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**РЕФОРМИТЕ НА БЕЗБЕДНОСНИОТ СЕКТОР
ВО РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА И НИВНОТО ВЛИЈАНИЕ
ВРЗ БОРБАТА ПРОТИВ КРИМИНАЛИТЕТОТ**

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Организационен одбор:

- проф. д-р Стојан Славески** - Декан на факултет за детективи и криминалистика, ЕУРМ, Скопје, претседател
- проф. д-р Лидија Наумовска** - Ректор на ЕУРМ – член
- доц. д-р Билјана Андреска Богдановска** - Генерален директор на ЕУРМ – член
- м-р Елиабета Стамевска** - Генерален секретар на ЕУРМ - член
- проф. д-р Марина Митревска** - Институт за безбедност, одбрана и мир, Филозофски факултет - Скопје Р. Македонија - член
- проф. д-р Мирсад Абазовиќ** - Факултет за криминалистика, криминологија и безбедносни студии, Сараево, БиХ- член
- доц. д-р Атанас Козарев** - Факултет за детективи и криминалистика, ЕУРМ - член
- доц. д-р Здравко Скакавац** - Факултет за правне и пословне студии, Нови Сад, Р. Србија - член
- проф. д-р Миле Матијевиќ** - Факултет за безбедност и заштиту, Универзитет Синергија, Р. Српска - член
- доц. д-р Слободанка Тодороска Ѓурчевска** - Факултет за детективи и криминалистика, ЕУРМ - член
- проф. д-р Милан Милошевиќ** - Криминалистичко полициска академија, Београд, Р. Србија - член
- проф. д-р Оливер Бакрески** - Институт за безбедност, одбрана и мир, Филозофски факултет, Скопје Р. Македонија - член
- доц. д-р Драган Триван** - Факултет за детективи и криминалистика, ЕУРМ – член
- проф. д-р Радован Вукадиновиќ** - Факултет политичких знаности, Загреб, Р. Хрватска – член
- проф. д-р Селмо Цикотиќ** - Американ Универзитет, Сараево, БиХ

Програмски одбор:

- доц. д-р Атанас Козарев** - претседател
- проф. д-р Гордан Калаџиев** - Правен факултет Јустинијан Први, Универзитет Св. Кирил и Методиј - Скопје - член
- проф. д-р Радован Вукадиновиќ** - Факултет политичких знаности, Загреб, РХрватска – член
- проф. д-р Саша Мијалковиќ** - Криминалистичко - полициска академија, Белград, РСрбија – член
- проф. д-р Лада Садиковиќ** - Факултет за криминалистика, криминологија и безбедносни студии, Сараево, БиХ - член
- проф. д-р Стефан Симеонов** - Академија на МВР, Софија, РБугарија – член
- доц. д-р Денис Чалета** - Факултет за државне и европске студии, Брдо, Крањ, РСловенија- член
- доц. д-р Лјубо Пејановиќ** - Факултет за правне и пословне студии, Нови Сад, РСрбија - член
- доц. д-р Оливера Ињац** - Универзитет Доње Горице, Црна Гора
- проф. д-р Милан Даничиќ** - Факултет за безбедност и заштиту, Универзитет Синергија, РСрпска
- доц. д-р Методи Хаџи** - Јанев, Воена Академија, Скопје – член
- доц. д-р Марјан Николовски** - Факултет за безбедност, Универзитет Св. Климент Охридски, Битола – член

Rina Kirkova, PhD, Institute for security, defense and peace,
Faculty of philosophy – Skopje
Nenad Taneski, MA,
Military Academy “General Mihajlo Apostolski” – Skopje

HOMEGROWN TERRORISM – NEW CHALLENGE FOR THE SECURITY SECTOR OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

ABSTRACT

When speaking about terrorism, as a threat to the global security, with no exception, the main culprits are detected in the radical Islamists headed by Al Qaeda. If by 11 September this terrorist organization was located in the heart of Afghanistan, after the attacks by the allies its cells have dispersed all over the world. In the past decade, even though this global insurgency has endured severe strikes in the core part, still their power did not decrease – on the contrary, with the support by the globalization and technological revolution, they successfully implemented many terrorist attacks throughout Europe, Russia, Africa, as well as the Middle East. Most of these attacks were carried out by small decentralized terrorist cells or individuals – supporters of the global jihad insurgency.

With regards to the Balkans, the presence of Al Qaeda and the jihad insurgents have been most often linked to Bosnia. Even though some analysts claim that in Macedonia, also, there are Islamic radicals, still, the general assessment was that Macedonia is not target to this global insurgency. However, the murder of five people in April 2012 was assessed from both the expert and scientific public, to be a terrorist act motivated by the radical Islamist ideology, whilst others refused to give the act a religious note, considering it to be a criminal act. The main thesis of this paper is that in the Republic of Macedonia there is a new kind of terrorist threat that is not imported from outside, but is created internally, and is home grown. The question is whether the security sector in the Republic of Macedonia should make a new security assessment, which as a new threat will identify the homegrown hidden terrorist, or the new generation of terrorists – individuals, inspired by the global jihad ideology.

Key words: radical Islam, homegrown terrorism, Al Qaeda, global insurgency, security

FUNDAMENTALISM AND ISLAMIST FUNDAMENTALISM

The notion fundamentalism itself is generally linked to the militant religious belief that was born in the middle of XX century within the big religious traditions and got influential in the 1990's. The term was used for the first time by the American Protestants in the beginning of the XX century, in an attempt to separate the “liberal” followers of the Christian religion at the time. Those fundamentalists wanted to return to the fundamentals of the Christian tradition that they identified with literal interpretation of the Holy Bible and the acceptance of the strict rules in following the faith.¹

As a Christian notion, the fundamentalism cannot be applied identically with regards to the other different movements, such as the Jewish and Islamic traditional movements that have different priorities. Still, the term, even though not properly, is used as label of the movements that bear many joint characteristics, which under the guidance of their charismatic leaders create an ideology that has a plan to return the religious meanings in the social life, politics, art, culture, and creation of resistance towards the secularity.

The usage of the word fundamentalism in Islam is wrong in most of the cases. First, the word fundamentalism in the beginning of XX century originates from the American Protestants. More precisely, the Protestant fundamentalists believe in the Bible as the true word of God and that it should be comprehended literally.

¹ Armstrong, Karen, *The Battle for God: Fundamentalism in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, Harper Collins Publishers, London, 2001, p. xi

For the Muslims, the literal meaning of the Koran² is the “true word from God” and in this sense all Muslims are fundamentalists. Still, most of them are “merely” fundamentalists, in terms of their belief that their conduct should not be guided only by religious books or that their interpretation should be one-sided³. The various interpretations of the text from the Koran demonstrate not only the difference of the perspective towards Islam among the Muslims, but also the starting point among the so-called fundamentalists. If the Islamic fundamentalists insist on returning the fundamentals of the faith, it would be an offence to the other Muslims since it turns out they do not act in line with the Koran.

In the new security environment, after 11 September, the fundamentalism has been regularly linked with Islamic fundamentalism and extremism, and in particular – terrorism. When the terrorist acts are linked with religion then the supporters of that religion (especially if in minority) take defensive stance, since their identity and loyalty towards the nation/state of their citizenship is being brought into question. This is being experienced by the Muslim minorities in the Western societies after 11 September.

The term “Islamic fundamentalism” is used in various connotations. In the daily discourse, in the media and even in the literature of the non-Muslim world, the term is often used for those Muslims – individuals or groups that are radical, militant and fanatic. On the other hand, the Muslim theorists, when using this notion, refer to the persons that want to “re-born” Islam.⁴ The Arab terms related to the religious re-birth make clear distinction between various fighters of Islamic fundamentalism. The terms, such as *islah* – reforms, *salafiyah* – return to the ancestors, *tajdid* – renewal, *nahda* – rebirth, are different from the term *islamiyyun* – Islamists that want to revive Islam and that use violent means. The concepts of *islah* and *tajdid* are the basic concepts of the Islamic perception of the world and are incorporated in the Koran and Sunna (the way of the prophet Mohamed, road that every Muslim should pass). If they cannot find answer to the questions in the Kuran and the Sunna, they refer to the *hadith* – telling of the Prophet on issues from the field of metaphysics, cosmology and theology.⁵

These concepts represent return to the fundamental Islam. The concept *Tajdid* (renewal) is based on the tradition introduced by the Prophet and referring to the *mujadid* – the leader of the rebirth that is posthumous believed to have been sent by God to the Islamic community because of his efforts aimed at regenerate the faith.

This concept claims that the beginning of every century a new *mujadid* appears in order to revert the erosion in the faith created by the modern times. Among the most important persons in the Muslim history are Ibn Tamija, Ibn Abd al Vahab, Abduh Muhamed and Hasan al – Bana.⁶ Important for this concept is the renewal and the belief in just community, guided by the principles of the Propher Muhamed and elimination of the established institutions, elimination of the foreign and non – Islamic subject that have infiltrated and corrupted the life in the community.⁷ The term *al-Salafiyya* – salafism is closest to the Western concept of fundamentalism. The word salafism comes from the expression *al-salaf* and refers to the followers and companions of the prophet Mohamed. Salafism call on Islamic believers to return to the original, clear, unchanged and flawless form of Islam practiced by the prophet Mohamed and his companions and rejects all practices, beliefs or behaviors that are not directly supported by the Koran or the Sunna of the Prophet. The followers of the salafism believe in the right of every individual to interpret for him/herself the religious texts by practicing *ijtihad* – independent judgment. The puritan movements in Vehabia, Sanisia and Mahidia in XVIII and XIX centuries were part of the salafist movement and the main practice of Islam was based on the teaching of Rashid Rida nad Hasan al-Bana.⁸

² The Koran is the main religious text for the Muslims written in verses, composed of 114 chapters. It is believed to be composed by the words of God. Al-Laithy, Ahmed, *What Everyone Should Know About the Qur'an*, Garant, London, 2005, p. 61.

³ Deneoux, Guilain, *The Forgotten Swamp: Navigating Political Islam*, Middle East Policy, Vol. IX, No. 2, June. 2002, стр. 58.

⁴ Marin-Guzman, Roberto, *Fanaticism: A Major Obstacle in the Muslim-Christian Dialogue. The Case of Twentieth Century Islamic Fundamentalism*. Arab Studies Quarterly, Vol. 25, Issue 3, Summer, 2003, available at http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2501/is_3_25/ai_114519330/ date of arrival 22.05.2012

⁵ Correa, Cherif Ayouba, *Representations of Islam and the Question of Identity in the Postcolonial Context*, ProQuest, Madison, 2008, p. 22.

⁶ Dekmejian, R. Hrair, *Islam in Revolution: Fundamentalism in the Arab world*, Syracuse university Press, New York, 1995, p. 60-61.

⁷ Esposito, John L., *The Future of Islam*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2010, p. 91.

⁸ Ayubi, Nazih N. M, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*, Routledge, London, 1991, p. 68.

With regards to the Balkans and Macedonia, the media often reports the presence of the Vehabists that label themselves as Islamic fundamentalists, unlike the “more liberal” Muslims that have been present in this region for centuries. Vehabism has received its name from the known religious reformer of the XVIII century, Mohamed ibn Abd al Vahab (1703-1791) who preached in central Arabia.⁹ He was angered by the morally corrupted society he lived in. In his view, the society had turned its back to Islam, had forgotten the basic religious obligations while tolerating habits and beliefs he thought were unacceptable and contradict the basic principles of the faith. The bowel before idols, superstitions, the cults for saints and even the respect for trees and stones have had powerful influence over the people in Arabia at that time. Vahab was resolved to fit this kind of eres and those who had created state from non-believers and do not respect the God’s commandments, by returning the monotheism. But he went beyond this. He fought to enroot from Islam all that is not in line with the strict, literal interpretation of the Islam and Sunnah. In the end, this resulted in strictly puritan interpretation of the Islam, obsessed by ideas of moral corruption and the need for purity. Since then, the vehabism becomes characteristic and recognized by its intolerance towards any form of inconsistency with the dogmatic vehabist preaching of the Islam. In 1939 Abd al-Azis Ibn Saud managed to unite the tribes in Arabia that were under his control and to create the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and vehabism became ideology and code of conduct that ruled the state. In the following 40 years vehabism was mainly practiced within the borders of Saudi Arabia but after the oil boom from 1973 and the wealth it got, the ideology of veabism made lot of efforts for mass expansion worldwide. The authorities of Saudi Arabia did this for two reasons. First is linked with the belief that vehabism must spread and the second – to counter the newly born modern ideological movements that were considered to be threat to their national security.¹⁰

The money from Saudi Arabia were allocated for building thousands of mosks worldwide, Islamic centers and medresses (religious schools) from Lahore to London, from Morocco to Malaysia. The expansion of the vehabist Islamic ideology was noted in 1979 with the Iranian revolution. The Saudi authorities insisted that the new Iranian regime promotes the vehabism. At the same time occurred the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan enabling opportunities for the vehabi ideology to be spread among the thousands of refugees from Afghanistan to Pakistan. The Taliban phenomenon created to large extent with the Saudi support led to unexpected fast expansion of a new mutant form of Islam. The discovery of the oil resources, the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan and the American reckless attitude towards the militant vahabism by the Saudi regime, were excellent cover for the Taliban minority to grow into quasi-sect within Islam, with influence of global range.

ISLAM AND ISLAMISM – RADICAL ISLAM

For the Muslims, the preservation of the strong feeling of faith and identity, independence and definition of ideology, today in times of modern globalization still continues to be big and lasting commitment. Hence the revival of the Islam at the end of 1960’s was manifested in various forms and intensity with various Muslim, religious organizations and Muslim governments in the world, such as Libya, Egypt, Lebanon and Pakistan. Apart from this, there are differences in perspectives among those to whom Islam and religion are elements of the national cultural identity and those to whom Islam is fundament for identity of the community and life.

The aim to preserve the feeling of the Islamic identity, as set of ideal values that were applied is reflected in the religious holly laws of the prophet Mohamed. The Muslims were connected through ummah – community of believers that strived at creating just society through fulfilling the will of God.¹¹

The ummah angst is deeply rooted in the five pillars of Islam (or the five holly duties) that are compulsory to all Muslims:

1. Shahada – affirmation of faith, that there is no other God but Allah and that Mohamed is God’s messenger;
2. Salat – prayer five times a day;
3. Zakat – practice of giving alms by the Muslims in line with the fortune they have accomplished. Obligatory for all, who are in position to do it. Zakat is believed to be personal responsibility to all Muslims

⁹ Schlyter, Birgit N., *Prospects for Democracy in Central Asia*, Alfa print AB, Sundbyberg, 2006, стрп. 239.

¹⁰ Denooux, Guilain, *The Forgotten Swamp: Navigating Political Islam*, Middle East Policy, Vol. IX, No. 2, June. 2002, p. 60.

¹¹ Esposito, John L., *Islam: The Straight Path*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1988, available at <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~vika/TeachPort/islam00/esposito/chapt1.html> date of access 26.05.2012

with a view to decrease the financial burden of the poor and eliminate inequality;

4. Sawm – Ramadan fasts, recognized by the Koran and practiced as compensation for the remorse on the sins committed;

5. Hajj – going to pilgrimage in Mecca if circumstances allow that.

All this clearly indicates that the Islamic community aims at connecting the believers with one common feeling of identity and responsibility¹² and for some Muslims that could be achieved by establishment of Islamic state ruled by the code and law of shariat.¹³ There is among them widely spread belief that Islam is not only religion, but also an unchanged social order that covers all spheres in life, including the state and the execution of laws. According to them, the belief in Islam as all-comprising way of life means that there should be no division between religion and politics. Actually, here, in this part lays the basis of the term Islamism.

Muslim political activists (Islamists) believe in the complete holistic character of the renewed Islam that includes din (religion), dunya (community) and dawla (state). This is the core of their political ideology. The Arab word dawla was used for the first time in VIII century AD during the rulling of the Abbasid caliphate¹⁴ to be transformed in XX century in Al-dawla al islamiyya (Islamic state). For the Islamists in XX century, Islam represents integral whole offering solution to all the problems in life, and the realization of the Islamic society is based on the establishment of the Islamic state based on the Sheriat.¹⁵

There are claims that this idea for Islamic state, suggested by the Islamists is process of “revealing the tradition”, in which the Muslim intellectuals play the main role.¹⁶

According to them, the Koran gives more explicitly the importance of the ethics, values and moral compared to any other political doctrine. One of the verses in Koran, where it is said “*“This day have I perfected your religion for you”* (Verse 05:03) supports the argument they the prophet Mohamed inspired political and religious leaders to introduce political-religious community based on faith as main criterion for membership. The belief that the acceptance of the symbols of faith must be accompanied by active involvement in the collective efforts to fulfill the command “to do good and prevent and forbid evil”, in order to fulfill the Islam moral objective of the legislative, political and economic issues in the society are considered to be essential for avoiding the state of jahiliyya (period when Islam and God were ignored, concept completely contrary to the shariat), in which Muslims live today. After the discovery of the Koran, all other believers in other beliefs, except the Jews and Christians, were considered to be disbelievers and polytheists that live in the state of jahiliyya.¹⁷

According to the Islamists, the contemporary Muslim societies are degenerated to condition of jahiliyya, disbelief in God and acceptance of the western concepts of nationalism, secularity, socialism, communism, democracy and capitalism that are in direct confrontation with the message of Islam.¹⁸ Aiming to overcome this state of jahiliyya, the Islamists believe that declaration for total sovereignty and rule of God is necessary. This could be achieved through the fight of jihad.¹⁹ Much more power than any other expression or word does the jihad have among the Muslims, especially among the Islamists for whom this word is source of their militancy. In its traditionally accepted meaning, jihad means “to invest” efforts to introduce the Islamic law.²⁰

There are four ways of fulfilling jihad: through the heart, through the tongue, through the hands and with the sword. These are the spiritual and physical forms through which Muslims fight at all fronts to create

¹² Armstrong, Karen, *The Battle for God: Fundamentalism in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, Harper Collins Publishers, London, 2001, p. 37.

¹³ The shariat (religious) Islamic law represents moral code dealing with topics contrary to the secular laws and referring to crime, politics, economy, sex, hygiene, food and existence. In its severest definition, it is considered unique law given by God that contradicts the introduction of law by men. The fundamentals of the Sheriat are cited in the Koran and Sunnah. Ritter, R.M., *The Essential A-Z Guide to the Written Word*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, p. 349.

¹⁴ Caliphate Abasis was founded by the descendants of the prophet Mohamed. Holt, P. M., Swynford, Ann, Lewis, Bernard, *The Central Islamic Lands from Pre-Islamic Times to the First World War, Volume 2*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1978, p. 104.

¹⁵ Ayubi, Nazih N. M, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*, Routledge, London, 1991, p. 64.

¹⁶ Eickelman, Dale F., Piscatori. James, *Muslim Politics*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996, p. 30.

¹⁷ Choueiri, Youssef M. *Islamic Fundamentalism*. Revised edition, Pinter, London, 1997, p. 93.

¹⁸ Ibid, 92.

¹⁹ Jihad – in translation it means fight – it is a Islam term for religious duty of Muslims. The one engaged in jihad is called mujahid, in plural mujahideen.

²⁰ Noorani, A.G, *Islam and Jihad: Prejudice versus Reality*, Zed Books, London, 2002, p. 45.

just and dignified society by leading spiritual fight against the sin of the Satan in their lives and physically – by leading just war. To the Muslims, in general, this word represents positive religious concept, while the Islamists use it exceptionally in physical sense of the just holy war. Therefore, especially for the non-Muslims, this concept has a disturbing connotation leading to the impression of religious extremism and unselective violence.

In order to incite mass mobilization through jihad the Islamists have promoted the idea of martyr death through which the warriors are actively mobilized and encouraged, emphasizing the rewards they will receive in the afterlife. Nowadays the martyr motives are being demonstrated as an example by the young Iranians who during the Iran-Iraqi war in the 1980's, have voluntarily placed mine fields, the Hezbollah activists in Lebanon, the Sunni radicals represented by the Palestinian Hamas and the suicidal bomb-attacks in Israel, as well as the suicidal attacks over the Twin Towers in New York.²¹

With the beginning of 1970's more Islamists focused their violent activities on destabilizing the ruining the “unbelievers” regimes in their states. The biggest proof for this is the jihad in Afghanistan and the mujahedeen fight against the Soviet invasion, and later also the establishment of the Islamic emirates in Afghanistan. All these events of the past century contributed to the creation of the notion of radical Islam that in the literature is used to make distinction between the true Muslim believers and the militant Islamists.

The events of 11 September represent moment of concern in the evolution of the Islamic extremism and its regional and transnational networks. This new trend of extremism among the militant Muslims points out to an inflexible and dogmatic ideology the heart of which is represented by a distorted version of the concept of jihad. Rooted into the Afghan jihad of 1970's and the Russian-Afghan civil war, this brand of Islamic extremists made breakthrough in Europe via the Bosnian conflict and the conflict in Chechnya. These conflicts brought to the creation of a geographically dispersed network of extremists with joint experience who with the support from local individuals, have managed to perpetrate numerous terrorist attacks.

The new waves of terrorist activities that are conducted globally, already, with no exception, are linked with radical Islamist groups. Some studies even go to the extent to claim that since Islam by its nature is a militant religion, it is question how much the Muslims are ready to counter fight the radical and militant Islamists, despite the feeling of despair and humiliation they bear, caused by the globalization and the increase of the economic, cultural, technological and military influences from the western world.

NEW DIMENSION – HOMEGROWN TERRORISM

After the September 11 attacks, US declared war to the global terrorism. As leading organization of this global security threat pointed was the terrorist organization Al Qaeda and its leader Osama bin Laden, who via his speeches and preaching became embodiment of the radical Islam. The terrorist attacks that followed after 11 September, but also the ones previously perpetrated, showed that the globalization and the latest informational technological achievements have enabled the isolated Al Qaeda cells or individuals to connect easily with each other and to mobilize resources for attack, without any support from the training camps, leaders and the central base of the terrorist organization.²²

What makes Al Qaeda different from the conventional military organizations are the efforts for achieving strategic effects with low-budget tactical operations. The Al Qaeda aim is directed towards demolishing of the cultural values and societies globally, by the use of subversion and military conflicts, with a final goal of establishing a new world order.²³

From another point of view, Al Qaeda conducts a global insurgency to achieve its strategic objectives, through acting on small independent cells that in their operations use rather unsophisticated systems of weapons. This is very clear from the September 11 terrorist attacks when a small terrorist group of around twenty operatives caused over 3.000 civilian casualties in less than four hours.

The Al Qaeda allies accept increasingly its ideology for global war and some of them became even part of this terrorist organization taking over its brand, but acting still locally. With such a trend Al Qaeda becomes

²¹ Zeidan, David, *The Islamic Fundamentalist View of Life as a Perennial Battle*, *MERIA Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 4, December, 2001, available at <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2001/issue4/jv5n4a2.htm> date of access 27.05.2012

²² National Intelligence Estimate, *The Terrorist Threat to the US Homeland*, July 2007, стр. 7, available at http://www.c-span.org/pdf/nie_071707.pdf date of access 28.02.2012

²³ The University of Michigan, *Review journal of philosophy & social science*: Volume 30, Anu Prakashan, 2005, p. 162.

more decentralized than it used to be 10 years ago and its efficient acting to a large extent depends on the autonomy of the leaders of the groups, its cells, its allies, and its capability to inspire new so called homegrown terrorists. It was transformed from centrally orchestrated and strategically supported terrorist attacks that culminated on September 11 to an individual jihad – fight and independent terrorist actions. This transformation created new diffuse terrorist threats that are less destructive but much more dangerous since their attacks are planned and implemented by terrorist individuals or small terrorist groups that are very difficult to be traced down. Their efforts for global jihad fight are supported by the wide range of on-line social network communications²⁴, by which they get inspired and give instructions to the potential jihad-warriors that is *per se* a decentralized project.²⁵

The terrorist attacks of September 11, orchestrated from Afghanistan, and perpetrated by foreign citizens, shocked and terrified the world. To Europe, the events that followed in the years to come caused additional disturbance and fear from a completely different, until then – an unidentified threat – homegrown terrorism. More than 200 persons were killed and over 1500 injured as a result of the terrorist attacks in Madrid on 11 March 2004, several days before the country held elections. Ten bombs exploded in four passenger trains that travelled in the south-east part of Madrid. The trains were full with students and workers and the explosions happened during the biggest morning rush-hour which resulted in large number of victims. The bombs were detonated with the help of mobile telephones. The reason for the attack was the participation of the Spanish forces in Iraq. Arrested were 20 persons most of which are Spanish citizens that took part in the purchase of the explosive, organization of the attacks and the activation of the explosive.²⁶

These attacks are considered an example of the way an independent local terrorist network acts, when the perpetrators are self-recruited homegrown terrorists. The attacks were not planned, prepared or directly perpetrated by Al Qaeda, but according to the intelligence received, there are aspects that prove that the members of the terrorist group that carried out the attacks in Madrid had links with Al Qaeda leaders. The bomb attacks in Madrid depict a complex network that represents complex source of threat that converges individuals from different groups and organizations into home grown independent terrorists. These attacks prove the gained practiced tendency the terrorists have towards attacks over public-transport systems as easy targets and the advantage of using improvised explosives and self-detonations.²⁷

However, Madrid sets an example also for the growing social polarization of the Islamist groups and the increase of the readiness to get involved in the violent jihad. The polarization is partly a result of the re-islamisation of the Muslim minorities in Western Europe. Besides, the radical Islam preaches extreme isolationism and often propagates intolerance towards everybody else, 'the rest' living in the Western societies. Under the category of 'the rest' fall the homosexuals, Jews and those regardless whether they are Muslims or non-Muslims, who in their opinion offend Islam. Here are politicians, creators of opinion, and even academics that strive towards liberalization of women among the Muslims.

Second example for home grown terrorism is Netherlands. From mid - 1980's until 2001, salafism in related with the radical Islam Netherlands to a large extent, had the opportunity to build its structure freely.²⁸ The salafists have access to 15% of the mosques in Netherlands. Their preaching are constantly visited by hundreds of listeners, and main centers are El Tavid mosque in Amsterdam, Al-Vaf al-Islami mosque in Eindhoven, Sunnah mosque in the Hague and the Islamic Foundation for Education and Transfer of Knowledge (ISOOK) in Tilburg. According to the security services the imams in these mosques preach radical Islam aimed

²⁴The official web-sites transmit increasingly messages from Ajman al – Zavahiri and other Al Qaeda commanders all over the world. These messages are transmitted to a lower, second level and are complemented with comments by jihad theoreticians. The third level is the social networks, such as Facebook, that give the opportunity for wider discussion of these messages by the Al Qaeda leaders. These are the for a where the jihad fighters and potential followers endlessly fantasize about terrorist scenarios, support each other for conducting terrorist actions, threat their enemies and boast with what they intend to do.

²⁵ Chris Strohm, „Facebook, YouTube Aid in Al-Qaeda's Spread, Study Says“, Feb. 9, 2011, Global Security Newswire, available at <http://www.nti.org/gsn/article/facebook-youtube-aid-in-al-qaedas-spread-study-says/> date of access 22.03.2012

²⁶ BBC NEWS, *Madrid bombing suspects*, Thursday, 10 March, 2005, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3560603.stm> date of access 02.06.2012

²⁷ Reinares, Fernando, *The Madrid Bombings and Global Jihadism*, Survival, vol. 52 no. 2, April–May 2010, available at <http://www.ict.org.il/Articles/tabid/66/Articleid/816/currentpage/5/Default.aspx> date of access 02.06.2012

²⁸ National Coordinator for Counterterrorism (NCTb), *Salafism in the Netherlands. A passing phenomenon or a persistent factor of significance?* The Hague, 2008, p. 25-26.

for young Muslims “create a climate of intolerance within which these young people may become susceptible to radicalisation and even to recruitment for the jihad”.²⁹ The Dutch intelligence and security services (AVID), have registered the Islamists with their activities in Netherlands since the beginning of 1990’s. In their reports of 2003 AVID warns against the growth of radical Islam: „*Radical Islam encompasses a multitude of movements, organisations and groups. Although they have several ideas in common (particularly relating to religious standards and anti-western sentiments), they may also have very different opinions about the aims to be pursued and the means to be used. In addition to radical Islamic organisations and networks focusing on the jihad (in the sense of armed struggle) against mainly the West, other movements rather concentrate on ‘dawa’ (preaching radical Islamic ideology), while some groups and networks combine these two elements.*”³⁰

On 2 November 2004, the cinematograph Theo Van Gogh, one of the most well-known persons that had publically and continuously criticized Islam – was murdered. Going to his place of work, by bike, in one moment he was stopped and shut by several gun bullets. While lying on the ground, fighting for his life, a man dressed in traditional Arab clothing djellaba, took out a long sharp knife by which he cut his throat, almost cutting his head off. In the end, he stuck a knife into his chests with a message for Ayran Hasili Ali - Van Gogh’s collaborator from Somalia on the movie depicting that Koran introduces domestic violence. The murderer is a 26-years old extremist, Mohamed Bojeri, follower of the Islamist – sallafist movement, a Dutch with Moroccan origin. He was a member of a militant Islamist group, known as the Hofstad network, and his militant behavior came to expression when he began to visit the mosque El Tavid where the key actors in the September 11 attacks, including Mohamed Ata, had met.³¹ In the analyses of the theoreticians that deal with this new type of security threat, the murder of Van Gogh is assessed as the beginning of the transformation and recognition of a new conflict that re-shapes modern Europe. That is, a new conflict between those who fight for freedom of expression, on the one hand and protection of the ethnic minorities – on the other hand; between those that implement national laws and those who practice religious power; between the multiculturalism and integration, rationalism and faith, tolerance and absolutism.

London is the next example for terrorist attack perpetrated by radical Islamists.³² Many analysts earlier believed that London has long before been soil for Islamic extremism, but the confirmation arrived on 7 July 2005.³³ The attacks, as in Madrid, were carried out in the transport system of London. Thorough series of suicidal terrorist attacks, killed were 52 persons and injured 700.³⁴ According to the type of explosive devices that were used in the attack and the links during the planning phase, the investigation proved the attack had been directly linked to Al Qaeda.³⁵

The four suicide-bombers – Mohammed Khan (30 years), Shehzad Tanveer (22 years), Germaine Lindsay (19 years) and Hasib Hussain (18 years) were in contact with a cell from Pakistan in the period between April and July 2005 which indicates that there were also mediators in this terrorist plot. Three of them, (Khan, Hussain and Tanveer) are British citizens with Pakistani origin and Lindsay was born on Jamaica as a Christian, but in 2000 he converted to Islam. Khan and Tanveer were in November 2004 in Pakistan, where Khan, one year before had been trained in a terrorist camp.³⁶ What is interesting with regards to the perpetrators of the attacks of 7 July is the fact that, not only were they unnoticeable people, but they were also virtual amateurs. Their methods and materials needed to carry out the attack demonstrate that for this kind of attack no special knowledge or expensive material was needed – fact that is also worrying.

The number of terrorist conspiracies that were detected in Britain, as well as the number of people that

²⁹ General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD), Annual Report 2003, p. 24. Available at <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/netherlands/aivd2003-eng.pdf> date of access 03.06.2012

³⁰ Ibid, p. 9.

³¹ Bell, Rachael, *The Murder of Theo Van Gogh*, Turner Entertainment Networks, available at http://www.trutv.com/library/crime/notorious_murders/famous/theo_van_gogh/index.html date of access 03.06.2012

³² Aiming to describe the degree to which radical elements influence the city, London is symbolically called “Londonistan”.

³³ Phillips, Melanie, *Londonistan*, Encounter Books, New York, 2007, p. 1 .

³⁴ Tariq Majeed, *London Bombings: Looking Back At July 7, 2005*, O.M. Center For Policy Studies, available at <http://www.opinion-maker.org/2010/07/london-bombings-looking-back-at-july-7-2005/> date of access 01.06.2012

³⁵ Al Qaeda Today: The New Face of the Global Jihad,” *Frontline*, January 25, 2005, available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/front/etc/today.html> date of access 01.06.2012

³⁶ *Report of the Official Account of the Bombings in London on 7th July 2005*, The Stationery Office, London, available at <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/uk/7-july-report.pdf> date of access 01.06.2012

were put under special investigative measures (followed, tabbed) clearly indicates that the problem escalates. In November 2006 the former MI 5 Director, Eliza Manningham-Buller, said that a network has been detected with around 1.600 active persons who have converted themselves from passive supporters to active terrorists, ready to be involved in planning and perpetrating terrorist attacks in Britain or other locations abroad.³⁷ Already in November the following year, the new MI 5 Director, Jonathan Evans, declared that this number had increased for 400 persons as compared to the year before, so in Britain there are at least 2000 persons that represent “direct threat to the national security”. He said that three persons below the age of 15 had been recruited to carry out terrorist activities planned by Al Qaeda.³⁸

In mid-2011, the British Minister of Interior said the possibility for terrorist attacks was big and could happen without warning. The source and form of threat comes from different sides, including Al Qaeda and the associated networks that share the same ideology, as well as from domestic ‘isolated’ individuals or group. The threats could be in various forms – from explosive devices, fire arms, missiles, kidnapping, and infiltration to electronic attacks.³⁹

This new security threat did not spare Germany, either. On 4 November 2007 in Germany, a terrorist attack over American base by car-bomb was prevented. Arrested were four persons and ceased 700 kg hydrogen peroxide and 26 detonators. Two of the arrested are Germans converts from Christianity to Islam, and the others were Germans with Turkish origin. Fritz Gelowicz, Daniel Schneider and Adem Yilmaz were trained in a terrorist camp at the Afghani-Pakistan border. This case shocked the Germans. To them it is unclear how two “ordinary” Germans could be recruited in holy war-jihad.⁴⁰ On 29 April 2011 in Dusseldorf a terrorist Islamic cell was destroyed when two Germans with Moroccan and Iranian origin were arrested. Several weeks before, they had been under surveillance within special investigative measures, suspected in plotting terrorist attack and for having links to Al Qaeda high commanding structures. According to the German security services, at least 220 Germans have passed terrorist training in the training camps in Afghanistan and Pakistan, half of them returned to Germany.⁴¹

With the beginning of 1990’s significant change was noticed with regards to the origin of the radical Islamic groups, perpetrators of the terrorist attacks in France. Before this era, many Islam extremist groups in France were linked with the foreign Islamists who are in long-lasting dispute with the French government and perpetrators of many terrorist bomb attacks. In time, many of these foreign radicals were replaced by domestic French Islamic militants, who accept terrorism and the militant Islam in the name of the holy war – jihad.⁴² The increase of the number of homegrown militants within the community separated the diaspora from the French society and culture and made these Islamic communities alienated from the environment.

Latest example for the existence of the homegrown terrorism inspired by Islamism in France is the one of 24 March 2012 in Toulouse. After 32 hours of siege, arrested was 23 years old French with Algerian origin – Mohammed Merak, suspected in murder of 7 people, of whom three French soldiers and three children. People described him as calm person, who did not look like “an extreme jihad Salaphist” ready to kill in the name of a religious and political cause. He belonged to the Salaphi group and in 2010 and 2011 went to Afghanistan and Pakistan. He earlier tried to enroll in the French army but was denied due to his criminal record. Afghanistan and Palestine were his motives for terrorism and through his attacks are detected – the one as symbolizing the attack against the army, and the other through the killings of Jews.⁴³ According to the French media, he was trained by the Pakistani Talibans and was later assigned to fight against the NATO forces

³⁷ Jordan, Mary, *Britain’s MI5 Warns of Rising Terror Threat*, The Washington Post, November 11, 2006, available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/11/10/AR2006111000138.html> date of access 01.06.2012

³⁸ „Thousands’ Pose UK Terror Threat“, *BBC News*, November 6, 2007, available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/7078712.stm date of access 01.06.2012

³⁹ The Security Service (MI5), *Threat Levels*, available at <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/threat-levels.html#history> date of access 01.06.2012

⁴⁰ BBC News, ‘Germany’s 9/11’ plot trial opens, 22 April 2009, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8011790.stm> date of access 04.06.2012

⁴¹ Rosenbach, Marcel, Stark, Holger, *Homegrown Terror Takes on New Dimensions*, 05.09.2011 09.05.2011 available at <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/german-jihad-homegrown-terror-takes-on-new-dimensions-a-761391.html> date of access 04.06.2012

⁴² Boukhars, Anouar, Islam, Jihadism and Depolitization in the French Banlieues, *Terrorism Monitor*, IV, no. 18, September 21, 2006, p. 9.

in Kabul. According to the intelligence services, he was one of the hundreds of French people that travelled to Afghanistan and Pakistan in the last two decades, attracted by the militant Islamic groups. Many were attracted by the Islamists because of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that caused many attacks all over France early in 2000, including the placed fires in the synagogues.⁴⁴

In the US the period following the September 11 attacks until the end of 2010, arrested were 176 persons for providing material support to jihad groups, attempt to join the front of the jihad groups abroad or for planning of terrorist attacks in the US. In percentage, this is a very small portion of the American Muslim community that in the US amounts of approximately 3 million people, several thousands of who serve the American military forces.⁴⁵

It is clear that from the beginning of this century, the homegrown terrorism is linked to the radical Islam and being inspired by the Al Qaeda ideology, it is in constant rise. Al Qaeda and its allies increase their activities aimed at inspiring and recruiting new homegrown terrorists, in the states all over the world. The inspiration and the recruitment of new homegrown terrorists is conducted most easily and most often via internet where the number of jihad web-sites is in dramatic rise, and very often for communication, used are also the social networks.

MACEDONIA AND THE NEW SECURITY CHALLENGE

If the world is faced with a new kind of security threat recognized in the home grown terrorism which bearers are the radical Islamists (individuals, groups or even organizations) it is more than necessary to ask the question if this new security threat is real threat to the Macedonian security, as well. Perhaps, in the interest of building a multiethnic and multi-confessional society this question was delayed for ‘sometime later’. And while the whole world wrote and spoke about the radical Islam, the Islamic fundamentalism and extremism, as a new global threat, in Macedonia this terminology was constantly avoided. Even though it is to a least extent – irresponsible for Macedonia to be perceived as being outside the European and global developments still there was not a single situation that could replace the whisperings with loud statement. After the decisive action undertaken by the Macedonian Ministry of Interior following the killing of five people at Smilkovci Lake, on April 13, 2012, the Macedonian authorities came out with a statement that it had been an act of terrorism carried out by followers of the radical Islam. According to the official statement made by the Minister for Interior, Gordana Jankuloska, the act is considered to be an act of terrorism, since the victims had been selected randomly and the motive is to cause fear and insecurity among the citizens. In the action, taken into custody were around 20 Albanians, most of them Macedonian citizens, for whom the Ministry of Interior had confirmed they had fought in Afghanistan and Pakistan against the NATO forces. In the scientific and expert debate there were many declarations in favor and against this statement. There were also various speculations on who actually was behind the killings and what the real motive was. The debates went from one to another extreme, from street confrontations and unsolved disputes on property boundary through Albanian separatism to terrorism as act of radical Islamists linked to Al Qaeda. Provoked from the action by the Ministry of Interior and the Minister statement, allegedly without organizer, very spontaneously around 10 thousands of young Albanians protested against the Macedonian authorities with Arabian flags and banners with statements about the uniqueness of Allah. According to their statements the protests were against the unjust arrest and the insults said towards the Muslim population by the authorities and their statements stressing the radical Islam. In interviews held with Muslim believers, almost all, in an identical way explained the offense that had been made with the term “radical Islam”. As they explain, Islam is religion that is in essence well-intentioned and if the term is used with the notion of radical, the very essence of Islam is changed. In other words, in this way, Islam is divided into good Islam and bad Islam – which according to the Muslim beliefs is unacceptable. However, on the other hand, in the world literature, the term radical Islam, as explained above, is defined and has

⁴³ Ramadan, Tariq, *The lesson of Mohamed Merah*, ABC Religion and Ethics, Updated 26 Mar 2012, available at <http://www.abc.net.au/religion/articles/2012/03/23/3462587.htm> date of access 01.06.2012

⁴⁴ Irish, John, Road to Mohamed Merah's radicalization goes through Afghanistan, Reuters, updated 3/21/2012, available at http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/46813803/ns/world_news-europe/t/road-mohamed-merahs-radicalization-goes-through-afghanistan/ date of access 01.06.2012 3

⁴⁵ Brian Michael Jenkins, *Al Qaeda After Bin Laden*, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, 2011, p. 4.

its use. The next question that deserves to be elaborated is whether there is radical Islam in Macedonia.

In his book, "The Balkan Front", Stephan Swarz writes on the presence of the radical Islam in Macedonia since 2001. According to him, the most spread and most popular radical Islamic movement on the Balkans and in Macedonia is the Wahhabism. The origins of Wahhabism in Macedonia, as in this book, as well as in other articles and books (e.g. the Balkan caliphate) are linked with the conflict of 2001 when within the National Liberation Army (ONA) there were many mujahedeen and Islamic extremists that were linked to Osama bin Laden. Actually, the unit "Imri Elezi" that was called mujahid unit was composed by mujahedeen that had come from abroad, but also local extremists. After the conflict, part of the Wahhabis stayed in Macedonia and actively propagated in the mosques the radical Islam and their comprehension of Islam. At the beginning they did not have support from the local population and were in continuous confrontation with the bektashi Sufis.⁴⁶

The problems between the Islamic Religious Community (IRC) in Macedonia began initially with the violent take-over of the Tetovo teqe (the main religious place of IRC in Tetovo) by the Wahhabis. Then followed the problems related with the selection of new Head of IRC, the beating of the five Skopje imams in Kondovo, the taking-over of the four mosques in Skopje (Jaja Pasha, Tutunsuz, Hajtunjik and Isa Beg) out of the control of the IRC, and the events escalated with physical fight between the two sides in the Isa Beg mosque. Driven from their success the Wahhabis by use of force expelled from the Friday prayer the oxha Bajram Rexhepi and at his place nominated was Ramadan Ramadani, who the IRC called the outcast oxha – he was accused for spreading Wahhabism in several mosques in Skopje. This event was provocative enough to attract attention of much global daily news. In the article published by the British newspaper "Sunday Times" it was said that the Islamic fundamentalism is a threat for destabilization of the Balkans, but also – Macedonia. Referring to the President of the IRC, Suleyman Rexhepi, an anonymous source from the Macedonian government and statements from the local Muslim population, Sunday Times writes that there are radical Islamic forces in the state and that Wahhabis are active in Macedonia, controlling in Skopje four mosques.⁴⁷

Eventually, IRC admitted that the radical Islam is reality in Macedonia, that it is being infiltrated into IRC and that IRC itself cannot deal with it. Reis ul ulema effendi Sulejman Rexhepi, head of the Islamic Religious Community in Macedonia, on 9 September 2010 with regards to the misunderstanding the IRC had with some of the religious followers of the 'overthrown' Skopje mufti Ramadan Ramadani said the following:

"...individuals that occasionally make problems because of their personal and group interest – IRC distances itself from them and has nothing in common with them. Let them go back to where they receive payments from; here there is an institution existing for centuries for the Muslims and it is a constitutional category in the state".

Ten days later, on 20 September 2010, using the Euro-Atlantic state objectives as alleged reason, the IRC Head asked from the Macedonian authorities, political parties, the US Embassy and EU – help for tackling with the Wahhabis.⁴⁸

Even though the statements made by the IRC Head represent direct confirmation of the fact that there is radical Islam in Macedonia, still all the developments followed by the violence at the Skopje Kale, the speeches against Mother Teresa, the violent collection of funds from the believers during Ramadan without the permission of IRC and many other, speak that still there is radical Islam in Macedonia and the Wahhabis are pointed out at as its promoters.

The presence of the radical Islam in Macedonia *per se* is enough of a challenge for the security services, but it is more important to know if Macedonia is target to the Islamists and the Osama bin Laden followers and the similar ideologies or it is about a new kind of threat typical for the Balkans, ad provoked by the ethnical division and separatist motivation. The killing of five people was assessed by the police as act perpetrated by radical Islamist and the motive was to cause fear and insecurity among the local population.

From this perspective, at a time when the court verdict is not made yet and the act is not qualified, it

⁴⁶ The Wahhabis are intolerant towards the bektashi, since the latter proclaim liberal Islam allowing consumption of alcohol and in their rituals, women are equal to men. In 2002 the local Wahhabis enhanced with the Arab fighters in violent manner, with threats by weapon took over the Tetovo teqe that used to be the main bektashi religious place in Tetovo. Since then, the Wahhabis use it for their own religious rituals. Schwartz Stephen "The Balkan Front", *The Weekly Standard*, no.12 (2007): p. 14-17

⁴⁷ „World Net Daily“: Islamic volunteers from Macedonia and Afghanistan, Nova Makedonija, No 21949, Thursday, 01.04. 2010. The same news was reported by other world media

⁴⁸ IRC Looks for assistance in the fight against the Wahhabis, Radio Free Europe, 20.09.2010

is impossible to analyze the motive for this event. However, in Macedonia, alongside with this act, in the police reports there are many others that are filled as terrorist acts. On 16 May 2004, police patrol in Suto Orizari was attacked. Armed group opened fire on police patrol after which they escaped from the place. The vehicle was found with large quantity of automated weapons. On 12 July 2005 three projectiles were fired on the police station in Vratnica. In this terrorist attack it was acted with hand projectiles and automated weapons. On 15 July 2005, there was a terrorist attack against the police station in Bit Pazar with 5 kg explosives.

In September 2005 some media published that on the Kitka Mountain several individuals reminding of Wahhabis make drills with fire arms. On 7 November 2007 an event took place, linked to radical Islam. The Macedonian security forces in the operation they undertook, called "Mountain Storm" detected terrorist group in the mountain village on Shara – Brodec. The open fire lasted for 10 hours and the outcome were seven neutralized terrorists. Arrested were 12 suspects. On 3 January 2008 there was an act of revenge when policeman from the special unit was killed and two policemen were wounded. The last event being linked to terrorism took place at the Lake of Smilkovo. Unlike the previous cases where the target was the police, in this case the victims were selected randomly, and the timing chosen with purpose – before the great Christian Easter Holiday. As in all the other cases, maybe the court will reach a verdict by which all defendants will be found guilty for terrorism, but what would be the motive and could there at all be a parallel with the terrorist attack guided, organized or motivated by the Al Qaeda ideology and the radical Islamists or it is about home-grown terrorism the motives of which are most likely to be sought in the inter-ethnic intolerance and the Albanian separatism, rather than in the Islamic fundamentalism. Moreover, the motives can be sought in the party interests the parties from the Albanian political block have. According to the assessments made by the experts from the region, the intention of the killers at the Lake of Smilkovo was to provoke mass clashes between the Albanians and Macedonians that would be the trigger for new inter-ethnic clashes in Macedonia, but also on the Balkans. While waiting for the court decision, there can be many various constructions on the motives and intentions without being even close to the true answer. What can be stated with certainty is that Macedonia is not an isolated case in the world and that in this state as well terrorism gets to be used gradually as tactics for achieving certain goals. Were the terrorist attacks in Macedonia committed by radical Islamists? In this case the answer is not so simple. The fact is that behind all terrorist attacks in Macedonia there are Albanians that belong to the Muslim religious community. But to the most Muslims they are only criminals and not believers. On the other hand, in the actions undertaken by the police during the arrest of the suspected individuals or groups, with no exception, detected was literature that incites radical Islam and later also – the links of the defendants with Al Qaeda. If the events are seen from this perspective, it can be said that the terrorist acts were perpetrated by radical Islamists. However, if we go back to the definition and meaning of the term radical Islam, we will see that in the cases closed until now, the radical Islam is not subject matter, but the home grown terrorism is, with its perpetrators advocating the ideas of radical Islam and using their tactics and skills, but for their own purposes.

CONCLUSION

In the past decade, Al Qaeda, despite the defeats suffered and the loss of leadership in 2011 achieved significant success, whilst the US and its allies suffered four evident defeats. The first on are the September 11 attacks; the second – the US defeat in Iraq from where the Americans withdrew; the third is the unsuccessful campaign led by the US and its allies in Afghanistan. In this war the US lost its allies. The UK, French and German governments already announced their exit.⁴⁹ However, the Americans are also tired from the war. As the Soviets did, they too will leave Afghanistan defeated. The fourth and strongest defeat according to Al Qaeda was achieved by the Arab people expressed via the "revolution against the American occupants".⁵⁰ According to Al Qaeda, this is a global Muslim insurgency that needs to incite insurgent-terrorist campaign. In this decade the main aim would be to impose the Sheria all over the world. On 12 September 2011, Sahab – the Al Qaeda media, publicized a message from D-r Ajman al-Zawahiri, titled as "Dawn of the Imminent Vic-

⁴⁹ Q&A: Foreign forces in Afghanistan, BBC , 11 March 2012, достапно на <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-11371138> датум на пристапување 25.03.2012 година

⁵⁰ John Cherian, „WAR OF TERROR“, Frontline, INDIA'S NATIONAL MAGAZINE, Volume 28 - Issue 20, Sep. 24-Oct. 07, 2011, достапно на <http://www.frontlineonnet.com/fl2820/stories/20111007282000400.htm> датум на пристапување 23.02.2012 година

tory” in which he states:

*“...I remind my brothers that America had thought that the Arab region had been stable under its control through a group of cooperative rulers, whom America had appointed and positioned. But the blessed mighty Arab uprising earthquake came to flip America’s calculations upside-down”.*⁵¹

When speaking about Al Qaeda presence on the Balkans, it is often considered that the Balkans is the base of the “white Al Qaeda” in Europe. In this non-integrated part of the Balkans, where Macedonia is there has been continuous infiltration of the militant Islamists for two decades. Relevant indicators show that until today around 500.000 Balkan Muslims, Bosnians and Albanians have accepted the radical Islamic teaching and according to professor Milan Mijalkovski, around 5000 of them are ready to get involved in terrorist activities.⁵² Although this number might seem too big as compared to the real one, still we need to accept that this new danger that has been marginalized or completely discarded in the past years today represents real threat.

For now, it may seem exaggerated, but as it is the case all over the world, the aim of the Islamic fundamentalists on the Balkans is to establish caliphate as part of the world state of the Muslims – Uma. The influential Wahhabi Ahmed ibn Nafi from Mecca in 1992, before the war in Bosnia called upon the Islamic countries to get involved in the jihad. He said:

“We entrust you to see to the imminent establishment of the Caliphate in the Balkans, because the Balkans are the path to the conquest of Europe...Know, therefore brothers, that the time is working for us...The Caliphate is at hand.”

According to their plans, the aim could be achieved if the separatist feelings among the Albanians from Southern Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Greece are used. I.e. through religious, Islamic radicalization (Wahhabisation) or, re-Islamisation of the Albanian Muslim population a critical foundation could be created that under the veil of the human rights could ask for autonomy and the terrorism could be used only as cover – tactics used to frighten the non-Muslim population in order to achieve the goals easier.

For this reason, in Macedonia there is no classic global terrorism used by Al Qaeda that most often ends with messages to the “occupants” of the Arab territories, but rather a terrorism aimed against the institutions of the system with a view to disobey the constitutional order and the state authorities. Actually, it can be concluded that there is a symbiosis of militant Islam and Albanian separatism. In other words, Wahhabism is no longer an ideology imported to Macedonia by the Afro-Asian mujahedin, preachers and “humanitarian organizations” that served as cover for financing of these criminal-terrorist structures in the region. The rich Arab countries invested a lot of money to spread Wahhabism on these territories. Their success can be seen through the silence of the IRC or the symbols used at the protests following the killing of the five people at the Lake of Smilkovci. If until last year the IRC reiz stated that the biggest threat they faced were the Wahhabi and radical Islamists, after the Smilkovci case and the statements made by the Minister it joined the revolt stating the term radical Islam was offense for the Muslims.⁵³ At the protests that took place in front of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia due to the arrests for the killing of the five people, larger group of young people had waved state flags of Albania and Saudi Arabia. The slogan on the green Saudi flag read the shehada stating “*There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Messenger*”, with sword beyond it that according to the Saudi laws represents justice – the justice to be reached with blood.

In conclusion, it is important to accept that in Macedonia there is real threat of homegrown terrorism that is incited by the radical Islam. Individuals or groups who are ready to undertake terrorist activities against the institutions of the system, slowly but surely penetrate into the pores of the society making it more difficult for the security services to identify and fight them. The earlier the threat is taken seriously the easier it could be prevented. Avoiding facing the truth and not taking certain steps in the name of the good inter-ethnic relations will neither improve the relations between the ethnic groups, nor will it solve the problem. In the beginning, most needed would be to find a suitable terminology that would make clear distinction between

⁵¹ Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri: “Dawn of the Imminent Victory” (September 12, 2011) достапно на http://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2011/09/al-qc481_idah-the-dawn-of-imminent-victory-ten-years-since-the-blessed-tuesday-raids-en.pdf датум на пристапување 30.03.2012 година

⁵² Milan Mijalkovski, Professor at the Faculty of Security, Belgrade, analysis for the Daily “Vesnik” „Na Balkanu preti 5.000 terorista“, 09.05.2012

⁵³ Bekir Halimi, former opponent to the IRC, now employed in this institution is one of the most respected theologians that preach that the Islamic believers should practice religion more..

these radical Islamic structures and the other Muslims. Then, to identify the threat, clearly and in an unbiased way; and have the intelligence services make new security evaluation⁵⁴ of the threat magnitude. According to the new security evaluation, to work out an effective strategy to counter terrorism that will define homegrown terrorism with all its specifics and will recognize it as new threat that will be one of the priority intelligence quests and at the same time – challenge for the overall security sector in Macedonia.

Key words: radical Islam, homegrown terrorism, Al Qaeda, global insurgency, security

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⁵⁴ The new security evaluation/assessment of the situation in Macedonia will need to identify and locate these threats, their content, inter-connectivity and platform of action, the equipment used the forms and methods of action, the links with foreign factors, their paramilitary organization, groupings and identification of the infiltrated followers deeply enrooted into the security, political and religious structures in the system of the state.

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