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CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN FUNCTION OF PREVENTION AND SUPPRESSING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

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Abstract: Today's terrorism is transnational in its causes, operations and effects. International terrorism is a complex international issue that needs to be addressed with a full understanding of nature and scope, but also an understanding of the need for global cooperation in the fight against terrorism. Its essential features establish its importance in international relations, as it poses a completely new security threat to states: the risk of attack comes not only from other states through war, but also from mobile criminal groups, which move between states and expand worldwide - transnational terrorism. International terrorism absolutely diverts the attention of the world's major powers and institutions by defocusing them from supporting basic development issues, directing them to prevent and limit terrorism. It is becoming a source of international relations. The consequence of transnational terrorism is that states face many intertwined points, related to the decision on when and how to intervene. Most often in response to terrorism are military operations. However, such actions are not effective enough to solve the problem of terrorism and even eradicate terrorist behavior. In addition, such actions often end in many negative effects, causing even more destructive and violent actions by terrorists. Although there is a lot of research on terrorism, research on the role of conflict resolution approaches in the fight against terrorism is still very rare. Conflict resolution approaches to ending regional conflicts could be very helpful in reducing the spread of terrorism. At the same time, mediation and dialogue as part of a more complex strategy to combat terrorism, in order to prevent future violence and deter individuals from resorting to terrorism, should be consistently supported. Conflict resolution approaches can provide useful knowledge and strategies that could be effective in broader intervention against terrorist attacks. According to the cosmopolitan perspective on conflict resolution, which defines terrorism as a complex, multilayered global and local phenomenon, this paper will analyze several regional cases to determine which approaches to resolving conflicts are most commonly used in dealing with terrorism, as well as which are the results of their implementation. The aim is to discover the possibilities and limitations of conflict resolution approaches as a way to combat terrorism in different contexts.

Keywords: international terrorism, conflict, prevention, international security

1. INTRODUCTION

In the newly formed security environment of the 21st century, nations with competent military forces and capable intelligence agencies will no longer be afraid of their neighbors and will even be able to provide security to other countries. Globalization, mutual cooperation and economic well-being, promote a relatively stable and peaceful international and domestic environment for most developed countries. Concerns about security in the 21st century are largely a possibility of collateral damage caused by the actions of rogue states, terrorist and criminal elements that do not respect and do not recognize territorial and legal boundaries; use the chaos and disorder of failed states. Within the borders of these states, not only do terrorists, criminals, and political opportunists seek superiority, but the population feels discriminated, unjustly, and frustrated because their culture, society, and institutions are not successful. These factors lead to violence and other harmful consequences.¹⁸³ As mentioned at the beginning, there is a lot of research on terrorism, but studies on the role of conflict resolution approaches in the fight against terrorism are still very rare. It is now clear that specific conflict resolution strategies (such as negotiations and dialogue) aimed at resolving complex and fluid terrorist behaviors, should be considered as part of a broader intervention against terrorist attacks. Some authors oppose this idea. However, the truth is that conflict resolution approaches can lead to peace, even with terrorists. Such approaches to conflict resolution offer an innovative way to understand terrorism as a form of violence that is part of a broader conflict. Thus, terrorism becomes a strategy used in conflicts by actors who believe that it is the best decision to be made at a given time. From the point of view of

¹⁸³ Ташковски, И. & Танески Н. *Разрешување конфликти и меѓународен тероризам*. КА ЕЛ ЕС – Принт, Скопје, (2018)

resolving the conflict, terrorism cannot be considered outside the conflict and can only be analyzed in such a broader context.¹⁸⁴

2. APPROACHES FOR PREVENTION AND SUPPRESSION OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

There are certain strategies that can actually contribute to non-violent conflict resolution, including terrorist violence, and can help reduce the prevalence of terrorism. In this regard, dialogue can help educate and connect people from different social backgrounds, from different religions and cultures. Long-term conflict resolution is best suited to tackle terrorism.¹⁸⁵ Here are some effective political strategies. One of them is the inclusion of people and problems. This strategy is important because it has the potential to reduce frustration with dissatisfied basic human needs, which is a great incentive for people to support terrorists and terrorism or turn to violence. The application of this strategy, for example, was effective in the case of Northern Ireland, because when the economic situation improved and the political structures within the system were open to Catholics in Northern Ireland, support for the IRA was reduced in the late 1980s and 1990s. When dealing with the so-called "Nihilistic terrorists", who are religious terrorist groups, which have absolute goals and are driven by fanaticism, approaches such as mediation and negotiation may not produce effective results, as these groups tend to be rigid in their position. However, coordinating with religious leaders and trying to build a relationship with them can reduce violence to some level.

Overall, there are some limitations to the adoption of conflict resolution as an approach to the fight against terrorism. In some cases, negotiations, mediation, and dialogue with terrorists are seen as a weakness, and many prefer to use military action. Some terrorist groups are structured in such a way that they force negotiators or mediators to physically contact them to convey their messages. The lack of open channels of communication increases isolation and mistrust and often makes conflict resolution approaches seem unsuccessful. The rigidity and mentality of religious extremists often make it difficult for policy makers to resolve conflicts with them peacefully, and thus be forced to use coercive measures to combat terrorism. However, there are other measures that can be taken to handle with terrorism. One is the persuasion aimed at reducing the motivation of the parties to the conflict to use violence and to minimize support for terrorists. This process involves ideologies that challenge terrorism, convincing the parties to the conflict to use nonviolent tactics to reduce recruitment to terrorism. Demonstrating greater humanity and efficiency of non-terrorist alternatives, and convincing the parties that non-violent measures can meet strategic goals, will have a long-term impact on dealing effectively with terrorists and their support groups. Reducing vulnerability and defeating hard-line supporters, or in other words, "denial," can also be used in response to terrorism. At the same time, coordination and maximization of international efforts are needed to respond effectively to terrorism. From the previous discussion it is clear that each approach to conflict resolution has its strengths and weaknesses.

Regarding the prevention of conflicts, Toros stressed that its potential must not be overestimated in conflicts caused by terrorist violence, which can be particularly resistant to this approach. Rebel groups are small and do not have to be dependent on their community, with which they often lose touch when isolated and go underground. In some cases, maintaining the group unchanged can be the ultimate goal of the group itself. However, while the relationship is complex and there should be no expectations for automatic results, involvement in conflict prevention measures caused by terrorist violence may have an impact on stopping the potential escalation of violence. It also highlights the important link between conflict prevention and anti-terrorism and how it should be seen as part of a broader response that understands terrorism as part of a broader conflict.

Peacekeeping also has its potentials and limitations when applied to conflicts caused by terrorist violence. It is well known that violence can have a major impact on negotiations. In the past, armed groups have miscalculated their capacity to influence negotiations by pursuing violent strategies to increase their support (for example, the IRA). As practice shows, many cases of negotiations between states and non-state armed groups have begun in secret. Negotiations can often fail, as is the case with many conflicts involving terrorist violence, such as the Basque conflict. However, understanding terrorism as a strategy used in the wider conflict raises the question of whether ending terrorism necessarily means resolving the conflict. Although dialogue can be very effective in resolving conflicts in a non-violent way, it is also true that in some cases permanent effects have not been registered, except as a precondition for the application of other means and policies. Hence, dialogue is important as an instrument of diplomacy, but the necessary conditions for an integrative approach to success are rarely present in deep-rooted

¹⁸⁴ Toros, H. *Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and Conflict Resolution: Building Bridges*. Center for Excellence Defence against Terrorism. NATO, (2016)

¹⁸⁵ Amin, S.J. *Adopting a Conflict Resolution Perspective towards Terrorism – Possibilities and Limitations*. International Journal for Excogitation Education and Research, 1(2), 48-54.(2017)

conflicts, such as those in Ukraine, or those in Georgia, Libya, and Iran. Some analyzes of the potentials and limitations of dialogue suggest that behavior and positions tend to change as a result of changing international and domestic circumstances, rather than solely because of dialogue. It also shows that diplomatic dialogue does not necessarily transform the values and identities of actors, which is especially evident in deep-rooted conflicts, but can also affect the timing of events and the nature of the adopted measures. Furthermore, if implementation mechanisms are lacking, the agreement reached through negotiation can be labile, and the same applies to dialogue-based agreements.¹⁸⁶ The success of the dialogue differs depending on whether the negotiations are facilitated by a neutral third party or not. It also depends on the level of secrecy and confidentiality. Practicing the top-down approach usually makes it difficult to have a real dialogue. Finally, in practice it has been proven that dialogue is more effective in preventing conflicts than in resolving them.

3. COSMOPOLITAN APPROACH FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Transnational conflict is a hybrid mix of local, regional and global conflicts. This requires new doctrines of intervention, but also a new understanding of peace and security. In that sense, the cosmopolitan approach to conflict resolution probably has the most to offer.¹⁸⁷ The cosmopolitan conflict resolution approach provides a four-dimensional framework: prevention, persuasion, denial, and coordination.

Prevention means reducing terrorist activities, which is at the heart of the anti-terrorism strategy. This means further consideration of what motivates international terrorism globally, the responsibility of regional systems, and the question of state legitimacy and capacity.

Persuasion, as a second dimension, provides three main elements of its strategy: to challenge the ideologies of terror; to persuade the parties to the conflict to use non-terrorist means; and to reduce the appeal of terrorism within the broader current or potential range of support.

The third dimension - denial - is focused on reducing vulnerability and defeating hardline supporters of terrorism.

The promotion of international cooperation and legitimacy is the last, fourth, dimension in the proposed framework. It includes coordination of regional and local initiatives in the broadest coalition of international actors. The application of the principles of unpredictability, complementarity and comparative advantage is also part of this dimension. At the same time, it is very important to ensure that the terrorist act is sanctioned internationally and in accordance with international law.

4. THE CASE OF AVGANISTAN

Koburn's special report notes several key features of the legal situation in Afghanistan, which significantly affects the chances of a successful settlement of the conflict. Thus, it is emphasized that there are numerous sources of local conflicts in this country, most of which are connected to issues related to land and water rights, inheritance and disputes over the control of local government positions. There is generally no effective solution to such disputes due to a lack of capacity or resources in formal justice systems. However, looking back, the facts confirm that the same type of dispute was successfully resolved before the wars, when the formal justice system had even fewer resources, indicating that there were other possible causes for this situation. One possibility is to undermine the traditional dispute resolution system by increasing the power of local commanders, who lack authority in the community, and a lack of political and personal security for practitioners. On the other hand, corruption and inefficiency delegitimize the formal legal system. It is also noted that in Afghanistan there is a dualism in the legal sector, manifested in, on the one hand, state (judicial) sectors and non-state sectors based on a combination of customary and religious law, which often compete with each other. Research also shows that, contrary to assumptions, successfully resolved disputes rely on a combination of formal and informal actors and are considered much more by local elders than by government officials. The 2017 United Nations Security Council report on the situation in Afghanistan states that even after 40 years of violent conflict, a convincing and stable peace process has not yet been secured. The same report called on the Taliban to show clear readiness to start negotiations. Tadamichi Yamamoto, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), said the key issue was the holding of the 2018 parliamentary elections, followed by the April 2019 presidential election. He points out that, unfortunately, there is not enough progress in these preparations. However, Yamamoto points out that despite intense fighting, recent efforts by Afghanistan's national defense and security forces to protect civilians have resulted in a reduction in civilian casualties and injuries. In the same report, Wazhma Frog, founder of the Organization for Women and Peace Studies and a member of Afghanistan's High Peace

¹⁸⁶ Rieker, P. & Thune, H. *Dialogue and Conflict Resolution. Potential and Limits*. Routledge, NY. (2017)

¹⁸⁷ Ramsbotham, O., Woodhouse, T., & Miall, H. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*. Polity Press. (2016)

Council, said the country was still one of the most dangerous places for women to live. In 2017, the Afghan Human Rights Commission reported more than 5,000 cases of violence against women. At the same time, she stressed the importance of the peace process, which must include all sectors of society. Here, of particular importance for achieving lasting peace and reconciliation is the active involvement of women in the negotiation process, given that it is women and children who suffer from the constant violence in this area. A comprehensive peace process should be implemented in Afghanistan that will focus on three areas: developing a politically agreed solution, increasing the legitimacy of the Afghan government and building a national public consensus on future relations between the various groups.¹⁸⁸

5. THE CASE OF IRAQ

Many reasons lie at the root of the violent and destructive forms of the conflict in Iraq. According to some sources, this country probably has one of the worst statistics on violence in the world today. Violence in Iraq is multifaceted and exists at different levels. In the 2007 UNHCR report¹⁸⁹, said violence in the country included insurgency and terrorism, armed groups committing violence for political or sectarian reasons, organized crime, counter-insurgency and military operations by the Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) and the Multinational Forces in Iraq, intra-sectarian (Shiites against Shiites and Sunnis against Sunnis), as well as types of tribal violence. The ISF continues to face serious challenges in maintaining law and order in the country, the report said. The report also notes that all parties to the conflict are involved in serious violations of the laws of war, including war crimes. The intensity and type of conflict vary considerably in different regions of Iraq. What the experience so far shows with certainty is that militant solutions are neither effective nor sufficient to permanently solve problems. On the contrary, the cycle of violence is recurring, causing deeper conflicts. However, when deciding how and why to negotiate with terrorists, several criteria should be taken into account that distinguish terrorists and terrorism themselves, which directly affects the choice of whether to enter into negotiations (whether there is a basis to expect that there is a real possibility that negotiations will succeed) or not. In this regard, the relevant literature (Zartman, 2008) points out that there are so-called absolute and contingent (instrumental) terrorists. Absolute (such as suicide bombers) carry out terrorist acts that are non-instrumentalist and self-aligned. These terrorist attacks end with their very execution. They are not a means to achieve another goal. Absolute terrorists are also divided into conditionally absolute and totally absolute (or revolutionary). It is impossible to negotiate with the absolute, because there is nothing to negotiate (although some governments make such attempts), whether the cause of the action is a world social and political revolution or direct access to the heavenly reward, it becomes an unattainable ambition in earthly life and is used to justify terrorist tactics and the end result. Contingent or instrumental terrorism, on the other hand, covers much of the literature on terrorist negotiations (mainly about hostage-taking). Contingent terrorists use the lives of victims for other purposes and even seek negotiations. Their main goal is to exchange their victims for publicity, redemption or release of their members. Violence in this type of terrorism is not definitive or absolute. Specifically, only part of the violence is perpetrated through the act of taking hostages, and the rest is carried out in jeopardizing their fate, if their demands are not met. Among the categories of totally absolute and instrumental terrorists are conditional absolute terrorists, who have something to negotiate (for example, territory, independence, conditions), even when their suicidal tactics are absolute. These terrorists are not instrumental, they do not seek negotiations as part of their act. However, their demands can be potentially negotiated, depending on who they are negotiating with. Hence, it is very important to separate the terrorists, separating the instrumental and conditional absolutes from the total absolutes, which means creating conditions for something that is real and achievable (as was done in the case of the IRA). The attempt to resolve the conflict in Iraq is linked to the activities of the Global Communities through the USAID-funded Community Action Plan (CAP), which began in June 2003 and ended in September 2012. As noted in the organization's February 2013 report, Global Communities is one of several organizations implementing the program, directly overseeing its implementation, first in the provinces of Babil, Karbala and Najaf, and in Cadizia, Vasit and Anbar. The program is implemented in three phases and over time is developing into a comprehensive effort that builds a foundation for democratic mechanisms and mechanisms for representing citizens. The first two phases of this program, implemented between 2003 and 2008, are focused primarily on building the capacity of joint action groups to bridge the gap in local self-government and achieve local democracy by implementing independent projects and projects in partnership with local authorities. The third phase, implemented from 2008 to 2012, focuses mostly on improving community development by building the capacity of local

¹⁸⁸ Schirch, L.; Raffiee, A.; Sakhi, N.; & Wardak, M. *Designing a Comprehensive Peace Process for Afghanistan*. United States Institute of Peace. Washington DC. (2011)

¹⁸⁹ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Iraq Operation. *Framework for Conflict- sensitive programming in Iraq*. UN. (December, 2007)

authorities to take their proper role in governance. Thus, through such joint activities, a significant contribution has been made to the development of dialogue, mutual cohesion and community stability.¹⁹⁰

6. CONCLUSION

Conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq are wars in which the United States was unwilling to go to war in 2001. The enormous American conventional military superiority is a reality that none of their potential enemies would directly challenge. Instead, they would attack them asymmetrically, avoiding their firepower, maneuvering, technology, in order to reach their weak points, in a way that was used by the rebels in Afghanistan and Iraq. It is necessary to analyze and follow the experiences of these conflicts, in order to more easily locate and deal with the threats that come in the future. The essence of this warfare lies in the indirect strategies undertaken by the subjects in the fourth generation of wars, which usually bypass direct military confrontations with state armies, attacking the civilian population, culture or the institutions of the system. This can also be described as one of the biggest changes in the war, because with the peace in Westphalia the state was given the monopoly on the war, which was now lost. The fourth generation of wars also dismantled the European model of warfare. The fourth generation of wars is manifested through highly isolated, mobile, predatory networks operating outside the nation states. These wars are launched by ad hoc warriors and are largely moral in their shape and structure. Dr. David Tucker, a defense and non-conventional conflict expert, wrote in the 1970s: "Terrorism, defining it in all the forms in which we can imagine it, is now identified in the daily use of illegitimate violence, which is detrimental to our interests, just as the military actions of our enemy will be harmful, unjustified and unconscionable." From then until today, in the 21st century, significant changes have taken place in the attitude towards terrorism. Terrorism has become legitimate as a strategy or tactic in war, although it is still in our interest to label opponents in the fourth generation of wars as "terrorists," which would suggest that the use of terror is negative.

The analysis of case studies confirms the importance of applying appropriate approaches to conflict resolution, selected on the basis of detailed analysis and modeling, and according to the context, social conditions, history of conflicts, culture, religion, and social identity, characteristic of each individual society. In this sense, the analyzed situation in some countries facing long-lasting, deep and very violent cyclical conflicts confirms almost all the advantages and limitations of the approaches and strategies for resolving conflicts that are indicated in theory and based on practical experience of the numerous individuals and organizations that have participated in the negotiation and mediation processes, leading dialogues and trying to contribute to ending violence and establishing long-term peace through peacemaking and peacebuilding. What can be concluded in the end is that there is no general useful formula that offers effective solutions to any conflict, anywhere in the world. It is necessary for the affirmative approach to the relations between Islam and the West to emphasize peace as a common ideal of the two civilizations and to draw attention to the always present choice. Muslims and residents of Western countries share very similar ideals, yet follow cultural traditions that formulate and apply these ideals in unique ways that are not fully sensitized. Like the West, Islam has multiple paradigms of thought and action on issues related to peace, so only by recognizing the internal diversity of civilizations could lasting peace be built between cultures. At the same time, it is extremely important when studying group identification that it is not considered stable and independent of context. The embedding of national, ethnic and religious identity in cultural heritage and in the tradition of the group/society to which the individual belongs has been repeatedly emphasized in theory. But some aspects of his identity and the conditions under which he is changing have not been fully clarified. Namely, research shows that most individuals do not support conflicts and their recurrence, however, they trust their group the most and support its position.¹⁹¹

All this leads to the final conclusion that long-term peace in a society can only be established through building and maintaining a culture of peace. Establishing a culture of peace is a complex, lengthy and no easy process. This is especially true for multicultural societies and post-conflict societies where much needs to be done to bridge differences and misunderstandings and to transform them into mutual trust, respect and active tolerance. At the same time, although there are some very effective practices from Western countries that can be used for this purpose, more complete and more successful results are achieved when a particular society stands on the capacity of its own

¹⁹⁰ Holsten, M.; Tilock, K.; Korir, S.; & Fawzy, M. Partners for Peace: Community and Conflict Resolution "We are the people, we are the problem, we are the solution." Global Communities. Partners for Good. (2013)

¹⁹¹ Pratto, F.; Žeželj, I.; Maloku, E.; Turjačanin, V.; & Branković, M. *Shaping Social Identities after Violent Conflict. Youth in Western Balkans*. Palgrave Macmillan. (2017)

people to mobilize their forces to behave calmly and non-violently, to build a driving force that in the future will be called a culture of peace.¹⁹²

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¹⁹² Fritzhand, A. & Petrović, N. The Culture of Peace: Measuring the Emotional Climate in the Republic of Macedonia. *Безбедносни дијалози.*, 5, 1, 145-162 Скопје: Филозофски факултет. (2014)