anti-abortion** movement originates from the USA with the idea that each life begins with impregnation, therefore, the interruption of pregnancy is considered as a murder. Army of God group is one example who were responsible for attacks against hospitals and doctors.

**Zionism** had been born in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as a response to the anti-Semitism in Europe. Zionism had been fighting for the Palestinian territory to create the state of Israel and nowadays they promote its further improvement.

**Hindu extremism** is a monotheistic religion in India and its followers promote monocracy over the Sikh and Muslim minority. The religion disapprove aggression unless if it serves self-protection purposes.

The other extreme dimension of religions in India are the followers of **Sikh extremism** who fight for an independent territory in the northern part of the country. They carry the responsibility for several attacks including the assassination of Indira Gandhi and the attack against Air Indi 747 which caused the death of 329 passengers.

### **1.6. Conclusion of literature review**

Despite the limitations of the literature review, we can see the complexity of the term terrorism. The meaning of it is always dependent on the situation and on context where the analysis takes place, as it was shown how many definitions exist according to the different viewpoints, like legal, political, military, etc.

As a conclusion, it can be said that the origins of terrorism can be traced back to hundreds of years ago. According to scholars, the first group, which had similar attributives as terrorist groups have nowadays, was the assassins in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Although they had different motivation and tools, the common traits are visible. We saw how terrorism evolved during the centuries, therefore, the main message of this chapter that we need to look at it as a dynamic process with a lot variables which require careful consideration. The different motivations and circumstances often lead to completely different situations so there is no “universal” recipe to the components of terrorism, however, it is one of the most effective influencing tool on political decisions.

## **2. RESEARCHING TERRORISM**

Despite the effort of intelligence agencies, conferences, think-thanks, books, journals, the research of terrorism and the identification of terrorists remains a huge challenge to scholars and experts. The greatest challenge is the identification of potential attackers indeed. A lot of question arises when it comes to identification, for instance, their place in the society, education, religion, origin, motivation and most importantly what countermeasure can be effective to defeat them. The problem is that there is no uniformed answer to these questions, almost each and every situation is different in a way. The programmes were aiming to find answers to these questions but none of them seems to be successful so far.

According to Atran et. al ( 2017) the US government policy makers relied on almost exclusively on the intelligence community. The intelligence community monitors individuals, groups and

collects data to analyses the information. The problems with data collection is that the methods are limited to create an adaptable interpretation to understand terrorist groups' motivations, recruitment, and capabilities. Therefore, the intelligence community has all the information on actual and potential terrorists but the information is not tested to support a scientific theory and not being implemented to a wider framework with the purpose of developing a theoretical approach to the defeat terrorist groups and individuals. A good example of the methodological malfunction of intelligence community is the operational standards which were created according to the needs and circumstances of the Cold War era. As a consequence, they specialized in state-to-state relations in between the two blocks which is not necessarily suitable to sub- and trans-state threats.

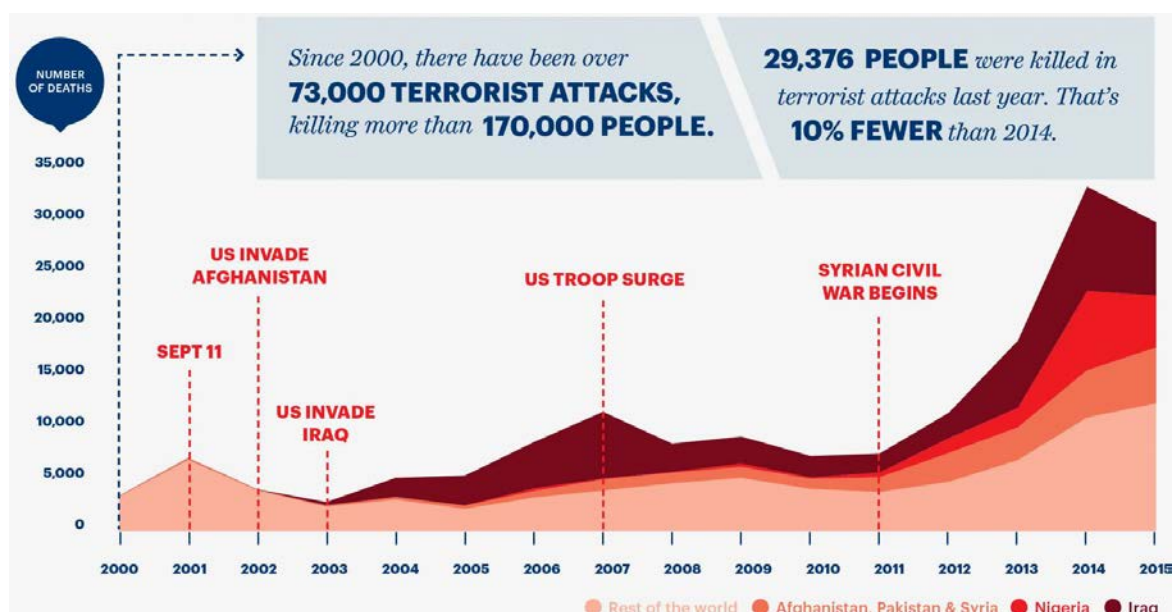
Atran et. al ( 2017) argues that US doctrine has always been included the so-called cost-imposition in its doctrines. The implementation of cost imposition originates from the protracted contest with the Soviet Union for military strength, economic growth, and international influence (Marshall, 1972). This realisation indicated changes in the national security strategy by shifting the focus towards those areas where America has already possessed a distinct advantage over the Soviets. This strategy has become the leading principle of Ronald Reagan's defence strategy (Colonel Ekman, 2014). However, this strategy is not applicable to terrorist groups and individuals because they do not respond to cost-benefit strategies. The other important issue which restrains the fight against terrorism is the fact that most criminal activities does not involve low probability high impact events like targeting anonymous civilians. Criminology developed a reliable checklist where a lot of indicators support the identification of preparers and the prevention of criminal activities like serial killers. Nevertheless, the development of indicators of terrorist activities is struggling and the reliability of the existing ones are questionable.

## **2.1. Is terrorism a growing threat? – Terrorism in numbers**

In order to acquire a comprehensive picture of the threat of terrorism the interpretation of statistical data can provide us not only an overview of the current situation but also a grounded evidence. This part of the research relies on the so-called Global Terrorism Database (GTD), which is an open-source database including terrorist event from 1970 until 2015. Other database are also available, however, this one is unique from the viewpoint that systematic data is provided on domestic and international terrorist incidents adding up more

than 150 000 cases by this time. The database uses different kinds of open sources which must be credible and verified. The GTD is managed and maintained by The National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) in order to increase the understanding of terrorist violence so it can be studied and defeated.

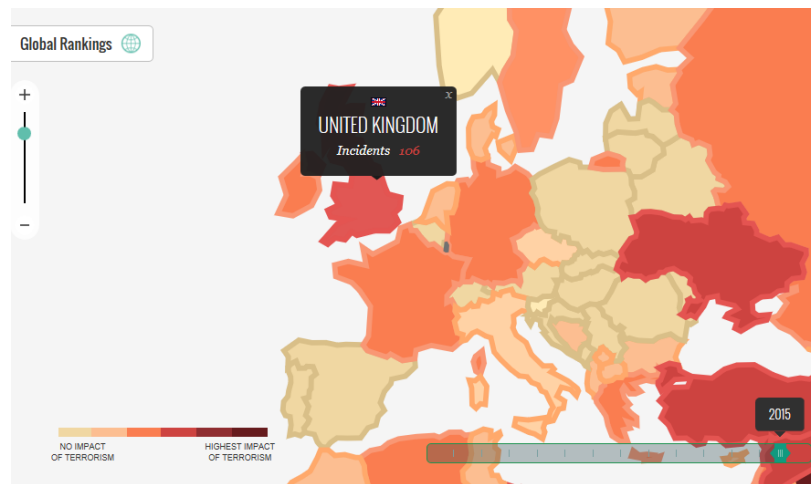
First, we may take a global outlook on terrorist activities for which purpose the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) is going to be used. The index is created on the basis of GTD and provides a comprehensive summary of global trends in terrorism over the last 16 years from the beginning of 2000 to the end of 2015.



2. Global trend: number of deaths from 2000, source: <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/02/GTI-1-1600x829.jpg>

In the year 2015 the number of victims is 10% lower than in 2014, nevertheless, it was the second deadliest year on record. Four groups were responsible for 74 per cent of all deaths from terrorism in 2015: ISIL, Boko Haram, the Taliban and al-Qa'ida which means that radical Islamic terror has the highest proportion in terrorism nowadays. The most affected countries are Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Pakistan and Syria. These five countries accounted for 72 per cent of all deaths from terrorism in 2015. GTI provides a possibility to take a closer look at each country, the chart below shows the most affected European countries by the number of incidents in 2015.



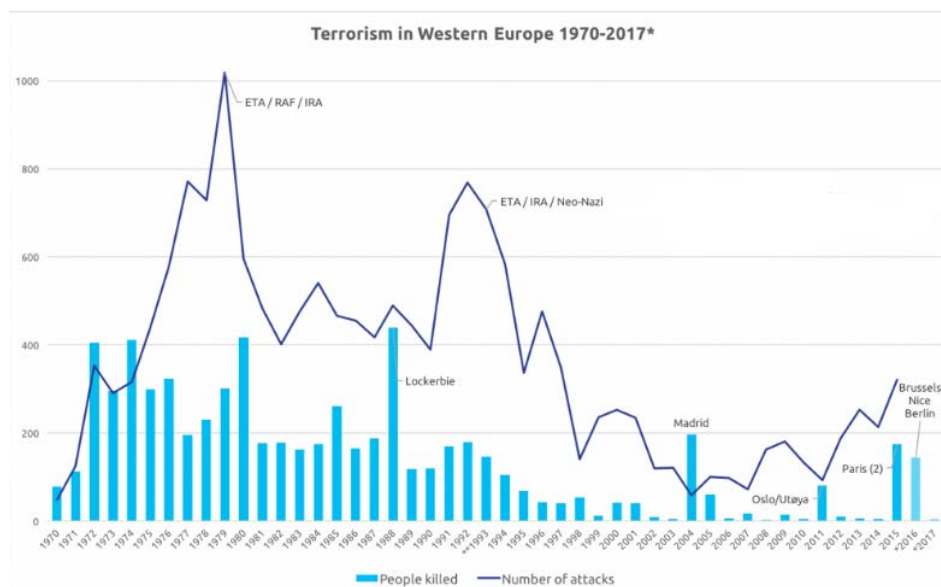


3. Terrorist activity in Europe by the number of incidents in 2015, source:

<http://visionofhumanity.org/indexes/terrorism-index/>

United Kingdom is followed by Germany, France and Ireland. According to the number of fatalities France was the most exposed country in 2015.

The following chart shows the number of victims (injuries and fatalities) between 1970 and 2015. The database's search criteria was set to show attacks in Western Europe (Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Vatican City) with no essentially doubt of terrorism.



4. Terrorist attacks in Western Europe 1970-2015, source: <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>

The number of people who died as a result of terrorism in Western Europe was the highest between 1972 and 1994. From 1995 the number of death caused by terrorism remains below under 100 with the exception of the 2004 Madrid attacks which was the worst attack to occur in Europe since the 1988 Lockerbie attack. This trend lasted only until 2014 as the last two years were loud of radical Islamic terror attacks. Therefore, the threat of terrorism is still relatively low compared to the 70's and 80's. However, there are certain factors which make the public perceive that the past two years' terrorist activity is a new kind of threat which is harder to tackle. During the 1980's ethno-nationalist terrorism (ETA, IRA) and socio-revolutionary terrorism (Red Brigades) were responsible for the attacks, while today religious terrorism has the highest proportion of terrorist activity. Apart from the different motives of the groups there is one big difference between the 70's/80's political/ethno-nationalist terrorism and today's radical Islamic terrorism; the media's role. Most of the people today have unlimited access to mass media and instant communication possibilities, which allows the public to see these attacks from first-hand, experience the shock and the victims' and family members' pain. The terrorists are aware of the media's effect to create and transfer fear among the population which they try to intensify with posting violent content through social media. Before the era of smartphones people only had limited access to news sources and terrorist did not have a chance to access millions' of people's home through their smartphones. The next chapter describes what means the author of this study under new wave of terrorism (in terms of motives, modus operandi, target group, etc.). Although as a summary it can be said that statistics do not verify that the threat of terror in Western Europe is greater than ever before, however, the numbers are growing and radical Islamic terror is a new challenge to law enforcement authorities.

### **3. THE NEW WAVE OF TERRORISM – FROM A COUNTER-TERRORISM PERSPECTIVE**

As it was noted in the previous chapter there is a wide gap between political/ethno-nationalist and religious terrorism which is visible in the methods, targets and motivation. This chapter aims to define the reasons of why the European terror attacks called as a new wave of terror and what kind of counter-terrorism strategy can be implemented based on the nature of attacks.

Most of the scholars distinguish secular and religious terrorism as it is marked by extreme brutality and seemingly irrational motivations and goals (Mark Juergensmeyer, 2000)

According to Heather S. Gregg (2014), an associate professor at the Naval Postgraduate School's Department of Defence Analysis, religious terrorism is the threat or use of force with the purpose of influencing or coercing governments and/or populations towards saliently religious goals. She argues that **three main goals distinguish religious terrorism from tradition terrorism** (left, right and ethnic-separatist); fomenting the apocalypse, creating a religious government, and religiously cleansing a state or area. Apocalyptic terrorism means that their primary aim is to cause cataclysmic destruction with the hope of fomenting the end of time and ushering in religious promises of a new world. IS can be mentioned as an example (Vijeta Uniyal, 2015):

*"Accept the fact that this caliphate will survive and prosper until it takes over the entire world and beheads every last person that rebels against Allah. ... This is the bitter truth, swallow it."* – The Islamic State

The Creation of a Religious Government is most commonly associated with militant Islamic groups and their desire to establish a government run by Shari'a law. The third main characteristic of religious terrorism is to eradicate 'infields' – the unfaithful people with the purpose of creating a religiously pure state. Religious cleansing seems to be related to ethnic cleansing, however the difference is that religious terrorist groups can be multi-ethnic, such as Al-Qaeda or ISIL, which is made up of Muslims from all over the world, but not multi-religious; they are all Muslim.

Further to these characteristics, the following section describes the circumstances of what made the European terror attacks the new wave of radical Islamic terror. The chapter's main goal is to give a comprehensive picture of the terror attacks that has happened in the last two years in Europe, meaning, the identification of cause and effects. An important part of the analysis of causes is whether the European intelligence agencies work effective enough, as lately they have been questioned several times. Following the analysis of the European context the model of Smith and Talbot (Terrorism and Deterrence by Denial, 2008) is implemented which describes terrorism as a systematic process.



### 3.1. Which factors are responsible for the perpetration of attacks in Europe?

Experts undoubtedly agree, that there is a new wave within Rapoport's (2004) fourth wave of Islamic terrorism which has begun after the 9/11 attacks. The probability of such a large attack is relatively low (Lister, 2015) but the number of more frequent and less devastating attacks has increased which suggests that terrorism has changed in terms of methods and targets.

First and foremost we have to see that the reason why Europe is much more exposed to the attacks is because **EU member states participate in IS-coalition** and now regarded as legitimate targets by jihadist terrorist groups (Europol, 2016). France, UK, Belgium and Italy are being specifically referred in IS propaganda videos. Nevertheless, the following arguments explain why France is the most exposed country:

*„France is a symbol of Western culture, among those countries where key concepts such as 'freedom', 'democracy', 'human rights' and the 'separation between religion and state' were first articulated.*

*- The country's close engagement with the Muslim world, including Algeria, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria, and the country's continuing economic and military interventions to defend its national interests in Africa and the Near East, bring the country into conflict with jihadist groups.*

*- IS has an obsession with history and honour, and blames France in particular for the break-up of the Ottoman Empire and the abolition of the Caliphate following the First World War.*

*- France has a strong secular tradition and passed laws in 2004 (banning people from wearing conspicuous religious signs in schools), and in 2010 (forbidding people from hiding their faces in public areas), which were seen by many as specifically targeting Muslims.*

*- Levels of social and economic isolation in certain urban areas with a high representation of Muslim citizens have created conditions in which some young people, especially those with a history of crime, have become vulnerable to recruitment by violent jihadist groups;*

*- A high number of French jihadists having travelled to Syria /Iraq as foreign terrorist fighters (FTFs)."*

*Europol: Changes in modus operandi of Islamic State (IS) revisited*

Further to these, Europe has several other characteristics which contributed to perpetration of the attacks.

One of the greatest concerns is if Europe should change its attitude and **patronage security over privacy** and human rights (Belgium's tragic terror lessons, 2016). For example, authorities confirmed that the jihadist who were behind the Brussels attacks were on the terrorist watch-list and some of them were even arrested, however, in the absence of evidence they were released. Another reason for this measure is that according to Europol leader, Rob Wainwright, an estimated 5000 European nationals have been radicalised and travelled to Syria and Iraq and it is not clear how many has returned to the EU (Bartlett & Cooper, 2016). The EU Passenger Name Record (PNR) has been an existing initiative since 2007, nevertheless, the occurrence of deadly attacks had to happen until the Council finally adopted it on 21 April 2016 (Justice and home affairs-European Parliament, 2016). The adoption of PNR basically obliges airline companies to share their passengers' data with EU countries in order to help the authorities to fight terrorism and serious crime. The systematic use and storage of data obviously affects rights to privacy and data protection (Justice and home affairs-European Parliament, 2016), but it seems that there is no other way around to control the movement of European citizens. Therefore, the first message that needs to be spread between citizens that security has a price and the price of keeping European values is to **disclaim certain privacy and data protection rights**.

After it came to surface that the attackers were known to authorities, moreover, some of them were even arrested, serious discussion has started about the **effectiveness of intelligence agencies** (MAÏA DE LA BAUME, 2016). According to Sir Julian Knight, Commissioner of Security Union, the failure to stop the deadly attacks arose from the unwillingness of sharing data in between agencies, which is a very serious concern. This has been slightly changing since April 2016 when the Europol and FBI signed an agreement on sharing information on a multilateral level. The establishment of cooperation was necessary indeed because with the exit of Britain Europe will lose the only connection to the "Five Eyes" – a term used for the core countries (Britain, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand) involved in surveillance sharing with the US. In order to fill the security gap which Britain will leave behind, the EU established a Security Union portfolio within the Commission which was given to the British Sir Julian King. This may seems surprising after the tone that Jean Claude Juncker represented before the British

referendum in May. He told to the Le Monde: "Deserters will not be welcomed with open arms. The United Kingdom will have to accept being regarded as a third country, which won't be handled with kid gloves. If the British should say no, then life in the EU will not go on as before (Macdonald, 2016.). Nevertheless, it seems that he tries to make the best out the withdrawal and appointing a British as the Commissioner of Security Union may signal a desire within the EU to retain strong links with the British security services, which have a relatively impressive record in countering terrorism (Europol, 2016).

Information sharing has to be effective not only on European and cross-continental level but also in-between member states. Nevertheless, passing data across 28 members is a complex barrier because some countries used to be in the Soviet sphere with historic ties to Russia which obviously brings up legal and political hurdles. As Bernard Squarcini, France's spy chief under former president Nicolas Sarkozy, explained "With eastern European countries as EU members, no one wants to share details on sensitive operations. It's a question of trust (Financial Times, 2016.).

As a result of the previous arguments the second important challenge that needs to be implemented in the long-term is to **make Europol the EU's criminal intelligence hub** by member states setting aside their reservations and start contributing to Europol.

Last but not least, we need to take a closer look at the so-called **lawless areas**, like, Molenbeek which are often referred as major signal of the failure of law enforcement. This issue is often used for political purposes which shows how important it is to see if the expansion of these areas is truly one of the causes that made the European attacks happen.

Europol suggests (EU terrorism situation & trend report (TE-SAT), 2016) that there were **main changes in modus operandi** occurred in jihadist terrorist attacks where new tactics, techniques, and procedures were detected. For the first time in their history, jihadist terrorist combined the use of firearms and person-born improvised explosive devices ((PBIED) at the November Paris attacks. There has been a transfer of technical knowledge in IED with a slight modification to European circumstances, like the use of improvised components instead of military components.



5. Examples of PBIED: vests, belts, shoes, underwear, source:

<http://www.icao.int/Meetings/SIAS/Documents/Presentations/03.Domenic%20Bianchini.TSA.pdf>

There is evidence that the knowledge about **home-made explosives (HMEs)** is most likely transferred through direct contact and experience. As the first point of contact, here comes to picture the phenomenon of foreign fighters and returnees which is approximated to 5000 people in 2016. Radicalized European citizens travelling to the Middle- East carry one more threat. Europol suggests (EU terrorism situation & trend report (TE-SAT), 2016) that the **majority of foreign terrorist travellers (FTT) is now female**. Shortly after women's arrival they marry fighters – or they have already married them online – and give birth to children. There is evidence from the videos released by IS that they train these children as the next generation of foreign terrorist fighters.

Further to the combined use of firearms and PBIED, there are three main characteristics of the European terror attacks. Firstly, they are relatively **cheap and effective**. Attacks were carried out in hubs with simple methods where the most people can be hurt by one act, stadium, airport, concert hall, celebration, lorry attack in a busy street. Secondly, the target selection shifted from symbolic targets, like police and military, to **soft targets** with the purpose of causing mass casualties. The European attacks left no question if terrorist are discriminating, the answer is certainly no. The purpose of indiscrimination significantly contributes to one of the main goals of terrorism; the intimidation of citizens. Thirdly, the **potential perpetrators are not necessarily profound believers with direct links to IS**. According to Europol, lone actors

and small groups give the European jihadist attacks a special attributive which differs from the terror that the US had experienced. EU-based terrorist sometimes do not have direct contact with IS, not like in case of 9/11 attacks where the attackers were coordinated by Al-Qaeda. Europol suggests that in some lone actor attacks it is hard to determine if the objective was to commit a terrorist attack, mental disorder, desire of heroism, ideology or social pressure. Terrorist media does the job of radicalization and encouragement which leads to the consequence that jihadist terror has to be fought in the cyber world as well. Indeed, cybersecurity is a relatively new challenge to authorities, but we have to see how much harder it is to discover in time the potentially radicalised persons with no criminal records.

*"In general terms, jihadists committing terrorist acts in the EU can be described as a particular group of mainly young men who have a criminal past, are or feel discriminated, humiliated and marginalised in society, with some also having mental health issues, who are not strictly practising their Islam religion, but have radicalised in a very short period, either through intervention of recruiters or on their own, inspired by the narratives publicised by the so-called "Islamic State" (IS) on internet, and subsequently decide to travel to Syria or Iraq, or decide to become 'a soldier of IS' in their country of residence."*

*Europol: Change in modus operandi of Islamic State (IS) revisited*

Any person with the following characteristics triggered by these events is highly exposed to radicalization:

- mental or identity problems
- lack of education or dropping out from school
- unemployment or loss of job
- inferiority
- world events (foreign intervention against the country of origin, persecution of own community, etc.)
- experiencing personal humiliation
- death of loved one

Intelligence also suggest that furthermore to these characteristics, the Sunni Muslim Syrian refugee diaspora is also vulnerable to radicalization as they can be exclusively targeted by



Islamic extremist recruiters. The reason for this is because IS interested in the polarization of EU population by instigation against refugees.

As a summary, there are five major reasons for the European terror attacks; **EU member states participate in IS-coalition, privacy and data protection rights, lack of information sharing between intelligence community, lawless areas, and changes in the modus operandi of terrorists.**

### 3.2. Terrorism as a dynamic process

The most important duties of any government is to ensure the safety and protect the life of its citizens at all costs. On the counter-terrorism field the government has to apply such measures that sever terrorists from certain persons, institutions, networks and resources serving as essential circumstances to their operation. Despite the common approach, that terrorist cannot be affected by external tools, as they are not afraid of consequences, the networks has to be deterred and intimidated. Certainly, there are methods to eliminate networks and to intimidate terrorist, however, another approach is required that differs from the current one. To be more specific, there is a tendency to focus only on the terror act itself and neglect the fact that the act is part of a wider process. The process can be changed, disturbed or broken at several points which lead to the consequence that the duty of counter-terrorism cannot be degraded to the intelligence agencies' level.

In the previous section the reasons of European terror attacks were aimed to be summarised in five major points, therefore, we need to see that the attacks are result of several complex processes. Unlike of what eurosceptic politicians say, we cannot name one reason for the attacks, like, migration, or lawless areas. Separate problems find a connection to each other and lead to terrorism. Nevertheless, intelligence has a crucial part in the process and certainly, their operation has to be adjusted to the new modus operandi of terrorists.

Smith and Talbot (2008) argue that denial is a much more effective tool than punishment because, as it is often questioned, punishment does not have a strong impact on terrorist. They say that denial as a tool can be implemented on tactical, operational and strategic level as well resulting a complex approach to understand the dynamics of terrorism. The model developed by Smith and Talbot was applied as part of US counter-terrorism strategy by Marie Helen-Maras (The CRC Press Terrorism Reader, 2013.), a theoretical and practical expert of the

topic. After reviewing and summarizing the cause and effects of European terror attacks, the implementation of this model to the European context may get us closer to the establishment of an effective counter-terrorism strategy.

As it has been already mentioned this model distinguishes three different levels where terrorism has to be defeated. The **tactical level** is the terror act itself, where we need to ask the following question; what is the real aim of a terror attack? Certainly, many would say to kill innocent people, however this is not the correct answer. The most important goal of a terror act is the secondary psychological effect, to create fear among the population, which is the tool of affecting political decisions. Counter-terrorism measures on a tactical level aim to prevent the attacks, which means that capabilities of terror organizations (in this case IS) has to be reduced. To be more specific, this means to make difficulties to terrorists to reach and attack citizens, so their determination has to be changed to commit an act.

We need to examine how the reduction of a terrorist organization's capabilities can be put into practice. One idea of practical realization is the **reclamation of control over borders**. The introduction of PNR system is a great tool for this, because one part of the jihadists are in contact with IS members or many of them are foreign terrorist travellers (FTT). However, the measurement of monitoring air traffic passengers itself cannot be effective enough, because in many cases criminals tend to choose alternative ways of transportation to reduce the risk of disclosure. According to my opinion the conditions of Schengen free-movement zone should be revised, which does not mean the abolition of the zone, only more checks to passengers' identity and luggage. This was suggested by Belgian prime minister, Charles Michael and other politicians as well (The Economist, 2015). Nevertheless, if measurements with the purpose of regaining border control come into force, they have to be carefully elaborated in order to preserve one of the greatest values of European integration. This is not only important because of the theoretical value it carries, but studies also show that the Schengen free movement zone boosts export, import and tourism.

Nevertheless, a possible scenario of terror attack has to be calculated as the implementation of measurements and the change of EU regulations can take years. **Another idea of practical realization is to elaborate an action plan which focuses on the immediate reaction to terror attacks.** If the reaction is deterrent enough, it can have an influence on future attacks. Another positive effect of an immediate response is that it reduces the fear and the psychological

effects of an attack which means that the main goal of influencing decision-makers through the tool of fear is less likely to be achieved. This can happen on many levels, like identifying attackers and weapons, implementation of serious sanctions, fast restoration of "normal functioning". Here comes to the picture the question of Europe's military capabilities to enforce its power outside Europe. As a consequence of Brexit, we need to face the fact that the country which contributed the most from Europe to NATO expenditures (55 billion dollars) is now leaving the bloc. Certainly, Germany with 44 billion dollars and France with 40 billion dollars (Stefano Pozzebon, 2015) are also important but Europe certainly loses from its military capabilities as a side-effect of Brexit. After reviewing the latest developments in terms of security and defence, it is visible that the EU is far not capable to enforce its power outside Europe, but they try to catch up with the internal security challenges through the implementation of EU Global Strategy (EUGS). Unfortunately, EUGS has no clear timeline, however, the process of establishment of a more effective cooperation seems to have been accelerated. In the frame of EUGS a European Defence Fund would be established. Besides the long-term implementation of EUGS an EU-NATO joint declaration was signed on 8<sup>th</sup> July, almost right after the British referendum which aims to strengthen Europe's military capacities (Politico, 2017).

A higher level on which measurements have to be planned is the **operational level**. This means actions have to be taken with an effect on the operation of the terrorist organization. In the United States this is explained as the diminishment of the legitimacy of the case that the terrorists are fighting for. If the state is capable to question the purpose of the operation that leads to an end where the organization will be less likely to recruit new members and increase its popularity. In order to diminish the organization's legitimacy both short- and long-term measurements are required. The short-term measurements include the **reduction of access to shelter places (lawless areas) and eliminate their access to platforms where they can openly advocate their goals (control over online contents)**. According to Maras (2013.), terrorist actions can be disturbed by **limitation of access to weapons, information on the preparation of terrorist attacks, free movement and its required documents, safe communication and financial background**. The long-term actions have to be planned by keeping in mind the afore-mentioned mentioned interventional areas.

Limitation of access to weapons is probably one of the hardest challenge. Certainly, there is a threat of illegal and CBRN weapons (chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons) as a result of the instable regions surrounding Europe. According to Europol (2016) Ukraine and Balkan countries especially make the situation concerning because in conflict zones there is always a higher chance of illegal weapons availability via black market. In terms of CBRN weapons the individuals who travel to Syria and Iraq are a high risk factor because intelligence have evidence that both countries used to possess them, and despite the international community's efforts, there is still a chance that not all of them have been completely destroyed. Despite the fact that illegal and CBRN weapons may find a way to the EU, there are **two more significant risk factors** have to be considered. On one hand, the use of **home-made explosives (HMEs)**, especially those which require no specific material accessible only via black market. The use of simple objects as a weapons have to be also mentioned here. The employ of vehicles to run over people is particularly hard to keep off as it happened in 2016 in Nice, 2017 in London, or in 2017 in Stockholm.

On the other hand, the **convergence of cyber-crime and terrorism** is also a threatening factor as many networks has been established where cyber-criminals offer their services while they use complete anonymity of encryption like The Onion Router (TOR). TOR is not only dangerous because of this so-called Crime-as-a Service (CaaS) model but because it allows free access to terrorist, anarchist, radical, criminal contents which can be widely used to prepare for attacks.

The Internet Organised Crime Threat Assessment (iOCTA) published by Europol in 2014 suggests exact fields and actions for EU member states on the ways of strengthening cyber-security. Europol has set up the European Cybercrime Centre (EC3) in 2013 to strengthen the law enforcement response to cybercrime in the EU and thus to help protect European citizens, businesses and governments from online crime. Another important achievement for Europe is that Europol and the Global Cyber Alliance (GCA) signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to cooperate on decreasing systemic cyber risk and improving internet security throughout Europe and beyond. While most efforts aiming to address cyber risk have been industry, sector, or geographically specific, the Global Cyber Alliance is unique as it spans across borders and sectors.

With regards to EU measurements, its strategy on the issue can be found in three documents; Cybersecurity Strategy on the European Union, European Agenda on Security, and Digital

Single Market (European Commission, 2017). The most important tool for the EU to sustain cybersecurity is the Directive on security of network and information systems (the NIS Directive) which the first piece of EU-wide legislation entered into force in August 2016 (European Commission, 2017.).

Certainly, cybercrime is not only used for the purpose of terrorism, therefore, we should take a deeper look at those fields of cybercrime that have close connection to terrorist activities. As it has been already mentioned, one of these is the Crime-as-a Service (CaaS) model, however, its complexity extends the limitations of this study.

The other great threat in terms of technology and cyber security is the problem of **radicalization through the internet**, often without any religious connections. Statistics approximates that in 5 people per week left the United Kingdom in 2014 in order to join terrorist organizations (Bromfield, 2014.). By 2015 these numbers believed to risen significantly. As many reports pointed out, young, second generation immigrants are extremely exposed to this threat, however, any other person with slight psychological issues is in danger of radicalization as well. At the end of chapter 3.1. – Which factors are responsible for the perpetration of attacks? – a detailed list is drafted containing the characteristics of those persons who are the most exposed to radicalization through the internet. As Hughes and Miklaucic (2016.) argues: *“The demographics vary widely. They may be barely or highly educated, young or old, male or female. Even financial status is no indicator. Online radicalization occurs in all economic classes. It reaches those of lower economic means and those who are financially stable”*. Therefore, in this section the focus is more on the preventive and defensive actions examined on the EU level and on the member state level as well.

By these days the unlimited connection to the internet overtook the role of traditional media like books, newspapers and television to become the leading source of entertainment and information platform. The usage of social media platforms has minimal costs and it does not require any special knowledge further to the usage of internet. This offers an exceptional opportunity to terrorists who can easily access to the private sphere of millions of people and tailor their content to their targeted individuals depending on the person’s characteristics.

**Magazines published by terrorist organizations**, notably Inspire by al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and Dabiq by Islamic States (IS), have significant role in the process of radicalization. These magazines have various contents, for instance, on building home-made

weapons, propaganda, religious background to their ideologies and of course the alleged victories of terrorist organization. Besides English and Arabic they are translated to several other languages which allows them to reach more people. The production quality of Dabiq is impressive with a lot of photos to support their arguments against and make their acts legitimate against the Western world (Dabiq magazine, Issue 15). Another tool in the hands of jihadist is **Twitter which they rather use for the targeting of institutions** and organizations than to target individuals. Their methods vary but mostly they either tweet fake news with the aim of misleading media or they hack accounts to post fake news. One famous example occurred in 2013 when Associated Press Twitter account was hacked and the following message was posted: "Breaking: Two Explosions in the White House and Barack Obama Is Injured." Within 18 minutes of this false Twitter report, stocks on Wall Street plummeted. **Youtube** is also a commonly used tool for the purpose to post **recruiting or radical content**. According to statistics provided by YouTube, 300 hours of videos are uploaded to the site every minute which makes it almost impossible to delete each violating content. At last but not least, the video game technology as a tool of radicalization has to be mentioned. Hughes and Miklaucic (2016.) argue that recently the capabilities of IS reached an unfrequented level by **modifying the most popular video games** (e.g. Grand Theft Auto) so that players can role play as members of IS and engage in combat. Furthermore to these techniques of online recruiting, **the radicalization of women** has to be mentioned as well. This target group requires a special approach but they represent an important part of IS because their main purpose is to give birth to future soldiers of their Caliphate. The online recruiters often seeking for those women who want to be part of something greater than themselves or to gain an elevated status through the joining of IS.

We can see that online radicalization is one of the greatest challenge of the operational level which has to be fought on several front lines. The 2014 analysis by Jerry Mark Long and Alex Wilner, examining al-Qaeda's perspective on social media and the Internet, also suggested a number of practicable ways to diminish the appeal of radical messages online. They conclude that the process begins at **informing people about the false messages and misinterpretation of Quran backed with evidence about the terrorists' real purposes**. One example of successful deradicalization is a program launched in Saudi Arabian prisons where radicalized individuals are being educated by religious scholars who help individuals to learn the true teachings of Quran. According to a PAK Institute report (2009), in 2004 the religious counselling program

had some 2,000 prisoners enrolled. By 2007, about 700 had been released upon completing the program. The report of International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (2015.) suggests that measures can be grouped into **repressive and soft measures**. Repressive measures such as “take down strategy” are focused on denial of access to terrorist contents. The report argues that it may seem reasonable for governments to follow this strategy, it is not necessarily the best solution. On one hand, because after a content is blocked there is a high probability that it will appear somewhere else with slight changes which makes it hard to find it again. On the other hand, take down strategy implies not only to open access websites but also to hidden contents which serves as point of access to vital information about the extremist organizations. Several terms belong to the so-called **soft measures, such as, “counter narrative” and “counter propaganda” meaning the development of a strategic communication plan that a state can take against extremist narratives**. According to the ICCT report, there are three categories of strategic communication relate to the ways in which actors can respond to the narratives of jihadist organizations. These are public information campaigns, alternative narratives (“Radical Middle Way” programme by the UK or “MyJihad” and “Viral Peace” programmes by the US) and counter narratives (“Say No to Terror” – an online communication campaign). The report presents the features and examples of each category. The role of regular media should not be missed out of strategic communication, certainly, there is a desire that mass media should not allow themselves to spread fear – which eventually contributes to the goal of terrorist organizations. Media has to find alternative ways of informing people, telling but not showing might be a considerable option. Another interesting aspect is the way how media reports on certain cases. The Dutch media consequently called Anders Breivik, committed terrorist acts in Norway 2011, mass murderer but not terrorist. Seemingly, a blonde western man profile did not fit to the picture of a terrorist, which was a good approach in itself, as the status of the heroic terrorist act was not provided to Breivik.

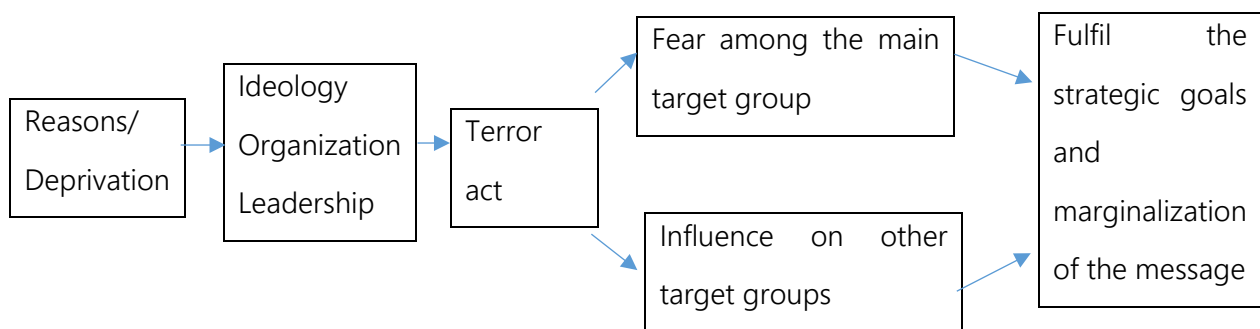
Important to see that for an effective communication against terrorism, numerous elements have to be taken into account. The target group; the message; the messenger; and the channel are all factors that critically have to be considered. As a result of complexity, there are no universal rules for dos and don'ts in a counter-terrorism campaign because it all depends on the target group (Dr. Bibi T. van Ginkel LL.M., 2015.). However, each element is a complex issue, therefore, the development of strategic communication as part of counter-terrorism strategy is suggested as a topic of future research.

To summarize, **the most important counter-terrorism areas on the operational level are cybersecurity and the development of a counter narrative in order to reduce the risk of radicalization.**

The operational level is followed by the **strategic level**. The purpose of this is to make the terrorist organization aware that they cannot reach their goals and any kind of action that they commit remain low in efficiency, furthermore, their activity does not deserve any attention or any support from the society (Maras, 2013.). The strategic level is built upon the previous two levels and its main purpose it to **increase the population's fortitude by reducing the psychological exposure**. The main tool of strengthening the population's consciousness is **education to prepare the target group of the effects of a possible attack**. Misunderstanding duplicates the effect of terrorism, meanwhile, the understanding of the terrorist's real weakness and their motivation reduce fear. For example, fear can be reduced if the public is aware of the type of communication used by terrorist during an attack. Most likely, there is nothing like heroic and sensational but it reveals the real nature and weakness of these people. This action together with the previous levels' actions are able to marginalize terrorists and their message. Terrorism without the fear of terror will not be considered as a successful political tool. In the graphic below the dynamic process of terrorism includes the tools of deterrence as a strategic reaction.



Operational level		Tactical level	Strategic level	
Mobilization for political violence	Operational preparation for terrorism	Terror act	Secondary effects	Final goals
Deterrence with capacity reduction		Deterrence with the reduction of chances	Deterrence with reduction of goals	



#### Methods to maintain the situation

prevent  
expose  
reduce  
marginalize

#### Methods to ease the effects

protect  
handle  
avenge  
prosecute  
rebuild  
restore

#### Methods of response

prepare  
educate/train  
inform  
marginalize

6. Terrorism as a dynamic process, source: own design

## 4. THE EUROPEAN UNION'S PERSPECTIVE

Europe unquestionably struggles with the increased threat of terrorism. The past few years has proven a bad shape of the Old Continent to resist to terrorist attacks that has moved from its Middle East doorstep into its living room.

When it comes to give an adequate response to the attacks the responsibilities have to be distinguished between those held by the European Union and the member states. In the following section, the principles of the cooperation on an EU level is going to be analysed, as it is important to see the extent of how far the EU's capacities could reach. Important to

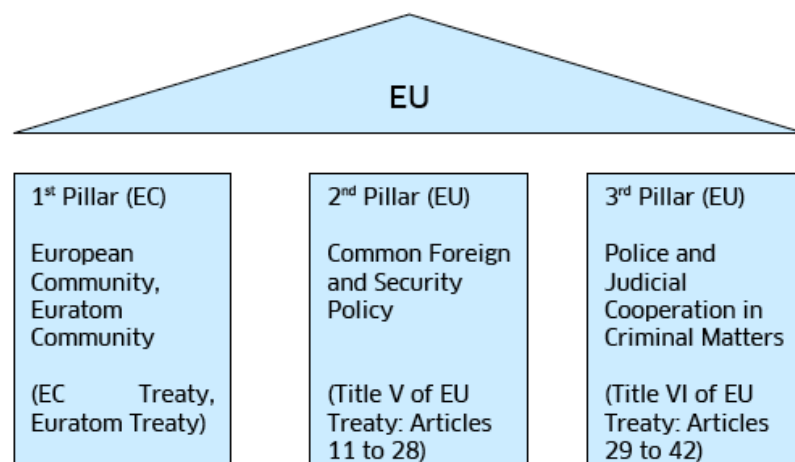
mention, that the author of this dissertation is not an expert of juridical area, therefore, this part of the study is limited to secondary resources.

Moreover, the author considers the international media coverage on European police and judicial cooperation as an important feedback from the public in light of the past two years' attacks. The author would like to state her awareness to the questionability of online sources, however, there are two arguments for using these sources. On one hand, trustworthy and credible sources with long-standing history were used as references, on the other hand, one of the aims of this chapter is to get to know the public and the citizen's opinion and media is one of the best tools for this purpose.

#### 4.1. Cooperation on EU level

The evolvement of the European Union is based on the idea of an economic cooperation, originally to keep the power balance in Europe in order to avoid a possible 3<sup>rd</sup> World War. The theory of power balance is one of the basic approaches in both realism and neorealism, in which the military power of states are allocated so none of them is strong enough to dominate the others. There were several initiatives both inside and outside of EU's framework with the purpose of elevating the integration to a higher platform, eventually, the Maastricht Treaty has brought the desired changes.

The **police cooperation** can be originated to the TREVI Convention, which is an intergovernmental cooperation created outside the EU's framework. This had been changed by the Maastricht Treaty with introduced of the so-called "Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters", as the third pillar of the EU.



6. figure= 3 pillars of the EU, source: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2009/06/04143736/2>

The Lisbon Treaty in 2009 terminated the three pillar system, since then the functioning of the EU is determined by the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). The first one forms the basis of EU law by setting out general principles, the governance of its central institutions (such as the Commission, Parliament, and Council), as well as the rules on external, foreign and security policy, while the latest forms the detailed basis of EU law, by setting out the scope of the EU's authority to legislate and the principles of law in those areas where the EU has legislative function (Horváth Z. , 2012). After the Lisbon Treaty came into force, the tasks of the third pillar (Police and Juridical Cooperation) are included in Article 67 to 89 of the TFEU's V. Title (EUR-Lex, 2007.) which is based on Article 3(2) of the TEU (European Parliament, 2017.) :

*'The Union shall offer its citizens an area of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers, in which the free movement of persons is ensured in conjunction with appropriate measures with respect to external border controls, asylum, immigration and the prevention and combating of crime.'*<sup>1</sup>

TFEU Title V. Article 67-89 contains the following specific chapters: policies on border checks, asylum and immigration, judicial cooperation in civil matters, judicial cooperation in criminal matters, police cooperation.

The police cooperation's **institutional bodies** are the followings: Europol, CEPOL (European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training), COSI (Standing Committee on Internal Security within the Council), EU INTCCN (European Union Intelligence and Situation Centre).

The need of **judicial cooperation** in criminal matters has evolved rapidly because a European-wide, unified law enforcement cooperation is the basic requirement of reducing crime. The three main reasons of creating such a system are (1) the internationalization of crime, (2) a less effective traditional cooperation in criminal matters (3) and the EU's intention to protect its own interests (Mészáros, Palya, & Sajtos, 2016).

The EU is competent in the following areas (European Parliament, 2017.):

1. In order to member states match in mutual recognition of all types of judicial decisions and resolutions, the EU is establishing regulations and procedures.

2. The EU is preventing and settling conflicts between the jurisdictions of different Member States.
3. The EU facilitates cooperation between the judicial and other authorities of different Member States in criminal procedures, and implementing judgments and resolutions.

The EU may implements minimum rules and punishments in crimes with cross boarder dimension. These areas of crime are the following: terrorism, trafficking in human beings, illicit drug trafficking, illicit arms trafficking, money laundering, corruption, counterfeiting of means of payment, computer crime, organised crime and sexual exploitation of women and children (Kende-Szűcs, 2011).

The **institutional bodies** of judicial cooperation are the followings: Court of Justice, Eurojust (European Union's Judicial Cooperation Unit), OLAF (European Anti-Fraud Office), EJTN (European Judicial Training Network).

The EU actively takes part in law development with numerous framework decisions and directives. As member states are taking a lot of efforts to implement or "take into account" these directives in their own judicial system, the cooperation system became extremely complex (Mészáros, Palya, & Sajtos, 2016).

According to scholars and case studies, the legal system shows signs of dysfunction and legal institutions cannot fulfil the desire of effective cooperation. As reported by the case study of Mészáros et al. (Sovereignty vs efficient crime-fighting, 2016) the main reason of the malfunctioning cooperation is the member states' fear of losing their sovereignty. Therefore, decisions are often driven by political interests instead of professionalism and the "easier way" of creating emptied legal institutions is preferred.

**The conclusion of this part is that the hypothesis has to be falsified, the institutional and juridical system do not allow the EU to implement significant changes in its functioning.**

#### **4.2. Examining public opinion through media coverage**

As we have seen in the third chapter, the media has an important role in strategic communication. As William F. Shughart argues (2008.), the rational population is poorly informed about the political sphere because the cost of gathering information is high relative to the benefit of voting for political candidate. In order to be informed, most of them rely on

journalist and news reports, therefore, it is essential to see how the terror attacks are communicated towards them.

According to the American television channel, PBS has published a report (Rotella, 2016) which proved that the jihadist behind Paris and Brussels attacks could have been caught several times before the attacks. Suspects were arrested and questioned several time, moreover, 9 of them were on terrorist-watch list. According to this article, the vulnerability arises from core contradictions in the EU, where international borders were set aside to promote economic well-being through commerce while police and intelligence are hindered. The exit of Britain from the EU (Brexit) is often explained as the first consequence of failure of EU policy on security issues. *Jean-Louis Bruguière*, the leading French investigating magistrate in charge of counter-terrorism affairs, said "If European policy is unresponsive, we will be putting up barriers again...Nobody wants it, but we will not be able to do otherwise if we are incapable of protecting ourselves. Eventually, everyone will barricade themselves and Europe will no longer exist. (Rotella, 2016)".

According to the Guardian's article (Burke, 2016.), "***Brexit and terrorism***. EU immigration is not the main danger", the former head of MI6, Richard Dearlove believes that an advantage of leaving the union is that it would allow the UK to have "greater control over immigration from the EU". Between 1999 and 2004, when Dearlove was in office there was not much flow of extremism from the EU to the UK, rather from overseas. However, the Syrian civil war has brought a change to this picture by 800 British, 800 Belgian, and 1500 French citizens who left Europe to travel to Syria from then returned to corporate on carrying out attacks in Europe. ISIS claimed responsibility for the attacks in Europe and they issued specific threats against the UK as well. The major problem here is the ease which marked those who were involved in recent attacks as they were able to move freely between Syria and their homes that shows failing of EU policies on intelligence and secure frontiers. The conclusion of the report is that, nevertheless, the threat of EU citizens travelling between the UK and ware zones is real, the chances are relatively low, because in the last 15 years the majority of attacks showed an example of local people attacking local targets.

According to the opinion of Sir Julian King, the British European Commissioner for the Security Union, fighting terrorism and human trafficking will be more difficult after Brexit as of practical limits (Rob Merrick, 2018.).

Several interviews were conducted with counterterror veterans (Rotella, 2016) who were said to warned political leaders about the following conclusions:

1. Weak and uncoordinated enforcement of Europe's international borders, a situation aggravated by the chaotic influx of refugees from Syria.
2. Differences in laws and security cultures that hamper intelligence-sharing and law enforcement cooperation among nations.
3. Fragmented and incomplete databases, and the lack of a universal database of terror suspects effectively used and supplied by all European nations.
4. Short prison sentences for terrorism and violent crime that have freed ex-convicts to play prominent roles in the jihad.
5. Limited resources and support for security forces in some nations, such as Belgium and Greece — a weakness that terrorists have studied and exploited.

These sources agree in the matter that the direct cause of Brexit is not terrorism, however, the loss over boarder control plays a serious role in the people's sense of security. Their most important conclusion is that the strengthening of cooperation beyond criminal matters would may have prevented Brexit and the terror attacks. We need to see that all the three articles have a very negative attitude towards the European integration and the EU's institutions, which influence the people negatively in the long-term. Therefore, this can be taken as another reinforcement to the importance of strategic communication of governments and media.

**Carnegie Europe** is a well-known think tank specialised in European foreign policy analysis based in Brussels. The organization's team of scholars provides depth of analysis and thoughtful policy recommendations on the strategic issues facing the European Union and its member states. Leading experts were questioned (Dempsey, 2015.) if Europe had a security problem, and all the answers suggest that the problems have two dimensions. The first dimension is inside the EU while the second is outside, however, they are strongly connected to each other and the neglect of any of them lead to serious consequences.

The *inside dimension* of the problem is represented by the attacks in the past two years because they are strong signals of the creditability of the EU. The attackers could freely move and prepare the assassinations as a result of the Schengen zone. The idea of the zone itself is great from an economical viewpoint, but it seems that it was not thought through carefully enough, as member states outsourced the task of border control on the EU and on countries neighbouring the external borders. Therefore, the EU needs to re-define itself, its values and purposes. If this is liberalism, constitutional government, and the right of man, these have to be defended with any possible tool, including, the abandonment of the equitation between freedom and security. The scholars of the article suggest that this can be achieved only by the establishment of a "closer-Union". This means in practice that border control has to be restored and intelligence and data sharing have to be coordinated in the framework of an updated Europol.

An important part of the inside dimension is to make efforts to work multiculturalism, which is the job of politicians, teachers, religious leaders but first and foremost it requires allocation of state resources. The linkage between inside and *outside dimension* of the problem is the lack of will power of the member states. Nobody is willing to step out of their comfort zone for the altar of cooperation, and this makes the EU unarmed with external threats. This has led to the occupation of a Ukrainian territory by Russia and to the refugee influx, both because the leaders postpone to face those decision which are required in order to the continent remain strong.

The opinions also suggest that defence budgets must be developed and European political leaders need to be willing to use force, both preventively and offensively.

As we can see, most of the scholars and experts argue for the establishment of a closer Union with the purpose of raising the security level. **As a conclusion of reviewing scholars and the media's opinion on the topic, the hypothesis can be verified** as the suggested way to respond to terror attacks has to be found on a common ground.

#### 4.2.1. Rise of populism

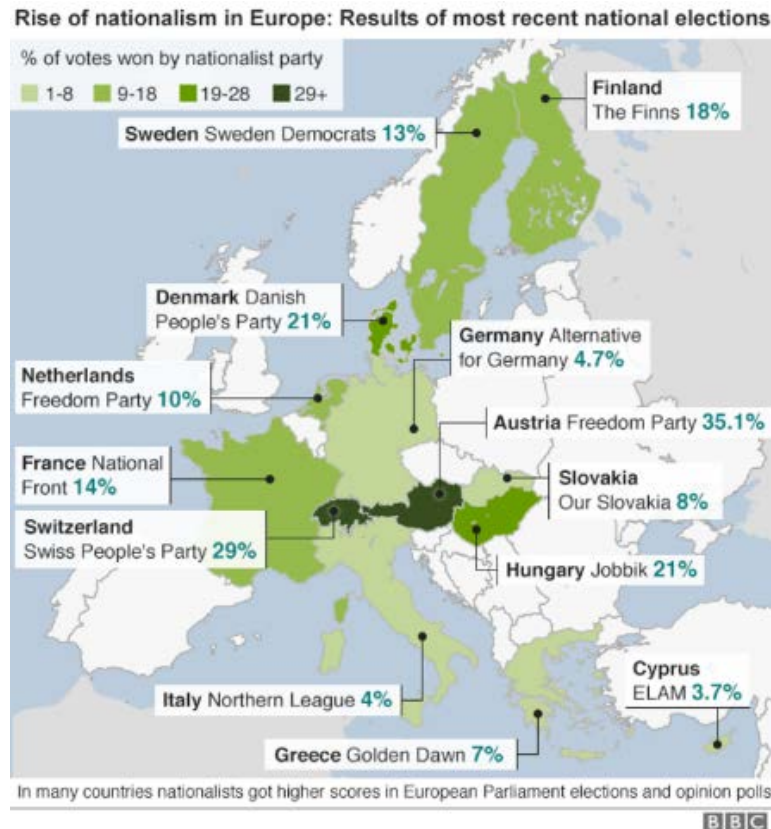
The security challenges brought to the surface the question of abandonment or corporation, and the future of integration. Not all the member states reacted the same way, some of them are reluctant to contribute and populist voices appeared both in the crowd and at the political

elite. As a result of continuous atrocities, people start to search for solutions and looking for explanations and possible ways of changes. Insurgent times are the best opportunity to flourish radical political approaches offering simplified answers to complex questions.

The term of **euroscepticism** appeared not only in the media but on the EU-horizon as well. Those political leaders who try to limit the level of EU cooperation are strongly worsen not only their own country's security stage but other member states' as well. This phenomenon is called euroscepticism which originally refers to the British mistrust of the EU project to deepen European integration in the 1980's. Afterwards, the term quickly spread to all who were reluctant to further integration (Vasilopoulou, 2013.). Reasons vary for the emergence of euroscepticism from country to country, but the basis of the phenomenon evolved from the significant increase in the European Union's competences together with greater consultation of people via referendum (Joannin, 2015.). The EU institutions received a lot of accusations that they could not give an adequate respond for structural problems, instability of Euro-zone, Ukrainian war, refugee influx, etc. and the success of Eurosceptic parties doubts on the whole EU project (Thornton, 2014).

In the following section the different populist/**nationalist waves in Europe** are going to be analysed so we will gain a comprehensive picture of exactly what is meant by the spread of populism. To this purpose the BBC put together a brief report (Guide to nationalist parties challenging Europe, 2016.) with a comparison of results of previous elections in European countries, focusing on nationalist parties and politicians.





7. Rise of nationalism: Results of most recent national elections, source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36130006>

Austria, Switzerland, Denmark and Hungary have the highest rise in the share of nationalist parties votes compared to the elections before.

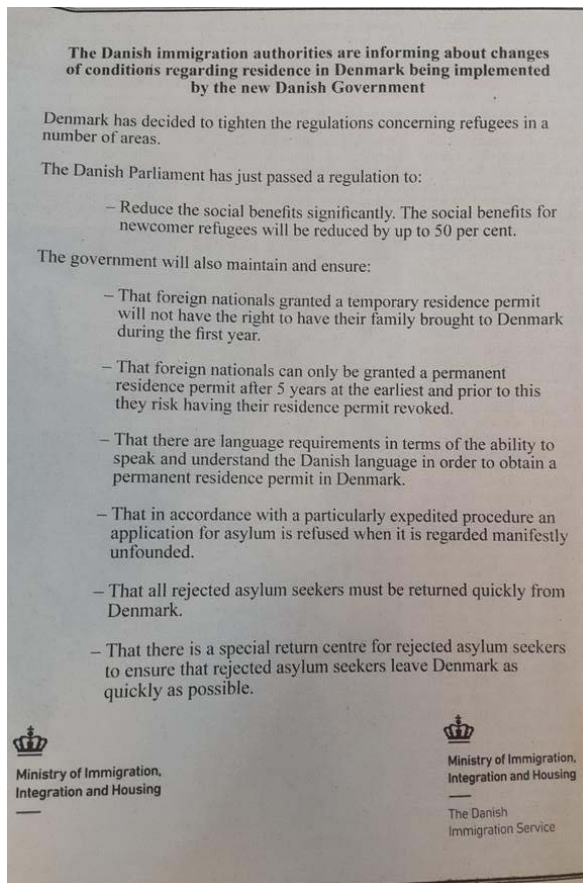
For example, at the previous presidential elections in **Austria** only a few percentage (according to the New York Times only 30.000 votes) were decisive that Norbert Hofer, the candidate of far-right Freedom Party (FPÖ) did not become the president. Mr. Hofer's key messages were the fear of Islamic State and an anti-immigration campaign. He campaigned with strengthening the borders and the military, and preferring Austrians over immigrant in the job market.



8. SVP campaign, source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36130006>

In October 2015 the Swiss People's Party (Schweizerische Volkspartei) won the parliamentary elections and currently they are the largest party in the Federal Assembly. **Switzerland** is not an EU member but they are in the

Schengen free-movement area, therefore, there is a high number of immigrants in the country. The SVP's key message is that security is more important than the equality of foreign and Swiss citizens and this is symbolized by treating the foreigners as a black sheep.



9. The advertisement of Danish immigration authority, source:

<https://twitter.com/sarahusseini/status/640838002147655684/photo/1>

*Denmark* also has one of the toughest immigration policy which reflects the power of Danish People's Party (DPP), the second largest party in row and the winner of European Parliament elections. They openly oppose multiculturalism, similar to the previous parties. Nevertheless, the government's actions are controversial because firstly a 1514\$ refugee aid was granted for housing and living costs, then the aid was cut and advertisements were placed in Lebanese newspapers warning against migration to Denmark. The DPP want Denmark to leave the Schengen area and improve border control and to make harder for EU immigrants to claim benefits in other member states. Their popularity can also be explained by the government's and EU's failure to address security measures within the Schengen-free movement area.

The **Hungarian** far-right party, Jobbik had the same share (21%) of votes as the DPP in Denmark. The largest opposition party in Hungary gained its popularity by openly vilified Jews, gays and foreigners and favouring foreign ties with Russia, Iran and Turkey rather than the European Union. According to an interview with Gabor Vona (Dunai, 2017), the leader of the radical party, Jobbik has started to target the mainstream by holding back the extremely radical views in order to challenge the conservative government of Viktor Orban at 2018 elections. As in the previous countries, the Hungarian nationalist party gained popularity by discrimination and the identification with pro-Nazi ideas.

However, Jobbik is not the only party which considered eurosceptic. Nevertheless, the Hungarian ruling party, Fidesz is a right-wing national conservative party with Christian values, in the last few years the Hungarian government tries to restrict the rule of law by legitimizing illiberal democracy as a form of governing. When it comes to refugees, the Hungarian government represents xenophobic approaches and not willing to take part in joint solution about accommodating those who are truly in need of. A referendum was hold in October, 2016 about the initiative of the European Commission to divide asylum seekers between member states so the financial weight on individual countries would be balanced. Despite that the referendum was not valid because the number of voters did not reach the minimum criteria (50%), the government communicated as a victory over “Brussels” (BBC, 2016). Hungary is not the only loud voice in campaigning against refugees and the joint solutions from the EU, the rest of Visegrád countries – Slovakia, Poland and Czech Republic are also a strong opposition on anti-migrant sentiment - normally a disparate bunch who agree on some subjects (like opposing Europe’s climate policies) but are divided on others (like Russia)(BBC, 2016).

As a summary of this part, it can be said that the rising populism of radical party’s with no democratic principles is a threat to the European integration. However, my assumption is that Western European countries have such a strong tradition of respecting democratic values and Visegrád countries depend on them in many ways that despite the presence of eurosceptic parties, there is not a real threat of power takeover in these countries. The problem which is more worrying in the situation is that the split between member states makes it harder to develop effective solution in security matters. The incorporation of Visegrád countries threat with a result of decline in integration. Therefore **this part of the research falsifies the hypothesis**, as differences between member states obstructs the possibilities of deepening the European integration. Obviously, it cannot be sad that one or the other party is completely wrong because both sides have their arguments which are true from a certain perspective. The worrying thing is more like the popularity of extreme ways of thinking which eventually lead back to the state of “illiberal democracies” – something which was fought for decades before Europe’s complete democratic transformation.

#### 4.3. Examining public opinion – results of primary research

The previous chapter proved that Europe is drifting into the crisis of democracy as populist ideas and eurosceptic politicians becoming more powerful. The quick spreading of euroscepticism cannot be explained only by one argument but the lack of security is a crucial part of it. The research focuses on European terrorism therefore other elements resulting the popularity of eurosceptic leaders, such as economical or trade reasons, will not be considered in this research. The previous chapter described how the lack of citizen's safety lead to losing trust in democratic institutions and to the support of radical political ideas. Terrorism and euroscepticism have a lot of connections with each other and many consider this as a potential threat to the achievements of the European integration. We could see how political entities gain benefits from interpreting the facts from a perspective that contributes to their interest.

People have an indisputable role in determining the EU's future direction through the elected leaders, therefore it is inevitable to gain knowledge on their perspective.

In order to see the how different nationalities approach the question of terrorism a survey was conducted. Moreover, the results of the survey make possible to verify or falsify the hypothesis which was the following: **the current foundation of EU with democratic principles is only going to maintain its existence if the leadership of member states join their power to defeat the threat of terrorism.** The results of secondary research verify the hypothesis (with the exception of the last chapter) as both scholars and the media argue that the only way to increase security is the establishment of a closer cooperation. However, the rise of populism falsifies the hypothesis because the growth of these parties signifies that the people tend to give up faith in democratic institutions and closure gives them a stronger sense of security. The questionnaire serves the purpose of a decisive tool whether people tend to follow democratic values or the problems are as deep as euroscepticism took over the leading place.

The target group of the survey were German and Hungarian people because it is interesting to compare how people perceive the EU and its future plus what their opinion about their governments' activity. As Hungary was mentioned among the eurosceptic countries and it is also a well-known critic of the German's "Willkommenskultur", it is very interesting to see if people actually agree with their government's activity. In many cases Hungary and the Visegrád countries (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland) represent a strong opposition in terms

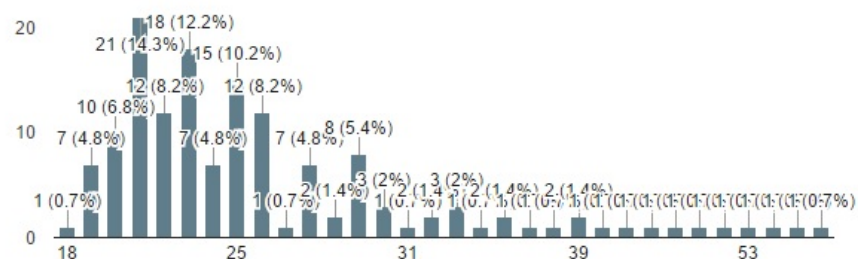
of refugee politics, immigration and the future of Europe. Many of these countries set a direct link between terrorist attacks and immigration, while it was proven many times that the attacks were not committed by immigrants but by European citizens. The problem with setting a direct link between terrorism and immigration is that it creates fear, hatred and discrimination of Muslim population which contributes to the goals of IS. It was stated in the third chapter that fear and its psychological effects are the main tools of terrorism in order to reach a political influence. Among the suggested counter-terrorism tactics, informing and education of people on the true essence of terrorist, have the greatest role because this reduce fear of terrorist attacks and eventually leads to the reduction of the attacks' effectiveness. Nevertheless, the approach of eurosceptic governments do not contribute to spread authentic information and education on counter-terrorism because their popularity is based on the fear of foreigners.

Both country are going to hold elections in the forthcoming two years, therefore, we need to see what kind of future the citizens imagine for Europe.

#### Participants of the survey

147 responses has been gathered in Germany and in Hungary. 59% of the participants were German, 17% Eastern European and 24% have non-EU nationality. In case of non-EU nationalities some questions are not relevant, like judging their own government and parliament, but it is interesting to see how people from other continents see Europe after they have already been living here. The survey was mainly conducted at Hochschule Rhein-Waal University of Applied Sciences and Budapest Business School. Therefore, the majority of respondents are between 19 and 30.

**Age** (147 responses)



10. Age composition of the participants

As the survey was mainly conducted in two higher education institution, the majority of participants has at least a Bachelor degree. Certainly, these circumstances does not allow us to draw wide-range conclusions but the sample is adequate to gain a picture of this layer of the society. In the following section the survey's results are presented. Firstly, the overall outcome of the six questions, secondly, a comparison based on the residents of eastern and western countries.

### Overall Results

The **first question** measured what people consider to be the two main threat to Europe's future. There is only a slight difference between immigration (54.7%) and terrorism (51.6%). Euroscepticism ranks 3<sup>rd</sup> with 44.5%.

The **second question** was aiming to find out what people think about the level of addressing these issues. 55% say that the solution of these issues is only possible jointly, on an EU level (through EU regulation). 31.8% of the participants think that the EU should serve as a guardian for member states (regulation through directives and recommendations) but the main responsibility should remain at individual states. A small minority, 13.2% believe that these issues have to be solved individually by each county.

The **third question** was enquiring about the trust of people in the different political institutions. This question is extremely interesting from the viewpoint of eastern and western countries but firstly let us see the overall results. Participants have to evaluate three political bodies; their national government, their national parliament and the European Union. Each institution had to be scored on a scale from 1 (tend not to trust) to 5 (tend to trust). 1 or 2 mean no or extremely low trust and from 3 to 5 it indicates partly or full trust in the institutions. The institution that seems to be the most trusted is the EU with 74% (96 votes) voted for the scores between 3 and 5. 71% of the voters scored their trust in their government between 3 and 5. The national parliaments seem to have the lowest trust rate because only 67% of the participants have some level of faith in it.

The **fourth question** was the most dividing. In this question people were asked about their opinion on who carries the responsibility of the terror attacks. Interestingly, the top ranking answer with 29% was the "other" option followed by 28% who blame the inefficient cooperation of intelligence agencies for the attacks. 24.2% think that the responsibility

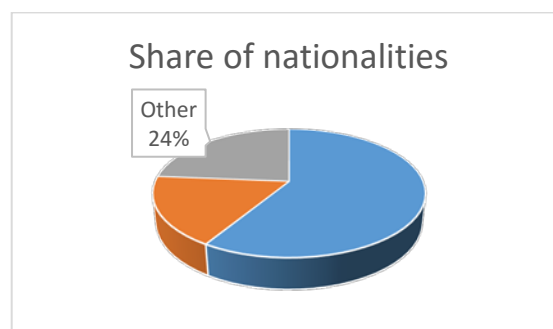
belongs to the individual states because they failed to integrate second and third generation immigrants. 18.9% of the participants think that the main responsibility is carried by the EU because the Schengen free movement area made them possible to happen.

The **fifth question** was designed to find out what people consider as an ideal direction for Europe's future. 60.6% of the participants voted for further strengthening of the existing cooperation, while 23.5% think that the EU should withdraw from any kind of role which is outside economic and trade purposes. Only 9% says that the EU should remain in its current status and 6.8% think that there is no need for integration at all.

The **sixth question** was a bit different from the previous ones because it focuses on refugee politics. The results of this is also very interesting from the viewpoint of different nationalities, because the question was the following: What do you think of your government's attitude to refugees? 44.7% and 17.4% either agree or strongly agree with it, 25% and 12.9% either disagree or completely disagree with refugee politics. Concerning that the majority of participants are German (or other Western-European nationalities), this data can be interpreted as Germans support their country's refugee politics.

#### Results based on nationalities

57% of the respondents have Western-European citizenship with a majority of German, but there are also Dutch, Swedish and Finnish nationalities. As a result, that the survey was partly conducted at a German university, 23% of the respondents have other than European citizenship (mostly Indian, East-Asian, and US). Nevertheless, this data is also not unnecessary because it can give us an insight on how people who live in Europe with a different cultural backgrounds approach these questions. Unfortunately, it was harder to reach Hungarians and other Eastern-European nationalities, therefore their share is only 17%.



11. Nationalities of the participants

The first question does not bring any significant differences between nationalities, immigration and terrorism are concerned the two greatest threat for the future of Europe.

The **second question** deals with the level where the problems should be addressed. **60% of Western-Europeans and 68% of Eastern Europeans voted for a joint solution.** Interestingly, **only 38% of other nationalities voted for a joint solution, which indicates a strong cultural difference in terms of cooperation.** Meaning that ever since the end of II World War European integration has deep roots which is part of our European cultural heritage. Most likely, the desire of European cooperation and integration is even stronger in case of post-soviet countries, because this has been the only way of improvement for them.

The **third question** was about the amount of trust in different political institutions (national government, national parliament, EU) where respondents had to score the different bodies on a scale between 1 (tend not to trust) and 5 (tend to trust).

**77% of Western European nationalities tend to trust in their governments** (score between 3 and 5), **while only 28% of Eastern Europeans voted for the same.** 72% of Eastern nationalities indicated their level of trust with a score of 1 or 2 which means a **serious dissatisfaction with their governments' attitude to these questions.**

**85% of Western European voters trust their national parliaments which is very high compared to the 28% of those Eastern European nationalities who do the same.** 76% of Eastern Europeans scored 1 or 2 with regards to their parliaments which **indicates serious malfunctioning of democratic institutions in these countries.**

**80% of Eastern citizens voted to trust the EU compared to the 73% of Western citizens and 68% of other citizens.** This data may indicates that the residents of Eastern countries more **likely to trust in common solutions from the EU than in their own political leaders.** The cultural difference in terms of traditional roots of integration is also visible here as other nationalities do not believe significantly in the common efforts of the EU.

The **fourth question** was aiming to gain the participants thought on the responsibility of terror attacks. Obviously, the main responsibility is carried by the terrorist groups, however, there are two reasons to examine the wider picture in this matter. On one hand, it is essential to look for causes in order to respond to security challenges, on the other hand, terrorism is one of the most common argument used by eurosceptic politicians. **There is a sharp difference**



between Eastern and Western nationalities because the number one choice of Western-Europeans is that individual member states are responsible, as they failed to integrate 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation immigrants. However, the majority of Eastern citizens think that the operation of intelligence agencies (and the lack of corporation) is not efficient enough and that made the attacks possible to happen.

The **fifth question's** purpose was to see what the people imagine as the ideal future for the EU. The two most popular answers among all the three groups was either to strengthen the cooperation of European states or to reduce its existence merely to economic and trade purposes. **This indicates that according to European residents the current form of integration has to be changed.** Another interesting result of this question is that the answers "there is no need for integration, sovereignty of states should be restored" was the least popular among Western Europeans.

The **sixth question** was measuring the participant's satisfaction with their countries' refugee policy. As we know, it is one of the most controversial topic between these countries, therefore, it is very interesting to see what the people think about their country's direction. **72% of Western nationalities agree with the handling of refugees (accepting them), however, Eastern countries divided on the topic** as participants almost equally voted for agreement and disagreement. The reasons of their mixed feelings can be an interesting topic of further research because we should not forget that many of the post-soviet countries experienced the same need of fleeing to the west during the Cold War era. **With a majority of 65%, other non-European nationalities also agree with German refugee policy.**

**The results of the questionnaire verify the hypothesis** because 55% of the participants think that these problems have to be addressed jointly, through EU regulations. Although, this percentage does not show a great majority because 38% voted to a solution where the EU's presence is reduced to give directives and recommendations to member states but the main responsibility stays at the individual states. Although greater percentage of European nationalities tend to support joint solutions, which means they are more likely to sacrifice part of their sovereign rights in order to fight security challenges.

## SUMMARY

The results of the primary and secondary research verify the hypothesis, therefore, terrorism can be fought the most effectively if EU member states are willing to strengthen the European integration. However, the establishment of a 'closer-Union' has several difficulties as a stronger cooperation means the reduction of the countries' sovereignty. The third chapter brought examples of how the lack of information about terrorism and migration can lead to the rise of eurosceptic leaders which is not only dangerous to the EU's future and its values but also to the continent's security.

After almost two decades of relative peace, in 2015 the number of people who died as a consequence of terrorism reached almost 200, the same average of the 80's when ethno-nationalist terrorism was culminating. In terms of modus operandi there are a lot of differences between ethno-nationalist/political terrorism and radical Islamic terrorism, nevertheless, the risk factor of unlimited media content is what eventually means a new challenge. On one hand, the instant access of people to the internet brings the reality of attacks closer to the public, which creates fear and possible source of disinformation. Meaning that the content providers and leaders have an extensive role in educating and influencing the public towards an attitude which contributes to counter-terrorism and not to the rise of eurosceptic leaders. On the other hand, terrorists use this opportunity to recruit new members and gain a strong support of their ideology, which draws the focus on cyber security challenges. For that reason, the integration cannot be pictured without the establishment of a European criminal intelligence hub which has extended relations with the intelligence community. Therefore, the second chapter verifies that the threat of radical Islamic terror is indeed growing in Europe and globally as well. 75% of the attacks can be connected to the same four groups which also means that terrorism has become transnational and the activity of law enforcement authorities cannot stop at borders. All the evidences of this study point to the direction that to secure Europe's future in the long-term a neoliberal approach would be beneficiary. The further prosperity of the continent depends whether the EU will be able to come into play as a unified body.

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## Terrorism in Europe

Thank you for taking part in this important survey which is created to research European terrorism as part of my master thesis. I would like to gain your thoughts and opinion on the following 6 questions to better understand the effect of terrorism on European politics and on the future of European Union. Be assured that all the answers you provide will be kept in the strictest confidentiality.

Once again, thank you for your cooperation.

Krisztina Sipos  
Budapest Business School  
[sipos.kriszti@gmail.com](mailto:sipos.kriszti@gmail.com)

\*Required

### 1. Nationality \*

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### 2. Place of residence (city) \*

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### 3. Age \*

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### 4. Highest education (ongoing studies as well) \*

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### 5. 1) What do you think are the two most important issues facing Europe at the moment? \*

*Tick all that apply.*

- ☐ Immigration (integration of immigrants to the society)
- ☐ Terrorism (security concerns)
- ☐ Nationalism/Euroscepticism
- ☐ EU's influence in the world (Inability to implement foreign policy and the lack of unified step up in conflicts outside the EU: Syria, Libya, Ukraine, etc.)
- ☐ Unequal share of the common contribution between EU member states (financially, economically, resolve of crises)
- ☐ United Kingdom's withdrawal from its membership (Brexit)
- ☐ Energy supply (diversification of resources)
- ☐ Economic situation
- ☐ Other: 

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## 6. 2) On which level do you think these problems should be addressed? \*

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Individually, on a national level
- ☐ Jointly, on an EU level (through EU regulations)
- ☐ The EU should guide the member states with directives and recommendations, but the main responsibility remains at the individual states.

**3) How much trust you have in the following institutions?**  
**Please mark each institution if you tend to trust (5) or if you tend not to trust (1):**

---

## 7. Your national government \*

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Tend not to trust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Tend to trust

## 8. Your national parliament \*

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Tend not to trust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Tend to trust

## 9. The European Union \*

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Tend not to trust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Tend to trust

10. 4) According to your opinion who carries the responsibility for the terrorist attacks of the last two years (Charlie Hebdo, November 2015 Paris attacks, Brussels suicide bombings, Nice truck attacks, Berlin Christmas market attack, etc.)? \*

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ The EU because the Schengen free-movement area made them possible to happen.
- ☐ The individual states because they failed to integrate second and third generation immigrants.
- ☐ The operation of intelligence agencies and their international cooperation is not efficient enough.
- ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

## 11. 5) According to your opinion, what would be the ideal future for Europe? \*

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Strengthening the EU through the establishment of a closer cooperation
- ☐ Remaining of the EU in its current status.
- ☐ Reducing the EU's existence to economic and trade purposes and abolishing the shared competencies.
- ☐ There is no need for integration, we should restore the sovereignty of European countries.

## 12. 6) What do you think of your government's attitude to refugees? \*

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Completely disagree

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