Fight Against Terrorism & Development Policy:

TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN?

November 1-2, 2008, Turku
Conference Report

Kokoomus Network for International Affairs &
Toivo Think Tank Conference
In Cooperation with Centre for European Studies

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INTRODUCTION

The name of the conference "Fight against Terrorism & Development Policy – Two Sides of the Same Coin" could at first sight seem far-fetched, maybe even naive in its over-simplified juxtaposition. But simplicity sells. This was the title under which the people from the Toivo Think Tank and international affairs network of the National Coalition Party gathered to discuss, debate and listen, outside Turku, Finland, in early November 2008.

It is a common perception that poverty is fertile breeding ground for terrorism. Or at least, fuel for such activity. But not all poor areas produce extremism; we know where young men absorb extremist ideologies, and where, for instance, jihadists receive their training. Having chosen a broad approach like this we soon faced a minefield of ever-growing number of questions. Only cold realism stopped us from setting our hopes too high on reaching The World Explanation over a weekend in the Finnish archipelago..! However, it was an interesting journey to various areas of research – thanks to the financial support of the Centre for European Studies, which made it possible.

In the beginning we bumped into the problem of definition; what is terrorism? What kind of terrorism are we looking into? Should we leave, say, separatist acts outside? Then the decision had to be made: this conference was to concentrate its efforts on understanding the logic and driving forces behind Islamist terrorism, and whether a better directed development policy could play any role in fighting it – given that poverty and lack of opportunities do play a role in an individual's decision to join a radical group.

Further we went. Security in Europe – or globally, for that matter – is of course not entirely dependent on religious fanaticism. There are new threats we are aware of, and which we should better prepare for. There was also a question about the possible links between security and development, and how they interact.

In appendix you find the entire conference programme. We were privileged to have so many brilliant minds here sharing their knowledge with us. We would like to thank every speaker and writer for their contributions. A very special thank you is directed to Partido Popolar's foreign spokesman, MP Gustavo de Aristegui, for kindly letting us use a summary of his remarkable book *Yihad in Spain*.

Thank you Professor Esko Antola; Researcher Toby Archer; Deputy Head of Mission, Dr. Michael Butler; Researcher Marko Juntunen; Head of Department, Dr. Pauli Järvenpää; MP Ilkka Kanerva; Ambassador Markku Kauppinen; MP, Dr. Günter Krings; Major, Dr. Jyri Raitasalo; Head of Department Kai Sauer; Development Policy Adviser Nina Suomalainen; and Director General Veli-Pekka Talvela. We also express our gratitude to researcher Erkka Railo, who kindly linked our theme to the Finnish context – fear of terrorism, xenophobia and current political debate around immigration and the rise of populist movement. We also thank CES Director Tomi Huhtanen for the excellent cooperation in organising this event.

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International Affairs

CRISIS MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT AID: SIAMESE TWINS?

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Fragile or collapsed states pose an increasing risk not only for their own citizens but also for the rest of us. What happens in places like Kosovo, Iraq, Sudan or Afghanistan, often has direct consequences for the citizens of the Western world. Moreover, failure to manage crises in these states will undermine our ability to influence events regionally, as well as globally.

There is a profound change in how the world community today carries out crisis management. Not too long ago, it was enough for the peace-keepers, the "Blue Berets", to man a clear demarcation line, agreed upon by the parties to the conflict. Today, military crisis management connotes engagement in the middle of a society in a deep conflict. Soldiers donning protective helmets, not berets, engaged in the crisis management effort could be, and often are, attacked by one or more parties to the conflict.

Yet, paradoxically, sending more troops to contain a crisis often breeds more insecurity than security. Crisis management, as a result, must be more than engaging ourselves militarily. Often it is useful to attempt to contain the crisis by applying military force in order to create a modicum of stability and security in a fragile state, but that should be only the beginning of our engagement.

Crisis management operations should, therefore, be seen as part of a comprehensive approach, "the whole of government approach", to support the fragile or collapsed state. In order to manage the crisis at hand, we should be seeking to combine political, military and development efforts as an integrated whole.

The profound change in the conditions for crisis management has blurred the line between military and civilian crisis management. In addition to soldiers, we need policemen, lawyers, judges, prison wards, just to name a few key professions. We need a civil-military,

inter-agency and multi-national approach to problems in fragile societies. Development aid, reconstruction, and good governance will have to be joined together in an overarching political effort to help the failed state to build up its own institutions and structures.

What would such an effort look like, and what role could the international community play in this effort? First of all, we should change the attitudes in how we apply development aid. The international criteria for development aid are defined by the so-called "ODA criteria", developed by OECD's Development Aid Committee (DAC). According to these criteria, development aid should not be channelled to the military. No doubt this is a sensible principle on the whole, but applied rigidly, it will mean that no development aid will be available for such worthwhile efforts as, for example, training of the military forces in humanitarian aid, human rights, and gender equality questions.

Secondly, national efforts should be concentrated in lowering the fences in between different governmental organizations, agencies and NGO's being involved in crisis management. Too often different governmental departments and ministries are focused on their own sector, and as a result the common understanding of the whole is lacking. And if this is so on the national level, the same problem is multiplied in the international context.

Thirdly, lack of dialogue between the domestic actors will mean waste or duplication of resources. Better coordination on the national level would mean that the limited resources could be used better.

And last, in place of an overarching crisis management strategy, nationally or internationally, there are widely varying national approaches on key issues such as the role of the military, policing, reconstruction, and development goals. Better coordination and a clearer understanding of common goals would go a long way to solving this problem.

Excerpts from the book
YIHAD IN SPAIN
The obsession for reconquering Al-Andalus

Gustavo de Arístegui
MP, Foreign policy spokesman for Partido Popolar, Spain

Introduction

Islamic radicalism did not commence on September 11, 2001. Our biggest problem is that we have not reflected sufficiently about the far-reaching historic, social, economic and political importance of the deep obsession with Spain harbored by ultra-conservative and radical Islamic groups. The Casablanca attack on May 16, 2003 came as a shock, and yet public opinion continued to consider that "these things" always happen to others. There is an alarming ignorance in Europe and, particularly, Spain about the brutal phenomenon that is jihadist terrorism. In the wake of the March 11, 2004 train bombings in Madrid, all kinds of studies have proliferated about the blackest day in recent Spanish history. The vast majority of these works concentrate only on operational aspects, which are undoubtedly important. Unfortunately, they also focus on analysis of the consequences - not the causes.

Some of the most bloodthirsty international jihadist organizations have solid bases in Europe and also in Spain. My intention is to help people understand the motives that move radical Islam and jihadism to attack Spain – an emblematic country for Islam. This holds true for moderates, conservatives and ultraconservatives alike. Spain is a veritable obsession for radical Islam, and this should not be taken lightly. Those who choose to look the other way or believe avoiding the subject will keep Spain from the fury of jihadist terror are not only irresponsible but reckless. Worse, they are playing with Spain's freedom and security.

There are certain myths to be dismantled, such as that of the "perfect coexistence" of the three cultures, which was rather more a tolerated coexistence often shaken by ferocious persecutions by one side or another than the idyllic scenario that some historians have led us to imagine. Another vitally important matter is that we are not aware of what is being taught about Spain and the myth of Al-Andalus in

schools and *madrassas* (Qur'anic schools) throughout the Islamic world, especially in the Arab environment where the glorious Andalusi past is viewed with deep nostalgia. In many schools of the *Umma* (community of believers), maps are used in which a large part of the Iberian peninsula is colored green. In short, Spain – with Portugal – is still considered *Dar al-Islam* (House of Islam).

Despite the idea that designs on the total recovery of Al-Andalus are largely unfeasible, this assumed impossibility will not protect Spain from moments of great suffering, terror and uncertainty. In fact, it is possible that the worst is yet to come. Although we are starting with a marked delay, it is always possible to correct our course. It is of grave concern that the short-term interests of some have obfuscated the causes for the appearance of jihadist terrorism in Spain. This has nothing to do with Iraq. That war was a good excuse for some, but Spain has been in the sights of jihadism since the movement was created. Not wanting to see this represents a dangerous, obtuse and myopic blunder.

We must be cool-headed. Too many attempts are being made to identify Islam with terrorism, and we are too often told that the religion and its civilization are the problem. Radical Islam is the ideology behind jihadist terrorism, and its first victims are Islam and moderate Muslims. Is a clash between the West and Islam inevitable? No. Only certain attitudes can make it inevitable. Ignorance, laxness, permissiveness and a lack of resolve against terror, as well as unfair generalizations can all ignite the powder keg. There are 1,350 million Muslims in the world. Can it really be said that they are all our enemies? No.

And yet we cannot ignore the fact that the situation has worsened dramatically in recent years. Radical Islamic ideology is spreading like an oil spill. In a speech after the subway attacks of July 7, 2005 in London, the British Prime Minister himself stated, "This is not an isolated criminal attack. It is an evil and extreme ideology whose roots are to be found in a perverse and poisonous manipulation of Islam." Coinciding fully with this lucid definition by Mr. Blair, I assert that the exponential growth experienced by Islamism and its terrorist manifestation, jihadism, cannot make us indifferent.

The rise of radicalism

Twenty years ago, the radical element represented between 5 and 7 percent of the total. Ten years ago it was between 15 and 20 percent.

In recent years, radical Islamism has grown exponentially as indicated by the figures in the study, *How to Beat the Jihadists*, coordinated by Richard Clarke. It states that 300 to 500 million Muslims sympathize with jihadist Muslims – that is, over 30 per cent harbor some degree of identification with jihadism.[1] This does not mean they are all terrorists. However, there are tens of thousands of terrorists. Rohan Gunaratna cites such a figure in his excellent book, *Inside Al-Qaeda*, in which he reveals that tens of thousands of *mujahidin* (mistakenly called "combatants") have passed through the network's training centers.[2] This does not account for other terrorist organizations that have their own camps. One might add the terrible thought that there are probably hundreds of thousands of people willing to collaborate with jihadists in some way through economic donations, hiding or helping terrorists, spreading their message of hatred and fanaticism, or justifying barbarity. In fact, private contributions for financing jihadism have outstripped other forms of contribution in recent years.

Western democracies, and especially Spain, must be conscious of the threat that the rise of radical Islamism poses. We cannot ignore the problem, or indulge Islam's more presentable "ambassadors" with the hope of escaping their wrath. We cannot follow the path to failure that is paved with political correctness and complexes. These attitudes have supplied terrorist groups immense space to maneuver and have succeeded in putting our society to sleep, only to be awakened by the horror of bombs and death statistics.

In Yihad in Spain: The Obsession for Reconquering Al-Andalus, I attempt to expose some key concepts to help understand the complexities of a phenomenon that threatens Spain in a permanent and real way. The jihadists will not rest until they have subjected and conquered us all, or until we are able to defeat them. There are no alternatives. I only ask readers not to be afraid and to bear in mind we are more numerous and better. Stand assured that they cannot kill us all, and that ethical and moral superiority will undoubtedly triumph.

1) Richard Clarke, "Defeating the Jihadists", Century Foundation Press, 2004.

2) Rohan Gunaratna, Inside Al Qaeda", Columbia University Press, 2002.

I Historic Precedents

Expansion and conquest have been central elements of Islam from the beginning. Conquest and jihad, jihad and conquest were terms that were frequently mutually justifying. The rapid expansion of Islam began in the Arab peninsula. It then moved to the Fertile Crescent and did not encounter resistance until it reached the borders of the Byzantine Empire. In the East, it crushed the Persian Sassanid Empire in the battle of al-Qadisiyyah in 637. Until around that time, the expansion of Islam had meant the adoption of the religion by the occupied subjects along with the propagation of Arab ethnicity through forced interbreeding and the imposition of language and culture. In Persia, the religion and alphabet were adopted, but nothing more. This setback occurred again to a large degree in the expansion of Islam in the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Balkans, and, of course, Spain.

Yet the conquest and Islamization of Egypt and the rest of North Africa was carried out in a very short time. Towards the end of the eighth century, Arabs led by Musa bin Nusair had carried out the conquest of the Berber region. On the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar, the Visigoths took over practically all of Roman Spain in 414. Their gradual genetic intermingling with Hispano-Romans that took place would lead to an unmistakable national conscience whose roots were embedded in fundamental Roman heritage and upheld both by classic Latin institutions as well as by certain institutions brought by Visigoths. This is the sum total that gave birth to this historical product called Spain.

The Visigoths offered a degree of stability for Hispania, but soon internal strife would weaken their kingdom significantly. During one such internal struggle, the supporters of one Don Rodrigo requested help from Musa bin Nusair, naively believing that he would help them win the crown and later leave. But by 716, albeit only after fierce resistance, the Islamic armies dominated practically all the old Visigoth kingdom. Both Christian Hispano-Romans as well as Jews had hoped and believed that, as People of the Book,[3] they would be well treated and respected by the Islamic invaders. In the case of the former, many believed in the egalitarian message of the new masters. The message would turn out to be false.

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3) Qur'anic collective term referring to Jews and Christians.

The lack of resistance on the part of Hispanic Goths is another false-hood that has been spread by being repeated thousands of times. The truth is that a small group of these people sought refuge in the north-east of the peninsula, not only with a clear intention of surviving against those they considered enemies and usurpers of their land, but also with a clear purpose of recovering their country from the Mus-lims. And as we will see, some Islamic intellectuals who are theoretical-ly categorized as moderates attempt to belittle the Spanish reconquest, branding it the first European colonial act and crusade against Islam.

Religious inequality. Persecutions

The teachings of Islam establish that any Muslim is equal to another and that there cannot be any differences between them. This egalitari-an message was very popular among the lower classes in many territo-ries conquered by Islam. In the case of Islamic Spain, it is also evident that some were more equal than others. The Arabs considered it legit-imate to collect taxes from those whom they branded *dhimmis* (non-Muslims living in Islamic territory). This was the fate that awaited the pagans or Christian Hispano-Romans who were converted by force or conviction to Islam. It made no difference whether they were *musalim* (converts) or *muwalladum*, the *muladis* (literally "half-castes,") were children of converts who the new rulers still considered second-class Muslims and always mistrusted.

The first cases of Mozarab (Arabized Christians) martyrdom oc-curred during the rule of Abd al-Rahman II,[4] and the emir Abdallah put the first compulsory Islamization policies into effect in 888. The amount of the *jizya* (poll tax for non-believers) was increased, and the persecution of Mozarabs who attempted to proselytize was intensi-fied, incorporating punishment by torture and death. Abdallah's son, Abd al-Rahman III[5] crushed a serious rebellion of the *muladi*, who had apostatized by converting to the faith of their Christian ancestors. Hereafter, restrictions on religious worship imposed by emir Abdallah were maintained and at times toughened, and it was no coincidence

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4) Lived 790 – 852, became the emir of Córdoba 822.

5) Emir and Caliph of Córdoba 912 – 961.

6) De facto ruler of Al-Andalus from ca. 978 to 1002.

that Mozarabs and Jews were the scapegoats for adverse conditions such as epidemics or poor harvests.

The case of Caliph Al-Mansur[6] is a special one that reached unimaginable extremes. His apparent religious zeal was not for the purpose of obtaining forgiveness of his sins or ingratiating himself with the religious authorities of the caliphate. His true intentions stemmed from the fact that he needed religious fuel to motivate his armies and perpetuate his policies of permanent expansion and conquest. It also helped him justify his constant calls of jihad and frequent "punitive operations" against the different Christian kingdoms in order to guarantee uninterrupted payment of the *parias*, high rents in the form of taxes. The main victims of his fervor were the minorities, above all Jews and Christians. Persecutions became common. The atmosphere became impossible for many, and a new mass exodus of Mozarab Christians ensued toward the kingdoms of the north.

The first Islamic movements: Almoravids and Almohads

A few modern historians of Islam center their studies exclusively on the 20th century when seeking the precedents of modern radical Islamism. Those with deeper historical knowledge go back to the early precedents of radical Islamism, which are, in my opinion, the Almoravids and Almohads. Both shared the common factor of representing renewal movements as well as being purifiers of the faith. Like the modern Salafists, they would attempt to "return to the essence of true Islam." And as is the case with all conservative, ultra-conservative and Islamic movements, they were obsessed with decadence and hedonism as the sources of corruption for Islam and its believers.[7]

The Almoravid dynasty began in 1056 and then disappeared, substituted by the Almohads, in 1147. Its military might lay largely in the hands of the Al-Morabitun movement, founded by a Tunisian *alim*[8] named Abdullah ibn Yasin. In around 1083, Abdullah took his disciples to a *ribat*, meaning a fortified retreat, border fortress or vanguard outpost, though it has mistakenly been translated in the West

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7) Gustavo de Arístegui, El islamismo contra el islam, Ediciones B, Barcelona, 2004, p. 307 and ss.

8) Alim is singular of ulema, an expression adopted by most western languages to designate a doctor in Islamic law.

as "monastery." What Abdullah actually did was to concentrate his followers in the border fortress and indoctrinate them into becoming fanatics, something very similar to what recruiters of radical Islamism do today in their *madrassas* and terrorist training camps.

During the Almoravid era of Al-Andalus, the situation of the Mozarabs continued to worsen. With each new exodus, the Mozarabs did their utmost to urge reconquest once they reached the kingdoms of the North. If coexistence had been so peaceful, as some historians insist, why would the Mozarabs have made such an effort to defeat their former masters if not because they knew better than anyone else what the *dhimmis* could expect?

The Almohad dynasty began in 1130 ended in 1269. The Almohads, Berbers from the Atlas, considered the Almoravids to be lax, decadent and even apostates who had to be replaced as rulers of and Al-Andalus. They also considered Christians "polytheistic" and criticized their belief in the Holy Trinity even more than other strict movements had. Therefore, the final defeat of the Almohads was of crucial importance not only for the history of Spain but for that of Europe as well. In fact, the battle of Navas de Tolosa in 1212 may also have been a determining factor for moderate Islam, which could have been subjugated by the rigor without solid theological bases that characterized Almohad doctrine. This was, in fact, occurring throughout Al-Andalus where relentless repression was able to quiet the voices of many educated and moderate *ulemas*. Even fanatics who did not appear to be fanatical enough in the eyes of the Almohad leaders were silenced or eliminated.

II Jihad: The Theory of Conquest and its Doctrinal Foundations

As a concept, jihad is essential to Islam, and its abuse and manipulation is also essential to radicals and Islamists. It is one of the main pillars for justifying barbarity, and it is also one of the central elements underlying the ideas of expansion and conquest. Therefore, it is essential to analyze the different meanings and theories of jihad.

For any Muslim, the jihad, whether greater or lesser, constitutes the most important obligation after observance of the five pillars of Islam. These are: the *shahada* or profession of faith, the five daily prayers, *zakat* or charity, fasting in the holy month of Ramadan and, finally, if a believer's means and health allow, the *hajj* or the great pilgrimage to

Mecca at least once. Some *ulemas* consider jihad to be the unspoken sixth pillar of Islam.

There is much controversy among western experts on Islam regarding the true nature of the term "jihad" and whether the greater or lesser version is more important in the 21st century. I honestly believe the traditional distinction between greater or lesser jihad retains its validity, although the warlike meaning of the word has been historically more used by theologians and religious leaders. For me the warlike meaning is the only important one, but not in the traditional way. The idea is not to observe the rules of jihad but to manipulate and adapt them to current strategies to justify crimes. "Jihad" comes from the Arab word "yahd," which means "effort" in a general way, but especially in the warlike, military sense. According to Samir Khalil, the word is used in the Qur'an to denote "struggle for God," or "struggle on path of God"[9]. It seems obvious that, given the sensitivity of this issue, some commentators have sought to limit the definition to only one of these meanings to evade its negative connotations. However, for analysts to arrive at such a definition to suit their own needs is like cheating at solitaire. This is especially true for those who wish to focus on the less aggressive meaning of jihad, which implies personal effort (*i.e.*, greater jihad). The problem is this definition ignores an obvious reality: that the word has several meanings and that the most aggressive ones have been the most often used in the past fourteen centuries.

Lesser jihad

Lesser jihad is bellicose, expansionist and not always defensive in nature. Lesser jihad, like the greater, is the duty of every Muslim, particularly of able-bodied men. Jihad for Allah and his cause is one of the most prestigious endeavors that any good Muslim can undertake. Holy war against pagans and even the People of the Book who refuse to submit or pay the *jizya* is thus a religious duty. In this regard, parts of certain hadiths (narratives on the words and deeds of the Prophet) quoted by César Vidal in *Spain in the Face of Islam* are particularly revealing because they show how such a course of action is seen not

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9) Interview with Samir Khalil, in "Cien preguntas sobre el islam", Encuentro, Madrid, 2003, p. 44 et seq.

only as legitimate, but indeed as highly noble. The following passage serves as a fitting example:

> Narrated 'Abdullah: I asked the Prophet "What deed is the dearest to Allah?" He replied, "To offer the prayers at their stated fixed times." I asked, "What is the next?
> He replied: "To be good and dutiful to your parents." I again asked,
> "What is the next?" He replied, "To participate in jihad in Allah's cause."[10]

As a collective obligation, jihad demands that anyone who refuses to fight or who stays at home be considered soft or hypocritical, which in Islam is just a step away from apostasy as a negative trait. Holy war must be waged until final victory. The defeat of the believers is never the end of the holy war. Thus, the fall of Granada in December 1492, or the expulsion of the Moriscos,[11] did not mean an end to the jihad against Spain but rather that a new stage, albeit a long one, had begun and would not be concluded until the defeat and/or submission of the "enemy."

Moreover, in recent years, the theory has taken hold that it is necessary, inevitable and urgent to fight the West to the death, and that refusing to do so is utterly inexcusable in every way. This theory centers on declaring jihad with no quarter on the West instead of spreading Islam throughout the world, including infidels and Peoples of the Book, by the *dawa islamiya* (the Islamic call) or invitation to enter Islam by preaching and proselytism. To achieve redemption, all true believers must rouse themselves as soon as jihad is proclaimed and believers are called to take part in it. That is, one must be ready to risk oneself and follow leaders calling for combat in the name of Islam and not wait for a majority of one's peers to do so. This is an especially important message for jihadists, who see themselves as an Islamic vanguard that is misunderstood and are certain that, in the long run, all believers must finally follow their lead. The use of this argument aims

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10) César Vidal, España frente al islam, La Esfera de los Libros, Madrid, 2004, p. 58.

11) Descendants of Muslims of Spain, baptized but often suspected of secretly practicing Islam. The last were expelled between 1609 and 1614

to bring the largest possible number of believers into the cause from the very beginning.

Rules for proclaiming jihad

There are very clear conditions under which jihad can be declared legally and legitimately. There are three types of lesser jihad: defensive, offensive and preventive, the latter of which is recognized by some important Islamic scholars, though not all. Offensive jihad can be waged only against apostates, infidels or bandits, and it is legal to seize their territory to subject it to the rule of Islam. Defensive jihad has a dual purpose: to protect against apostates or infidels who fight the true faith or attempt to take territory considered Dar al-Islam and, secondly, to regain lost territory to bring it once again under Islamic rule. This second purpose directly concerns Spain. The third form of jihad is known by very few in the West, and those who are in fact aware of its existence tend to conceal it for political reasons or out of ideological opportunism. This is preventive jihad, which is waged with all means deemed suitable and necessary against a danger that is not necessarily evident but judged to be near. The concept is difficult to define, and doctrine does not always recognize it clearly. Preventive jihad has served as the grounds for some of the most flagrant aggressions against neighbors, such as the invasion of Iran by Saddam Hussein when he was certain that the fledgling Khomeini regime in Tehran would eventually attack Iraq.[12]

The clearest and most important premise here is the struggle against armies and forces of pagans, apostates, infidels or the half-hearted, who are also called hypocrites in Islam. Holy war against the West is also grounded upon this principle. This is set forth quite clearly in sura 9:29 of the Qu'ran:

> "Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by Allah and His Messenger, nor acknowledge the religion of Truth, (even if they are) of the People of the Book, until they pay the *jizya* with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued."

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12) To do away with the border agreement negotiated in 1979 that ended the border dispute over the Shat Al-Arab region. This agreement guaranteed an outlet to the Persian Gulf for Iraqi petroleum.

It is also believed that the West, especially the United States, has initiated a new era of *jahiliya* or religious ignorance, which is characteristic of pagan, corrupt societies like those of the enemies of the Prophet, the pagan Arabs of Mecca. Further, some wars that were strictly territorial came to be classified as jihad because the reigning prince declared it so. The most representative case was the declaration by the caliph of the Ottoman Empire that World War I was a jihad against the enemies of Islam: the Allies. The reasoning behind this was not exactly clear, for the Ottomans were fighting alongside countries that were predominantly Christian against other countries that were the same. As in so many other cases, this presents a clear case of doctrinal and religious animosity in favor of a cause that was much less noble: the political and personal ambitions of leaders.

Some causes are much more difficult to declare, as is the case with oppression of Muslims, impediments to the practice of their faith, or quite simply, when the societies in which they live are declared incompatible with Islam. Radical *imams* such as Abu Hamza al-Masri, Abu Qatada or Omar Ben Bakri, have said in sermons and speeches that western democracies must be defeated because they are "corrupt systems". Thus, the governments of European democracies must be conquered. Ben Bakri has been quoted in countless sources as stating that he "want[s] to see the black flag of Islam fly over 10 Downing St."

III The Objectives of Jihad: The Qur'an and Conquest

Nothing is more harmful and more damaging to the struggle against jihadist terrorism than to claim that these individuals lack true objectives, or that they are only nihilists seeking destruction and emptiness. This is utterly false. If anyone has clear objectives, it is Islamists and their terrorist brethren, the jihadists. Nor should we confuse their strategic objectives, which are focused on the medium and long term, with their short-term goals, which are fundamentally instrumental and tactical.

Among the strategic objectives of radical Islam and the jihadists, the following should be understood as the most important:

The first is to overthrow the corrupt and impious regimes in the *Umma*,[13] whether they are authoritarian or not, and with even greater urgency if they have initiated processes of reform and political change.

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13) Gustavo de Arístegui, op. cit., p. 51 et seq.

These regimes are the apostates spoken of by all the radical parties and their leaders, and this line of attack is one of the most effective justifications used by jihadist terrorist groups. Apostasy is a strong instrument of agitation in fomenting rebellion and destabilization, and in justifying the barbarity of terror. These regimes are to be replaced by radical Islamist dictatorships that would be absolutely ruthless, as shown by the electoral program of the Islamic Salvation Front[14] of Algeria dated October 15, 1996:

> "The GIA is sole legal representative of the jihad in Algeria and, therefore, the only supervisor of the application of *sharia* in all the country; any Algerian who does not perform his five daily prayers will be considered an apostate; *zakat* (compulsory charity) must be delivered to the GIA; women without the *hijab* (the Islamic veil) will be considered depraved; and the mingling of the sexes in public places shall be forbidden; anyone who violates these norms shall be immediately executed."[15]

This communiqué clearly reveals what awaits the inhabitants of any country that should fall into the grip of jihadism, one of the worst dictatorships ever known to humanity. Those who refuse to observe the moral indications and impositions of the jihadists shall immediately stand accused as apostates. Political authorities and rulers must ensure that public morality is very strict and impose it on all citizens. Islamists and jihadists consider themselves legitimated to overthrow any government or murder any ruler who does not impose their idea of morality based on, for example, one *hadith* widely used by jihadists:

> "The most righteous martyr in my community is he who confronts an unjust imam and compels him to accept what is just, forbidding that which is reprehensible, and killing him for it."

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14) Armed Islamic Group in Algeria, for many years the most brutal terrorist group operating in that country until the emergence of the Salafist Group of Preaching and Combat, created by Hassan Atab at the urging of Al-Qaeda.

15) Quoted by Carlos Echeverría Jesús in his chapter "Contextualizando la amenaza: Al-Qaeda y las redes terroristas islamistas" from the book "Respuestas a nuevos desafíos de seguridad", edited by Javier Jordán and Carlos de Cueto, Comares, Granada, 2003, pp. 1-24.

Murder and the toppling of rulers that are decadent, corrupt or immoral has been justified and encouraged by more than a few extremist thinkers throughout history. But even some prestigious jurists like Al-Ghazali say that this principle justifies arming groups that rise up against "unjust rulers."

The second strategic objective is, as we have seen, to reconquer countries and lands that were once under the rule of Islam, however brief it was. The mythical, exemplary nature of Al-Andalus for nearly all Muslims makes Spain one of the central aims of their strategy of reconquest. In the long run, they seek to spread Islam to the entire world, whether by force, intimidation or through silent conquest, "turning Muslim minorities in Europe into majorities." Tariq Ramadan ("the gentle jihadist," as a report by Lee Smith calls him)[16] advocates attainment of a differential personal status for European Muslims. That is, he does not want the constitutions and laws of their countries of residence to be applicable to them, for Muslims should be subject only to sharia. This represents a dangerous folly in legal, political and social terms. In a speech before numerous co-religionists, the President of the Committee on American Islamic Relations (CAIR),[17] Omar Ahmad said: "Islam isn't in America to be equal to any other faith, but to become dominant. The Qur'an [...] should be the highest authority in America and Islam the only accepted religion on earth." [18]

Finally, Islamists seek to restore the caliphate, indeed create a radical Islamist caliphate like the one abolished by Mustapha Kemal on March 3, 1924. This is a date that Islamists and even moderate conservatives consider a dark day in the history of Islam.

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16) Lee Smith, "The Gentle Jihadist," www.prospect.org

17) This organization has recently been investigated for its connections to radical Islam. Some reports link it to international jihadism. Three of its leaders were arrested and accused of complicity with terrorist organizations.

18) Article by Lisa Gardiner, "American Muslim Leader Urges Faithful to Spread Islam's Message," San Ramón Valley Herald, July 4, 1998. Quoted by Robert Spencer in his book "The Politically Incorrect Guide to Islam", p. 190.

IV The Theory of Global, Total Jihad:
The Restoration of the Caliphate

The horrible terrorist attacks in London in the summer of 2005 revealed a problem that some had considered to be an exaggeration but that in fact turned out to be a dramatic reality: the jihadists, driven by their violent and ruthless ideology had given a few more turns of the screw to their declaration of total holy war. The West, democracy and freedom itself were their targets, but now they had one more excuse, namely that the West was providing the strongest support to the "corrupt, impious, anti-Islamic and apostate" regimes in the Middle East. Furthermore, the defeat of the West represented for them the shortest path to establishing a worldwide radical Islamist caliphate to subjugate the whole planet. For these monsters the United Kingdom is one of the most symbolic countries, owing to its colonial past and its unshakable commitment to the war on terror.

There is a convergence of circumstances in London that are quite likely accounted for by jihadists: the European presidency of the EU, the G-8 summit, and so on. The selection of London as the city to host the 2012 Olympics may have played a decisive role. But, in any case, Jihadist terrorism seeks to inflict the maximum impact at the lowest cost, placing special emphasis on the effect of spreading the sensation of terror, the feeling that no one is safe, the sense that there are no limits to their cruelty, and the notion that every citizen of these countries is, in fact, a legitimate target.

How do they justify to their militants and sympathizers a sort of barbarity that flatly contradicts any humane sentiments of pity or compassion? With twisted arguments that are so cold-blooded that they are frightening even coming from the mouths of terrorists. Westerner and innocent are contradictory terms for radical Islamism and jihadism. Jihadist thinkers try all possible angles to present their points of view to the common citizen. For instance, they present as a justification the fact that their victims voted in elections for a government that took serious steps against jihadism. So the victims of 9/11 in New York and Washington, March 11 in Madrid, or July 7 in London were responsible for the policies of their governments, regardless of how they actually voted. Another excuse is that the victims pay taxes to finance actions against jihadist terrorism, an action that fully justifies the punishment in their eyes. Jihadism wants citizens to rebel against their governments and compel them to surrender. Their first

aim is to compel western governments to cease support for the apostate regimes the jihadists are seeking to topple. The second is to set in motion a series of social mechanisms that will make the submission of the West complete and unconditional once the jihadist movement has managed to take over their own countries. Here, the messages from Tariq Ramadan or other Islamist preachers aim to neutralize the sense of alarm in western societies and make us believe that ceaseless acceptance of their demands is the only way to survive. Indeed, this would doubtlessly be the shortest path to our defeat and the abyss of radical Islamist dictatorship.

Jihadists justify attacks on Israel in a much more simplistic way: all Israelis and Jews are targets owing to their mere existence. The very existence of the Israeli State justifies any atrocities one can imagine. This idea is accepted even by those who condemn terrorism elsewhere. Curiously, radical Islamists care nothing for the Palestinian cause, and it would appear that the members of Abu Sayyaf in the Phillipines or the Jema Islamiya in Indonesia do not particularly care if there is a Palestinian State or not. However, the lack of progress in the peace process in the Near East is an excuse used by Islamists to justify terror. We already know what jihadists think of universal peace: he who believes in it is a *kafir* (infidel). Preparations for the 9/11 attacks began when the negotiations at Camp David seemed to be making significant progress, even though they later failed. We should not forget that no Islamist organization, however moderate it may appear, accepts the existence of the State of Israel. For them, anyone among the *Umma* who accepts the two-state solution and dares say so in public becomes a dangerous apostate who must be eliminated. This attitude is crystal clear in the communiqués of Hamas, which state that the organization would accept the presence of Jews in the Holy Land so long as they were relegated to their status in the 18th century: that is, as a minority People of the Book, subject to the status of *dhimmis*. The whole Israeli territory is considered Islamic and illegitimately usurped, so the cause to declare a legitimate jihad remains fully in force not only for jihadists, but also for many Muslims who are not radicals. This was revealed by a survey by the PEW Center for the People and the Press and released in March, 2004. It indicated that people who did not accept suicide terrorism as a legitimate form of combat changed their answer when asked if they approved of suicide attacks against Israel. The Arab-Israel conflict has been an effective

lure and recruiting banner for Islamism, but that efficacy is directly proportional to the proximity of the conflict: the closer the country is to Palestinian territories, the greater the negative influence over the evolution of extremism it exerts.

Restoration of the caliphate

Many historians and political scientists who seek to decipher the warped historical justifications put forth by the radical Islamists are surprised by the profound impact of the abolition of the caliphate by Mustapha Kemal, Ataturk, in 1924. This impact is seen not only among the most radical Islamists, but also among those who consider themselves conservatives who reject violence. The central focus of their ideology has from 1970 onwards advocated the creation of a world caliphate to initially include the entire *Umma*, then the territories lost by "bad Muslims" and finally the entire world. When one reads articles or specialized books on this, one is perplexed to find the same ideas put forth by Islamists, and in the same language. In fact, this is an aspiration that radical and terrorist organizations have been publicizing for decades. The idea of the caliphate has spread among Islamist organizations to the point where it has become one of their main goals.

The international, pan-Islamist party Hizb al-Tahrir was the first jihadist organization to stress the importance of this idea. In 1993, the party declared Ataturk an infidel and a western agent. The same declaration blames the West for having dismantled the caliphate and subjugating Islam, asserting its fragmentation into a thousand pieces made it easy prey for the West. This obsession to restore the caliphate reflects Islamists' pain at the loss of the all important caliphates in history, including that of Al-Andalus. Osama Bin Laden himself calls it "the tragedy of Al-Andalus." However, few things can be more shocking than some excerpts of the declaration of Hizb al-Tahrir refering to this issue:

> "Indeed, the *Umma* is not in a situation as she used to be under the banner of Islam, when she used to be ruled by the *Khilafah* state (caliphate) that united the Muslims. She was not divided as we see today by borders drawn up by the *kafir* colonialists or dispersed by oppressive laws of residence [in clear allusion to current immigration laws]. The Muslim used to travel from

one corner of the Muslim lands to another without anyone asking him who he was or describing him as a foreigner. When the *Khilafah* existed the Muslims witnessed the power of Islam through the power of the *Khilafah* […] At the time the Islamic *Umma* was supposed to raise its sword in the face of this treacherous agent [Ataturk] who changed *Dar al-Islam* into *Dar al-Kufr* [land of the infidels] and realized for the *kafir* [the West] a dream they had wished for a long time. […] In place of a single *Khilafah* state they established cartoon states and installed rulers as agents to carry out the orders of their kafir masters. […] They worked to destroy the Islamic culture and uproot the Islamic thoughts to plant in their place western thoughts and culture."[19)]

This summarized text quite clearly reveals the intentions of the most radical Islamist groups and the jihadist terror organizations they inspire as well as the fact that they have given up on converting "western infidels" and, instead, settled on "killing them and sending them to God." Here we can also see the deeply anti-western influence of Bin Laden's tutor Sayyid Qutb, who blamed the West for all its failings, as does the Hizb al-Tahrir party. The same document proposes a treatment for those ills, stating that the primary remedy would be the re-establishment of the caliphate.

V The strategy of penetration in Spain

The loss of Al-Andalus left the deep impression that Christian victory was nothing more than a phase, a defeat in an important battle of the jihad but not the end of the holy war. Radical Islamists are convinced the jihad will not end until all unjustly wrested Islamic territories are returned to Islamic domination. Muslims blamed for defeat are worse than infidels and must be condemned as cowards and apostates. In this assessment, Islamists and jihad terrorists accept no shades of gray or compromises: the guilty must be "executed" with no pardon or redemption for their guilt unless they accept "purification through mar-

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19) Manifesto of Hizb al-Tahrir, discussed by several authors. This statement is considered the real declaration of war against the West and the "apostate" states five years before the signing of the "Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders" statement promoted and sponsored by Al-Qaeda and Bin Laden on February 23, 1998.

tyrdom." In other words, they must accept suicidal terrorism. Is there anyone who still does not understand the real potential horrors that Spain may one day encounter?

Spain is very important for several reasons. It was the largest Christian territory conquered in Europe. It also represented the summit of Islamic civilization and as well as the most important loss ever suffered by the *Umma* according to most reputable historians. In effect, it constituted the most important myth-making element of that period of Muslim history, both for the Muslim world and the West, and this detail has been conveniently manipulated to transform it into one of the most effective fuels of radical Islamism. The example of Al-Andalus is central because, if this objective were to be achieved, it would prove that all the other objectives, considered secondary and easier to attain, are feasible and within reach. They would have Al-Andalus, its glorious past, its painful loss and its potential recovery, serve as an inspiration for millions of potential radical militants.

The strategy of recovering Spain now extends to textbooks in primary and secondary schools, the most reputed analysts, politicians, journalists as well as scholars and historians. Among the more active of these are a group of professors at the pivotal Al-Azhar university in Cairo. Besides the spontaneous sentiment of what many consider to be the "return home," another common thread among them is the purchase of land, houses and commercial properties in some of the most emblematic cities of the former Al-Andalus. Priority is placed on what is symbolic and, consequently, Cordoba and Granada and the rest of Andalusia stand out as obsessive objectives of radical Islamism. The lower Albaicín neighborhood in Granada is one of the clearest examples of the fast-growing presence of Muslim population and businesses sometimes managed by ultra-orthodox Sunni owners.

Improvised mosques[20], *madrassas*, cultural centers, *halal* butcher shops (where meat is sold according to Islamic rite) and other businesses ruled by the strict norms of the most conservative Islam are becoming a reality. Control of these districts is the first step towards dominating the city, the region and eventually, all Al-Andalus. Not

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20) There have also been calls to be able to worship in Christianized mosques and other holy places for Islam, arguing this would show tolerance and respect on the part of the host society. Doubtless some would like to see occasional Friday prayers repeated later on a daily basis, whereupon radicals would claim complete ownership of these buildings.

all shopkeepers are ultra-conservative, but they can see the inherent business opportunities it presents and are exploiting the desire for recovery or, at least, the respect for perfectly legitimate old traditions. The problem arises when, sheltered by this renewed upsurge of traditions with religious meaning, radicals take advantage by recruiting, indoctrinating, and training future terrorists. They shamelessly call these recruits *mujahidin*, or fighters for Islam, when it is a well-known argument that the worst enemies of Islam are jihadists.

Immigration. Logistical support. Source of financing

In 1996, there were 70,000 legal Moroccan residents in Spain, plus an unknown number of illegal immigrants. This was the only predominant group of Muslim foreign nationals, except perhaps for a growing community of Algerians on the eastern coast. Security forces and corps were already keeping a close eye on this growing minority from a country ravaged by Islamist terrorism. The direct ferry line between Alicante and Oran was an additional factor to keep in mind, but almost no one at that time could have imagined that the Muslim community (especially Maghrebians) would grow so rapidly that it would become the most significant group of immigrants in Spain. This rapid growth was a decisive factor in the appearance of radicals among Spanish residents.

The jihadists did not have security problems in Spain: it has never been plagued by serious cases of racism. In fact, Spanish society displayed a certain degree of affinity with its neighbors. Concerns were more focused on the possibility that Algerian jihadist terrorism might overflow into Spain, as had happened in France. The massive illegal immigration in the Straits of Gibraltar, an increasing volume of traffic between both shores of the Mediterranean, and a Maghrebian population experiencing exponential growth combined to make Spain the ideal place for setting up support, fund-raising and rest networks.

The first cause for concern was a series of crimes involving credit card fraud. Several efficient police operations against Islamist networks uncovered the fact that their activists routinely stole and duplicated credit cards in order to send part of the profits to various jihadist organizations throughout Europe. They also detected a growing presence of petty criminals, recruited and indoctrinated delinquents, who committed theft and burglary on a regular basis, often using intimidation tactics and becoming increasingly violent. However, these petty

thieves also moved in radical circles. They handed over part of their earnings in exchange for protection, shelter and feeling of belonging to an important enterprise, that is, a "cause to fight for." This reason is perhaps the most important factor in recruiting delinquents. They had stopped being petty thieves to become soldiers of Allah.

Another serious wake-up call was the discovery and dismantling of Islamist cells that sheltered and supported their "brothers and combatants" passing through Spain. The Islamic concept of hospitality, rooted in Bedouin tradition, has been twisted and manipulated by Islamists to take advantage of the good faith of many moderate Muslims who are ignorant of the kind of individuals they are sheltering. However, others are fully aware that they are hiding dangerous and fanatical individuals, and do so willingly because they themselves are dangerous fanatics. This endless and effective underground network of support for Islamists and jihadists extends across Europe and is one of the reasons why it is so hard to detect the movements of terrorist cells. We know that jihadist organizations are extremely frugal. They pinch pennies even when organizing their most brutal and bloody operations, such as the 9/11 attacks on New York and Washington. This is one of the reasons they use this informal underground shelter network. The other motivation is obviously operational because they have learned from their mistakes. Hotel registration, now obligatory in most of the world, is an effective tool in police investigations. For example, it was used to document Mohammed Atta's presence in Spain when investigating the Spanish phase of the 9/11 attacks.

Of course, not all jihadists in Europe are immigrants. One famous converted jihadist is Englishman Richard Reid, who attempted to destroy an American Airlines plane with a shoe bomb in December 2001. Until recently, the groups and networks of jihadists were deeply mistrustful of converts because, though they had been Muslims for years, security orders stated that they were a chink through which infiltrators from intelligence services or security forces could infiltrate the group. Thus, to date, converts have only been used as cannon fodder: Reid played no key role in any cell. This might change in the near future.

The importance of integration

Of immigrants, there are two groups. The first consists of those who arrive, become integrated and lead normal lives. These immigrants

wholeheartedly adopt the values of an advanced democratic society, becoming completely familiar with both the way it functions and the benefits it provides. They become citizens who are both contented and proud of their adoptive country. In this case, the next generations become fully-integrated citizens and contribute to the prosperity and diversity of the nation. However, there are individuals who do not integrate and have no wish to do so. These immigrants are ripe for extremist recruitment and learn to use the rules of democracy to destroy and annihilate it. This is exactly what Omar ben Bakri, a rabidly fanatical *imam* and until recently a London resident, told *The Observer* in October 2001. He went so far as to say this:

> "We will use your democracy to destroy your democracy. We will remodel Great Britain in an Islamic image. We will replace the Bible with the Qur'an. We will not allow our brothers to be colonized. If they try to, Britain will turn into Bosnia."

These words speak for themselves. We cannot ignore the fact that the number of people who think like this is increasing by leaps and bounds on the continent. They are the worst enemies of coexistence and integration. Their moderate brothers, whose numbers are dwindling rapidly although they are still the majority, are paralyzed by fear or the norms of religious and political correctness imposed by conservatives and Islamists. Nevertheless, it is the moderates who must fearlessly and unhesitatingly condemn these unacceptable attitudes in European countries. Another equally serious statement was made not long ago by Mohammed Hussein Fadllalah, spiritual leader of the Lebanese Hezbollah, who said that European democracy represented "the best opportunity for the spread of Islam in Europe."[21]

Those who do not integrate are more prone to fanaticism. They, especially the young men, may reach Europe with high hopes only to find themselves empty-handed, and their dream dissolves. They go from frustration and disappointment to hatred, delinquency and a race for survival that drives them straight into the arms of the radical Islamist fanaticism that has invaded Spain. They are the obvious "easy

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21) Interview with the Egyptian Jesuit priest Samir Khalil in Cien preguntas sobre el islam, Encuentro, Madrid, 2003.

pickings" for jihadist recruiters. Their actions are often based on a perfect knowledge of our internal weaknesses (for example, the word "extradition" seems to have disappeared). For many of them, Spain has become a paradise where they can maintain their customs and their twisted version of Islam and, at the same time, claim all sorts of rights. Interestingly, this would not happen if the tables were turned: A Spaniard in most Muslim countries would enjoy few, if any, rights. Many find it easy to set up their networks of drug trafficking, prostitution rings, organized robberies and every kind of mafia activity. Recruits are easy to find, not only at the ever more numerous mosques, but also among the groups of immigrants who cross the Straits illegally and have nowhere to go and nothing to eat. In this way, many European countries and more and more Spanish regions have become a treasure trove of illegal laborers at the service of fanaticism, which is plundered and exploited by both Maghrebian and Eastern European mafias.

Main groups involved

Currently, three most important networks operating on the Iberian peninsula are: the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) and its spin-off created by Al-Qaeda itself called the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat, both of Algerian origin. The third is the Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group. Targets of the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat include European economic interests, mainly Algerian petroleum terminals, since attacking them would have a twofold effect. First, it would affect the economy of Algeria, and then it would impact the supply of petroleum and especially natural gas to Europe. Another possible target would be the gas pipelines linking North Africa with Italy and Spain.

The structure of these networks is quite similar to that of other terrorist groups like ETA and the IRA. They are independent cells that can be either active or sleepers but are able to act without any communication between them. This proves to be a serious hindrance to efforts by police forces and judicial investigations.

The case of Algerian terrorist Muhammad Achraf is an example of another kind of problem faced by security forces. He was accused of leading a network of credit card forgers and sent to Topas prison in Salamanca, where he spent his time setting up a system of recruiting jihadists in Spanish prisons. Achraf left Salamanca determined to or-

chestrate an attack against the National Court headquarters on in Madrid.[22] He moved to Switzerland, and in August 2004, was arrested in Zurich for a traffic violation and illegal residency. He showed a forged passport and asked for asylum, claiming to be a Palestinian named Kamel Saadi. He was transferred to an internment center prior to expulsion from the country, and from there he maintained contact with elements belonging to terrorist cells and their recruitment networks. The preparations for the attack were well underway. Meanwhile, Swiss authorities still thought he was a common criminal or illegal immigrant.

VI Recruitment, indoctrination and training of jihadists in Spain and Europe

The full, effective integration of Islamic communities is a grave, pressing concern in Europe. The lack of sufficient contact between the host societies and Islamic communities encourages isolation, and the lack of integration leads to serious problems, including a rise in radicalism and fanaticism. An outstanding article published by the *El País* newspaper on October 31, 2001 about Islamic communities in Europe paints a clear picture of the nature of the problem. It begins graphically with the phrase, "There are more of them every day, yet their integration into the societies where they live and work is often minimal."

Madrassas, too, promote a type of indoctrination that is sometimes official and sometimes illegal, but that can turn into a mental training for combat and sowing terror. In Spain, security forces are constantly monitoring the connections between Pakistani *madrassas* and the activities of Islamist networks in Spain. In 2004, several police investigations led to the deactivation of a Pakistani cell that was arrested by the Catalan autonomous police force. This group would send money to terrorist networks in Pakistan associated with Al-Qaeda, and there was even suspicion that it might have financed the murder of American journalist, Daniel Pearl.[23] This cell was also dedicated to monitoring the tallest and most high-profile buildings in Barcelona, such as the Mapfre Tower.

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22) José Maria Irujo, "El agujero," [The Hole]. Aguilar, Madrid, 2005, p. 199. There were other planned targets as well.

23) Ibid, p. 380.

In terms of training, it should be pointed out that not all jihadists have undergone training in the camps located in different places around the Islamic world, since only the chosen few are sent there. However, Rohan Gunaratna calculates that tens of thousands have passed through these camps in recent years, though not all of these were members of networks or cells, and only a fraction of them, perhaps ten percent, have been admitted into the different Al-Qaeda networks.[24] Likewise, media such as Internet websites openly publish guidelines and instructions or pronouncements of the jihadists' strategy along with handbooks on how to manufacture weapons and explosives. Classes on handling weapons and other technology tend to be held in safe houses and other hideouts. Another type of training, which could be called "physical-military," can be conducted anywhere, such as a gymnasium. In their letters, jihadists constantly refer to all kinds of training, including handling weapons and explosives, although they do not acknowledge this so openly. They also boast of their dedication to study and prayer. A type of internal surveillance of cell members is also set up so that if one of them slackens he will be reported, reprimanded, or severely punished by other members. The purpose is to forge an increasingly fanatical "pure, unyielding" spirit that makes it more difficult for security services to infiltrate, or intimidate the terrorist to waver. This, indeed, is the prime concern of recruiters and trainers. For this reason, individuals are classified at the start. Not all of them are meant for terrorist training, and the best are not used in suicide attacks, with the exception of large-scale ones like 9/11. Additionally, some "committed" businessmen may offer their private estates with huge tracts of land to facilitate training in out-of-the-way places that are difficult to detect and monitor and where a real terrorist training camp can be improvised.

VII Infrastructures of Islamism

Any place, whether mosques, *madrassas*, cultural centers, associations or businesses of any kind, can serve to offer someone a job or hope, and at the same time convert[25] an individual, desperate or not, into

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24) Rohan Gunaratna, op. cit.

25) To Islamists, the recruitment of Muslims who until then had not followed their theses, is regarded as a true conversion.

a jihadist terrorist. Of these places, both mosques and *madrassas* are the focal points of this recruitment.

The Directorate General of Religious Affairs, a part of the Ministry of Justice, acknowledges that there are about 450 places of worship in Spain. The number could be much higher since there are also clandestine mosques where radical *imams* preach hatred and strive to recruit new fanatics. These undercover mosques regularly open and close to avoid detection and closure. It recently came to light that in addition to these 450 mosques, there are more than 1,000 unlawful oratories where an extremely radical message could be being preached. To justify the existence of these places, radical Muslims argue that official or acknowledged ones preach an overly bland message, or that since they are monitored by the security and intelligence services, the *imams* do not dare say what they really think.

An enormous controversy has been sparked about monitoring preaching and *imams* in Europe. The United Kingdom has adopted very strict measures as a result of the July 7, 2005 attacks to put an end to the impunity of the jihadist message of leaders such as Abu Qatada, Omar Ben Bakri, and Abu Hamza al-Masri. In Germany, the federal government has set out to monitor the *imams* and censure their sermons, if needed. In Bavaria, monitoring the activities of mosques using hidden cameras has been discussed.

One of the most serious problems facing Islam in Europe and, particular, in Spain is radical *imams* and *hatibs*, since the scarcity of these spiritual leaders leads an increasing number to be invited from different countries from the Islamic world. Many of these are in the orbit of radical groups or parties. The majority comes from Morocco and Egypt. This process of "exporting" *imams* is one of the most effective means used by Islamists in their quest to penetrate and dominate Islamic communities in Europe and Spain.

At some *madrassas*, the figure of Bin Laden is praised, defended, and painted as a real hero. One can imagine what type of student and future imam or professional comes out of these classrooms! Since 2001, the number of educational institutions, both *madrassas* and normal schools, where jihad is preached has increased. It is very interesting to note how this also holds true at the Haqaniya *madrassa* in Pakistan, which has 2,800 students between the ages of eight and thirty-five, as reported by Jeffrey Goldberg in *El País* on September 16, 2001. This is one of the most radical of Pakistan's more than ten

thousand *madrassas*, with over one million students from all over the world. Its dean, Samiul Haq, warned the author of this article that although it was the school that was closest to the Taliban (the interview was held before the fall of that regime), it was not a terrorist training camp. What Haq failed to mention is that students are indoctrinated and fanaticized at this *madrassa* and others like it. In short, they are recruited so that jihadists have no more to do than train them, since the indoctrination process has been taken care of at the radical *madrassas*.

The contents of the textbooks used in elementary schools in many countries are also equally disturbing. There are several extremely rigorous studies that have uncovered books with contents that incite hatred and radicalism, even in moderate, pro-western countries. A very serious and urgent effort is needed in this area.

Finally, in recent years, there has been an increasing influence of Arab television stations, especially those located in the Gulf, which broadcast via satellite. Al Jazeera has become a reference for hundreds of millions of Muslims. It has gained such importance that in Spain and other European countries it has become fashionable to form groups devoted to watching Al Jazeera together and discussing the programs afterward. For decades, radical Islamism has accused the West of presenting biased information; hence the importance and influence of stations like Al Jazeera. Islamists have no obligation to follow the opinions of the stations, which though almost always fairly uncritical of radicalism, are regarded by Islamism as not combative and committed enough. However, these radical viewing groups that serve as a new forum and instrument for coming together, use their gatherings to attract potential new militants and feed their hatred, fanaticism, and resentment.

VIII The West's Mistakes in Confronting Jihadism

For decades, radical Islamism has been gaining ground in the Islamic world for many reasons. One is the simplistic appeal of a message of hatred and fanaticism, but another has been the West's strategic errors of calculation and analysis. The first of these errors is the indulgence that has sometimes been shown to ultraconservative religious movements, some analysts and intelligence agencies believing they could be an effective countervailing force against the extreme left. Sadly, five decades of Cold War gave rise to some of our worst enemies, whose

growth was overshadowed by the confrontation between the rival blocs.

The second error involves a degree of slapdash political correctness, which combines with our own complexes to numb us to the threat. Thus, we have always given far too much ground to jihadist ideologues. Some want to see signs of humanity and progressiveness in the ideas of some of these "intellectuals." Others have gone even further, attempting to redeem them, opening our doors to them with recklessness that nonetheless exposes their Euro-centric "progressive" paternalism. Among the most stalwart albeit well-mannered defenders of terror and fanaticism stand Hassan Al-Tourabi and Tariq Ramadan, both of whom have been denied entry to the UK. The former lost all credibility because of his clear link to the establishment of Al-Qaeda and its leadership in Sudan. The latter unfortunately continues to be invited frequently to speak at European university campuses and intellectual forums, where he is often acclaimed and celebrated as a "moderate" voice.

The third error is giving refuge to certain ultra-radical leaders of Islamism who have turned some European cities into centers of propaganda and dissemination of fanaticism. The governments and intelligence services of some of these countries believed that it was better to have them under control and that they were best controlled by having them nearby. However, it is naïve to think that these men are going to openly order attacks publicly, let alone commit them in person. The ghastly reality is that they have been preaching hate, barbarity and terror from their pulpits and university chairs, while we failed to pay enough attention. Thus were born the expressions "Londonistan" or "Paristan," which have been so harshly criticized and extensively discussed after the July 7 terrorist attacks in London.

The West's fourth error involves our failure to do our homework when there was still a chance to support or push for positive political change in the Islamic world. Twenty years ago, radical Islam was a very small phenomenon, often clearly limited to certain cities and provinces in the countries of origin. We should have done more, and more intensively, when their representation was between five and 15 per cent. Today, the experts are telling us that more than 30 per cent of the believers identify with some or all the tenets of radical Islamism. It does not mean they are potential terrorists, but this figure does show that the recruiting base for radicalism has grown in leaps and

bounds. In fact, the quoted 30 per cent figure understates the problem in some countries. In Saudi Arabia, for instance, if free elections based on universal suffrage were held tomorrow, victory would not go to a radical Islamist party. A terrorist like Bin Laden could win. So those who seek to force a revolutionary change in opposition to gradual evolution must be reminded that a political rupture in these delicate circumstances would be disastrous not only for those countries, but also for the most advanced democracies in the world.

The West's fifth mistake is to continue talking naively and recklessly about the reasons and causes of terrorism. No one can really believe in the 21st century that there are real reasons for so much hate. To speak of theories like a "sea of universal injustice," or to ground the problem simplistically in poverty and the Arab-Israeli conflict does no more than help fill the bag of excuses used with Machiavellian skill by the theorists of terror.

Conclusion

Jihadist terrorism has gone through several stages over the last thirty years. The first was marked by experimentation with brutal techniques during the Lebanese civil war, where car bombs and suicide attacks wreaked havoc. From there it spread to the rest of the Islamic world and other places where it was easiest to attack Israeli, American and western interests in general. The third stage consisted of attacking the West directly, beginning with the United States on September 11, 2001. Europe has become the new front for jihadism, although France was already heavily struck by GIA terrorism in the mid 1990s. We are now in the phase of global and total jihad, with no quarter, no pity and no rest.

A serious reflection on a disturbing truth is necessary: What are the new objectives and fronts that Islamism and jihadism want to open? Europe is the new frontier, the new land of conquest and of missions for Islamism as well as for the most expansionist conceptions of its radical ideology. Some wish to achieve it through *dawa* (proselytizing of Islam), such as the Egyptian Islamist tele-preacher, sheik Yousef al-Qaradawi.[26] In his religious program on Al-Jazeera's channel he says, as so many others including Tariq Ramadan do, that the conquest of

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26 Fidel Sendagorta, "Jihad in Europe: The Wider Context," Survival, IISS, London, 2005.

Europe by Islam is inevitable and that the misbelieving, unfaithful, morally weak and decadent Europe will in the end surrender to Islam. Others, on the contrary, state it is necessary to conquer the land of the misbelievers, whether through preaching or jihad. The most violent assert that there is no salvation for Europe, and that all westerners and Europeans are guilty for the mere fact of living where they do. They also say that the only way of winning is through war, until the West is subjected. This is the precise thinking of individuals such as Omar ben Bakri, Abu Qatada and Abu Hamza al-Masri, as well as the ideologists of terror like Al-Qaeda's second-in-command, Ayman Zawahiri.

The loss of Al-Andalus is not the only burden weighing on the minds of many Islamists. An often ignored issue is that they consider that America, especially Latin America, would be Islamic had it not been for Spain's collective apostasy many centuries ago. The reconquest, according to them, prevented the Islamization of the New World, and in their curious analysis, they believe that had they not lost Al-Andalus, their civilization would be the reigning world power. That is why they include the whole of America, as well as Europe, among the targets of Islamism. In this regard, it is worth noting the thoughts of Dr. Taha Jabir al-Alwani, a prestigious Iraqi *alim* who lives in the United States and is highly respected among the Islamic communities established there. According to him, abandoning *ijtihad* (logical reasoning) and its substitution with *taqlid* (repetition, imitation) represented the beginning of the decadence that led to the loss of Al-Andalus. This is an interesting statement, given that by arguing that this fact prevented America from being part of Dar al-Islam, Al-Alwani back-handedly recognizes its vocation for universal expansion.

Islamist movements have not generated their eagerness for reconquest out of thin air. Textbooks in many countries feed these theories, as has been documented by numerous think-tanks and prestigious authors. Thus, innocent nostalgia becomes a source of hate and violent expansionism. We need to ask moderate Islam to state its position unequivocally on these theses and entirely discredit radical arguments. The problem lies in that, unfortunately, a part of moderate Islam is ruled by fear, political correctness, threats or a combination of the three. In short, we are facing a prolonged struggle where there will be truly terrible moments and in which the temptation for totalitari-

anism will hover over democrats. There will be no lack of submissive voices in favor of appeasement and surrender. These sirens' songs for an apparently quick or easy solution and agreement at any price will only bring more destruction, more violence and submission to one of the most ruthless and oppressive forces in the history of humanity. Those who underestimate the risk of the enemies we face or who say that we must not become obsessed with terror, are creating the conditions for the perpetuation, or at the very least, the prolonging of this blight. Of course, we must not become obsessed by it, but neither must we ignore it. Above all, we must never surrender

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TERROR, CHANGE AND CIVIL RIGHTS – SOME THOUGHTS ON EUROPE AND ISLAM

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Reconsidering the Jihadi threat

Jihadi terrorism isn't what it used to be. Recently in the UK a mentally disabled convert to Islam pleaded guilty to attempting to blow up a family restaurant in the south-western city of Exeter. As he was putting together his homemade bomb in the toilets of the restaurant it went off, leaving the would be bomber with serious facial injuries but hurting no one else. In 2007 would be terrorists failed to explode two car bombs in London. Realising the police would rapidly arrest them they attacked Glasgow airport by setting their car and themselves on fire and ramming the airport building, although the vehicle got stuck in the doorway. When one attacker leapt from the car and attacked a policeman, he was floored with a punch by a passing luggage handler. Whilst these attacks demonstrate the continuing power of the ideology of al-Qaeda to attract adherents, it also demonstrates that motive is only one half of a crime. Take away or greatly increase the difficulty in finding an opportunity and you can greatly reduce the risk of attacks. Al Qaeda without a doubt still aims to strike again in Europe, but European police forces and intelligent agencies have successfully stopped many attempts.

Meanwhile, in Iraq, the United States after instituting hugely improved intelligence systems, increasing troop numbers and allying with the al-Anbar Awakening movement are close to defeating al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia. In many other countries around the world – be it Morocco, Chechnya, Lebanon or Saudi Arabia – Jihadi groups have been to a great extent suppressed by government forces, often via huge and systematic human rights abuses or with significant force, but suppressed nonetheless. Only in Afghanistan and in the tribal regions Pakistan does al-Qaeda remains strong, but to a great extent this is a result of their allying themselves to the Taliban, a Pashtun-nationalist insurgency as much as a Jihadi one, and in the willingness of parts of the Pakistani state to support the Taliban for geopolitical reasons connected to India's friendliness to the Karzai government in

Kabul. At the same time al-Qaeda is also being criticised by former supporters who now believe its tactics are un-Islamic and counterproductive.

The fears of "WMD-terrorism", always to a great degree a media creation, have greatly subsided since the Bush administration popped its own balloon and failed to find any unconventional weapons in Iraq – the weapons that Saddam had hypothetically been planning to give to terrorists. Meanwhile ghosts of the past that predate our preoccupation with the Muslim world have been reawakened with news footage of Russian attack helicopters hovering menacingly above surrendering Georgian military units; or with the global financial crisis being likened to the great depression of the 1930s. All this means that the post-9/11 moment, when the global terrorism seemed the most pressing security concern, has passed. The West has not "won": the Neo-Conservative vision of a domino-effect spreading Jeffersonian democracy and flat-tax based free markets outwards from Baghdad has been seen to be hubris of a historical magnitude. Instead a particular interpretation of Islam has become a new globalized ideology of resistance against perceived American-led imperialism and a rallying point for many who are economically and socially failed by the current global order. This is indeed very far from winning, but we can now see more clearly than even a couple of years ago the dimensions of the problem.

Europe – terror as a crime and cultures of resistance

Despite significant and murderous terrorist attacks in Europe, most notably in London and Madrid, and a very large number of serious plots that have been discovered and stopped by law enforcement and intelligence agencies, European states have attempted to maintain the view of terrorism as a crime against society and not as an existential military threat to the state. Forged out the experiences of past anti-terror campaigns (against the IRA, ETA, Baader Meinhof etc.) this has been a success to a great extent in maintaining a level-headed appraisal of the situation and minimising negative actions such as collective punishment towards Muslim communities in Europe. Nevertheless actions taken to police terrorism have had some impacts on the civil rights of all citizens and on the rights of Muslim citizens and legal residents of Europe in particular. A feeling of victimisation and of unfair suspicion has effected most parts of Muslim communities

but the young, and young men in particular, have been focused upon for, arguably, justifiable reasons.

This has created an attractiveness to the Jihadi imagery and rhetoric for those who feel a sense of marginalisation. This is predominantly an issue for young people from Muslim backgrounds but clearly some non-Muslims also find it attractive also – many converts, particularly amongst the increasing number of prison conversions, are attracted to the most radical interpretations of the faith as well as the style – what could be termed "Jihadi-chic". If gangsta rap style no longer shocks society enough, dressing as a Salafi surely will. "Cultures of resistance", whether it was hippies in the 60's, radical leftism in the 1970s or punks and skin heads in the 1980s, have always involved a large degree of teenage rebellion and posturing, but of course if we further marginalize visible European Muslim youths as seems to be happening to some degree we only empower radicals within Muslim communities who seek to radicalise and recruit and the extreme right. The answers are socio-economic as much as they are religious or even cultural.

Non-violent politics we don't like

But this is not all posturing. There are of course those who are completely committed to their espoused ideology. In one sense, those who incite others to violence or aim to commit violence themselves are the easy ones to deal with (if they can be found and successfully prosecuted) because they break laws and therefore can be dealt with by the criminal justice system. For Europe, a far more difficult form of Islamic radicalism to deal with is the non-violent form. This can still be a very reactionary and bigoted ideology or theology – consider for example at Salafi attitudes to women or sexual minorities, or widerspread views in many Muslim communities on Israelis in particular and Jews in general – but if one does not incite violence such views are generally not illegal. To further complicate the issue, such religiously ultra-conservative groups can have practical uses and even positive effects in other areas. For example the Metropolitan police has developed close relations with Salafi groups who are relatively apolitical and loyalists to the Saudi royal family, and who have a track record of stopping young men from moving into violent extremism. Yet at the same time they preach intolerance to women, gays and other faith groups in other contexts. Should the state in effect condone such attitudes by having relations with such useful groups?

The difficult balance that needs to be struck is between allowing radical Islamist groups access to the democratic society and making them face their critics (as far right political parties do) whilst not condoning them and actively resisting their politics and particularly their attempts to isolate their own ethnic or religious communities. It needs to be understood that even if their politics are abhorrent, their civil rights are the same as other citizens and additionally in allowing them to take part in the political debate it may well lower the risk of a transition to extremism and violence by the minority of the minority.

The secondary issue is how to deal with such groups politically, without unnecessarily securitizing the debate. The debate in the UK over whether to ban Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) was indicative of this. HT is a small but well organized and vocal group that supports the non-violent creation of a new global Caliphate. It has been claimed that they have served as a gateway to violent groups but there is actually very limited hard evidence of this. When the government suggest banning the group, it became a major subject of debate, forcing Muslim community leaders to take a position on the issue and further adding to the atmosphere of fear that has surrounded all things to with Islam in the last seven years. It also unnecessarily massively increased the profile of HT to their benefit, whilst distorting the majority community's view of British Muslims by suggesting HT was representative of a significant proportion of them.

Muslims reacting to western ways – anti-essentialism

There is no Islam, there is only what Muslims believe Islam to be. Islam is not reacting to western ways, Muslims are and in many cases Muslims are westerners by citizenship, by ethnicity and by ethical and political commitment. They are the 'western ways'. If Muslims make their Islam fit comfortably with being European with all that entails, and millions happily do everyday, then this is much Islam as anything else. Islam cannot react to western ways because it is system of beliefs held in peoples brains, only Muslim can and do balance their life in the west with their religion.

There is a considerable danger that within Europe people are being overly identified by only one aspect of their identity – being Muslim – denying other important identities. In many European countries the majority (non-Muslim) community through government policies, legislative acts and media discourses are in danger of doing what Mus-

lims have never managed to do themselves – create one 'Muslim community' where only disparate ethnic, religious and political groups had existed before. The continual focus on religion and the presumption that an individual's identity and even politics is going to be defined by that religion, is both factually inaccurate ignoring the huge difference within Islam and also an anti-liberal act by being unwilling to accept the individual worth of fellow citizens. European Muslims demonstrate clearly that there is nothing monolithic or unchanging about Islam – even ironically by the relative conservatism of some young women in adopting the hijab that their mothers never wore

Conclusion – civil rights and faith in our ideals

There may always be some violence that the perpetrators justify with their Islamic beliefs, and the police and intelligence agencies need all the support to defeat this that democratic countries can give without compromising their core ideals. But more generally Europe has to accept that the politics of Islam (and the politics within Islam) now play a role in European political life. This is as much a product of globalisation as our continued wealth and, without hugely compromising on European values, it will not change. Instead we need more faith in those ideals – giving equal rights and responsibilities to all European citizens whether Muslim or not. We have freedom of religion (and also freedom from religion) and the right to free speech with only very limited restrictions. We believe in the rule of law and that when anyone breaks those laws they face a fair and open justice system.

Globalisation is a destabilising process, people see their communities and countries changing around them. This causes concern and when times are difficult as they are now economically, those who are strangers in some way are often blamed. We cannot deny that this always happens and therefore must address issues around migration head-on and honestly, not allowing the politics of the fringe to take the issue as its own. To do this we can rely on our core European ideals that hold that all people should be treated equally regardless of gender, ethnicity, beliefs or sexual orientation. These ideals are far from realised but as we struggle towards them this is in itself integration of all type of minorities, whilst we also remain true to the best values of European liberalism and solidarity.

THE FINNISH CONTEXT: IMMIGRATION, XENOPHOBIA AND POLITICAL DEBATE
The True Finns - Bad Dream Come True?

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The municipal elections in 2008 will most likely be remembered for the victory of the True Finns, the rightwing populist party. The True Finns gained 5,4 percent of the popular vote which can indeed be considered a great step forward for a party that won 4,1 percent in the parliamentary elections of 2003 and a mere 0,9 percent in the municipal elections of 2004. The leader of the True Finns party, Timo Soini, did not miss the opportunity to declare victory: "This is the final breakthrough", claimed the exultant Soini in public.[1]

The Finnish media was quick to explain the victory of the True Finns party as the emergence of a populist, anti-immigration or even xenophobic party in Finland like the Danish People's Party or the Norwegian Progress Party. Political commentators such as professor Tuomo Martikainen joined in on the assessment of the media stating: "The bad dream is now here".[2]

There are indeed some grounds for alarmism. The True Finns party quadrupled its seats in the election, certainly making it a force to be reckoned with in a number of Finnish municipalities. The victory gives it very important visibility in local politics, paving the way for a possible election victory in the parliamentary elections of 2011.

I would argue, however, that the success of the True Finns party is actually a much smaller shift in Finnish politics than one might think at first glance and that the True Finns party presents a much less acute danger to the Finnish political system than the media, for instance, has implied.

First of all, Finnish political parties have always had a very careful stance towards immigration. Indeed, the most important political parties have thus far supported a relatively restrictive immigration

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1) Helsingin Sanomat 27.10.2008. "Lopullinen läpimurto".

2) Helsingin Sanomat 28.10.2008. "Paha uni on nyt täällä".

policy, the result of which can easily be seen in the amount of immigrants living in Finland. In the year 2007, for example, there were ca. 132 000 foreign citizens and ca. 202 000 persons of foreign origin living in Finland, less than 4 percent of the population. The largest groups of foreigners were Russians (ca. 26 000 persons), Estonians (20 000) and Swedes (8 300). Compared with the situation in other Nordic countries such as Denmark and Norway, the amount of persons of foreign origin in Finland is very low indeed.[3] One should also bear in mind that Estonians, for instance, speak fluent Finnish and fit in the Finnish society almost completely.

The restrictive immigration policy has never been seriously questioned in the sense that it would have been an important issue in the Finnish elections. In fact, it can be plausibly claimed that the first significant political party to consistently demand a clearly more permissive and open immigration policy has been the Green party of Finland which has gained more and more popularity in almost all parliamentary elections since it was established approximately 20 years ago. In this sense it can plausibly be claimed that the Finnish society has in general become more tolerant of immigration, not less.

In order to understand the reasons behind the relative surge of the popularity of the True Finns party it is useful to look at the history of the organization. The predecessor of the True Finns party was founded in 1959 when a number of discontent party members seceded from the Finnish Agrarian Party, one of the four most important political parties of the Cold War period alongside the conservative National Coalition Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Communists, the Finnish People's Democratic League. At first the party was known as the Peasant Party of Finland. In the mid-sixties the party changed its name into the more compact Finnish Rural Party and simultaneously begun its rise to the successes of the 1970's and 1980's.[4]

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3) The Statistics Finland, see HYPERLINK "http://www.stat.fi/til/vaerak/2007/vaer-ak_2007_2008-03-28_tie_001_fi.html" http://www.stat.fi/til/vaerak/2007/vaer-ak_2007_2008-03-28_tie_001_fi.html. For international comparison, see the web page of the Migration Policy Institute: HYPERLINK "http://www.migrationpolicy.org/" http://www.migra-tionpolicy.org/.

4) Mickelsson, Rauli. Suomen puolueet. Historia, muutos ja nykypäivä. Vastapaino 2007, pp. 172-173.

The Finnish Rural Party based its success on the negative consequences of the rapid structural changes to the Finnish economy that took place in the sixties and seventies. The eastern parts of Finland were hit especially hard and the charismatic leader Veikko Vennamo was able to exploit the resentment felt by the small farmers who were left by the wayside of the economic transformation of Finland. Another important factor behind the success of the Finnish Rural Party was the fact that its leader was one of the very few vocal critics of president Urho Kekkonen, who had acquired almost unchecked powers in Finnish internal politics by the end of 1960's.[5]

In the famous parliamentary elections of 1970, the party shook the political establishment to the core by winning approximately 10 percent of the popular vote or 18 seats of the maximum of 200. At the end of the seventies the popularity of the Finnish Rural Party waned only to rise again in the beginning of the eighties, when the party took advantage of the alleged corruption of the Finnish political establishment as well as the relatively poor performance of the Finnish economy combined with a high level of unemployment.

As is invariably the case with populist parties, the fortunes of the Finnish Rural Party have always depended on the charisma and skillfulness of its leaders. Veikko Vennamo was an especially gifted orator whose famous phrases are still used in political parlance. In the late seventies Pekka Vennamo, the son of Veikko Vennamo, took a more prominent role in the party and was eventually chosen as party leader in 1979. However, the Finnish Rural Party was unable to find a suitable successor to the Vennamo family and in the beginning of the nineties the party fell apart due to internal squabbles. In tandem with its weakening political position, the economic situation of the party grew worse. In the mid 1990's the party faced financial bankruptcy as well as political extinction.

In 1995 the True Finns party was founded on the ruins of the old party. In the parliamentary elections of 1999 it got only one seat, in the parliamentary elections of 2003 the True Finns got three seats and in 2007 they were able to raise their number of seats to five.

The history of the True Finns party is instructive in a number of

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5) Mickelsson 2007, pp. 209, 233-234. See also Jukka Nevakivi, Jatkosodasta nykypäivään, in Suomen poliittinen historia 1809-1999, ed. Jussila, Osmo; Hentilä, Seppo and Nevakivi, Jukka, WSOY 2000.

ways. First of all, it shows that the political success of the True Finns party in recent municipal and parliamentary elections is relatively modest. We are still very far from the situation of the seventies and eighties when the party could upstage the political consensus of the other political parties by winning almost one tenth of the seats of the parliament. And even so one should bear in mind that the Finnish Rural Party was unable to force significant and/or permanent changes in Finnish internal or economic policy. Even though in its time the victory of the Finnish Rural Party seemed like an earthquake of the Finnish political landscape, today it is hardly even mentioned in Finnish history books[6]. At the same time it demonstrates that whatever the reason behind the victory of the True Finns party, the popular mood of the Finns is nowhere near as aggrieved as in the 1970's and 1980's.

Secondly, the Finnish Rural Party mainly based it populist rhetoric on feelings of economic injustice or claims of corruption of the political establishment. True enough, there have been individual party representatives who have made very critical statements on the immigration policy of Finland or even racist remarks on people of foreign origin living in Finland. A prime example is Sulo Aittoniemi, a former police officer and a member of parliament in the 1980's whose outspoken opinions on foreigners misusing the Finnish welfare became a sort of a trademark for him. Symptomatically, though, Aittoniemi left the Finnish Rural Party in the late 1980's and joined the Center Party (former Agrarian League). This example shows on one hand the inability of the Finnish Rural Party to exploit fully the popularity of its individual members; strong personalities tend to lead persistent clashes among party elite which, in turn, easily result in division of the party. On the other this case proves the fact that the differences in attitudes towards foreigners between Finnish parties were not that different. The acrimonious comments of Sulo Aittoniemi were not an insurmountable obstacle in accepting him to the Center Party.

In the parliamentary elections of 2003 the True Finn Party had another popular candidate who had strong views on people of foreign

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6) For example Jukka Nevakivi (2000, pp. 290) and Henrik Meinander mention the victory of the Finnish Rural Party in 1970 only very briefly. Meinander, Henrik, Tasavallan tiellä – Suomi Kansalaissodasta 2000-luvulle. Schildts 1999, pp. 415.

origin. The former wrestler Tony Halme won stunning 16 000 votes in Helsinki, more than the leader of the largest Finnish party of the time Anneli Jäätteenmäki from the Center Party. Tony Halme made no bones about his dislike of people of different skin colour, culture or religion.

It should be pointed out, however, that the party leader since mid-1990's Timo Soini has vehemently and consistently denied the claims that the True Finn party has a racist agenda. Indeed, looking solely at the official party programme, it would be hard to prove that the party mainly appeals to the racist attitudes of the Finnish population. The programme is definitely openly critical of the claimed laxness of the Finnish immigration policy, but the criticism of the Finnish immigration policy is merely a small detail of a much larger party programme. Timo Soini has been pointedly careful in his public remarks clearly trying to gain approval as a regular party.

Timo Soini has nevertheless been in close cooperation with some rather peculiar characters who have been less than politically correct in their remarks on immigration and people of foreign origin. Tony Halme, who by the way is no longer an active member of the party, is only one example of many. The party candidate in the municipal elections Jussi Halla-Aho is another good example. Jussi Halla-Aho, who was candidate in Helsinki, won almost 3000 votes, no less than a landslide, in the municipal elections this year. Jussi Halla-Aho has a relatively popular blog which is almost exclusively dedicated to criticism of multiculturalism and claimed laxness of Finnish immigration policy. In effect this criticism consists of misleading reading of crime statistics as well as strongly worded commentary of islam as a religion. Although Jussi Halla-Aho himself claims he is only conducting proper discussion on an important theme his remarks can easily be interpreted as racist.[7]

Timo Soini is, in other words, playing with two sets of cards. In public he makes an effort looking straight talking, but respectable party boss. On the other hand, he is clearly taking advantage of some of the racist rhetoric of his party members.

Looking at regional distribution of the support of the True Finn party gives another perspective to the victory of the party. The suc-

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7) See Jussi Halla-Ahos blog: <http://www.halla-aho.com/scripta/>

cess of the True Finns was built on two pillars. The first pillar is the poor areas in the eastern parts of Finland in Northern Carelia and Kymi: the traditional strongholds of the old Finnish Rural Party which are still as underdeveloped, in relative terms, as they were in the late 1960's. These areas have few immigrants or Finns of foreign origin, so it is unlikely that tense relationship between the local population and newcomers would be the most important factor behind the victory of the True Finns party[8].

The second pillar was the large cities of southern Finland: Helsinki, Vantaa, Espoo and Tampere where the true Finns have popular and well-known parliamentarians to drive their campaign. Many of these areas have relatively large minorities and the True Finns have tried to make the problems of immigration an issue in the elections. The success of Tony Halme in 2003 and Jussi Halla-Aho in 2008 clearly shows that to an extent the True Finns have been able to do this.

But the victory of the True Finns have other ingredients as well. A study conducted by TSN Gallup during the municipal elections point out that the most cited reason to vote for the True Finn Party was a desire for change, to protest and to support new political forces. This particular desire is what set the voters of the True Finn party apart from the supporters of other political parties.

Finland has enjoyed a relatively long period of strong economic growth, 15 years since the last serious economic downturn. This period has been marked by a strong consensus especially in economic politics. This culture of political and economic consensus can be traced a long way to the Finnish history, but it became especially strong during the years of economic turmoil in 1991-1994. The clear danger of national bankruptcy forced the political establishment to unite around a clear set of norms, the most important of which was liberal economic policy and fiscal restraint.

Professor of contemporary history Jorma Kalela has pointed out that this consensus has had serious consequenses on Finnish political system as well. He has argued that the political result of this change in attitudes was that the differences among parties became smaller to the point of being almost non-existent and public discussion be-

8) For the results of the municipal elections, see:
<http://yle.fi/vaalit2008/tulospalvelu/index.html>

tween elections nearly ceased. The ministry of finance, the institution that formulates the financial guidelines between elections, gained pivotal role in Finnish politics. The result is that the political system of Finland has sort of turned upside down. According to Kalela, it is no longer politicians who set the political agenda and the government officials who implement it, but vice versa. The ministry of finance sets the agenda behind the scenes while the politicians try to implement and defend it from criticism of the people and the media. The fact that the Finnish parties seem alike is clearly seen in responses of the TSN Gallup. As in 1970's when there seemed to be no credible alternative to the reign of president Urho Kekkonen, today there seems to be no real alternative to the "economic facts" - as defined by the ministry of finance - that constrain the policies of different parties into the same mould.[9]

There is also another side to the economic history of Finland over the past 15 years. One concrete result of the economic policies since the depression in the beginning of 1990's has been the widening income gap between the poorest and the richest in Finland. It is no surprise that the last time the income gap was this wide was at the heyday of the Finnish Rural Party in the late 1960's or early 1970's. One should also keep in mind that this development has taken place in situation where the Finnish economy has grown strongly. It is a common denominator of populist parties that the feelings of economic injustice feed the success of these parties.

The True Finns Party is much more than a party with a racist agenda. That is not to say that racism would not be an important ingredient of the success of the party, but it is nevertheless one ingredient of many. There are also structural factors behind the victory in the municipal elections is the feeling of powerlessness and the economic injustice as well as a need for change in the Finnish politics.

It is equally important to understand that the True Finns party is not as dangerous as the Finnish media claims it to be. As is the case with many populist parties, the True Finns party relies on strong personalities. The history shows, however, that in the long run strong personalities have a tendency to clash in a way that harms the party.

9) Kalela, Jorma. Perinteisen politiikan loppu. Article published in Suomalaisen yhteiskunnan poliittinen historia. Edited by Ville Pernaa and Mari K. Niemi. Edita 2005.

Timo Soini is seen to be a charismatic persona, but so far he seems to be alone at the top. Timo Soini has led the party for 13 years, but there are no obvious successors to his leadership. At the moment the True Finns party may seem stronger than ever, but the popularity and strong opinions of its individual representatives includes the seeds of its own demise.

CLIMATE CHANGE - A NEW SECURITY THREAT OR 'JUST' A POLITICAL PROBLEM?

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Introduction

With the demise of the Cold War and the winding down of superpower military rivalry, the concept of national security has become contested. Once the preserve of national defence establishments, national security has recently become attached to a widening set of problems and challenges facing states individually and collectively. Moreover, the referent object for security has been moving away from states. In this process individuals and even the global international society have become closer to the core of security matters. As a result, states are now increasingly confronted with the problem of devising new national security doctrines in order to contain a multitude of threats facing individual human beings, states and eventually the entire global international society.

The Comprehensive Security Approach

Today the comprehensive approach to security is taken for granted. Security threats related to the degradation of the environment, the spread of small-arms, the possibilities of continent-wide or even global pandemics, the melting polar ice cap or the prospects of a long-term economic decline are all manifestations of the post-Cold War trend of widening the contours of our perspective on security. The above mentioned "new" security threats represent the *sectoral* widening of the concept of security. This means a move from the Cold War era emphasis on politico-military matters in conceptualisations of (national) security towards a broader set of challenges or problems that have been injected on the side of traditional notions of national security.

On the other hand, the sectoral widening of our understandings of security only partially grasps the "new" understandings of security that have emerged, developed and matured during the last twenty or so years. Not only are we today discussing and conceptualising security from a state-centric perspective - under the title of National Security - but more and more so within the frameworks of *human*

or *individual* security on the one hand and taking also into account the stability of the globalising international *system* on the other hand. The notions of security that we have at our disposal today in order to make sense of the world around us are much more complicated and dispersed than those of the Cold War era or before that. Why is this so?

Probably the most obvious explanation for the widening conception of security can be located in the winding down of long and threat-intensive superpower confrontation – known as the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The scale and nature of perceived security threats *à la* Cold War were a manifestation of a state-centric outlook to international politics emanating from the 17th century onwards and the technological development that has increased the destructive power of weapons in exponential terms during the last century. Within the framework of an ideological struggle between the "west" and the "east" after WW II, the state-centric culture of international politics – in tandem with the unimaginably destructive continually developing new weapons – fostered the continuing ossification of a national security perspective that emphasised military threats and military means to counter those threats. As the politico-military perspective on security reflected the problem of the possible end of human life on earth, the room left for other security perspectives was next to nothing. Other problems or challenges faced by states in their relations with each others and in their domestic policies could not have had similar effects on states or their citizens. The high militarization of the east-west confrontation known as the Cold War thus filled the entire spectrum of potential security threats with military ones in a situation where the tradition or maxims of statecraft had already become accustomed to viewing security in terms of military threats and responses.

The emergence of a comprehensive approach to security can thus be explained by the demise of the perceived military threats related to the end of the Cold War. With the Warsaw Pact and Soviet Union disbanded, together with the enormous political, economical and social problems within Russia - the heir of the Soviet bankruptcy - during the 1990s, it was only logical that sooner or later the representatives of states throughout the international globalising system started to reassess and even redefine the "new" nature of the post-Cold War era security landscape. This redefinition of threats facing states and the as-

sessed effective responses to those threats was naturally not a process of getting rid of the "old" national security perspective at once. Nor was it a completely explicit process of intentionally grasping or even moulding the new emerging tenets of the international system. Rather, as states were continuously facing problems in the post-Cold War world, they more or less implicitly and incrementally created new understandings about security in the new era by trial-and-error -basis. Understanding and creating the nature of the post-Cold War security logic has been, I suggest, a learning-by-doing process, with only limited guidelines that states could have relied on. In retrospect, *the 1990s were a formative moment in the gradually emerging security landscape that we are still witnessing today.*

Securitization and the militarisation of security threats

The framework of securitization facilitates grasping the rapidly changing character of states' security outlook in the immediate post-Cold War era. Security threats are not objective, but are 'made' by using speech-acts if a relevant audience accepts the securitizing move.[1] Security threats are thus social constructions, which can be created and which can also rapidly dissolve, if people in general and security political elites particularly collectively so 'choose'. The possibilities of securitizing actors to successfully securitize an issue are path-dependent and thus pre-existing socially constructed threats make it easier – or more difficult – for certain issues to be(come) securitized.

From a constructivist perspective, *politics is a struggle over shared meanings and collective understandings*. The focus of securitization framework is how some issues are raised above normal politics into the security sphere (as threats). Figure 1 shows how certain issues on normal (low) politics can become security issues – they became framed as security threats – within a political process. Once this happens, extraordinary (exceptional) measures can be taken in order to deal with the (socially constructed) threat. If this security threat is further militarised – i.e. it is conceptualised to form a military threat to the referent object of if military force needs to be used in order to deal with the threat – one can say that this militarised security threat *calls for* extraordinary (exceptional) measures to deal with it.

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1) See e.g. Buzan & Wæver & de Wilde (1998).

THE LOGIC OF THREAT POLITICS:

non issue

Nonpoliticization ⬆⬇ Politicization

(political) issue / problem

Desecuritization ⬆⬇ Securitization

security threat

Demilitarization ⬆⬇ Militarization

military threat

FIG. 1. The Logic of threat politics.[2]

The Widening Conception of Security and Increases in World Military Spending

It is noteworthy that the decline of traditional military threats during the early 1990s only had an effect of short duration on the world military expenditures. "The post-cold war reductions in world military expenditure ended in 1998. In both 1999 and 2000 there have been significant real increases."[3] And the increases have continued in the 21st century – being magnified by the strikes of 9/11 and subsequent war on terror. Actually, world military spending has risen by approximately 45% (in real-terms) since the low point of 1998.[4] The increases in military spending after 1998 show that despite the widely celebrated end of the Cold War and the related lessening of military threats, states have during the last decade actually invested similar amounts of money to their militaries than during the high-level military threats of the Cold War era. How can this be explained?

The securitization and militarization of 'new threats' in the post-Cold War era is a logical staring point for probing the decade-long

2) Raitasalo & Sipilä (2007). Note that the traditional perspective to conceptualise politico-military threats is military capability multiplied with the willingness to use it offensively.

3) SIPRI Yearbook (2001), p. 224.

4) See e.g. SIPRI Yearbook (2008), ch. 5.

trend of increasing world military expenditures. Particularly two broad trends in the security sphere seem relevant for the trend of increasing military activity and military spending after the late 1990s. The first of these trends is related to the developing tradition of military crisis management – based on a wide conception of security, in which state security is replaced with a more human approach.[5] Large-scale human rights abuses and individual suffering have been introduced as an alternative way to understand security threats in the post-Cold War era. Human security – rather than, or at least in addition to – state security is proposed to be the focus of 'new' security policy within the developed west. Naturally there have been multiple reasons for the rising military activism within the developing framework of military crisis management – from the survival of NATO and the good prospects for developing the EU through the security sphere to the more 'noble' motivations of doing good and making the world a better place. Whatever the 'real' reasons for the widening conception of security that has been developing in tandem with the military crisis management tradition, it should be noted that the struggle over the meaning of security and the best ways to uphold/provide it have been developing into the direction that has securitized and militarised an issue that traditionally has been understood to be mostly a domestic matter of states. Within the globalising international system, individuals and ethnic groups have become framed as referent objects of security – and military crisis management has provided a 'new' tool for the developed states in order to pursue 'new' security policies based on this interpretation.

The second – and most probably the more salient – factor, which has 'caused' increases in the world military spending and has led to the remilitarization of international politics, is related to the threat of terrorism through the process of an ongoing global war on terror. The threat of terrorism has become at least partially militarised, and mil-

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5) See NATO's Strategic Concept (1999) "Military capabilities effective under the full range of foreseeable circumstances are also the basis of the Alliance's ability to contribute to conflict prevention and crisis management through non-Article 5 crisis response operations. These missions can be highly demanding and can place a premium on the same political and military qualities, such as cohesion, multinational training, and extensive prior planning, that would be essential in an Article 5 situation. Accordingly, while they may pose special requirements, they will be handled through a common set of Alliance structures and procedures."

itary responses have become considered appropriate – even unilaterally and preventively in certain cases – against the threat posed by international terrorism. If one looks at the development of world military spending in the post-9/11 world, at least two trends are hard to miss. The first is related to the world-wide increase of military spending in general and the other is related to the huge increases of its military budget by the United States. Looking back the last seven years, the military spending of the United States has increased by 59% in real terms and by "2007, US spending was higher than at any time since World War II."[6]

   Together the developing military traditions related to crisis management and fighting international terrorism – both of which have been 'produced' by the comprehensive approach to security during the last 20 or so years – have in fact lowered the threshold on the legitimate use of military force within the international system. Based on the emerging and consolidating norms of "the responsibility to Protect" and "fighting terrorism with military forces", the use of armed force in 2008 is possible with fewer inhibitions that was the case at the end of the Cold War. In an era of lesser military threats (vis-à-vis the Cold War era) – *we in the West have moved towards more active use of military force and increasing military spending.*

From Environmental Security to Climate Change
- Where are We Heading?

The timing of the end of the Cold War coincided with an increasing awareness on environmental problems affecting national/international security. The greenhouse effect, deforestation, acid rain and ozone depletion emerged on the security agenda at the same time as former Cold War belligerents were crafting the 'new' – more cooperative – rules of the post-Cold War international system.[7] Many environmental problems were politicized and at least partially securitised within the international system during the post-Cold War years.[8]

   During the 1990s then, the perspective of environmental security emerged as environmental problems became politicized and at least partially securitized – they became framed as existing or potential se-

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6) SIPRI Yearbook (2008), ch. 5.

7) E.g. Homer-Dixon (1991).

curity threats. Environmental security still retained much of the *low politics*-nature, as the new security sector was acknowledged throughout the west, but it did not result into exceptional measures taken in order to tackle this emerging threat. Rather, the notions of indivisible or cooperative security were during the 1990s the mainstream way to conceptualise the securitized nature of some environmental problems. During the last 5 or so years, the securitization of environmental problems has continued – as the 'new' threat of *climate change* has been the concept through which the melting polar ice cap, extreme cases of flooding, heat waves and droughts have been conceptualised.[9]

Within the European Union, it has been proposed by the High Representative Javier Solana and the European Commission that the EU and its member states build up capabilities for civil protection, crisis management and disaster response in order to respond to the security risks caused by the climate change. These capabilities have been proposed to contain both civilian and military instruments.[10] Similarly, within the framework of NATO – a military alliance – the securitization of environmental issues has been visible lately.[11]

I argue that *the initial process of the securitization of environmental issues that begun in the 1990s has gained momentum in the post-9/11 era*. Following the 'example' of terrorism, environmental threats are on their way of influencing the 'new' comprehensive conception of security. The next possible – one could even say logical – step is the gradual militarization of environmental threats. This would mean that states – and possibly other international agents as well – would start preparing the use of armed force to counted possible future environmental threats. This could happen in at least two different ways.

One can therefore argue, that as *attempts to securitize environmental issues may on a short frame look tempting* – as more resources could

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8) See e.g. A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement (1995), p. 1, 18; National Security Strategy for a New Century (1998), p. 1; NATO's Strategic Concept (1991). NATO's Strategic Concept (1999).

9) See e.g. Solana (2008).

10) Climate Change and International Security - Paper from the High representative and the European Commission to the European Council (2008), p. 10.

11) See e.g. de Hoop Scheffer (2008).

be put to deal with securitized environmental problems, *on a longer timeframe the effects of securitizing the environment could lead to militarized outcomes* – something that probably most 'environmentally oriented' securitizing actors of today would not be willing to witness. Whether or not we will arrive at a securitization tipping-point regarding some environmental issues (most likely under the guise of climate change), where a political problem becomes framed as a security issue and continues to the process of militarization, will therefore have many consequences for states' security policy. Today it seems probable that within the globalizing international system the environment is gradually becoming a militarized security issue that will lead – directly or indirectly – to increasing use of armed force within the international system, at least over the long run.
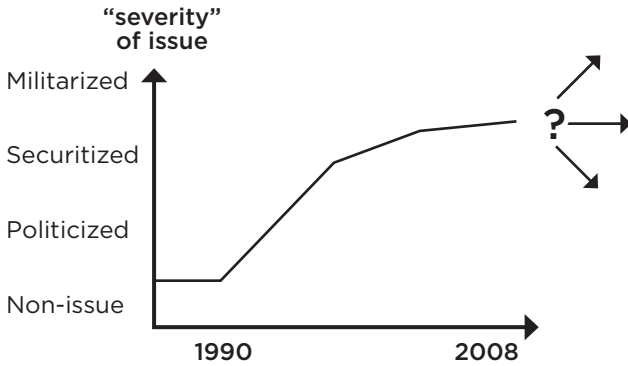
FIG. 2. The logic of environmental threats (climate change) becoming a security issue.

So, to conclude, I argue that moving our perspective on security threats from the sphere of direct military invasion towards new threats related to terrorism, the melting of the polar ice cap or extreme whether conditions, does not in fact alter the balance between military and non-military aspects of security (as many would hope). In fact, the widening of our conception of security broadens the repertoire of potential military threats or potential issues dealt with military means. The alternative way would be to conceptualise climate change – for example – within the framework of environmental poli-

cy. This approach would not for short-term resource gains risk a longer-term positive development in the security situation within the globalising world. Once the logic of securitization or even militarization has taken hold of an issue, turning this issue back to normal politics is more difficult – even if many actors were willing to turn the process backwards.

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FOOD CRISIS AND CLIMATE CHANGE IN SECURITY POLICY CONTEXT

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Since late summer 2007 everybody following the international scene has talked about Food Crisis. Is there really a "crisis" and what is the situation today? Moreover, what is the connection between global developments in agricultural markets and climate change?

Firstly, it is obvious that by and large "food crisis" is a very relative term and can be taken literally only in some countries. Certainly food riots are a serious factor e.g. in Haiti, Egypt or Indonesia where they are even shaking already fragile governments. At the same time, however, in many countries the farmers for the first time in decades feel that their share from the food production chain is growing and that they are receiving some compensation for the ever rising production costs.

Secondly, the level which the agricultural prices reached at their highest this past summer is actually not unparalleled in recent history. When comparing real prices we have seen similar levels in the mid 1970's and during the -80's. In fact during the first half of this decade the agricultural prices have been exceptionally low and hence the new directions in the global markets have taken many by surprise. This shift has been forecasted by many international agricultural economists but without listening ears from the rest of the societies.

Certainly, the change was unprecedentedly rapid. This can happen when many factors point at the same time to the same direction: high oil prices, difficult weather patterns (droughts, floods) in many major producing countries and strong growth in demand caused, on one hand, by changing food consumption patterns in large emerging economies and bio energy boom on the other. We are experiencing a dramatic era when world's urban population outnumbers the rural. This will unavoidably bear consequences in food economy. Also in developing countries the consumption habits are "westernising" and shifting from vegetables towards livestock products. Instead of sorghum porridge and cassava people are eating hamburgers and french fries.

During the recent months the agricultural prices have shifted downwards from the past summer's levels. They still, however, stay above the recent average while the production costs for farming are record high. Prices of energy, fertilizers, pesticides etc. threaten the economic feasibility of food production in both developing and developed countries.

With or without the recent increase in food prices hunger and malnutrition remains one of the major obstacles to development in the world. The "soaring food prices", as the issue has been labelled by the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation FAO, has only added to the already serious situation. One year ago we talked about 850 million undernourished people in the world. Today the figure is 925 million and growing. This development is in stark contrast with the target set in World Food Summit (WFS) of halving the number of hungry by year 2015. The machine is dramatically running backwards and it will have inevitable consequences to migration and security.

Where is the hunger problem most serious and where are the world's hungry people? The vast majority of the world's undernourished people - 907 million - live in developing countries, according to the 2007 data reported by the *State of Food Insecurity in the World*. Of these, 65 percent live in only seven countries: India, China, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Pakistan and Ethiopia. Progress in these countries with large populations would have an important impact on global hunger reduction.

With a very large population and relatively slow progress in hunger reduction, nearly two-thirds of the world's hungry live in Asia (583 million in 2007). On the positive side, some countries in Southeast Asia like Thailand and Viet Nam have made good progress towards achieving the WFS target, while South Asia and Central Asia have suffered setbacks in hunger reduction.

In sub-Saharan Africa, one in three people - or 236 million (2007) - are chronically hungry, the highest proportion of undernourished people in the total population, according to the report. Most of the increase in the number of hungry occurred in a single country, the Democratic Republic of Congo, as a result of widespread and persistent conflict, from 11 million to 43 million (in 2003-05) and the proportion of undernourished rose from 29 to 76 percent.

The world hunger situation may further deteriorate as the financial crisis hits the real economies of more and more countries. Re-

duced demand in developed countries threatens incomes in developing countries via exports. Remittances, investments and other capital flows including development aid are also at risk. Emerging economies in particular are subject to lasting impacts from the credit crunch even if the crisis itself is short-lived.

Finally, how will the climate change affect food production? In Northern regions global warming can increase productivity in crop production. As the globe's angle towards the sun does not, however, change the length of the growing season remains the same as it is. On the other hand plant pests and animal diseases will increase and move to new regions. This can be expected to take place also in Northern Europe. In vast areas in present developing countries drought and sudden extreme weather patterns (dry spells, floods, heavy rains, storms) are expected.

It is also expected that rising water levels will destroy large productive farm lands in coastal areas and disappearing glaciers will result in reduced water flows in rivers. This will have major impact on irrigation based food production. The shortage of water will be the single biggest limiting factor to food production in the future. At the same time the world's population is expected to reach 9 billion by year 2050. This together with changing food consumption patterns means that the global food production will have to double during the same period.

PROMOTING SECURITY THROUGH DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND AID

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Violence is linked with poverty and fragility. Eight of the 10 countries with the worst HDI (Human Development Index by UNDP) or lowest GNP per capita have been subject to major political violence. Efforts to promote human security focus directly on the prevention or reduction of violence and the insecurity of people and communities.

Human security is often described as a 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. Considering terrorism, human security is usually partly defined as fear and pain inflicted on innocent people. Terrorism, despite its serious effects, is not among the most serious problems in developing countries although there might be a risk of terrorism. This article focuses on other factors, such as crisis and conflict prevention which are essential when reducing poverty as well as immediate human suffering.

Conflict prevention activities reduce tensions and the likelihood of outbreak or recurrence of violent conflict. Conflict management prevents escalations of violent conflict, reduce its intensity or geographical extent and help the parties to bring war to an end. After that peace-building activities focus on the underlying causes of violent conflict and enhance resilience against the risks of resurgent violence. Peace-building activities include conflict resolution to resolve underlying disputes or divisions. The whole entity of peace-building is complex, time and resource consuming and has a high rate of failure. Because of the complexity, long-term engagement and efforts from the international community in post-conflict situations are vital. Parties to the conflict should gradually take lead and ownership of the process.

Development policies and development aid must be tailor-made when dealing with peace-building in post-conflict countries as well as in situations, where there is bad governance, difficult partnership or failed states. Conflict sensitive development aid is particularly applicable to states with violent conflicts as it systematically addresses the risks of conflicts. It also acknowledges that all development aid impacts the politics of developing countries and aims to do no harm. OECD DAC (Development Assistance Committee) has issued

guidelines to promote conflict sensitive development, which EU and its member states have adopted in their policies. In a continuously changing environment and more complex situations policies should be kept updated.

Development aid may as well unintentionally be counterproductive in conflicts. This has happened especially in heavily aid dependent Sub-Saharan countries that are conflict-prone. By empowering and favouring different groups, aid can lead to neglected opportunities and marginalise other groups. Post-conflict situations also attract actors whose main purpose is to maximise quick profits at the expense of public interest. Corruption and the misuse of position can fail the allocation of development aid. Development policies and their implementation should foster transparency and other principles of good governance and respect human rights. This is also why stabilisation of macroeconomic environment and economic governance together with the development of the private sector should be emphasized when empowering post-conflict states.

It has been widely recognised that well targeted conflict prevention underlines human rights, supports communities and development, promotes dialogue between the parties to conflict and ultimately saves lives. In addition it saves money. According to studies made by Bradford University $1 spent on conflict prevention can save $4 spent on reconstruction costs in the conflict area. World Bank has estimated, that a typical civil war creates a cumulative cost of $54 billion to the country in conflict. All in all it can be said, that security always enhances development and development enhances security.

TERRORISM, CONFLICTS, EXCLUSION - CAUSES FOR INSECURITY AND SOME SOLUTIONS

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The world is going through tumultuous times. Terrorist attacks against Western democracies in recent years have shattered the belief that the Western world is an example for everyone. Conflicts are taking place in various parts of the world, both closer to our own region such as Georgia, but even more so in faraway areas such as Sudan, Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo in Africa, or places like Afghanistan and Iraq in the Middle East.

In addition to the areas with full-blown armed conflicts there are many other places where tension, risk for conflicts or other types of insecurity prevail. The so-called 'fragile states' are creating space for criminal and often violent activities of many kinds. Hijacking of cargo ferries in Sudan is probably the conspicuous at the moment in the international media. Human trafficking is thriving in many continents, as is smuggling of arms and drugs.

The list of calamities in the world does not end there. In many parts of the world insecurity is present in everyday lives. Physical insecurity can mean running for cover for fear of militants, women being raped, and summary violence and killings taking place. Insecurity also means not knowing how to feed the family the next day or getting access to clean water. Even guaranteed nourishment is not alone enough to create a proper basis for living. For a decent life, in addition to daily nourishment one needs to have a permanent shelter or housing, access to basic health care, possibility for education and opportunities for employment. Many organisations, such as the UN and the OSCE are advocating a larger concept of security by promoting the concept of *comprehensive security.*

Since the events 9/11 many seminars and conferences have been organised on terrorism prevention. Indeed, terrorist attacks have not been limited to a one-off major attack against the most influential state of the world on September 11, 2001; nor have terrorist attacks remained targeted on the USA alone. Several European coun-

tries have been hit by terrorist attacks in this decade, and some attacks have been targeted on Westerners elsewhere. Major acts of terrorism have been stopped at a preparatory stage in these same countries.

There has not been a lack of effort to answer the questions why democratic states should be targets for terrorist acts, and how the West can prevent terrorism. It has been popular to conclude that an answer lies in tackling the so-called root causes for terrorism, namely poverty, exclusion, marginalisation, injustice, lack of opportunities. Yes, this is a part of the answer. It appears true that such things can fuel terrorism. The injustices suffered by the Palestinians have deeply motivated many Arab terrorists. Those who have no prospect whatsoever for the future make easy recruits to play foot soldiers in terrorist acts. Such people include Afghan and Palestinian youngsters as well as Chechen and Palestinian widows. Of course, we can encounter all this by pointing out that many terrorists who have attacked Western targets have been well-educated, and from wealthy families. We can also say that there will surely always be injustice in the world felt by some, that there are always those who own less than some others, those who feel marginalised, or simply those whose political agendas differ from ours, so this approach alone will never beat terrorism.

Therefore, when seeking to prevent terrorism against us in the West, one has to use two approaches. First, preventing or stopping terrorist attacks by using necessary legislative and policy measures in our own countries, strengthening of security measures, prosecuting attempts, and being vigilant. The second approach is indeed more long-term, namely addressing the root causes – poverty, exclusion, sense of injustice and marginalisation, lack of opportunities – in order to limit the popularity of terrorist causes for potential foot-soldiers, be they men or women.

Neither of the two approaches can be successful alone. Immediate preventative measures can stop some of the planned attacks at the last minute, while long-term measures through development assistance, alleviating poverty, and support for institution-building are elaborate, time-consuming and not certain to bring results as there are always forces who believe in their "rightful" cause for creating terror.

While terrorism certainly has been the curse of the new century in the Western countries, there are numerous other causes for insecurity, as mentioned in the beginning of this article, that are affecting many

more lives in the world today. Addressing them should not serve us just as an intermediary or a tool to alleviate terrorist trends, as these concerns are creating insecurity in the world many times worse than terrorism. These other causes for insecurity include fragile states, local ethnic or political conflicts, militia activities, smuggling of arms and drugs, human trafficking, kidnappings, new piracy, and of course dire poverty and absence of opportunities. When seeking to find how to address these problems, it is, in this multitude of problems, sometimes difficult to differentiate the cause from the consequence, and equally difficult to find proper mechanisms for response.

What are the available mechanisms for making our world a safer place and eliminating factors that in so many ways cause insecurity? An approach prioritised highly at the moment by the EU and Finland is conflict and crisis prevention and conflict management. The European Union has been raising its capacity in crisis management for many years now, and has taken several policy and operational decisions to this end. Finland, too, has taken as it goal to increase efforts on crisis management, both of civilian and military variety. Capacity has been built both on the military and civilian side. There are many operations that are under way, and can be deemed successful. Finland is at the moment participating in conflict management operations in 18 locations around the world, with around 650 military personnel and 100 civilian experts involved. In addition, up to 150 experts participate annually in different tasks at various organisations' headquarters and as election observers. The European Union has currently 13 different types of operations ongoing, including military, police, rule of law, and observer missions.

Even if the efforts by the EU and Finland can be applauded, there are those who are questioning the impact of the approach. True, the missions under way have a potential to be successful, and many of the up to ten completed missions, including those in Macedonia and Aceh might be deemed as such. However, some others, to give one just one example, the massive crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo is receiving little attention. Some suspect that the EU is focusing on smaller operations that it knows it can succeed in, rather than going to places where the going really gets tough, but where the civilian population would desperately need assistance.

Conflict prevention is an issue in itself. Preventing conflicts and the so called *early warning* has been time and again raised as an important goal for organisations and governments. It is a topic of political priority, which however is easier to state in speeches than conduct successfully in practice. Preventing a conflict in advance assumes that situations with potential tensions are monitored regularly, analysed and assessed in light of potential risks and measures to be taken. Often an eventuality is hard or impossible to predict, and all too often, even if credible predictions are made, sufficient political will, mechanisms or resources to prevent an incident, crisis or conflict is lacking. Although many credible organisations or agents are issuing early warning reports, many of them are not taken action upon, at all or at least sufficiently.

When it comes to the resources used for crisis management and development, a discussion has risen on whether and to what extent development assistance funding could also be used in military crisis management. At the moment the ODA-criteria (Official Development Assistance) by the OECD's DAC (Development Assistance Committee) define that only funding used for civilian purposes, or by civilian agents, can be counted as development assistance. Seven per cent of the funding used for the military peace-keeping operations can also be accounted for such.

The discussion has risen, in particular, in connection with the need to support the peace-keeping capabilities of the African Union through training and the provision of equipment. Another motivation for this discussion might be the wish to reach the 0.7 per cent of the GNP target, which both Finland and the EU have agreed to reach by the year 2015. Currently, Finland's contribution is at 0.44 per cent of the GNP in 2008 and 0.46 per cent in 2009, corresponding of an estimated 830 million Euros in 2008 and 915 million Euros in 2009.

While the need to enhance the AU's peace-keeping and conflict management capacities is pertinent, as is the need to provide Finnish crisis management resources (both military and civilian) to many crisis locations in the world, the answer for these needs is not in accounting all such military activities as development assistance. Such a decision would mean an end to the popularity of government de-

velopment assistance, as one could never clearly define what amount of the assistance goes to military purposes, and what to civilian use. This does not exclude supporting additional spending for military crisis and conflict management activities. This type of spending could also be financed separately from a global management fund in order to clearly mark the effort taken by Finland towards this type of global activity.

A topic for itself would be to look into how to make a difference in eliminating the 'root causes' for both overall insecurity in the world, but also for potential terrorism. A traditional and well-accepted answer to this has been development assistance and development policies, with the emphasis on reducing poverty, building institutions, supporting important sectors such as health and education, enhancing capacities of local people in different areas of the society, seeking to create economic activity, promoting human rights, and numerous other fields where progress is needed.

The traditional development assistance is presently, however, coming under increasingly critical assessment: why are there so few concrete and sustainable results visible; should assistance be refocused; is the assistance making a difference? Donor states have also had to start acknowledging that coherence of policies is a precondition for any results. For example, a donor state's trade policy can prevent food security or export of a developing country, while at the same time the donor state is delivering humanitarian food aid to the same developing country, or supporting its agriculture through development projects.

What are the main directions for us in the insecure world? Even if the challenges may seem daunting and never-ending, and the available solutions all too limited, isolation is not an option for a country such as Finland. Finland has for decades seen itself as a superpower at peace-keeping and invested in different types of conflict prevention, crisis management and peace-keeping activities. Former President of the Republic of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari, is a leading exponent of our peace-keeping activities, even if the efforts for which he in 2008 received the Nobel Peace Prize were, to a large extent, due to his personal qualities rather than in the capacity of an official representative of Finland.

The legacy of President Ahtisaari could serve as a guiding light for future peace-keeping, conflict prevention as well as the crisis management approach and activities of Finland. Our work should be multi-faceted, wide-ranged, and solution-oriented. Terrorism is a concern for both Europe and Finland, but even more so are other types of insecurities that cause waves all the way to our shores through, for example, irregular migration, the influx of refugees, and economic or other types of instability. These insecurities should be tackled through well-balanced development policy, through efforts to identify and prevent potential conflicts and crises in advance, through measures to end existing conflicts, and through peace-keeping as well as the rebuilding of war-ravaged nations. The insecurities in the world will never disappear completely, but we can find mechanism to reduce them, and deal with them.

THE CHALLENGES OF "EFFECTIVE MULTILATERALISM"

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1. Introduction

So far this weekend we have spent a lot of time discussing two key players - from the European perspective - on the international political stage, that is, the NATO and the European Union. There can be no doubt that the concept underlying both organisations is a multilateral one. In the final meeting of our conference I would like to address more fundamental issues of multilaterism and - closely connected to that - the prototype of a global multilateralism: the United Nations. I will, in particular, be looking at the role of the United Nations in meeting the challenges and resolving the conflicts we will be facing in the years to come. Reflecting on multilateral concepts in general and the United Nations in particular always means reflecting on the importance and evolution of international law.

Further, such a multilateral approach is inseparable from "universalism", a concept which the West has always called its own; a world view which believes that certain legal concepts and values are binding the world over.

2. Conflicting world views on opposite sides of the Atlantic

For several years now transatlantic relations have been dominated by an at times fierce controversy between the "New World" and "Old Europe", which centres on the significance of multilateral solutions for and the role of the United Nations in international conflicts and crises. The contentious issue is how to deal with the challenges of, in particular, international terrorism in the aftermath of 11 September 2001. Yet, other key issues concerning the future, like our joint responsibility for global climate change, have also contributed to the widening of the "transatlantic rift".

Although it is true to say that the United States and the European Union differ in terms of whether their international policies are, in essence, based on a multilateralist or unilateralist concept, they at least

have one key thing in common: both are universalists. That not only means that they share the cultural heritage of Christianity, of humanism, of the Enlightenment and of modernity. Europe and the US both had a part to play in one of our biggest historical/cultural achievements, namely the secularisation of the values that derive from Christianity. Based on this tradition of the Enlightenment, our North Atlantic religious heritage also opened up a system of values and a legal order to people who are not part of the Christian tradition. And this approach is a universalist one, because it is based on the conviction that these values are applicable around the world and that they are binding, having no consideration for a person's or a people's ethnic, religious or cultural background.

The fact that these common, universalist foundations are apparently such a characteristic feature makes the following question all the more interesting: Where does our common ground end and the contentious world view begin?

What we need to remember is that the United States is very often described as pursuing an "instrumentalist" approach. The politics of the United States indeed uses the universal values of modernity and of humanity which I have already described to promote its own, very specific power-political interests. That does not, however, mean that these values are only being used as a pretext, that they are only being used as a marketing strategy for its value-free power politics. Rather, it would be more correct to say that power politics and universal, value-based politics go hand in hand for US foreign policy to a much greater extent than is the case for the post-war foreign policies of most European states, and they are generally not seen to be contradictory or conflicting.

Most of us will recall the image which Robert Kagan used in the title of a book to describe the Europeans' and Americans' basically different political attitude. The book was titled "Of Paradise and Power". In analogy with a best-seller at the time which described the difficulties men and women encountered in relationships, he said the Americans were from Mars, the Europeans from Venus. Whilst Europeans' understanding of international politics - at least that of the "old" Europeans, the founding members and those which form the core European Union - was Kantian, their model being based on the idea that everlasting world peace can be guaranteed by an international legal order, Kagan claimed that the Americans still saw foreign policy

through the eyes of Thomas Hobbes. In their opinion, it was still necessary to exert "hard power" and, if need be, force to assert one's position, to stop an aggressor or to ensure the world had a reliable security structure. The United States, he said, was also committed to this attitude not least on account of its sheer military might. We know that the US's military budget is bigger than the sum total of the 20 next biggest military budgets worldwide. The US spends more on military research alone than Germany and the UK spend on their entire military budget. And this "physical" might naturally has an influence on political strategy. To use a different image: Anyone holding a hammer will tend to think all their problems look like nails.

On the other hand, the essentially positive attitude of the Europeans to multilateral solutions is decisively influenced by the two world wars which were mainly played out on the European continent. Practically all European countries were, ultimately, losers in these wars and suffered considerable human and economic loss. History has taught Europeans that the prevention of war must take highest priority. The world wars of the 20th century severely shook the Europeans' faith in the effectiveness of military force. Where Americans let themselves be guided by the desire to make the world a better place, even if they have to "break a few eggs" in the process, the Europeans tend to see themselves as the eggs. European countries therefore have a tendency to shrink from conflicts. They also subscribe to a universalist principle, although they do considerably less to ensure it finds universal application. While the Americans believe they are in possession of a blueprint for the world, Europeans would never make such a claim. For them it is difficult enough to find a blueprint for themselves - as the long drawn-out debate on the Constitution for Europe, the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, and finally the Treaty of Lisbon, has shown all too clearly.

Thus, it is obvious that the effectiveness of international politics takes priority for the United States. The United States believes in quick solutions based on superior (if need be, military) technology. The Europeans, by contrast, place the emphasis on having sound legal bases for their actions. That is in fact the truly conservative approach, because it is essentially based on a sceptical world view. The actions of the EU are based on the conservative knowledge that any wide-reaching action, be it ever so well-meaning, that is aimed at saving the world can also very quickly throw it into chaos. And frequently the

way of the world has proved this sceptical/conservative attitude to be true – like, for example, the US occupation of Iraq in 2003, which began full of hope but which plunged the country into a state of chaos that has now lasted several years.

3. The international legal regime and its future
It is clear that the different perspectives on international politics on opposite sides of the Atlantic also directly result in different views of international law.

The Europeans continue to emphasise the need for legitimacy of actions. This legitimacy must derive from the Charter of the United Nations, or else from decisions taken by UN organs. The UN is, in fact, the only really universal organisation which can claim its decisions to be legally binding for all the countries in the world, and which is, ultimately, in a position to order its decisions to be implemented by force. This "legalist" position is, of course, typically the position taken by the weakest party.

In actual fact the United States has always adopted a much more pragmatic or instrumentalist attitude to international law. That attitude has not only guided US foreign policy since the Bush Doctrine was conceived of in this new millennium. It was already in evidence in the Kosovo crisis in the 1990s and can be illustrated by an exchange which made the rounds at that time between the then Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, and one of her advisers: When the adviser warned her, saying, "Our lawyers in the State Department tell us we cannot intervene in Kosovo," Albright's succinct answer was merely: "Get new lawyers!"

For the United States international law is thus not a value in itself. It takes second place, as it were, and only makes reference to a truth that is politically identified. At any rate, the law should not get in the way of this truth and not prevent it being implemented through political action. Thus its only value is in providing an instrument for achieving good ends. The legalisation or legal validation of actions is thus only one political option and not an absolute (*a priori*) moral dictate. If you follow that idea through, the approach brushes aside more than three centuries of European international law traditions.

This instrumentalist view of international law, which has at least latently dominated US politics for some time now, was taken to its extreme following the terrorist attacks of 2001. Even in the academic

world we witnessed more and more people who were of the conviction that international law was dead. One of the most consistent proponents of this "post-international law" era was the US professor of international law Michael Glennon. His theory is that the existing international law body in general and the monopoly on power held by the United Nations in particular has never functioned effectively in practice over the past few decades. However, he not only laments the lack of law enforcement, but concludes from the United Nation's ineffective attempts at peacekeeping that the underlying legal regime has also lost its legal validity. He derives legal consequences from a political diagnosis (see also his essay entitled "Why the Security Council Failed", Foreign Affairs, May 2003 edition). He believes that clinging to international law would only mean holding the United States back from doing good international deeds and from achieving its actual and necessary humanitarian goals, which ultimately not only serve the US but also the entire civilised world. Many lawyers in the US share Glennon's view, although the majority of them are not classical international law theorists, but conservative constitutional law specialists.

While Glennon in particular marks the extreme end of the US attitude against international law, one can still find a large number of mainly European specialists in international law at the other end of the scale adhering to the traditional understanding of international law, while hardly taking note, from a legal point of view, of the changes in power politics and the new challenges of international terrorism that have arisen in the past few years. They are adhering to a strict and narrow interpretation of the statutes of the United Nations. Because they can see no legal changes, they also see no need for a different interpretation of the UN statutes. The traditional international legal order of the United Nations is as beautiful as ever - and is slowly going to the wall in all its beauty. They are buying themselves dogmatic consistency with all the irrelevance of "realpolitik".

Nevertheless, a third way is emerging between these two extremes. It is being adopted by a growing number of mainly younger European international law specialists. They have recognised that the interpretation of the UN statutes is inevitably changing, especially in light of certain recent decisions taken by the UN Security Council in the immediate aftermath of September 11, 2001. They are prepared to give the provisions of these statutes a broad interpretation, going as far as

the text will allow. That applies in particular to the four key preconditions for the use of military force.

Firstly, an attack which we all know can justify both reactions from the Security Council and can also set the "inherent" right to self-defence in motion can now not only be carried out by state, but also by a non-state actor, such as an international terrorist group.

Secondly, defence and self-defence against such an attack can then be directed against a state that did not actually carry out the attack itself, but which provided a "safe haven" to the non-state (i.e. generally terrorist) actors.

Thirdly, such defensive actions can also be taken "pre-emptively", that is one does not have to wait until an offensive action has begun.

And, fourthly, military intervention can also be carried out in defence of human rights inside a country, for example when a minority group is being systematically persecuted or even wiped out.

But it is also clear that there are also limits to such an extended, "third", interpretation of international law. Permitting *pre-emptive* actions in self-defence does not also mean justifying *preventive* actions of self-defence unless proof of a concrete threat can be furnished.

Still, the consequences of this approach to international law should not be underestimated. Such an interpretation of the statutes of the United Nations may also readily justify the wars in Kosovo and Afghanistan. However, even against the backdrop of such a legal understanding the Iraq invasion in 2003 must clearly appear contrary to international law. It is, however, more than mere coincidence that that war which threatens to become a military disaster also goes beyond the - broadly drawn - boundaries of international law. It thus appears that international law and international *realpolitik* do not originate from conflicting worlds. Heeding international law is, rather, generally also the wisest decision from a political point of view.

4. The importance and relevance of the United Nations

The transatlantic rift in international politics and thus also in international law which I referred to initially has a specific impact on the standing of the United Nations and its ability to resolve conflicts.

We generally assume that the United Nations has been entangled in a serious crisis since the United States began to counteract much more unilaterally to the threat posed by international terrorism. The

war in Iraq is the most important but by no means the only example of that.

To assume that the UN is in a crisis is, nevertheless, an exaggeration. The veto power of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, still the main reason why the body has ground to a standstill, is by no means a new phenomenon, but has been a characteristic feature of the United Nations since its foundation. It was only during a very brief period in the 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union and in the months immediately leading up to the horrific attacks of September 11 that it was easier to get a unanimous vote in the Security Council. Since then the Security Council has merely fallen back into its status quo ante. On the other hand, even in the Cold War years the United Nations was by no means totally incapable of action, or incapable of making a positive contribution to securing peace in the world.

The reason why we tend to view the United Nations with such scepticism today has less to do with the deterioration in the level of co-operation between the key member states, taking a long-term perspective, and more to do with a considerable increase in expectations put on the United Nations. The particular challenge of international terrorism makes it appear all the more urgent to have a strong global organisation that is capable of effective action. In the light of these expectations the United Nations is in reality, of course, bound to disappoint. In the case of the United States that disappointment runs so deep that it has lost the last vestiges of its belief, which was never very great, in the "United Nations" as a construct. It would, however, be foolhardy of the Europeans to follow the US down their road to resignation.

Instead of an international multilateral order, which at least in part is founded on the legal regime of the United Nations, the United States has now drawn up its foreign policy based on the so-called Bush Doctrine. The five key basic theses are essentially: (1) America is at war with global terrorism, and must fight the terrorist networks and their supporters at state level. (2) Attack is the best form of defence and needs to be effected rather earlier than heretofore, that is, in a pre-emptive manner. (3) America must act independently in order to safeguard its freedom - which does not necessarily have to mean that it must act alone. (4) The consistent use of US (military) power will encourage potential friends to join the United States, and stop

potential enemies from pursuing their "evil" goals. And finally, (5) The best response to the global jihad is, according to the Bush Doctrine, to export democracy around the world.

However, in contrast to a widely held view, the Bush Doctrine does not completely reject all forms of multilateralism whatsoever. Even the war in Iraq showed that it is still important for the United States to form a coalition and win over other nations to take part in military action. It thereby still imparts a certain political, though perhaps not legal, legitimisation for its wars. A multilateral approach is the actual goal, as long as that is on the United States' terms, which are not necessarily same as those of the United Nations.

Here, a direct comparison with the European understanding of multilateralism also helps shed light on the matter: The European Union applies the traditional theory that the coalition dictates the mission. In the words of its former Defense Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, the United States believes the opposite is the case, namely that the mission now dictates the coalition.

So what are the alternatives - aside from the Bush Doctrine - to the traditional UN-based multilateral approach to international politics?

The United States is often seen as a modern form of an "empire", which is in fact in keeping with the Bush Doctrine. It is often said that the fate of America is to take on that role of an "empire".

Thus, now would be an appropriate time to look at this idea of an empire and to ask whether such an idea, which seems to hail from an entirely different era, can actually help us to understand the United States. The constituent feature of the idea of an empire is at any rate a state's will, in terms of power politics, to take responsibility for and exert political power over a large region that extends beyond its own territory. This is most clearly expressed in the works of the expert on constitutional law, Carl Schmitt, who on account of the associated justification of the Nazi regime is, quite rightly, not undisputed. In one of his books ("*Völkerrechtliche Großraumordnung – mit Interventionsverbot für raumfremde Mächte*") he succinctly developed the idea of an empire and established a modern definition. The idea of Großraum, or sphere of influence, developed here says that a core state exercises a kind of supremacy over a sphere of influence that stretches way beyond the borders of that core state. This idea of an empire is thus of necessity based on the world being divided into various "empire regions" with various "imperial powers". One cannot compare it to a

claim to global rule; its structure is multipolar. Since the challenges which the Bush Doctrine also hopes to meet are in fact global, the idea of an empire can be ruled out as a potential answer from the outset. In times of international terrorist networks we no longer know where in the world the next concrete crisis will develop, and where the next reaction will need to be triggered. Dividing the world into regions will not help us meet these modern challenges. The idea of empire is of no help to us in the Age of Globalisation.

Besides, this theoretical rejection of the idea of empire is confirmed by the realities of global politics since 2003. Even the impressive physical/economical might of the United States is clearly being overstretched on account of the war in Iraq and its commitment in Afghanistan. And even if the United States had sufficient resources, the American public is obviously not prepared to permanently shoulder the burden of the global "responsibility" of an empire.

The vision of a new international world order as an alternative to the classic international law of the United Nations is repeatedly articulated in the United States. Only by making a clean sweep within the current United Nations could restore an international legal order which had effective answers to these new challenges. This would then be a modern, at least apparently constructive, form of multilateralism based on the American model. In reality, this appears to be more of a case of putting a positive spin on the conviction that the current structure of the United Nations is politically ineffective and thus, ultimately, also legally irrelevant. The call for an entirely new world order thus provides the justification for unilateral actions by the United States so long as no such new world order is in sight.

History teaches us that such an entirely new system of international relations can only be created under very exceptional circumstances. Only after extremely bloody and long-drawn-out wars has it been possible to bring about radical changes in the international legal order, namely:

  - in 1648, after the Thirty Years' War,
  - in 1815, after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars,
  - in 1918/19, after the First World War,
  - in 1945, after the Second World War.

It may be the case that, for many people in the United States, the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in 2001 initially took on the same dimensions as those events. For the rest of the world and probably, in hindsight, also for the majority of Americans, the events of September 11, as terrible as they were, could not seriously be compared to wars such as those mentioned above - given that they lasted for many years and affected practically the entire population in each respective theatre. There is thus simply no historical momentum to justify a complete restructuring, or better still, rebuilding the United Nations.

We must, therefore, conclude that it is not only impossible to establish a new world order, but also that the Bush Doctrine has failed practically across the board. Let me remind you: The war in Iraq has boosted terrorist networks operating there and in part led to new ones emerging. New local uprisings only became possible after the invasion. The war in Iraq did not result in allies of the United States adopting its strategy, nor did it provide a deterrent to potential enemy states. And, finally, one should not underestimate the fact that American attempts to establish democracies as bulwarks against the Holy War of Islam have hitherto failed. In Palestine, for instance, a democratic election did not produce free and democratic political power, but that of the radical Islamist fighters of Hamas.

5. The prospects for an effective multilateralism

If, therefore, the available options do not work, we must all the more vehemently pose the question of whether there is any realistic hope for an "effective multilateralism" based on existing multilateral structures.

Following the disaster of certain US policies, especially in Iraq, the indispensability of the multilateral approach is also becoming clear on the other side of the Atlantic. The United States on its own, even if it does have a small number of allies, does not have the necessary legitimacy for its military actions. Quite apart from the legal implications, this also weakens its conduct of war in moral terms, which in a globalised world of mass media is nearly as important as the actual warfare on the ground. Now, this lack of international legitimacy even appears to have an impact on the American public. If the rest of the world openly rejects the American approach, the American public will also not keep quiet in the long run. Recent opinion polls on US

warfare, especially in Iraq, provide proof of that. And, finally, the military forces, which of necessity cannot be increased in peacetime, in the same way as they can be by general mobilisation in wartime, are easily overstretched.

But it is not only true that efficacy is reliant on legitimacy. The opposite is also true, namely that there is no alternative to efficacy in international politics. Ineffective multilateralism will not be of any use. In the end it will even discredit the most beautiful of legal documents, or the most philanthropic of international organisations.

The first essential step must then be for the United States to learn something from Europe about multilateralism and the forming of coalitions, and for Europe to learn something from the United States about the effectiveness of foreign policy action.

Are both sides prepared to do that? The signs are more favourable than many people think.

The Europeans, more so than the United States, emphasise the importance of human rights in international politics. Where human rights need to be defended, Europe is much more open even to military intervention than in the case of pursuing power-political interests in the classic sense. Perhaps Europeans would have been more willing to accept or support the war in Iraq if the United States had made the humanitarian situation of the Kurdish population in the North of the country the focus of its argumentation. Further, Europe is prepared to base its international policies on the so-called second-generation international law. This is tantamount to the willingness, which should not be underestimated, to break through, in some cases, the "armour plating" of state sovereignty, which was held to be "holy" in legal terms for so long, if it could thereby put a stop to, for example, atrocities like ethnic cleansing. Kosovo is one positive example of this. But Europe has probably learned more from the negative examples, namely Bosnia and Rwanda, where they were not (yet) prepared to break through this "armour plating of sovereignty" in the interests of the local people. The price was to witness the most awful atrocities being carried out right under the European soldiers' noses, who were reduced to the role of onlookers.

Europe has learned from these examples that generally multilateral solutions can only be carried out effectively in co-operation with the United States. Realistically, however, Europe will not be able to assume that the United States will always be an equal partner in every

respect. America will not be able to dictate how the Europeans were to form a coalition and what that coalition should do, although on account of its prominent status it will most certainly be a *primus inter pares*. Only an international law which acknowledges the United States' special role has a chance to reflect the realities of international politics and thus assert legally binding strength in the 21st century.

The United States has obviously also had to learn bitter lessons from the war in Iraq. If a Democrat is elected President in 2009, then the country obviously stands a good chance of making a fresh start. The Democrats have always tended to be more open to dialogue with Europe. On the other hand, they will demand more commitment in this co-operation from Europe in return. And that, naturally, also means military commitment.

And if the willingness and ability of the United States to unilaterally shoulder wide-ranging military commitments was decisively based on the nearly unanimous public support for the politics of President Bush in the period immediately after September 11, 2001, then we are currently witnessing the exact opposite. That support is now crumbling, and for the first time in decades, the people no longer agree on foreign policy across party lines. The Republicans and Democrats are fighting bitterly over what proper foreign policy is. That debate is more likely to intensify over the coming years. This will in particular lead to the United States becoming a less self-assured player on the international stage. There is much that speaks in favour of the United States being more prepared than ever to accept multilateral solutions, even those that are played out within the framework of the United Nations.

Whilst the recent intra-party election campaigns focussed the attention on the Democratic candidates, it deserves to be mentioned that it was John McCain, the Republican presidential candidate, who had the most detailed foreign policy programme. In addition, he also had the most foreign policy experience of all the candidates. He has concrete ideas on how to revitalise the transatlantic partnership. That not only includes a common energy policy or a transatlantic common market, but also institutionalised co-operation on such issues as climate change, development aid, and international promotion of democracy. President McCain would certainly have retained more substantial parts of the Bush Doctrine than any Democrat president. But what we cannot do is assume that in his foreign policy the mission would have

defined the coalition. Quite the contrary, it is McCain who has made the most interesting proposal for adding a global "league of democracy" to the United Nations. It is difficult to say how realistic the chances of such a suggestion being implemented any time soon were. The idea of a more intensive and permanent co-operation between democratic states within the framework of the UN - almost a "party" of sorts in the UN General Assembly - clearly testifies to an underlying declared belief in multilateralism.

This idea of creating an international league of democracies should not, however, replicate those aspects of the Bush Doctrine which have come to nothing, namely exporting democracy at all costs. Far from containing the Islamist terrorism, such a definition of a policy of democratisation has in the past led to a strengthening of only formally democratic but politically radical forces. More important and more sustainable than exporting democracy or emphasising co-operation between democracies is the strengthening of rights of individual liberty and the rule of law. Co-operation with states outside the North Atlantic zone but within the United Nations should be linked with respect for these conditions. Democracies that are not founded on the rule of law and fundamental rights will, in the long run, inevitably collapse, whilst those states under the rule of law that initially appear less democratic will inevitably have to develop into democracies.

And the following also applies at the international level: A state which defines itself as a rule-of-law state and one which respects civil liberties will also tend to support an international order bound by law, and respect human rights the world over. In hindsight, the Americans regret, with a certain feeling of humiliation, that their country stopped fully embracing these rule-of-law principles since the war on terror began - especially given that the country is said to be a vanguard of the rule of law.

That is why I believe there is a good chance that the international legal order will evolve and improve, with the help of the United States. The prospects for "effective multilateralism" are better than they have been for at least half a century.

We need to realise, not only in the transatlantic dialogue, but especially in our interactions with the new global powers in Asia, that Europe and America in particular, despite all their differences, share the same values and the same basic understanding of how individuals and peoples should live together. These are truly universal values and

political concepts, which are worth exporting, for example, to China and India, but which can only become accepted internationally if the United States and Europe stand together. In the words of one of the founding fathers of the United States, Benjamin Franklin: "We must hang together, gentlemen, else we shall most assuredly hang separately."

PROGRAMME

Saturday, 1 November

12.00 Lunch at the Manor & Welcome

13.00 Opening remarks: State of the World

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of confrontation between the West and Communism we have seen many attempts to redefine the geopolitical scene. Politicians, academia et al have tried to capture the State of the World in a new slogan. We have gone from the End of History to the Clash of the Civilizations and from the Axis of Evil to the Coalition of the Willing. What is the big picture today?

Chair: Mr. Ilkka Kanerva, MP, Chairman of the OSCE parliamentary delegation and the Kokoomus Network for International Affairs

13.15 Warm-Up: Competing Perceptions on Islam in Europe

Dr. Marko Juntunen, Researcher

13.30 Panel Discussion: Defining New Threats, New Catalysts

Chair: Mr. Ilkka Kanerva

Food Crisis, Climate Change & Migratory Pressures

In recent years our attention has been grabbed by very powerful and interlinked challenges, which do not respect national borders, but on the contrary affect us all on our planet. Food crisis and climate change have serious foreign and security policy ramifications. Both phenomena have the ability to wreck fragile states and democracies. Demographic changes in the affluent post-industrial West mean an increasing need to recruit more and more workers from the developing countries making it more difficult for them to cope.

Mr. Jyri Raitasalo, Major, Lecturer on Strategy
Mr. Veli-Pekka Talvela, Director General, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry

14.45 Coffee Break

15.15 Panel Discussion: Who Are We Up Against?

Islam Reacting to Western Ways
– The Rise of Networking and Brand-Happy Terrorists

Ever since 9/11 radical Islam has been seen as the new enemy. Much attention and resources have been devoted to fighting this dangerous adversary. In the name of self defense life for the ordinary citizen has changed much. But do we really understand

this new approach to global terrorism and do we have a clear understanding how it operates. And lastly, how should we best counter the threat it imposes? Also the actions in Afghanistan should be evaluated; how to prevent the Taliban renaissance?

Mr. Toby Archer, Researcher, The Finnish Institute for International Affairs
Dr. Pauli Järvenpää, Head of Department, Ministry of Defence
Comment: Dr. Marko Juntunen, Researcher

17.00 Departure to Turku Medieval Castle

18.00 Welcome drinks & Medieval Dinner at the Castle

"Europe – White Man's Burden"
Dinner Speech by Jean Monnet Chair ad personam, Dr. Esko Antola

21.30 Fireside Talk and Sauna at the Manor Premises

Sunday, 2 November

After having looked at the present situation and the present and future challenges we face and having glimpsed at our most determined enemy, it is time to move our focus from problems to solutions.

9.00 Development Aid – Part of the Problem or Part of the Solution?

Many agree that the reduction of poverty is one of best possible weapons in our arsenal to fight terrorism and increase international stability. But how far are we in achieving this goal? Development aid has not been drastically retooled since the end of the Cold War. There exists no consensus on the best methods and still the member countries of the European Union allocate for defense policy over four times the resources than they do to development policy. One could also say that in some cases traditional development aid contributes to some of the new global problems we face.

Mr. Markku Kauppinen, Ambassador
Ms. Nina Suomalainen, Chairperson, Development Policy Committee and Senior Adviser, OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities
Comment: Dr. Pauli Järvenpää, Head of Department, Ministry of Defence

10.00 Panel Discussion: How Will the West Respond?

Future Foreign and Security Policy Strategems

The Lisbon Treaty gives the European Union new tools to use its voice in the world. Will this opportunity be seized? The forth-coming American Elections serve as a fresh opportunity to forge a new consensus between the old and strained Transatlantic partnership. Or will the United States of America continue on building coalitions of willing? BRICs are gaining more economic strength, more political clout and more strategic importance. How will the post-WWII multilateral system fare in the budding multipolar world?

Multilateral Approach: Dr. Günter Krings, MP, Germany
UN Role: Mr. Kai Sauer, Head of Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland
U.S. Views on Security Policy: Dr. Michael Butler, Deputy Head of Mission,
U.S. Embassy

11.30 Conclusions & Discussion

Chair: Mr. Ilkka Kanerva

12.30 Lunch and farewell

CHATHAM HOUSE RULES PREVAIL IN ALL PARTS OF THE PROGRAMME

TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN?

"Fight against Terrorism & Development Policy – Two Sides of The Same Coin?" was a conference organised by Toivo Think Tank and the International Affairs Network of The National Coalition Party in Turku, Finland, in early November 2008. This conference report covers most of the lectures dealing with issues like yihadist terrorism, new security threats (e.g. water and food shortage), the role of the UN in the world and potential development policy measures to address these threats. The conference was partly funded by The Centre for European Studies.