

**Babeş-Bolyai University  
Faculty of European Studies  
Doctoral School European Paradigm**

**Abstract of Ph.D thesis:  
SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE  
GENERATOR and EXPORTER OF TERRORISM?**

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**Cluj-Napoca 2017**

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Key words: terrorism, South-Eastern Europe, conflict, religion, communities, cultural and historical factors

*Abstract:*

This paper analyses perceptions and stereotypes which were circulated about South-Eastern European area and which could be associated with terrorist phenomenon. They are analysed together with historical events which took place in this area and can be related to violent manifestations under asymmetrical forms. We have also analysed the context in which these stereotypes were created, without a clear understanding of customs and traditions from this area, which led to the formulation of statements without a real support. We highlighted the non-alignment of inhabitants of this area to Western norms.

From the point of view of type of research selected, it is integrated in qualitative research. In this research we highlight the empirical observations, analysis of historical and cultural factors and explanation of conducts of actors in the area in their light. The main support of research is historical. In the research we have used description and analysis of historical and present reality, using the bottom up vertical procedure, from particular to general (induction). We have also analysed various intrusions of external factors of Central South-Eastern European area and the way in which they influenced the attitude of states towards violent events under asymmetrical forms.

The research aims to answer two main questions:

- a. Does the South-Eastern European area generate violent events under terrorist forms?
- b. Does the geographical area of South-Eastern Europe export these terrorist events if it generates them?

The paper is structured in seven chapters, the first is introductory.

Chapter II of the work explains the notion of terrorism, by making difference between political assassination, guerrilla fight and organized crime.

We continue with the analysis of cultural representative elements of peoples from South-Eastern European area which favour the generation of violent acts under asymmetrical forms. We analyse stereotypes generated from the external area of South-Eastern European area, generalization of cultural elements and historical events, but also particular historical events or cultural elements which influenced to a high degree certain

manifestations under violent forms. The cultural interweaving generated by dominations of reigns over the South-Eastern European peoples, islamization of Christian areas corroborated with the imposition of legislative norms not accepted by most South-Eastern Europeans determined in some areas the existence of common law norms parallel with the state norms and which promoted the generation of asymmetrical violence, but without the export element (the most eloquent example was the common law norms of Kanun, which were applied in the mountain area inhabited by Albanians). Some events which had impact on the subsequent historical evolution generated certain action stereotypes in some situations for certain peoples (for example, the myth of Prince Lazar and the myth of Milos Obilic for the Serbian people). Also, the cult of ancestors, of glorious ages had an important role, each people claiming the territorial maximum they held at a certain time in history.

We analysed the organizational forms from South-Eastern European area such as outlawry, Eteria and zadruga. They were common to several peoples from South-Eastern European area or engaged several peoples in their actions. They were generated following the domination of empires and were created as a defensive reaction to them, as a form of resistance of dominated peoples. These organizations generated violent manifestations under asymmetrical forms without existing export.

The period when the South-Eastern European peoples were under Soviet domination, the Communist ideology implemented the actional methods. Communism imposed itself by use of terror. Also, the terror was used by various factions from the Communist Parties and as weapon for elimination of opposition.

In the Communist age there were terrorist manifestations and for elimination of opposition of dissidents. The violent manifestations under terrorist forms against dissidents had the purpose to eliminate opposition and to induce the feeling of insecurity, terror among the other dissidents who manifested against communist regimes. These methods of action were forcibly imported by the state institutions, being imposed with the Communist ideology promoter of terror contrary to national will. We have analysed the actions of terrorist „Carlos the Jackal” who was used by Communist regimes for the generation of terrorist manifestations, but also the attempt against Pope John Paul the II.

Later, we have questioned the current asymmetrical threats in South-Eastern Europe.

Bosnia-Hertzevovina was the theatre of manifestations under asymmetrical forms during the conflict with the Yougoslavian army. What particularized this conflict was the import of fighting force by Bosnia-Hertzevovina, from Middle East. Even if the Bosnian authorities tried to give ethnic and nationalist connotations to the conflict, the import was done under purely religious connotations. The imported fighting force was under the form of mujahedin fighters, adept to a large extent of religious current wahhabi. This Islamic religious current promotes the generation of violence under asymmetrical forms for the imposition of Islam. Later, after the finalization of conflict from Bosnia-Hertzevovina, a part of mujahedin fighters received Bosnian citizenship by creation in this state of communities of wahhabi adepts who developed their own customs, including the access of order forces was done with difficulty in the area where these communities were. They developed training camps for various fighters, engaged in the production of many terrorist attempts, including in Western states.

The import of fighting force in Bosnia-Hertzevovina continued in the attempt to export this force, from Bosnia-Hertzevovina and the Middle East, towards Macedonia, where they fight on the side of Albanian-Moslem ethnics. As soon as this force has reached its purpose in Bosnia-Hertzevovina, it directed towards Macedonia, where the motivational factor was religious, but the one invoked was ethnic. The intervention of the Grand Powers stopped the conflict of Macedonia, which concluded by the Agreement of Ohrid.

As for Albania, the split of territories in 1913, left outside the Albanian area a significant part of Albanians, which determined several consequences: creation of strong communities of Albanians in Kosovo, Serbia, Macedonia and Greece, but also concentration of a high number of Albanians on a reduced territorial area (Albania). On the other hand, the Albanians are mainly of Moslem religion which is in contradiction with Christian religion, which prevails in the areas around Albania. Also, these Albanian communities had their own history and culture common with Albanians from Albania, which made them more difficult to integrate in non-Albanian communities. Most of Albanians transferred to Moslem religion in the domination period of Ottoman Empire in

order to benefit from various advantages, however, in mountain areas of Albania they did not manage to change in essence the local Albanian norms, the application of common law norms was frequent. The common law norms often resorted to violent manifestations under asymmetrical forms, especially under the form of assassination. The social organization of Albanians especially in mountain area, was by clans, importance of clan and family were priority for its members and in relation to the state. The ethnic factor as generator of violence can be invoked in the relations of Albanians from outside Albania, especially with Serbia, Macedonia and Greece.

”The Conflict of civilizations”, invoked by Samuel Huntington, can be seen from many points of view: conflict between the Albanian Moslems versus Christian Europeans, conflict between the practitioners of kanun (common law in general) and European norms which are gradually introduced in Albania, but also between the lifestyle of clans, under organizational system, with occupations related to organized crime and promotion of interests by violent means and the European and Atlantic norms. It is likely that a national identification action starts to accomplish now by religious factor, as differential factor towards the surrounding nations. The ethnic factor as factor generator of violence can be invoked in the relations of Albanians from outside Albania, especially with Serbia, Macedonia and Greece. The cultural differences, especially those religious amplified the ethnic factor as cause of dissensions generator of violence. To these we can add the Extremist-religious intervention of Middle East, supported by the idea of helping the co-religionaries formed by Albanian ethnics from Kosovo and Macedonia.

In these conditions, Albania could only position itself in favour of Albanian ethnics from Kosovo, but without having the financial power necessary for giving the material support, the options of Albania were of lobby in the Western area in favour of Kosovo, support of intelligence and promotion of relations with the states which manifested support for Kosovo, including with those from Middle East, especially with Saudi Arabia but also Kuwait, state near Albania.

Radicalization of Albanian extremists was confirmed by examples which come to demonstrate it. Thus, at the beginning of year 2015, in Torino, Italy Italian citizens (of Moroccan origin) and from Albania were arrested. They recruited fighters for the Islamic

State and were in contact with a fighter in Syria who had previously visited Albania, and many Albanian islamists are tried in Albania, for carrying out recruitment activities for Islamic State etc.

The liberal Islamism adopted by Albanians is agressed by a form of new Islamism in this area, promoted by Saudi Arabia, which based its ideological expansion on wahhabism. The expansion of wahhabism over the Albanian traditional Islam is attested by the ethnical radicalization of Albanians, by resorting often to violence, by the acts of violence from Macedonia, including by penetration of borders from Kosovo by generator elements of terrorism which exported it from the Kosovo area to Macedonian area.

In Greece, the culture with powerful valences of export in extraterritorial areas and Spartan history which called to warrior actions determined a strong nationalist spirit and desire of European re-affirmation. To these we can add the strong anchoring of Christian Orthodox religion in the Greek collective mentalities, in antithesis with Moslem religion, exported by Ottomans. Two currents developed in Greece: “progonoplexia”, which means the “obsession of ancestors, ancestry” and “archeolatria”, which means the “veneration of Antiquity”. The concept of “Megali Idea” is opposed as identifiable opponents, Turkey, Albania, Macedonia and the institutions to which Greece belongs, as pro-globalization system: NATO and European Union. In the period of Yougoslavian conflicts there were groups of Greeks which fought against Moslems, on the side of Serbs. The danger of Islamic radicalization of Bosnia-Hertzegovina, Kosovo and Albania comes in contradiction with the national spirit, expressed by Orthodoxism, of the Greeks who have included in their mentalities the fear of a possible Islamic encircling, probably coordinated by Turkey. Most of entities with extremist manifestations from Greece are adepts of “Megali Idea”, in which it is likely that any promoter of globalization contravenes the desire of non-alteration of tradition, religion and Greek territoriality.

In Greece many entities generator of violence under asymmetrical terrorist forms were developed and directed their actions against objectives which belong to North-Atlantic Treaty Organization, European Union etc., in general against globalist organizations and states which support globalization. They consider that these states influence negatively the independence of Greece. Also, we must mention that the Greek organizations generator of asymmetrical violence under the form of terrorist phenomenon



do not carry out activities outside the Greek area, they limited their actions to generating violence only in the limits claimed to be cleansed of elements which alter the Greek culture and religion.

In particular the inhabitants of Mani and Crete Islands developed common law norms parallel with the state norms. The inhabitants of Mani island consider themselves the heirs of Spartans, keepers of their warrior traditions. Because the inhabitants of this island do not have the capacity to generate offensive actions, they developed a strong defensive spirit, reflected in the architecture of buildings from this area: houses which have towers in which the members of the clan isolate in case of a conflict with another clan or in case of an invasion.

The kemalist Turkey led a fight of national identification following the disappearance of Ottoman Empire and its authority. This determined the appearance of a high antagonism between the newly created Turkish state and Kurds who until that time were connected to it from religious point of view, and recognition of sultan's authority. The incapacity of Kurds to identify in a state territorial area generated attitudes and actions of riot, actions which turned into violent manifestations under asymmetrical forms, including under terrorist forms. The Kurds created several organizations which had as objective the affirmation of Kurd identity and made terrorist attacks on Turkish objectives. The most well-known organization of this type was the Workers Party of Kurdistan (P.K.K.). From ideological point of view, the movement of affirmation of Kurd identity which acted under the know-how PKK, had as genesis Marxist-Leninist ideological points whose adept was the leader Abdullah Ocalan. Later, the ideological conception migrated towards Maoist valences, with strong accents of Centralism and even a personality cult of the Kurd leader. The option for Marxist-Leninist ideology can be explained by the fact that most of Kurds came from lower social strata, from the rural environment with a low standard of living and with limited access to education. The Kurd traditional tribal links were manifested strongly with behavioural customs, parallel with the state norms and which conferred the tribe leader assignments over the state norms.

It is difficult to discuss about a common strategy of Kurds for creation of Kurdistan. In relatively recent history actions appeared with international impact which serve the common interest of Kurds: foundation of Kurd institutes in Paris, Brussels,

Berlin, Moscow and Washington D.C., Kurdish bookshop in Stockholm and Kurd organizations regarding the protection of human rights (International Human Rights Association of Kurdistan, in Bonn and the Project for Human Rights of Kurdistan, in London).

Kurds represent now the main terrorist threat for Turkey but regarding the manifestations of Kurds under the form of terrorist attacks on the territory of Europe and United States, they are inexistant. The strategy of Kurds promotes the attraction of European states and United States of America for supporting the "Kurd cause".

Also Turkey faces the "Armenian issue". We must mention that apart from the territorial claims of Armenians and the request of enlarged rights, they are mainly Chirstian, which highlights the cultural differences from Turks. To these we can add the "Armenian genocide" not recognized by Turkey, but recognized by a part of international community. A reaction expressed by violent asymmetrical manifestations towards the "Armenian genocide" under the form of assassination was "Nemesis Operation". In this operation the Ottoman leaders who decided the repressive action against Armenians were assassinated in various places of Europe. The anti-Turkish feelings developed by "Armenian genocide" identified the manifestation valve and created the motivational genesis of anti-Turkish manifestation under the form of asymmetrical violence. To the cultural religious differ]ces and territorial tensions we added a motivation based on factors which exceed them and is based on the idea of national survival (deportation of Armenians which seriously affected the development of Armenian population, including by derooting). The most known Armenian organization which generated violent manifestations under asymmetrical forms was the Secret Liberation Army of Armenia - ASALA.

ASALA and its associated organizations committed a high number of terrorist attacks or assassinations, the area of manifestation was Europea, Asia and North America. The role of asymmetrical terrorist manifestations and assassinations was to mediatize the Armenian issue, to put pressure on the Turkish state in view of identifying solutions in tandem with inoculation of insecurity feeling of persons who oppose the Armenian interests. ASALA opted for the creation of a basis in Middle East, area where

it is not subjected to the same legislative rigours, regarding security as Europe. The doctrinary orientation of Armenian organizations is Marxist.

A cooperation was created between the Armenian terrorist organizations and the Kurdish ones in spite of significant cultural religious differences. The common points of interest between the two allied camps are: common opponent, represented by Turkey, similar ideology, Marxist orientation, but also a part of the main bases is in the Middle East.

The violent repression of Turkish state of any manifestations which could prejudice to a lesser extent the centralism of Turkey is the result of interpreting the implementation of Kemalist doctrine. Turkey did not develop terrorist organizations because the Turkish state is the one who carried out activities against the Kurdish and Armenian minorities, acted according to kemalist doctrine which was imposed by military force and Kemalism demands laicization and institutional rigour. Turkey manifested a defensive attitude to asymmetrical violence. Even if it expressed by military attacks against terrorist entities, the purpose was defensive, to protect the Turkish state, Pan-Turkism and centralist doctrine promoted by kemalism.

There were in Turkey also secrete organizations which managed to recruit important members from the statal power structures. These organizations resorted to violent manifestations under asymmetrical forms, but especially the form of political assassination. These organizations invoke the fight for maintenance of national Turkish identity and secular value introduced by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. These organizations (Energekon, “Gullen Movement” or “Hizmet”) cannot be classified as terrorist organizations, but as organizations which get involved in the fight for power in Turkey and which use subversive means.

Turkey is not a state generator of terrorism. Turkey faces the manifestations under terrorist forms, which are generated by entities from its territory and have as purpose the identity affirmation. The inflexibility of Turkey manifested against the national minorities generated violent reactions under asymmetrical forms. The Turkish culture inherited from Ottomans, implies institutional rigour which blends with the Islamic religion, which involves a high degree of conservatorism.

Wahhabists, who arrived in South-Eastern Europe in the conflict of Bosnia-Hertzevovina, represented an intrusion in local culture. The succession after the conflict of Bosnia-Hertzevovina of conflicts from Kosovo and Macedonia found as present in proximity a Wahhabist community who was ready to manifest violently. The import of wahhabism was done in three stages, which coincide with the three conflicts. The enclavised communities of wahhabi represent a problem for the institutions which assignments of maintenance of public order, regarding the generation of violence. A significant part is related to the total number of population among the persons with Bosnian citizenship who travelled to Middle East to fight in the Islamic State (Daesh).

Even if we admitted the existence of a plan of bringing in South-Eastern Europe area factors generator of violent asymmetrical manifestations, this plan was interrupted by the action of Macedonia, where the Albanian minority did not win in the confrontation with Macedonian forces. Also the fact that wahhabists were expelled from the South-Eastern European area and those who were left were enclavised supports the failure of Wahhabization plan. The community of wahhabists presents a danger of generation and export of violence under asymmetrical forms.

About the existence of “homo balkanicus” we can speak of for temporary short periods, when the historical conditions imposed a common goal of action for several peoples from South-Eastern Europe, for the foundation of a common interest, but there was a force which held unification power. As soon as the objectives were reached or the mere constatation that at the time the goals could not be reached led to the disappearance of “homo balkanicus”, until the appearance of new goals or revitalization of the old goals. “Homo balkanicus” did not have constance to generate customs, organizations and common actions of wide scope for the peoples of South-Eastern Europe. The common elements which exist in several states are mainly due to the interweaving of populations and cultural influences. There are hardly identifiable in South-Eastern Europe common moulds of action for “homo balkanicus”. Some communities from South-Eastern European area are predisposed to accept for reaching own goals imports of common law norms from Middle East, which determine the alteration of own norms. In this case, some manifestations under terrorist forms can appear.

The last part of thesis presents the conclusions resulted from the analysis.

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