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The phenomenon of international terrorism in the context of epistemological discourse

The article deals with the definition of the «terrorism» concept, the essence of the problem of terrorism in the work of CIS scientists and abroad. The relevance of the study is substantiated. The authors have attempted to overcome the ambiguity of the term «terrorism». The attention is focused on the complex problem of a single definition of the terrorism phenomenon as a basis for international cooperation. Strategy of fight against terrorism depends on importance of definition of this term. The problem of finding a common definition of the phenomenon of terrorism at the international level is one of the most difficult challenges in the way of an effective response to the threat. Moreover, only a common understanding of the term can be the basis for international cooperation.

Key words: international terrorism, international cooperation, globalization, conflicts, terror, politics.

Actuality of the theme is due to primarily to the fact that terrorism has become one of the global problems of modern civilization, threatening the stability and security of the international community as a whole. In all its manifestations it has become one of the most dangerous in its scope and the unpredictability of the effects of socio-political and moral problems with which humanity has entered the twenty-first century [1; 281, 282].

The manifestation of terrorism entail massive human losses, destroyed spiritual, material and cultural values, which is impossible to recreate for centuries. It breeds hatred and distrust between the social and national groups. The terrorist attacks have led to the need for an international system to deal with it. For many people, groups, organizations, terrorism has become a way of solving problems: political, religious, national. Terrorism is one of those types of criminal violence, whose victims could be innocent people, anyone who has no relation to the conflict. Terrorism — specific phenomenon of social and political life; one of the options tactics of the political struggle, involving the use of ideologically motivated violence.

In modern conditions there is an escalation of terrorist activities of extremist individuals, groups and organizations, its character becomes complicated, and the sophistication of anti-humane acts of terrorism are increasing.

None of the researchers won't be able to designate the exact date of emergence of terrorism as a method of political struggle. It is only known that the terrorism traces the roots back to depth of centuries. Its first rudiments can be found in the ancient time. The terrorism was always closely connected with the relations of people concerning the power, it is a struggle for power contributed to its rise.

Ancient papyruses have kept data on acts of terrorism as a result of which many Pharaohs among whom there was also a young man Tutankhamun, eliminated from political arena by means of poison have fallen. According to the Egyptian historian Manefon, living in the 4th century B.C. at the end of the period of the Ancient kingdom in Egypt, the time of troubles of domination of total terrorism has begun.

Roman civilization, which came as though to replace the Egyptian, had its «terrorist tradition» of which survived more vivid and a distinct mark on history. In the famous book of the Roman historian and writer Gaius Suetonius Trankvila «Lives of the Twelve Caesars» includes events that span two centuries of Roman history. Eight of the twelve Caesars from this galaxy were killed in terrorist attacks.

The modern international terrorism is the companion of globalization which directed, as it is paradoxical, the efforts to its blasting [2; 21–28].

In recent years, the problem of international terrorism has become one of the most pressing global problems connected with the sphere of international relations. This transformation is due to, in our opinion, the following factors:

First, international terrorism, unfortunately, is becoming more widespread on a global scale. It manifests itself in the regions of traditional international conflicts (for example, the Middle East, South Asia), and from this dangerous phenomenon were not insured and the most developed and prosperous countries (in particular the USA and Western Europe).

Secondly, international terrorism poses a serious threat to the security of individual countries and the world community as a whole. Annually in the world hundreds of acts of international terrorism are committed, and the sad account of the victims makes thousands of dead and maimed people;

Thirdly, for fight against the international terrorism there aren't enough efforts of one great power or even group of the advanced states. Overcoming the growing international terrorism as a global problem requires a collective effort of the majority of states and nations on this planet, the entire international community.

Fourthly, more and more obvious and evident is a communication of a modern phenomenon of the international terrorism with other actual global problems of the present. Now the problem of the international terrorism has to be considered as an important element of all complex of universal, global problems.

The phenomenon of terrorism includes a variety of aspects that may be the subject of social, political, legal research. It is so complex and multifaceted that literature still has not developed its unambiguous definition. Development of the generally recognized definition is complicated by the fact that the development of international terrorism is much faster than its interpretation. At the present stage of development of the phenomenon to draw a clear distinction between the manifestations of «terrorism» and «international terrorism» is extremely difficult.

The term «terrorism» — one of the most disputed in academic and analytical as well as in the media and everyday discourse. According to B. Hoffman, about terrorism — «most people have a vague notion or impression, but there is a more precise, specific and quite explanatory definition» [3; 15].

Despite widespread use of the term «terrorism» as R.B. Absattarov considers, «until now, there is no standard definition and the analysis of a number of works of such scientists as N.A. Abuyeva, L.A. Baygeldinov, A.M. Dzhunusov, A.Sh. Ishmukhamedov, R.K. Kadyrzhanov, A.N. Nysanbayev, D.N. Nazarbayeva, S.Z. Narmatov, G.R. Nurymbetova, T.S. Sadykov, M.B. Sarsenbayev, T.S. Tatimov, G. Ausharip, M.S. Ashimbayev, K.I. Bayzakov, A.K. Bakayev, M. Galimov, R.T. Zavotpayev, Zh.U. Ibrashev, S.S. Kazekeyeva, L.R. Karatayeva, M. Mukhanov, Indicates that overall almost all researchers in the development of the definition of terrorism is the desire to more clearly distinguish between the concept of «terror» (the violence of the strong over the weak (the state over the opposition)), «terrorism» (the use of violence and intimidation of the weak (the opposition) on towards strong (state)), «terrorist act» [4; 621–624]. Also R.B. Absattarov, pays our attention to scientists of the neighboring countries, namely to the Uzbek and Kyrgyz scientists among whom in his opinion «works of S.K. Abdrakhmanov, K.Z. Alimov, N. Vavilov, K.I. Dzhayanbayev, S.R. Kakharov, A.R. Rakhmanov, T.I. Sayfutdinov, K.M. Osmonoliyev should be noted, whose works are devoted to «improvement of the theory and practice of fight against the international terrorism in its various manifestations» which believe that looking for universal definition of terrorism is not more efficiently, but should only be limited to certain of its features, and according to the Russian scientists such as, Yu.I. Avdeyev, Yu.M. Antonyan, I.I. Artamonov, N.S. Beglova, I.P. Blishchenko, V.V. Vityuk, I.I. Karpets, V.I. Karpova, M.V. Korotkova, O.A. Kolobov, D.B. Levin, V.V. Luneyev, L.N. Modzhoryan, M.A. Sargsyan, N.D. Eriashvili who believe it would be useful to try to give a working definition of terrorism at the legal level» [5; 32].

Martha Crenshaw, a professor of US Wesleyan University believes that «the most appropriate definition to meet the requirements of reality is the following definition of terrorism — a criminal offense consisting in the use of violence or threat of violence against individuals or groups of individuals, accompanying with intimidation of violence and deliberate creation of an environment of fear, the depression, intensity for the purpose of rendering impact on decision-making beneficial to terrorists and differing in the increased public danger and public nature of its commission» [6; 74].

Existing differences not only provoke a lively scientific debate, but also help to isolate an independent direction, focused exclusively on the content category. The causes of profound differences can be found at both the conceptual and the linguistic levels — «the word contains a fundamental ambiguity in terms of linguistic and political analysis», because «it combined descriptive and prescriptive aspects», and when the action is perceived as a «terrorist», it is supposed that its subject same [7; 329]. The main problem with the use of the term is that it usually represents reality in the different order. Sometimes the terrorism is used for the description of equipment, and another time is a behavior. T. Thornton means this aspect when emphasizes that it is possible to call the behavior directed on induction of fear terrorism or objective terrorism.

Terror is considered as a way of induction of fear by the repeating violent acts. It is connected with the word «terrere» which is translated from Latin as «to intimidate, frighten». The Latin word «terror», S. Bratkovski notes, is close on sounding to «terra» — the earth and, is obvious, connected with earthquakes

which caused fear and horror. Despite it, this sense has nothing in common with sense which we put in this word today. At Cicero we find *terreri* — I frighten, I inspire someone panic, and at Libya we meet *aliqueminterrere* — to frighten someone, to force it to be afraid; there are also *terror* which means fear of slave rebellion [8; 764]. In the explanatory dictionary of I.V. Dahl the terrorism is «intimidation by the death penalties, murders and all horrors of fury».

In turn, A. Fernandez defines terrorism as the organization of violence: «Each organization of the criminal, underground or institutionalized violence which develops in the usual way approximately in the same geographical environment or in depths of the same national society, and sows terror and others of sensation of fear, deserves to be certain as a terrorist phenomenon... The terrorism is a synonym of system of terror» [9; 1, 2].

E. Walter attempts to overcome the ambiguity of the term, expanding its content: «In its common usage the word «terror» has a dual meaning ... Moreover, it can mean, on the one hand, the physical condition — an extreme fear, and with another — a factor that causes this fear — the violent event which is giving rise to the corresponding state». To avoid mixing, E. Walter offers «terrorism» and «organized terrorism» be understood as equivalent to «the process of terror», as an act of covering the use of force, emotional response and social effects» [10; 115].

Calls at generating a consensus definition have different characters. Let us consider three of them, which are among the most important: relative and dynamic nature of terrorism; the unilateral nature of the definition; the presence of a plurality of evaluation elements in the discourse of terrorism and about him. Relativity and the dynamic nature of terrorism put forward by A. Enoch, W. Lakerom, D. Rapoport, B. Hoffman, M. Krenshau, P. Wilson etc. [11; 13] are cause for concern, despite external similarities whether there is a speech about the same phenomena in time. Whether it is possible to reduce to a common denominator Robespierre and Ousama Bin Laden? Whether one order actions of National will and « Hamas » are? Whether varies terrorism in the chronological plan, and together with it our understanding about him? One of the ideas that illustrate the dynamics of terrorism, belongs to D. Rapoport, who explores it as consisting of four successive waves of differing objectives, concepts and motives: anarchist (80th in the XIX-th — 20-ies of XX century); anticolonial (20-ies — the end of the 60s of XX century); wave of the new left (inherited anti-colonial movement, goes to the 90th and leaves behind a number of parties and movements that survive it: ETA (Spain), «Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam» organization (Sri Lanka), «Shining Path» (Peru) and the Revolutionary armed forces of Colombia, a religious wave (1979 to the present day) [12; 85].

If we accept the periodization of D. Rapoport and shut down the old forms of terrorism, it appears that there is a phenomenon of 130 years (for B. Hoffman is 200-year-old, as he considers it the beginning of the French Revolution) history, in which the concept of it varies greatly [12; 87].

At the beginning of its inception, the concept has a positive value; regime of terror — is a tool in the hands of the French revolutionary government, which is consolidated by the repression: «Maybe, says B. Hoffman, it is irony, that in its original context, the term «terrorism» is closely related to the ideals of virtue and democracy» [13; 19]; a link that is visible in the famous phrase of Robespierre: «Without virtue terror — evil; without it virtue is defenseless ... Terror — something different, like justice, fast, harsh and unyielding, consequently, it is an emanation of virtue» [14; 78]. The revolutionary connotations predominate in the early 1930s, but terrorism is rarely referred to anti-state violence and increasingly they represent a massive crackdown on its citizens by the totalitarian regimes. In the postwar period, it is associated mainly with the anti-colonial movements; in the 1980s. the main theme is terrorism, legitimized by religion; in the 1990s. into its content include a new phenomena, such as narco-terrorism, and at the end of XX century, the center of attention becomes that trend, which is indicated by jihadist terrorism or jihadism.

As part of the «wave dynamics» several permanent members are outlined, which are prerequisites for a common definition of the search (but not general explanation) of terrorism, regardless of its chronological dimension. In all its manifestations and epochs it is the form of violence — the attack, which committed by peaceful means is still unknown, despite the fact that the question of the nature of the violence is still open. Moreover, terrorism is aimed at changing the behavior of specific target groups, different groups of victims. And finally, always considered that terrorist violence — a violence that deliberately directed against civilian persons and objects; this distinguishes it from the war. From what point of view determining defines terrorism, was always considered as the greatest problem — «the part of our understanding of terrorism and reaction to manifestation of terrorism consists in what we consider lawful and illegal in spite of the fact that this understanding is designed in the national or international plan» [15; 380].

Much of the analysis is based on concepts that reflect the reality of the way it looks with its own position and rarely from the perspective of others, and it is their fault. Schmid indicates irreconcilability between academic and terrorist positions, as one of the biggest obstacles to the development of a universally view; in his 2005 study of which is considered the richest encyclopedia definitions of terrorism, he tries to overcome existing one-sidedness by studying opinions of terrorist leaders [11; 13].

Studies conducted by the author of written documents showed that in most cases the approaches of organizations practicing terrorism, characterized by the fact that they either find it morally justified as a means to achieve the goal or reject a terrorist nature carried out violence and declare it as an act of war or an act of protection and self-defense; or take responsibility for its commission, but not responsible for its causes. «The difference between the revolutionary and the terrorist lies in their motives», — emphasizes Yasser Arafat in his speech before the UN General Assembly in 1974. «He who defends a good cause and fights for the freedom and liberation of his land from the invaders, colonizers or colonists, can never be called a terrorist» [16; 365].

The radical organization «Hezbollah» does not support the killing of civilians, and defines them as terrorism, while at the same time legitimizes suicide attacks, which caused the death of dozens of Israeli civilians, the argument that Israel is not innocent, but only occupants and adhere to the criminal policy» [17; 98].

It is similar to the discourse of political leaders of states accused of practices or support of terrorism, which deny the support for terrorist acts, or declare a part of the national liberation struggle, or see it as an immutable international duty, or send terrorist charges to certain countries and institutions, announced their evil personification (US, Israel, Russia, some international organizations). President Hafez al-Assad, in a speech at the 21st Conference of working syndicates of Syria, delivered in November 1986, said: «We have always opposed terrorism. But terrorism — is one thing and the national struggle against the occupation — another. We are against of terrorism ... But in spite of this, we support the struggle against the occupation, which deploy national liberation movement» [17; 145].

The question of «whether there can be an «objective» definition of terrorism» has to be in the academic debate. According to one position, such a definition is not only possible but also necessary, as the basis for international cooperation against terrorism; for other positions terrorism — entirely subjective assessment question as whether a particular act is defined as a terrorist or not depends on your own point of view about the world. If the world is perceived in the state of the world, violence is defined as terrorism; if the world is perceived in a state of war, acts of violence are legitimate. They will be considered as a protective and tactical actions in a constant battle or symbols that show that the world is in constant and severe conflict [18; 8].

Generating a universal definition of terrorism hampered by the presence of a significant number of evaluation elements out of evaluation of the nature of violence, which was discussed above. The current Prime Minister of Israel Binyamin Netanyahu defines it as «the deliberate and systematic murder, mutilation and intimidation of innocent, to cause them fear for political purposes» [19; 9]. (This definition was changed in the third book Netanyahu «Fighting Terrorism», where the word «innocent» replaced by the word «civil»: «Terrorism — a deliberate and systematic attacks on people for inspiring them in fear for political purposes) [20; 8]. E. Di Nocera has similar opinion, who notes that terrorism consists of acts of violence committed against innocent people, randomly selected with an aim to achieve political or any other purposes, by means of intimidation and terror [21] as well as Harmon, who wrote: «Terrorism is always one and the same nature. The ability of different manifestations: hot fury, cold contempt and even «humane» forgiveness of some victims, terrorism never loses its essence, which is harming the innocent in the service of political power. Terrorism is «the deliberate and systematic murder, injury and intimidation of innocent to inspire fear for political purposes» [22; 31]. These examples contain the emotional dimensions of the concept of terrorism [23; 5].

Despite the difficult abstraction of the evaluation moments, the search of universal definition — is a task «to which scientists can not surrender». «There is a thorough logical reason for the need to define terrorism in a manner independent of the psychological desire to comprehend the seemingly senseless violence» [23; 2], and that reason is hidden in the need «to evaluate the definition without engaging in the position entirely private opinions, even when they are guided by theory». Self-proof of the theory, however, requires the definition of at least some of its major constituents [7; 113], elements, which are largely determined by the chosen approach.

Search for the universally accepted definition of «terrorism» can help to present this phenomenon in a theoretical sense, reveal the essence of the problem of terrorism in the face of the international community.

The importance of the definition of «terrorism» is primarily due to the fact that from it to a certain extent depends on the strategy to deal with it. Moreover, only a common understanding of the term can be the basis for international cooperation.

Terrorism — is a complex socio-political phenomenon with many manifestations of forms, each of which has specific differences. The problem of finding a common definition of the phenomenon of terrorism at the international level is one of the most difficult challenges in the way of an effective response to the threat.

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П.П. Солощенко, Б.К. Дюсалинова, А.Г. Улжабаева

Эпистемологиялық дискурс мәнмәтіндегі халықаралық терроризм феномені

Мақалада ТМД және шетел ғалымдарының еңбектеріндегі атап өтілген «терроризм» ұғымының анықтамасы, терроризм мәселесінің негізі қарастырылған. Зерттеу жұмысының өзектілігі көрсетілген. Авторлармен бір мағыналы емес «терроризм» терминіне талдау жасалған. Сонымен қатар терроризм феноменінің бірегей анықтамасының ең қиын мәселесіне көңіл аударылды, себебі бұл халықаралық ынтымақтастықтың негізі. Терроризммен күресу стратегиясы осы терминнің анықтамасына тәуелді және бұл терминнің бірыңғай мәні халықаралық қарым-қатынастың негізі бола алады. Халықаралық деңгейде терроризм феноменінің бірыңғай мәнін анықтау мәселесі қауіп-қатерге нәтижелі қарсы әрекет жасау жолында тұрған қиын мәселелердің бірі болып табылады.

П.П. Солощенко, Б.К. Дюсалинова, А.Г. Улжабаева
**Феномен международного терроризма в контексте
эпистемологического дискурса**

В статье рассмотрены определения понятия «терроризм», сущность проблемы терроризма в работах ученых ближнего и дальнего зарубежья. Обоснована актуальность исследования. Авторами сделана попытка преодоления неоднозначности термина «терроризм». Внимание акцентировано на сложнейшей проблеме единого определения феномена терроризма, так как это основа для международного сотрудничества. Авторами отмечено, что от важности определения этого термина зависит стратегия борьбы с терроризмом. Более того, только единое понимание данного термина может стать основой для международного сотрудничества. Проблема нахождения единого определения феномену терроризма на международном уровне, подчеркнута в статье, является одной из самых сложных, стоящих на пути эффективного противодействия угрозе.

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