

The Islamic religious terrorism and Europe

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Islam, like other religions, has witnessed fundamentalist upsurges. It is important to make a difference between Muslim terrorist, Muslim fundamentalist and religious based terrorism. The author analyses the streams of Islam highlighting its goals and tools. The security of the Republic of Hungary cannot be separated from the security of our allies. Special attention is given to the terror threat of Europe after the Madrid and London bombing, emphasising that we cannot talk about a new wave of terrorism in Europe, but the al Quaida-type assassinations have appeared in certain parts of Europe. The context between the European terrorism and the global war on terrorism is obvious.

Introduction

In my study I would like to deal with the effects of the Islamic religious terrorism on the world's future. I find it extremely important to highlight the fact that it would be a fatal error to confuse the Islamic religion and the terrorism; such an endeavour is no part of my intention. Two phrases often used interchangeably are "Muslim terrorist" and "Muslim fundamentalist". Muslim terrorist is an oxymoron; one who truly practices Islam cannot be a terrorist. And if we refer to the definition of fundamentalism, we would know these two phrases are mistakenly or intentionally interchangeable and that they actually have opposite meanings. Within the true Islamic fundamentalism one would never see crimes against humanity, political killing, terrorism, religious extremism, or the forcing of one's religion on others. When it comes to the media, the spotlight is shining on dramatic murderers who are repeatedly referred to as "Islamic fundamentalists". This is a total contradiction to the definition of the truly Muslim fundamentalists. From the "other side" there are as well many misunderstandings, e.g. 70% of the Muslims living in Great-Britain think that fight against terrorism equals with fight against Islam. In my study I only attempt to analyse one type of terrorism, namely the religious terrorism.

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In order to achieve my goal, I intend to deal with three questions:

1. What will characterise the world till 2020?
2. The objective of Islamic fundamentalism and its occurrences
3. The present tendencies of European terrorism

1. To see clearly the future of Islamic terrorism, I find it important to survey the standpoints and assessments of such organizations that deal with the determination of the world's future. If we have a look at the study of the USA National Intelligence Council, which gives the prognosis of the world's condition till 2020 (Mapping the Global Future), the following phenomena are reasonable to highlight from the aspect of our issue:*

- globalisation remains irreversible and presumably it is connected not only to the Western countries; ambitious Asian countries certainly will realise new “game rules” in this field;
- world economy will be bigger, the extent of gaps between the poor and the rich will grow; countries with fragile democracies will be able to handle this crisis less effectively;
- the increasing number of global companies facilitates the spread of new technology, which means a growing challenge for governments;
- the rise of Asia is expected, the only question is that how smoothly it will happen in the case of India and China;
- the increasing ageing of the population is to be counted with, the question is whether unifying Europe will become a world force or not; whether Europe and Japan will be able to accept work force and to build a social network;
- the necessity of energy supply emerges on a global level; the question is how the internal problems of the energy supplying countries affect energy supply itself;
- the role of non-state actors will expectedly rise; the question is how state institutes will be able to handle this phenomenon;
- political Islam remains a potent force; the relationship between religion and state, the spread of Jihad's ideology and its management will remain a question;
- certain states get hold of rising capacity of weapons of mass destruction; the question is how to prevent this phenomenon;
- terrorist organisations make an effort to acquire biological, chemical and radiological weapons;
- instability remains in the Middle East, Asia and Africa, and as a result of this, certain regimes could even collapse;

* For further information see: *The Report of the National Intelligence Council's 2020 Project*, December 2004. ISBN 0-16-074 218-2 (<http://bookstore.gpo.gov>)

- the great power conflict is unlikely; the question is how they can manage competitions (with special regard on energy resources);
- environmental and ethical problems are likely to emerge; the question is how they can be managed with new technologies;
- the United States of America remains the single great power from the aspect of economy, military force and technology; the question is whether it will be able to keep its technological superiority and whether there will be any challenger for it.

Peculiarities

Since the shaping of the Western alliance system (1949) the condition and nature of international connections has never been so “liquid”. The United States of America remains a determinative factor in world politics.

At the same time, the rise of India and China is going to determine the geopolitical situation, at least such a way as Germany did in the 19th century.

Globalisation is going to permanently determine world order. By 2020, world economy will be stronger with 80 percent more than the present condition. Despite this, globalisation will not be global. States which are able to apply information technology will take the greatest advantage from globalisation. The firms that are able to perform in the global world will play a determinative role.

Political Islam is also being globalised: it gets national and ethnic characteristics, which know no boundaries. Such factors as economical backwardness, the effect of religion on education, the islamisation of institutions, trade unions, NGOs and political parties contributes to the survival of the political Islam. Beside the Middle-Eastern region, political Islam takes its effect in Europe. It attempts to base on those who arrived in Europe as immigrants and have been ousted to the periphery of society. Those systems that are able to accommodate will survive, while there will be an increasing pressure on autocratic systems. The third wave of democratisation will reach the post-Soviet states.

The causes of international terrorism will not cease; consequently in the forecoming 15 years defeating terrorism will not be probable. Because of global communication, Islamic identity will strengthen, besides the Middle East, in Central and Southern Asia and in Western Europe, where the Muslim religion had not been strong formerly. The Islamic revival brought with itself the solidarity with the Chechens, the Palestinians, the Iraqis and the Afghans etc. By 2020 the Al-Quaida will fall apart to extremist Islamic groups that have no centre, use communication, the madrassas, the havala system, the donations etc. The efforts to get WMD will remain.

The objective of Islamic fundamentalism and its occurrences

Reacting to 11. September 2001, numerous observers and politicians had the opinion that all the occurrences of the Islam are to be contracted and give their view the password 'radical'; in addition, they regard Islam as a threat. This approach is basically false, for Islam has many shades, and only few of them are among the dangerous ones. For this reason, "on the other side" a discriminative strategy is needed too, which considers the differences between certain tendencies. It is undoubtedly true that the occupation of Iraq, the unresolved Israeli-Palestinian conflict, furthermore the anti-terrorist war have also contributed to the shaping of the Jihadist tendencies. For the understanding of the different streams of Islam, differentiating Shiite and Sunni Islam serves as a starting point. Political Islam first occurred in the 1979 Iranian revolution, and the activity of the Shiites was accepted with rather great reservation. Its reason is relatively simple: the Shiites make 20% of the whole Muslim population; therefore they are in minority related to the state and the population (except in Iran). Thanks to their religious leaders – in contrast with the Sunnites – they remained homogeneous. Sunni Islamism – that is considered dangerous by the Western countries nowadays – is basically fundamentalist and radical, so it endangers Western interests. It is not a monolithical religion: on the contrary, three types of it have developed that owns a specific *modus operandi* and characters.

These three types are the following:

- a.) *Political Islam*. The political Islam is basically embodied by the Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt and its different associations (in Algiers, Sudan, Jordan, Kuwait, Syria and the Palestinian territory). Besides this, one can meet local-based movements, e.g. Justice and Development Party in Turkey, or the Party for Justice and Development in Morocco, whose aim is to reach power position on a national level. These parties accept the notion of national state, work within constitutional framework, disapprove of violence (except foreign occupation); and have rather reformist than revolutionist views. The characters of political Islam are the militants.
- b.) *Missionaries*. It has two well-known associational forms: the more organized one is the Tabligi, while the less organized are the Salafists. They do not endeavour to political power, their aim is to preserve the Islamic identity and image opposed to the faithless. Their representatives are the missionaries.
- c.) *Jihadists*. They choose armed fight. They have three tendencies: inner (fight against those Islamic systems that are ungodly), irredentists (fight against those who have occupied Muslim territories, or foreign occupiers), and global (fight against the Western world). The main character in this category is the mujahid (warrior).

The common feature in all the mentioned tendencies is that it tries to realize Islam in modern circumstances. They differ in the way they comprehend the challenges towards the Islamic world, and to these what is the possible, necessary and suitable answer. Political Islam tries to eliminate injustice, and prefers political reforms (questioning election results, political actions). Missionaries endeavour to preserve Islamic values and faith, while Jihadists use violence in order to defend Islamic values. The answer to the question which branch will have greater role in the future depends on the politics followed by non-Islamic countries.

The aim of Islam has always been unification, both in the religious and political sense. Each Muslim believer, whether they are Arabic, Persian, Afro-American, Indonesian, Philippine etc., is the member of the Islamic nation, the Umma. The Umma is the most important notion of the Islam, with special regard on the circumstances of its development. Prophet Mohammad's aim was to unify the tribes fighting with each other, and turning them against the outer world. Islam has always assigned great importance to unification. However, the homogeneous Islamic world hasn't been realised ever since, moreover, one cannot talk about pan-Arabism either. Unity has been ruined by numerous conflicts, such as getting territories, conflicts between leaders, wars, and the fight for true Islam. The fight for Islam was meant to hide separation. (Officially, the Islamic world is homogeneous, and it does exist; only certain heretics want to divide it.) Actually, Islamic world is divided not only because the Shiite and Sunnite controversies, but within the indicated branches many other tendencies exist (Wahabism, Salafism, Sufism).

It is a fact, however, that they put away Shiite and Sunnite conflicts when the goal is to defeat the common enemy (e.g. the cooperation of Shiites and Sunnites against the coalition forces in Iraq). The combat between the two tendencies started after the death of Prophet Muhammad. Within the Sunnites, the most known trend is Wahabism, which was born in the 18th century; to this is the Saudi dynasty connected in the present. Wahabism proclaims the return to ancient Islam, and objects any deviation from it. At the same time, it can be stated that Wahabism has gone through many changes during the past decades. They had to deal with such factors as the Iraq war, or the presence of the USA in numerous Arabic countries. All these factors have lead to the development of another tendencies. Practically the Shiites play a leading role only in Iran, but they are present in Azerbaidzhan, Bahrain, Lebanon, and naturally in Iraq. For the leader of true Islam only the blood relative of Prophet Muhammad is accepted, and to the five pillars (faith, prayer, alms, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca) they connect imamate, too. According the imamate trend, the last legitimate imam disappeared more than a thousand years ago and will only reappear as a Messiah. Till his coming, he is represented by Shiite high priests, the

ayatollahs. The third trend, Sufism, may originate from Shiite Islam, and its believers make an effort to get into a mystic relationship with Allah. All in all, Islamic fundamentalism is extremely divided, and it is divided into groups and aspects that are enemies of each other. A remarkable characteristic is that many more terrorists are called from those countries that are allied to the USA or the friends of it, than from those that are considered terrorist countries by Washington. The presence of the USA in the Arabic world raised ten times the presence of terrorism and the possibility of assassinations. According to certain aspects, if Osama bin Laden is captured (some say he isn't even alive now), everything will be the same until USA presence remains in the territory. There are such aspects according to which terrorism can be defeated if the present terrorist generation will be destroyed and the future generation will be prevented to develop. In my opinion, nevertheless, it is not in the least sure that military solution is the most effective version in the fight against terrorism.

The purpose of Islamic fundamentalism is the removal of West from the Islamic world, the alteration of the Christian and Jewish culture, to stop supporting the corrupted systems, to make Israel disappear (because they find unbearable that the Jewish have occupied the Holy Land, and the USA occupied Iraq). They also announce fight against alcohol, pornography and prostitution.

The Al-Qaida realizes a fourth generation, asymmetric warfare. It is rather small regarding tactics, but it occurs in different parts of the world, appears and disappears as a ghost. Terrorism has basically destroyed the defensive strategy of the USA (early warning, preventive strike, deterrence), for the method of asymmetric fight differs radically from the traditional tactical methods.

The role of the fatwas

Different Islamic religious leaders have published many fatwas in the past years, which refer to a serious PR activity. Its goal is raising attention, intimidating the Western world, influencing the Islamic world; but according to certain terror-analysts, some messages hold an operative value, that is, they give signs and orders for accomplishing terrorist actions.

The new type but old rooted Islamic terrorism realizes three basic goals:

1. As the weapon of the poor, it attacks the ones stronger than itself with asymmetric methods. Ethno-nationalist, religious fundamentalist (Islamic radical groups against Israel, IRA – UK)
2. Raising attention (I bomb, therefore I am, fear me)
3. Making a new social order and destroying the present one.

The terrorist organizations based on Islam are able to improve and to apply the new methods of information technology. Organizations transform, from the hierarchic organizations, networks set up that are appropriate for the information era. Recruitment happens mostly by using the Internet.

One characteristic of the strategy of Islamic fundamentalism is the completion of lethal actions with new methods, under changing circumstances, possibly against new targets. The applied technology is modern, logistic reinforcement can be evaluated as appropriate. They realize net war (network war), which is a fresh form of conflict and crime, and it also includes traditional tactics, but participants work in a network form and system with the features of the information era. There are sporadic groups operating with Internet communication, without central commandship.

Network war causes serious difficulties for the fighters against it. Its characteristics are the following:

- there is a growing number of terrorist groups who apply the form of network system and use the inventions of information technology in logistic maintenance;
- newer groups are rather network types, while the older ones are less such;
- the associations based on network structures statistically accomplish more terrorist actions;
- information technology is mainly used for reinforcement (both personal and material), and in offensive tactics;
- young recruits know computer better, therefore they use it more often;
- one fourth of the terrorist activities originates from religious intentions, so it is difficult to separate religious and political motifs (Hamas, Hezbollah);
- the situation gets even more complicated because of the difficulty to reveal state support; the coverage of religious groups can come in handy for the state.

The criteria of state supported terrorism:

- terrorist activities are get done by state employees;
- terrorists are employed by the state;
- the state supports the groups financially or with arms;
- the state gives logistic support;
- the state contributes to the working of terrorist bases;
- the state plays neither an active, nor a passive role, that is, it tacitly acknowledges the existence of terrorist associations.

Thanks to the efforts made by the Western countries with the active participation of some Arabic countries, the number of states sponsoring terrorism has been diminished.

The goal of the new type religious terrorism is to set up the Islamic Caliphate, which can be regarded as a process, and according to certain Islam-analysts, it consists of the following phases:*

Phase 1: it took from 2000 to 2003 (till the surrender of Baghdad), and it got the attribute 'awakening'. The aim of 9/11 was to provoke war against the Islamic world, and by this to "awaken" the Muslims. Islam-analysts consider this action successful. The battlefield has opened; the USA and its Western allies have got closer to the warriors and have become targets.

Phase 2: will take till 2006. The Western world regards the Islamic world with due foresight. The Al-Quaida has become a movement from an association, and the recruitment of young people has already begun. Iraq has become an operational territory; bases have come about in many Arabic countries.

Phase 3: gets the attribute 'rise', will take from 2007 to 2010 and concentrates on Syria. The fighter effective force has already been set up; one part of it presently is in Iraq. Attacks are expected in Turkey and more intensively in Israel. Islamic planners expect that the Israeli attacks make the groups more organized and respected. The other neighbours of Iraq – with special regard on Jordan – will also be endangered.

Phase 4: 2010–2013 will bring the fall of the hated Arabic governments. Parallel with the fall of the systems, the Al Quaida will strengthen. In this time, they will start attacking the oil producing countries, and at the same time they start attacking the informatics systems of the USA.

Phase 5: 2013–2016, the announcement of the Islamic Caliphate. It reduces Western influence in Islamic countries; Israel becomes weak, no serious resistance is expected. According to the Al Quaida's hopes, Islamic state will mean a new world order.

Phase 6: from 2006 it brings total confrontation. With the announcement of the Islamic Caliphate, the fight between the believers and the faithless will begin, as it was many times foretold by OBL.

Phase 7: the decisive victory; the world is defeated by 1.5 million Muslims in a way that the Caliphate will win by all means. This era will last till 2020; however, hard fight will only take two years.

Concerning the reality of the plan, this is strongly questionable. By this time the Al Quaida network has intensely weakened, and the leaders are unable to direct the operations. The theory according to which Al Quaida can set up an Islamic Caliphate in the world can be regarded as absurd. Some ideas, nevertheless, have a little real value, e.g. the one according to which Syria can become the centre of mujahids. From the

* Islamic caliphate in 7 easy steps, Spiegel online 050822

Jihadist aspect Turkey and Israel can become targets. I think this may be real, too. Jordan has been attacked several times, and it is also unquestionable that Jerusalem is the target. One cannot ignore such aspects that the Al Quaida will become a movement and this attracts disappointed youngsters. Moreover, it is also remarkable that attacks against big Western cities are not spoken about. Nowadays the Al Quaida has fallen apart into groups and it is rather an idea than an organization. It is hard to imagine that OBL (if it exists anyway) struggling for daily survive would give orders. The relationship between Islamic warriors and sympathisers has not been proved either. The aim of Islamic fundamentalism is to set up the Caliphate, but it can rather be regarded as a final objective. A direct objective is to raise the Islamic opposition in the existing Islamic systems, generating revolts and dissatisfaction in each country. With 9/11 it has proved the vulnerability of the USA, indicating towards Islamic countries that the patron is vulnerable. It has forced the answer, which raises hostile feelings against the USA. If it does not fight, it is a paper tiger; if it fights, it is an enemy.

What happened after 2001? President Bush announced the war against terrorism. I wonder whether it is really a war. If we examine the criteria of war, several people argue this aspect. War is fought against an enemy, while terrorism is an asymmetric tactical method, which is quite hard to make war against. War is fought against nations, and Al Quaida cannot be defined as a nation. Moreover, it is rather hard to decide who will win this war. In the Islamic countries, war against terrorism is equal with war against the Islam, which is very dangerous.

Events after 9/11:

- Al Quaida attacked the USA with a specific and new method;
- there has been a chain of terrorist attacks in Europe and several Muslim countries from September 11, but the USA has not been attacked;
- one month later the USA attacked Afghanistan and expelled Talibans from the bigger cities;
- some leaders were captured, but they didn't succeed in capturing OBL; in the latest times, we can see the reorganization of Talibans, which appears in attacks against coalition forces;
- the USA attacked Iraq in 2003 with the intention of fighting against the Al Quaida, but many judged administration saying that the Al Quaida is not even present in Iraq;
- the USA hoped that the war will quickly be over, but instead of that, it got involved in such a guerrilla fight that has no way out in reasonable time;
- the Al Quaida has not succeeded in reaching its primary aim (that is, breaking out a revolt in at least one Muslim country) and setting up a Jihadist system;

- there is no common revolt in the Muslim countries, moreover, several countries cooperate with the USA;
- the offence does not continue in the USA (the question is whether it is because of the effective defence or because of the lack of skill on the other side).

Today we are fully aware of the fact that the purpose of the Iraqi war was not the one President Bush composed in the summer of 2002 at the West Point Military Academy, but the following:

- practising pressure on the Saudi government that supports the Al Quaida to stop streaming money and to cooperate with the USA;
- taking Iraq under control, which lies on a strategically important territory, has common boundaries with more highly important states, and its territory can be used for the supporting of possible military operations;
- making the Islamic world feel that the USA is strong in the military sense.

What is the present situation?

- the USA has not been attacked for four years now;
- neither of the Al Quaida supporter states have fallen;
- the USA did not win neither in Afghanistan, nor in Iraq,
- OBL is still free and prepared to accomplish further actions.

The present tendencies of European terrorism

After the European assassinations in 2005, with special regard on Madrid and London, several experts raise the question whether we can count on the rise of terrorist attacks in Europe. In my opinion, we cannot entirely talk about a new wave, but we must talk about the fact that the Al Quaida-type assassinations have appeared in certain parts of Europe. I put the stress on 'certain parts' and I find it necessary to note that terrorist actions unfortunately cannot be indicated in advance. If we examine the evaluations of EU and NATO concerning terrorism, for both organizations, the main danger is terrorism and the proliferation of WMD. My conviction is that we can only act out against global terrorism with global cooperation, which must be validated both on an international and national level. Our NATO and EU membership enables us to act out against terrorism with unified forces and within alliance.

If we talk about European terrorism, first we have to define the threats, and then this should be followed by the counter measures to be applied by the different organizations. Being threatened can be interpreted on federal and national level, too, for if we examine only NATO, the terror threat of Great Britain and Iceland is radically dissimilar.

According to the data of the well-known US institute for strategic analysis, the National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT), as a result of local terrorist assassinations 34 people died in Western Europe, while because of the trans-national terror networks action, since September 2001, 252 people have lost their lives mainly in the Madrid and London disaster. This is undoubtedly owned to the Al Quaida network. In my opinion these mentioned data must not be ignored judging the terror-threat of the European countries.

After the terror attacks against the USA (September 2001), Turkey (November 2003), Spain (March 2004) and Great Britain (June 2005), international terrorism has become the main threat for the countries of the Euro-Atlantic region. The goal of terrorists is generating fear, weakening the democratic social and political institutional systems, and undermining the trust in the democratic state order of society. Terrorism opposes democratic scale of values and it makes a destabilizing effect on international relationships as well. Trans-national crime, which is connected to terrorist organizations, extremely endangers the functioning of states and international institutions, which may lead to other – political, economical, commercial, emigrational and health care – crises. The exploratory work against terrorism is highly aggravated by the fact that one must deal with closed organizations, therefore the recruitment of its members happens under conspired circumstances. The cells or groups set up by the organizations mostly depend on tasks. Financing the terror organizations is also conspired, their relation is secret and modern, and so it accommodates to the given security circumstances.

The impact of international terrorism on the security of the Hungarian Republic

The security and menace of the Hungarian Republic cannot be separated from the security of our allies. For the above fact, when assessing the terror threat of our country, we cannot ignore the security challenges concerning the NATO and the EU. Regarding the terrorist attacks in Istanbul and London, Hungary – as the member of NATO and EU – has to confront with the fact that the new type, Islamic based terrorism has reached Europe, too.

Hungary's belonging to the Euro-Atlantic alliance system implies the risk of being attacked by anti-Western ideology terrorist organizations, especially in connection with our country's participation in different international military and peace missions.

Hungary does not belong to the primary target countries of terrorism – because of its past concerning developing countries, international authority, the limited operational possibilities of terrorist organizations, the little number of the Hungarian Islamic

community etc. At the same time, there is a risk that terrorist may commit an assassination in Hungary, or against Hungarian stakes in foreign countries, among which one might find the forces of the Hungarian Army participating in international operations.

Terrorism and organized crime is connected more and more tightly. Terrorist organizations – because of the pinching of its legal financial sources – have built a well-working connection system with local criminals interested in drug, weapon, vehicle and human smuggling and with international criminal groups. At the same time, the aims of terrorism and organized crime differ significantly.

The international anti-terrorist coalition lead by the USA – however, it has reached significant achievements on many fields – has not fully fulfilled the expectations yet. There is a danger that terror threat has been heightening on mid and long terms. This tendency is signified by the fact that – with the terrorist attacks in Madrid, Istanbul and London – Europe has got into the regions that are directly endangered.

In the future, the terrorist organizations can radicalise further, the number of their attacks can rise, the assassinations of the future may be characterised by more and more victims, more immoral choice of target, more brutal accomplishment methods. Expectedly other terrorist groups will set up and the number of suicidal assassinations may rise, too. The determination of international terrorist organizations will heighten, while they – because of the losses suffered in the fight against international terrorism – endeavouring to keep their most important operational skills. The actions of radical organisations and terrorist groups might intensify in those regions as well where because of ethnic conflicts or other destabilizing factors our country's performance is a national interest; primarily originating from our obligations undertaken in the Alliance and the EU.

Despite the fact the countries participating in the fight against terrorism pay more and more attention to observing the prescriptions of agreements banning the spread of mass destruction weapons and to the functioning of export verifying regimes, the risk is rising that terrorist groups or countries supporting terrorism may get hold of mass destruction weapons and its carrier tools. I believe that this statement is acceptable even when at the time of the making of this study there were no such assassinations in which mass destruction weapons were used.

The dividedness of the international community in the theoretical and practical questions concerning the upstanding against terrorism will probably decrease in the near future. At the same time – because of the different interests, national scale of values and characteristics – the divergences of aspects will partly remain concerning the judgement of radical and terrorist groups, and the application of military and order prevention forces in anti-terrorist operations.

In the forecoming years, the greatest danger in Europe will be the Al Quaida and the Jihad groups. The intensity of their activity will supposedly rise. The groups indicated above will also be able to commit assassinations that have great number of victims. The places of attacks will be Europe, Northern and Western Africa, Afghanistan and Iraq (especially the Iraqi Training Mission). There may be terrorist actions in the Middle East and in Central and Eastern Asia. An accentuated target is Afghanistan, within it, the ISAF, as well as the countries participating in the operations. On a federal level one has to mention the radical Islam organizations working in certain member states for a long time, which can cause social dissatisfaction and the dividing of the nation, or they can generate regional conflicts. Global Jihad does not necessarily mean terrorism! It started for the reason to stop the increase of Western culture. Al Quaida is nothing else but the ideological screen of global Jihad. Today there is no political ideology in the Arabic world. There are no such things as Arabic communism or socialism, but we cannot talk about Arabic solidarity either. The present ideology in the Arabic countries is the Islam. In the past 20–30 years the non-territory based Islamic world evolved (c.f. the evolving of Islamic communities in Europe and the USA). In the mentioned regions, a new form of Islamic law appears and religious leaders have to answer such questions as how the Western communities should relate to Western customs (New Years Eve, Valentine's Day, other holidays, shaking hands, eating etc.).

The Iraqi terrorist organizations, and their impact on Europe

Before the war, Iraq was not a terrorist centre, which had several reasons. Saddam Hussein's regime was an oppressive, total police state; international terrorist organizations did not trust the dictator. To the present, the situation has radically changed, there are numerous local, regional and global terrorist organizations functioning in Iraq. The question is whether they can connect to Europe, and if yes, then how.

Among the terrorist organizations functioning in Iraq the foreign Islam extreme groups mean the greatest danger to Europe, mainly if they put their operational territory to Europe after the Iraqi fights. Many extremist Muslims have a European citizenship as well; however, most of them have got to Europe in an illegal way or as a refugee. European experiences show that the young people arriving here mostly do not have Jihad experience. In other words, we are facing a new generation that is influenced by the Iraqi conflict. Apart from this, several warriors who have Jihad experience did travel to Iraq with the purpose of participating in the revolt.

Zarkavi has indicated many times that he has an intention to step up against Western interests outside Iraq, too. It cannot be excluded, though, that Al Quaida uses Zarkavi's skills in Europe.

War experiences are highly important. In Iraq, the Jihadist warriors activate in a rather tough, hostile environment, they gain great experience in city guerrilla war, in using homemade explosives, homemade tools hidden in cars, mortars, manual armour piercing, sniper actions, kidnapping, attacks against convoys and checkpoints, moreover, in the application of airborne rockets. It is expected that in their future actions, these terrorists e.g. in Europe will have enough practice in target observation, attacks, interrogation of hostages, handling the media and in general accomplishing covered operations. I find it necessary to note that there has been no hostage taking committed by Islam extremists so far. It has to be also accepted that the conditions are not propitious for them to organize such actions.

The consequences of the London assassinations

It is obvious that the London and Madrid assassinations are in connection with the Iraq war (some analysts talk about the European export of the Iraqi war). Such Jihadists who live in Europe and know the environment committed the London assassinations. The London assassinations on 7 July 2005 were the first suicidal actions in Europe. These groups mainly have no name, and at the same time they are not satisfied with the regime they live in, therefore they are willing to apply Jihad. The local citizens appearing as terrorists have radically changed the knowledge previously evolved about terrorist organizations. This phenomenon claims new type of relieving not only from the part of national security services and order prevention organizations, but politicians and the population.

In connection with the European assassinations, one has to consider the question of the situation of the European Muslim community.

There are 15–20 million Muslims living in Europe, which is 4-5% of the total European population. Considering the population growth of the Muslim people, the number indicated above may duplicate by 2025. Muslims make up the largest religious minority in Europe. However, most of the European Muslims do not participate in radical actions, certain communities demonstrably supplied cover for accomplishing terrorist actions. The authorities identified Muslims living in Germany and Spain after the attack on 11 September 2001. Al Quaida type Northern African terrorists accomplished the Madrid assassination. The European Islam community has grown by 7% since the 60s–70s in Austria, Spain, Sweden, Italy and Denmark. In the past years

the number of Muslim immigrants and political refugees coming from the crisis regions has risen, with special regard on the Western Balkans, Iraq, Somalia and the Palestinian territories. The French have the greatest capacity; given its colonizer past, the bigger Islam community lives here (5 million people). Because of the terrorist attacks, such a law was accepted in France that police can enter mosques and houses of worships and have the right to arrest the imam who gives an atrocity speech (10 radical imams were expelled from France since 2002; it is a shame that Great Britain has reset several of them). On account of the terrorist actions, today Great Britain proposes the initiation of similar laws.

The second biggest Muslim community in Europe lives in Germany, most of which, however, are Turkish, who are already secularised and have integrated in German society. In Germany, Islam radicalism can be noticeable among those who have arrived in the country as refugees (the Hamburg cell of the 2001. 09. 11. assassination consisted of Egyptian and Saudi students). The Dutch Islam extremists are mainly of Northern African origin; their number can be estimated to some hundred members. The Islam community of Spain has Moroccan origin and the country itself serves as a transit route towards Europe. Several of them go to Italy, where the Islam community living near Milan is supporting them: often they supply false documents as well, ensuring getting past towards further countries in Europe, or even to Iraq.

The British Islam community differs from the other European ones; its members are chiefly from the Indian subcontinent. Indian and Bangladesh Muslims have mainly integrated to the British society. The problem in Great Britain are the Pakistan Muslims, who have a great number and keep contact with their former homeland, moreover, they keep their customs, too (it is a big problem for the British authorities that British born Pakistan youngsters visit the former country of their parents, where they get in connection with radical imams. This was clearly proved by the case of the two perpetrators of the London assassination, Shehzad Taweer and Hasib Hussein).

The common problems of the European Muslims are ghettoising, alienation and poverty, all of which can easily pass them to radicalism. Therefore, it would be extremely important to help the integration of young Muslims, for which an appropriate politics would be needed. On the ground of the experiences, it becomes more and more obvious in Great Britain that it is necessary to start an intensive conversation with the Islam communities, to prevent radicalism, to know the problems of Islam communities, and to solve the problem of the challenged. The competent organizations have realized that the disappointed ones can be good subjects of terrorist organizations. A very important task is to find the right treatment: in this there is much to do in our country too, in aware of the latest events as well. It is by no means the right method that the

Italian reform minister announced, saying we cannot talk about the clash of civilizations, for followers of the Islam religion are not civilized.

Central and Eastern Europe is not attractive for the Al Quaida groups. We cannot talk about large Muslim communities in these countries, and this plays a significant role in the above fact. An exception may be Bosnia-Herzegovina, where there is a relatively big Muslim popularity. One can attribute to the Bosnian war that numerous Muslim warriors have settled here and got a Bosnian citizenship. Some Islam foundations and aid organizations can be related to money washing. At the same time, it can be experienced that Muslims who were born here strongly oppose every form of terrorism. In some states of the Western Balkans, weak governments, organized crime, and the spread of corruption may help the activity of terrorist groups as well. The region plays a role in the transit of terrorists, in recruitment, weapon and explosive supply.

Standard experts suppose that the organizers of the assassinations are on the opinion that the only way to put pressure on governments is punishing the civil population, which will put pressure on its government, claiming the change of its politics. (I think it is not mere coincidence that after the assassinations several countries considered the reduction of its Iraqi contingent, though the Iraqi situation does not justify this). Jihadists assume that another European assassination (e.g. in Rome or in Warsaw) would make a great effect on the governments of the countries present in Iraq in making the decision concerning pulling out their soldiers.

The European assassinations and the disconcerted assassination-experiments prove that terrorism is the greatest challenge threatening Europe, and it needs far more and larger attention and a flexible approach – considering the changing nature of the phenomenon. It is not enough to work out short-term counter-measures, given the challenge's complex kind, the role of making mid- and long-term strategies is of equal importance. Regarding short-term actions, police and national security services have a primary role, which can only act effectively when they do it cooperatively – sharing the practical and theoretical questions concerning terrorism and the arisen information. Sanctions against people, organizations and states in connection with terrorism, and the handling of a possible terror attack belong to the group of short-term, directly effective arrangements. The wide leverage of foreign and security policy can be effectively used on mid- and long terms: among these, the expansion cooperation, technical support, or the discourse between cultures (support of its moderate Islam forces) as well.

As the result of the aspect change after the assassinations, coordination has got into the spotlight within the EU, which is summarized by the Action Plan, and the European Board supervises its completion. The EU deals with the questions of the expansive strategy of the fight against terrorism, the civil security cooperation, the defence of the

accentuated infrastructures and migration. However, the process requires circumstantial and meticulous work.

Conclusion

Islam has and will have its place in the globalizing world. Globalization is a driving force in the Islamic revival. But we can not forget: every religion has witnessed fundamentalist upsurges. Nowadays fundamentalism mainly refers to self-cleansing religious movements. It can not be tolerated if religious fundamentalism becomes a hotbed for terrorism. Globalism, nationalism and fundamentalism are and will remain fierce competitors in the foreseeable future.