

**Belgrade, 9 November 2004**

Lecture

**Subject : Ambassador Massari's introductory lecture to students enrolled at the Belgrade University's Faculty of Political Science postgraduate specialist studies programme on Terrorism and Organised Crime**

Terrorism as a phenomenon is not new. What is new in this XXI century is that it has become the major security threat of our societies. There is no security /defence strategy - whether at national level or at level of international organisation such as the EU - that does not mention terrorism as a major threat.

9/11 has been the most tragic evidence of what terrorism can cause. It brought terrorism to the top of our domestic and international agenda. But 9/11 followed numerous other tragic episodes, which had occurred few years earlier. Remember for example the October 2000 U.S.S. Cole bombing; the August 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania (224 people were killed); or Timothy Mc Weigh who killed 168 people by bombing a federal office building in Oklahoma City in 1995; the failed February 1993 attempt by Islamist terrorists to destroy the World Trade Centre killed six people and injured about 1.000 others. It should also be remembered what happened in 1995 when members of Aum Shinrikyo, a Japanese cult, released nerve gas into the Tokyo subway, killing 12 and wounding over 3.500: this was the first recorded use of chemical weapons by terrorists.

After 9/11 we have sadly witnessed a proliferation of terrorist attacks all over the world, from Bali to Madrid to Beslan. Terrorism hits everyone and everywhere, knows no borders and no limits. It risks jeopardising the main conquest achieved with the end of the Cold War, namely the creation of a world more secure and free.

**I'd like to address three main questions. What today characterise terrorism as a global threat? How can we combat it effectively? And what is the role of the OSCE to this regard?**

1. Terrorism today! It is well known that there is not within the international community a unanimously shared definition of terrorism. But we know what are the main elements that characterise terrorist acts. There are at least four of these elements: a) the planned, premeditated character of violence (terrorism is neither random, nor spontaneous); b) the political character of violence (terrorism has political aims and is not simply criminal, like, for instance, organised crime groups, Mafia, etc); c) it targets mostly civilians; d) it is carried out by sub-national groups or individuals. Experts have identified at least six

types of terrorism: nationalist, religious, state-sponsored, left-wing, right wing, and anarchist. The first three categories (national, religious and state-sponsored terrorism) are the ones that are today predominant. National terrorists seek to form a separate state for their own national group (PLO, IRA, Kurdistan Workers' Party, Chechens, etc); religious terrorists seek to use violence to further what they see as divinely commanded purposes (this includes al Qaeda, the Palestinian Sunni Muslim organisation Hamas, the Lebanese Shiite group Hezbollah, Aum Shinrikyo in Japan); state –sponsored terrorist groups are deliberately used by radical states as foreign policy tools. These three categories of terrorism are often intertwined as we are today witnessing in many different cases, from the Middle East to the Caucasus.

In the era of globalisation, terrorism is dangerously sharpening its weapons. Globalisation favours the spread of weapons of mass destruction. There is no doubt that the major security threat is today represented by the danger that terrorist groups or terrorism-sponsoring states obtain WMD, particularly nuclear weapons or materials (uranium, enriched plutonium). In addition, the freedom of movement, diffusion of technologies, internet, satellite TV have not only made it easier for terrorist groups such as al Qaeda to become “transnational” in their organisation, but has also amplified the impact of terrorist acts. “Al Jazeera effect” has complemented the CNN effect ” and has become part of the terrorists’ strategy. Terrorist acts are in fact deliberate spectacles, designed to catch the attention of a wide audience, beyond the victims of the violence itself. The aim is to use the psychological impact of violence to effect political change. As a terrorist expert put it “terrorism is theatre... terrorists want a lot of people watching, not a lot of people dead.”

## **2. How to combat global terrorism?**

First we need to recognise that terrorism is a real danger for all societies, whether they are fully democratic or semi-democratic or even non-democratic. No country or society can regard itself as immune from terrorist threats. That means that each state has to equip itself adequately to prevent and counter the threat of terrorism. Effective law enforcement institutions at national level are crucial, as well public awareness at level of political elite and civil society. But, by definition, global terrorism cannot be won without international co-operation, ranging from gathering of intelligence, to border controls, freezing of financial assets, arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation. It is also crucial that all democracies ratify and implement domestically the main international treaties and conventions, which relate to the fight against terrorism (the twelve UN Conventions, the 1977 European Convention to fight against terrorism, etc.). Let's be frank. The international co-operation against terrorism is still a "work in progress". We have not found yet the most effective way to deal with global terrorism. We need to further adapt the international institutions, both regional institutions (NATO, EU) and global ones (UN) to improve their effectiveness in the fight against terrorism. We need to consolidate and update a commonly shared "acquis" of international rules (treaties, regimes) and an international operational “toolbox” to prevent and combat terrorism. The unity of the Euro-Atlantic community is pivotal to achieve these goals. As for Serbia and Montenegro as a country aspiring to join the EU and NATO, it should already now

think of how to give its best contribution to this regard. We expect Serbia and Montenegro and the other countries in the region to become active producer of security and stability in Europe that means also active participants in the struggle against global terror.

At the same time the West should try to address the long-term root causes of terrorism in order to avoid its further spread. Economic and political disenfranchisement of vast parts of the global community produce frustration that in turn provides fertile ground for the recruitment of new terrorists especially among the young generations. There are also some pending political problems, such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which need to be resolved urgently in order to allay frustration and bitterness in the Greater Middle East. We should not fall into the trap of resigning to the idea of an inescapable “clash of civilisations”. Differences among civilisations are normal and do not need necessarily degenerate into clash. Human “cross-civilizational” dialogue is crucial as confidence building measure for the prevention of terrorism. Even here, Serbia-Montenegro and the Western Balkans, with their cultural and ethnic diversity, can and should provide - through the consolidation of their democratic institutions and regional co-operation - a positive example to the entire world. On the contrary, the failure of intercultural and interethnic dialogue and co-existence in this region would only encourage elsewhere in the world those radical groups who would like to use the "civilizational" factor to justify their terrorist actions.

### **3. Finally, what is the role of the OSCE in today’s fight against global terrorism?**

As a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, the OSCE recognises that UN Security Council resolutions constitute the legal framework for the fight against terrorism and has pledged itself to fully implement UN Security Council Resolution 1373.

To complement these documents, the OSCE has developed its own counter-terrorism mandates. In particular one should mention here the Bucharest **Plan of Action** for Combating Terrorism, adopted at the OSCE Ministerial Council on 4 December 2001, which can be considered as the Organisation's blueprint for a comprehensive effort in the fight against terrorism,

This document was quickly followed by the adoption of the **Bishkek Programme of Action**, agreed at an international conference organised by the OSCE and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) on 13 and 14 December 2001 in Kyrgyzstan.

At the Porto Ministerial Council in 2002 the OSCE reinforced its anti-terrorism regime by adopting the **OSCE Charter on Preventing and Combating Terrorism** and a decision on **Implementing the OSCE Commitments and Activities on Combating Terrorism** that strengthened the OSCE’s counter-terrorism activities as it recognised the danger posed by weapons of mass destruction in the hands of terrorists. It also identified four strategic areas for preventing and combating terrorism: policing; border security; anti-trafficking; and suppressing terrorist financing.

Taking the OSCE's anti-terrorism action one step further, the foreign ministers of the OSCE participating States decided at the Ministerial Council meeting in Maastricht in December 2003 to adopt decisions on **Travel Document Security** and the establishment of a **Counter-Terrorism Network**. They also endorsed a decision taken by the Forum for Security Co-operation on Man-Portable Air Defence Systems (MANPADS) to strengthen controls over export and stockpiles of such weapons.

An Anti-Terrorism Unit (ATU) was established in 2002 within the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna as a permanent co-ordinating body in the overall efforts of the OSCE in preventing and combating terrorism. Under the mandate of the Bucharest decisions, the Action against Terrorism Unit is the focal point for OSCE counter-terrorism co-ordination and liaison with other relevant regional, sub-regional and international organisations.

One of the ATU's main goals is to address existing gaps in the anti-terrorism capabilities of the participating States and to serve as their anti-terrorism information resource as well as a resource for other international, regional and sub-regional, as well as non-governmental, organisations.

The OSCE Mission in Serbia Montenegro's mandate does not provide explicit reference to activities related to counter-terrorism. However, recognising the importance of the fight against terrorism and being fully aware of the new OSCE priorities in this field the Mission has developed programs that indirectly serve the purpose of preventing and countering this threat. For example, the Mission's activities in South Serbia and the creation of a multi-ethnic police have helped to undercut the basis for terrorism and extremism. Addressing economic recovery and promoting full integration of the Albanian and other communities into the judiciary and educational systems will help eliminating the root causes of terrorism. This could serve as an example for similar approach in other post-conflict multi-ethnic communities in the region.

The Mission's Law Enforcement Department is addressing the issue of anti-terrorism with its programs dealing with border security, travel documents, border guards training, capacity building in the Ministry of Interior, especially in the field of intelligence gathering and investigative techniques.

Our Rule of Law Department activities are directed towards capacity building of the judiciary in dealing with organised crime and war crimes, including program on witness protection, as well as programs related to counter corruption and money-laundering.

A final thought concerning the relationship between democracy and security. Terrorists tend to target mostly democracies, because they wrongly believe that democracies are more vulnerable. This is a gross miscalculation. Despite that we have to recognise that there is potentially a risk that fight against terrorism puts individual rights and democratic freedoms under stress. Remember the special legislation against state employees, the *Berufsverbot* adopted in Western Germany during the 70s' in order to combat against

Baader-Meinhof; or the debate in the US around the Patriot Act, or, in slightly different. But here more familiar context, the introduction of the state of emergency in the aftermath of the assassination of former Serbia's Prime Minister, Djindjic. The need to reconcile the preservation of our individual freedoms with our security is one of the major challenges that all democratic societies, including the new democracies of the Western Balkans, will have to face. Should we sacrifice democracy for the sake of security we would fulfil the terrorists' aims and make our societies and the world less secure.