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## Special War and Terrorism

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**Abstract.** Rapid and extreme development of human society causes a significant reduction of non-renewable resources, as well as the destruction of nature and the biosphere. Also, anarchy in international relations contributes to the mutual distrust of state actors who invest significant resources in primarily offensive systems. In such an environment, adaptation is the key to survival, and powerful and medium-powerful states often avoid open conflict with states of their own or higher rank and take a series of actions in the domain/spectrum of Special War as a way to act invisibly, subversively in order to destroy enemies. Such an aggressive and unjust strategy allows the infliction of colossal damage to the enemy without its own losses or international sanctions. Terrorism, as an element of the Special War, is a powerful offensive weapon of aggressive and unjust states, which, avoiding direct and conventional conflicts and military targets, attack civilians as a vulnerable category. The goal of terrorist attacks in the overall strategy is not just to kill, but to cause psychological consequences that demoralize and destabilize the state and make it susceptible to future subversive action. Also, a special form of terrorism is genocide, which through organized, planned and systematic destruction of civilians, seeks to conquer certain territories and resources. This kind of inhumane act by an aggressive state is aided by other elements of the Special War, such as propaganda that deceives or covers up crimes committed. Identifying and taking measures and sanctions against aggressive states waging Special War is an imperative for world peace and equality, so a better understanding of this problem contributes to creating mechanisms for detecting aggressive measures of Special War and the states that implement them. The aim of this paper is to discuss the subversive power of Special War and the use of terrorism as an instrument for achieving unjust goals. Since the Special War is an action of 'closed' state institutions and the intelligence sector, and because it is considered a novelty in the research community, certain information is unavailable or partially unclear, which has limited the research.

**Keywords.** Special War, terrorism, asymmetric warfare, genocide

### Introduction

Throughout the history of the human race, man has strived for domination and supremacy over others, whether it be other people, animals, nature, or something else entirely. With the development of human civilization, man has mastered almost all forms of life, and has completely tamed nature, but this is not enough. The desire for domination, supremacy and resources encouraged man to look at the world around him through the prism of force and coercion, war and violence. In such an environment, in which man to man is a wolf, it is necessary to always be vigilant and have specific means to ensure dominance. Conventional

war has long since lost its applicability in modern societies of the East and the West, which are increasingly interdependent, but also similar at the military-technological level thanks to globalization and the free market. On the other hand, the Special War is emerging as a new phenomenon and a form of disruption of military, economic and technological equilibrium and interdependence. It seeks to disrupt the interdependence or subordination of one state or actor to another through a series of special methods such as propaganda, subversion, diversion, and others. Through these methods, ideologues and modern conquerors seek to enslave others and impose their own ideas and principles. As one of the main weapons of the Special War, terrorism is emerging, which bypasses all legal obstacles, and instills fear directly in the heart and mind of society. The effect of the shock that terrorism achieves is strong enough to provoke fear and hatred, as well as to bring a micro war zone (the place of a terrorist act) to the territory of a state that is not at war.

Terrorism, as a phenomenon as old as the state and society, enables certain goals to be achieved through elements of violence, coercion and force, which contribute to one actor to completely change the social and political paradigm of his own state, but also of the attacking state. Acts of terrorism are an excellent weapon to achieve goals without provoking regional or global conflict, and as such, are applied by aggressive states that seek resources, whether human or natural, to remain at the top of the hierarchical ladder within an anarchic, international system.

### **1. Special war and its nature**

International anarchy and multi-polarity in international relations have created a state of mutual competition between states and international actors. Sometimes this competition takes the form of war and conflict in the physical sense, while in other cases, this competition is done through economic or political repressive and restrictive measures that (non)state actors use as a currency of power. Due to its enormous destructive power, conventional war<sup>1</sup> in the modern age is the ultimate and on the one hand undesirable means to achieve goals, therefore, aggressive and aggressor states are increasingly resorting to the use of covert and secret methods of subversion in relation to open war. Because of the above, the Special War appears as an adequate destructive means that does not destroy resources, infrastructure and human lives to the same extent as conventional war does.

#### ***1.1. Special War and aggression***

Special warfare is not new in the strategies and operations of state and non-state actors, and its applicability can be seen in the recent past, whether it is propaganda and indoctrination competition during the Cold War or the subversive and sabotage activities of the resistance movement in the territories occupied by the Third Reich.

In the modern, postcolonial and post-industrial age, after the end of the great wars and conflicts, the Special War has a specific applicability in the new struggle for resources. According to Muslimović (2011): 'Special war is a way and a means of fighting for unjust and aggressive goals. It is conceived and organized by the highest institutions of the state. The objects of application are various elements of society, state institutions and political factors. The basics and goals of the Special War stem from state security policy. In the local and regional framework, the bearers of the Special War are the states that have territorial and other aggressive

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<sup>1</sup> Unlike Special warfare, conventional warfare makes a clear distinction between civilians, civilian infrastructure and civilian targets on the one hand, and soldiers and military targets on the other. This clear difference does not exist within the Special War, it has been erased and forgotten, and in such a framework, the only important goal is to destroy the enemy through the destruction of civilian, non-military targets, but the military is not excluded when it suits the consequence of the attack.

pretensions towards their neighbors, for which they are fighting on various, even illegal methods and means. Globally, the bearers are the great powers fighting for dominance in the areas where they want to preserve it, expand it, just establish or retake it (dominance). In doing so, they use the small and the weak as a means for the realization of 'higher', mostly hidden goals.'

The role in waging a Special war is taken over by the intelligence and security services as institutions with the greatest reach in a *hostile* society, which allows conducting covert and invisible undermining and subversive activities that weaken the targeted state economically, spiritually, morally, socially and militarily (Muhić, 2020). Weakening of the targeted state is the primary goal of any intelligence-security apparatus that acts aggressively, regardless of whether it has offensive or defensive intentions.

The days of open competition between East and West through the nuclear threat and the massive accumulation of an army on the borders ready to invade at any moment – are long gone; they are now replaced by invisible means of coercion that transcend the realm of the physical world and enter the metaphysical and abstract. It is no longer enough to just threaten physically and openly, but it is necessary to attack the human spirit and mind, break it, and reshape it in a way that suits the aggressive state. By breaking the spirit, mind and body, a submissive mass of ordinary citizens is created, but also high-ranking officials and political officials, who together 'bury their heads in the sand' and surrender the state without a fight, unaware of what is really happening. Fear, as the main decisive factor in the success of the Special War, is also a key driver of the process that enables the realization of the aggressor's goals. Since the target of the attack is no longer the physical world (body, infrastructure), nor the means of attack (tank divisions, infantry, ballistic missiles, etc.), war can also be waged according to certain military criteria by 'small' and 'weak' states that do not possess strong aviation, large manpower, or nuclear missiles, but possess an excellent offensive and aggressive strategy that has a good monopoly on subversion, diversion, propaganda, and more. These methods enable the creation of strategies that make extensive use of human weaknesses, thus bypassing obstacles such as strong infantry, motorized and mechanized brigades or aviation. Why have an open war with a superior opponent, when we can defeat him quietly and imperceptibly by attacking his mind and spirit, and ultimately his body. A Special War is fought in both peace and war conditions (Muslimović, 2011), therefore, it never ceases to be a threat, but is in the form of constant undermining of the national security of the target state or states.

### **1.2. Unconventional and asymmetric**

Clausewitz (1832) says that war is a continuation of politics by other means, and we can view the Special War in the same light. War does not lose its meaning by moving from one form - conventional to another - unconventional, the essence of the idea itself remains the same. State and national policy are replaced by active or passive, overt or covert measures, which disrupt the internal relations of the target state. The destabilization of the state 'from within' enables a simpler and faster non-violent and non-military occupation, which is achieved through the division of society into certain ideologies and attitudes, those in favor of the aggressor and those who are against it. Precisely in the above is reflected the power of asymmetric warfare, the application of specific (non)kinetic<sup>2</sup> measures to move the inert mass in the direction

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<sup>2</sup> The kinetic and non-kinetic activities of the aggressor state are reflected in the use of 'means' such as terrorist acts which, as a kinetic activity, entail a series of non-kinetic activities such as specifically targeted propaganda to provoke fear and / or hatred. Such a symbiosis of kinetic and non-kinetic action allows the creation of a negative charge within society which manifests itself as distrust of the authorities, hatred of ethnic minorities or nations to which the perpetrators of a terrorist act, fear of future attacks and divisions into those who feel fear, hatred, distrust and those who do not.

corresponding to the aggressor. Asymmetry in the use of means of coercion and force, enables the search for the enemy's 'soft spots' and his weaknesses which to be used against him. Chinese military strategist Sun Tzu (2018) said several thousand years ago that the basis of warfare is avoiding what is strong and striking what is weak. Guided by this thought, ideologues and strategists of the Special War will always attack what is weak and undefended - civilians and citizens, while on the other hand they will avoid at all costs an attack on hard' - military targets that will certainly resist and know how to deal with an attack, except when an attack on them produces the desired consequence or effect<sup>3</sup>.

As one of the best means of Special War for creating division, fear, hatred, mistrust, disobedience and the like, terrorism emerges no longer as an abstract phenomenon interpreted in different ways, but a clearly defined act aimed at killing, intimidating and dividing. Having strong aviation, navy or heavily armored division means absolutely nothing if the enemy does not engage in combat with them, but instead looks for other 'soft' targets, of which there are many. This raises a huge problem for those against whom asymmetric warfare is being waged as a strategy and tactic of the Special War.

The defense against this type of attack, which can happen anywhere and anytime, is guided by Sun Tzu's (2018) assertion that 'general is skilful in attack whose opponent does not know what to defend; and he is skilful in defense whose opponent does not know what to attack'.

It is completely impossible to defend every weak point and be successful in its defense. Building on the conventional large-scale war waged during World War II, the war of the great powers as understood at the time, was a detailed, measured, orderly event, which became messy only on the periphery, in places like Afghanistan for the Soviets and Vietnam for the Americans (Buffaloe, 2006). Although the two military and nuclear empires had a larger and technically and technologically superior conventional army, they lost the war to farmers from the rice fields near the Mekong River and shepherds from the Hindu Kush. The reason for the victory of farmers and shepherds over military superpowers is reflected in the way operations and battles are conducted and the rules of war are understood.

The great superpowers have clear rules of engagement (RoE) that they respect and adhere to and that stem from their superiority, while on the other hand guerrillas and insurgents who are numerically and technically - technologically inferior, have a different set of combat rules. Two colonels of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, in their work 'Unlimited Warfare' (1999), expressed clear views on the asymmetric balance of power between Western countries and China: 'War has rules, but they are set by the West. If you use these rules, then weak countries have no chance. We are a weak country, so should we fight by your rules? No.' So, whenever inferior forces would meet superior forces in situations with equal conditions, their inevitable and absolute defeat would follow, because they are simply inferior. The RoE of the superior actor is not compatible with the RoE of the inferior actor, while on the other hand, the application of guerrilla tactics of the inferior actor, such as hit-and-run<sup>4</sup>, ambushes or placing deadly explosives on the roads of the aggressor forces, achieves an equilibrium of forces and relations.

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<sup>3</sup>An attack on military targets will be effective if it can achieve specific consequences that will result from active kinetic action. An example of this could be a staged attack on a military convoy that would react with the use of firearms to civilians in the immediate vicinity of the name. Such an event can be used for propaganda purposes to label the military as 'criminal' and 'murderous'. Another example is a successful guerrilla attack on a military column of the same name, with a documented attack and documented executions of survivors, so that the video can also be used for propaganda purposes to demoralize the enemy (showing his weaknesses and incompetence) and to raise one's own morale.

<sup>4</sup> A rapid attack on an advanced command post or other tactical or operational facility.

### **1.3. Intelligence service and Special war**

A Special War could not be fought without the intelligence service of an aggressive state that performs both intelligence - offensive activities, and counterintelligence - defensive activities. The intelligence service, as an extended arm of the state in charge of bringing order and controlling the enemy, is an important factor in waging the Special War. The activities of the intelligence service are directed both against man and against the state, which is either a possible threat or a target for the acquisition of resources (infrastructure, natural resources, labor, knowledge, etc.).

The intelligence service can be defined as a specific, specialized, highly professional and relatively independent institution of the society which, in accordance with the law, given powers and using special legal and secret methods and means, systematically collects protected relevant intelligence and other information about plans and intentions of other states or their individual institutions that are needed to shape, create and conduct global policy, especially at the foreign policy level. At the same time, the task of the intelligence service is to protect the vital interests of its own state by detecting, monitoring, studying, disabling the activities of foreign intelligence services and other structures that primarily deal with various types of illicit activities (Masleša, 2001).

The work of the intelligence service is based on gathering certain information and knowledge, on the basis of which certain plans of offensive or defensive action against the enemy are created, whether the enemy is aggressive - directed against the state, or defensive - has something we need as an aggressive state and service. The work of intelligence services has two requirements, first, that the action and the actors not be detected, and that there must be no valid evidence of the actions of the actors - thus preventing international complications; secondly, to obtain true, important information and keep it secret (Alispahić, 2019). Secrecy is an important element in the conduct of the Special War itself, and the operations and activities undertaken by intelligence services must primarily be 'invisible' to ensure their success, primarily because they are often in the 'grey' zone of illegality, and secondarily, their undertaking can be characterized as a hostility and a direct threat.

The role of intelligence services as the main strike force of the state in peacetime, but also in the preparatory phases of the war and the war itself, is based on the application of unconventional methods that achieve supremacy over other state or non-state actors. These unconventional methods are mostly subversive and aggressive in nature, with the goal of making the current or future enemy weak and powerless.

In the context of Special War, kinetic violent measures are less represented than non-kinetic ones, which have different forms of attack on man and the state. One of the more efficient kinetic measures used by intelligence services is the financing of certain terrorist or paramilitary formations that perform 'dirty work'. The intelligence service plays a major role in their training, armaments and information. Terrorist organizations and paramilitary formations are often the face and reverse of the same coin, and their role and structure do not differ much, the former are used in times of strained relations in times of peace, while the latter are used in times of open conflict and war. Terrorist organizations as well as paramilitary formations have the following characteristics and elements: a) leadership under legal military command; b) militaristic type of organization; c) possession of a weapon and ability to use it; d) certain sources of supply; e) socio-political basis; and f) firm ideology (Alispahić, 2019).

These elements and qualities cannot be achieved without the help of the state or an intelligence service that directly helps or 'turn away' from these events. The goal of every intelligence service is to protect its own state and to work constantly against other states and actors. A Special War allows one to act aggressively, by destroying the infrastructure and

society of the enemy, either through killing during a terrorist attack or through the consequences of propaganda that spreads fear and panic and thus destroys society through divisions. Terrorism is therefore a method and means of aggressive states and its intelligence services in pursuing unjust goals, and without terrorism as a creator of social change and division, it would not be possible to complete and show the full power of the Special War.

## **2. Terrorism**

### ***2.1. Defining terrorism***

Terrorism is a social phenomenon that has been present in human civilization for hundreds and thousands of years. Terrorism as a political phenomenon and a fluid system has many definitions, all depending on the time, state policy and social order. Different individuals, institutions and organizations define terrorism in different ways. Some of the definitions are as follows:

The US Federal Bureau of Investigation (2021) defines acts of terrorism as violent, criminal acts committed by individuals and / or groups for further ideological purposes arising from: a) domestic influences such as political, religious, social, racial or environmental or b) links to certain foreign terrorist organizations or nations (sponsored by the state).

The US Central Intelligence Agency (2014) defines terrorism as politically motivated premeditated violence, committed by supranational groups or secret agents against non-combat objectives.

Schmidt and Mardsen (2011) define terrorism as follows: ‘Terrorism is a method of struggle in which accidental or symbolic victims serve as an instrumental target of violence. These instrumental victims share group characteristics, which form the basis of their choice for victimization. Through previous use of violence or a credible threat of violence, other members of that group or class are brought into a state of chronic fear (terror).’

Harmon (2013) defines terrorism as ‘deliberate and systematic killing, mutilation and endangerment of innocent people in order to instill fear in them for some political purpose’. Another meaningful and comprehensive definition came from Muslimović (2011): ‘Terrorism is a means and method of political struggle, a form of Special War with brutal, cruel, inhuman, extremely inhumane and anti-civilization crimes by terrorist states, terrorist political parties and terrorist organizations that take the interests and values of opposing states, citizens, peoples and political parties as objects of terrorist attacks, so that the victims are innocent people, their lives and health, moral integrity and material goods, which are the consequences of the use of dangerous means, various methods of intimidation, killing, persecution, blackmail, starvation, torture, demolition, mental and physical attacks, resulting in surprise and psychosis of anxiety in anticipation of the atrocities that follow, and are prepared and carried out in strict secrecy, although a bearer of terrorism often transparently takes responsibility or transfers it to the opponent, mainly on the side of the victim.’

The definition of terrorism, as we see, depends on many factors such as the policy or ideology of the one who creates the definition. In short, terrorism can be defined as an unjust attack carried out by individuals, groups or states against a human being, whether it is his religion, life, reason, property or dignity (Alispahić, 2007).

In the domain of the Special War, from the aspect of the actor who conducts it, it is necessary to establish a set of ideas and definitions of terrorism that justify the authorities' violent interventions, attacks, invasions and executions, while condemning the defense or resistance of the state against which the Special War is being conducted. Just as the Special War can be conducted by big powerful states, it can be fought, territorially or militarily, by small states and nations. While the big and mighty mostly resort to the use of expensive technical and

technological aids to monitor, divert and neutralize the target, smaller and relatively weaker states resort to old and proven methods of physical presence, spreading fear and eliminating enemies. In waging the Special War, it is necessary to maintain an asymmetric relationship between the aggressor and the opponent, regardless of whether the aggressor is a 'big' or a 'small' state.

In a conflict between two big and powerful states, both will resort to the use of unconventional, asymmetric methods of warfare, because the goal is not to provoke World War III and cause absolute destruction of the enemy, but to quietly and imperceptibly take over enemy resources and infrastructure with sporadic damage infliction<sup>5</sup> which contributes to the realization of the aforementioned goals.

## **2.2. Terrorism as a social phenomenon**

Special war finds its power and efficiency in the dynamism of society and social phenomena. The specificity of social phenomena is in that they do not take place according to natural, universal, nomothetic laws, but through social activities and actions, through the action of people as individuals, groups, communities, organizations, institutions and always by achieving certain relationships and certain effects (Alispahić, 2007). Social phenomena are the matter of a human construct, created by people for people, with a specific goal and intention that have their own structure and composition. We cannot view social phenomena as random events that may or may not occur by observing a hypothetical parallel universe. They serve as a human construct for the purpose of the progress or regress of an individual or group, with a clear goal and intention - to do something, change, replace or create. Terror, terrorism and terrorizing are emerging as important social phenomena in the modern age that the Special War uses to change the status quo. Accordingly, terror, terrorism and terrorizing are social phenomena, i.e. that phenomena that arise and are realized through the actions of people (individuals, groups, communities, organizations, institutions) in relations with people (individuals etc.) (Alispahić, 2007).

Terror, terrorism and terrorizing as social phenomena are manifested as social realities that are recognizable by their structure and phenomena and cannot be camouflaged in something else or something similar to them. They, as phenomena and structures, have clearly created forms and do not go beyond them. The form and structure of terrorism as a social phenomenon cannot be confused with the form and structure of fraud or even civil disobedience to state institutions. In the above, every social phenomenon has its clearly defined boundaries, form and 'tissue' of which it is composed and created, as well as the abstract level of thought and desire of what it actually wants and can achieve.

Terrorism can primarily be viewed as a political phenomenon that through violence, force, coercion, fear, hatred, demoralization, crisis, hatred, etc., affects social cohesion and social norms, changing individuals and groups - primarily at the abstract level of mind, thought and attitude, and secondarily on the physical level - by endangering, injuring or killing. Terrorism is a social, dynamic and political phenomenon which takes place in the social and political system and establishes and realizes relations with that system or systems (Alispahić, 2007). By the very fact that terrorism is defined as a political phenomenon, its structure and appearance are fluid in terms of defining for certain needs of institutional, national policies and international policies, but its reality always remains the same for social reality and its systems.

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<sup>5</sup> Some examples are murders of nuclear experts, destroying critical infrastructure such as military facilities or civilian buildings which could be transformed into military objects, destroying research centers, attack on finance systems, terrorist attacks on civilians aimed at reducing social cohesion etc.

The role of terrorism in society is huge and very tangible. Terrorism as a phenomenon that occurs in a certain time and space cannot be neglected or ignored, because it creates direct and objective changes in material reality. Its tangibility and reality serve precisely defined purposes and intents of causing social consequences. Violence, force and coercion as elements of terrorism, terror and terrorizing, base their success in creating social change on human emotions, which again as an abstract element create material changes. The changes that occur are massive and go beyond the framework of a certain micro-environment in which the act of violence, force or coercion took place. The intensity of events causes social changes to spread at both the mezzo and macro levels.

If we recall the events of September 11, 2001, during the attack on the World Trade Center, the violence that took place primarily in hijacked planes, and then in the towers themselves, was violence at the level of a certain micro-environment that then spread to the mezzo-environment (the space around the attacked World Trade Center), and then to the macro environment - the whole world. Changes in the objective reality ranged from a few square meters (events in hijacked planes), a few square kilometers (space around the World Trade Center and the Pentagon) and finally global changes on the entire planet Earth, which still last and have their consequences.

It is unthinkable to say that there are no social consequences and that they are not felt after a terrorist act. It is also unthinkable to try to convince society that such events are normal and that one should get used to them<sup>6</sup>. Such narratives can only be counterproductive and contribute to further divisions and society and augment already large negative consequences of the terrorist acts.

### ***2.3 Conditions for the emergence of terrorism***

Terrorism as a social phenomenon does not arise spontaneously and randomly, without any causes and reasons. Every action has a certain reaction, and terrorism appears as an action and a reaction at the same time. The reactionary action of terrorism as an act in material and objective reality is caused by a specific action that comes from an actor who either orders (active action of an aggressive actor) the act itself or through political and social action, repression and coercion (semi-active v. semi-passive action of actors) which in the target group it produces anger, rage and hatred.

Colonialism and imperialism have created fertile ground for sowing the seeds of terrorism. The mentioned seed of terrorism could always be used in a way that the colonial empire justifies the conquest of the territory through the fight against 'terrorists' which it presents as a defense against apostates and enemies of the progress coming from the colonizers. The area of North Africa has always been the scene of conflicts between the colonial powers (occupiers) on the one hand and the domicile population that suffered the repression of the colonizers.

The policy of colonial powers, which was based on the principle of *divide et impera*<sup>7</sup>, caused many permanent conflicts and intolerances among different religious, ethnic or other

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<sup>6</sup>See Independent UK: Sadiq Khan – London major says being prepared for terror attacks 'part and parcel' of living in a major city, 25.05.2017., ., <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/sadiq-khan-london-mayor-terrorism-attacks-part-and-parcel-major-cities-new-york-bombing-a7322846.html>

<sup>7</sup>Lat. 'divide and rule', often used policy of Roman governors in Germany, Illyria and Britain, which was reflected in giving or taking away certain privileges to the conquered tribes, so that their unification could not occur in the fight against the Empire itself. The relationship of those who were in a privileged position and those who were more pressed by the Roman boot, enabled a peaceful sleep to the governors who instead of fighting the tribes, left it to the tribes to fight each other. The same policy was used in colonized territories throughout Africa and Asia, where certain tribes, castes, and social strategists were privileged, and

groups (Muhić, 2020). Provoking conflict and intolerance is a step towards the successful conduct of the Special War which enables the opening of several fronts for the aggressor, the first of which is the portrayal of oneself as a savior, not an occupier. Replacing the thesis of who is who in the relationship between the aggressor and the victim, enables the relativization of the concepts of terror and terrorism.

According to the Political Encyclopedia (1966), terror is the use of random violence in order to maintain or consolidate power, whose characteristics are organized, planned and targeted to provoke fear on a large scale, in order to achieve certain goals and realize specific interests through the desired behavior and actions of those intimidated. The only shortcoming of this definition is reflected in the expression 'random violence'. Given that there are certain goals, violence cannot be random but planned, systematic and predetermined. Thus, through planned and deliberate violence and the provocation of fear by the aggressor, occupier or domestic enemy, the specific goals of maintaining and consolidating power and realizing planned interests are achieved.

This leads to the creation of a critical mass that is dissatisfied with the aggressor's repression and as such can act violently, primarily deceived by the intelligence-security apparatus of the aggressor, occupier or domestic traitor, who presents himself as a 'benefactor', and on the other hand the critical mass can be self-initiated, when the level of repression and violence exceeds a certain 'point'. In the first case, the aggressor's intelligence and security apparatus deliberately finances, equips and trains the critical mass, making them rebels and 'terrorists' in order to produce social changes that justify the presence of the aggressor and justify his terror. On the other hand, self-initiative organization of the oppressed and his actions, i.e. reactions to terror, in certain cases can be counterproductive to the extent that the 'resistance movement' is presented in the light of terrorists and enemies of the people with the help of aggressors' and occupiers' propaganda.

Thus, the social and political climate, as well as the level of repression of the occupying, domestic treacherous, dictatorial or some other regime, creates the very conditions that favor the creation of this phenomenon. Special War strategists make very good use of the 'climate' of the state they intend to attack, and through 'feeling' the terrain with the help of certain intelligence tools and instruments they can determine which form of terrorism will contribute the most to creating a critical dissatisfied mass. Unlike the fight against the occupiers, which is camouflaged in the guise of 'terrorism' with the help of the Special War, true and 'real' terrorism committed by terrorist organizations created, coordinated and led by an aggressive state waging the Special War is a dangerous offensive weapon which realizes or lays the foundations for the realization of the goals and tasks of the ideologues and strategists of the Special War.

Impossibility for open conventional conflict requires Special War actors to use terrorist groups and paramilitary formations. The division of these groups and formations goes beyond the framework of conventional war and turns into guerrilla, asymmetric warfare. Paramilitary formations are formally illegal, non-state armed organizations, capable of committing violence against a part of the population in accordance with the goals of their founder in favor of the ruling structure or against it (Alispahić, 2019). As such, they are extremely suitable for this way of warfare, because seemingly unrelated to the state and its top, they act independently, but the background is completely different. Paramilitary formations are kept on a 'short chain' which is in the hands of the intelligence-security sector of the aggressive state. So-called volunteers,

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thus loyal to the colonizer. Loyalty brought certain rights, but also obligations such as performing 'dirty work' such as collecting levies and the like.

martyrs and the like, are nothing but an instrument of action of an aggressive state and its intelligence service, just like terrorist organizations that are state-sponsored for a specific purpose. Unlike terrorist organizations, paramilitary formations are mostly filled with social apostates, who represent only cannon fodder and sacrificial lamb to do dirty work. Their purpose is reflected in the possibility of committing various cruel crimes or even genocide, without the aggressive state having 'dirty hands'. The fact that a paramilitary formation is outside the regular army and represents a special element, in theory and practice, gives it a free hand to commit crimes (execution of civilians and prisoners, rape, destruction of places of worship, etc.), for which the state and military leadership would be held accountable before international courts if committed by the regular army.

Thus, the social conditions and the climate of strained relations between certain actors provide a setting for terrorism. It appears in an active kinetic form officially performed by non-state actors, not by an aggressive state and its institutions. The Special War exploits social problems, intolerance, poverty, hatred and other 'negativities' to justify the actions of terrorist organizations, or their existence. Within the attacked state, social conflicts and riots are deliberately produced, so that the phenomenon of terrorism appears as a deliberate response of one of the actors in the internal conflicts. By killing ideological, class or other enemies, destroying their property and threatening their lives or property, the goals of the client and coordinator - an aggressive state waging a Special War against its target (a state where social unrest and conflicts are taking place) are achieved.

#### ***2.4. Kinetic activities of terrorist groups in Special War***

Terrorist acts as a social phenomenon bring about a certain change in material reality. The objects of terrorist attacks are various values and interests of peoples, states and political factors (Muslimović, 2011). By attacking, killing and destroying, they realize their purpose of changing the understanding of certain social and political narratives, and to create a new paradigm of social consciousness through fear. Terrorism for its basis uses violence to create changes that will suit a particular task and goal. The action elements of terrorism, such as killing, torture, destruction, produce enormous amounts of fear, panic, mistrust, hatred, and other forms that allow for more rapid change, because in addition to changing material reality through action, abstract change is made in the human mind. The irrationality of man's behavior, which arises from his emotions, becomes another instrument of indirect action of the Special War strategists and ideologues.

Special War, in addition to operating in an abstract and intangible space such as cyberspace, also operates in the material space. Kinetic activities undertaken by terrorist organizations, paramilitary formations, or individuals on the orders of the intelligence - security sector of an aggressive state, produce significant social, material and mental changes. The goal of these activities in certain cases is not to destroy a certain facility or kill innocent passers-by, but to create fear and panic among an ethnic, religious or national group and send the message that no one is safe.

Different terrorist methods are used in the application of terrorist means: assassinations, diversions, intimidation, psychological repression and many other<sup>8</sup> (Muslimović, 2011). Certain

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<sup>8</sup> According to Muslimović (2011), other methods are: threats; persecution, sabotage; suicide attacks; planting of explosive devices; car bomb activation; kidnappings of officials, children, foreigners, journalists, businessmen, planes ...; taking and holding hostages; blackmail; threats of liquidation and liquidation of hostages; bombings; deportations; brutal and degrading treatment of prisoners in the camps; liquidation of prisoners; forced labor; looting of public and private property; robbery of industrial plants; demolition of towns and villages; rape of women; crimes against spirit and morals; various genocidal methods of killing and expulsion; throwing the bodies of the slain into mass graves; hiding traces of mass killings, for example by moving bones from primary to secondary graves; use of people for 'human shield'; propaganda attacks on the moral and mental

kinetic activities of terrorist and other similar groups aim to destroy infrastructure such as bridges, dams, nuclear power plants, hospitals, subways and other key facilities on which normal and settled life depends. On the other hand, terrorist attacks on buildings (court buildings, military facilities, police stations, centers of military power such as the Pentagon or centers of trade power such as the World Trade Center, etc.) serve to send a clear message that no one is untouchable and that everyone is in danger. The idea is to create in the minds of citizens the idea that death and destruction are always present and that they and their loved ones can disappear at any moment, as well as objects that provide and guarantee a normal way of life. A very important and significant part of the terrorist action is in a constant and continued committing of attacks and destruction - terrorist acts. Terrorist actions, such as detonation of bombs on public transport, assassinations of politicians, officials or scientists, cyber-attacks on military facilities and financial institutions using software 'bombs', make it possible to wage war in an unconventional, covert and silent manner. In addition to public and overt acts that serve to directly instill fear through mass casualties and damage, Special War strategies also include sabotage<sup>9</sup>, diversion, and political assassination as methods of action.

#### **2.4.1. Sabotage**

The Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2020) defines sabotage as 'destructive or obstructive behavior of civilians and a hostile agent to diminish a nation's efforts in preparation for war'. Sabotage is primarily used as a 'mitigating' and preparatory factor for further actions and operations of killing or destruction through terrorist actions. The direct goal of sabotage is not human casualties as is the goal of terrorism through diversions, assassinations, kidnappings and hostage-taking (Muslimović, 2011), but the threat, damage and destruction of production facilities, institutions and establishments. Sabotage can be undertaken by infiltrated agents or corrupt employees of plants or institutions. The importance of undertaking sabotage before the immediate execution of terrorist operations and acts of violence is enormous, because it is through these sabotages that the enemy's system of response and defense to an accident or specific situation is introduced.

By getting to know the system 'from the inside', information is obtained about the prepared action plans, speed and manner of response, people, equipment, systems and methods of communication that are used during certain events. By getting acquainted with the above, one finds shortcomings and ways to create the shortcomings of those who will react. By deliberately creating the failure of an infiltrated agent or a corrupt worker / employee, the stated 'softening' of the terrain is achieved, which ultimately allows for more damage, both material and human. Sabotage does not have to be the destruction and inhibition of abstract and material processes that serve a specific purpose. Sabotage in extreme cases can be directed against man, that is, by neutralizing him, the systems of production, decision-making or reaction are hampered. In modern times, the connection between man, technique and technology is close, and by destroying one of these three elements, there is a stalemate in production capabilities.

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integrity of people; destruction of documents; destruction of cultural values; starvation ('weapons of hunger'); beating; torture; arson...

<sup>9</sup> According to Klaić et al. (2002), sabotage, (Fr. *sabotage*) is: 1. A type of strike consisting of workers deliberately slacking off at work, obstructing work by damaging tools, machine parts, etc., in order to force employers to accept their demands; 2. a covert, masked counter-activity aimed at preventing, weakening or prolonging the accomplishment of something (as patriots usually do, during war, in occupied countries).

#### **2.4.2. Diversions**

Diversions<sup>10</sup> as a kinetic method aim to destroy someone or something, in order to redirect the enemy's attention from the actual target to another, or to destroy a threatening object or institution. According to Muslimović (2011), diversions destroy, burn or contaminate immovable infrastructure facilities, destroy material resources, kill, incapacitate by wounding, intimidate and harass people. The main request of the diversion is for the enemy to withdraw as many of its forces from the area of the main operations in order to confront the operational group carrying out the diversion and thus weaken the primary target of the main operation (Muhić, 2020).

No type of sabotage activity takes place outside: a) intelligence or b) counterintelligence activities, but these are special actions within them (Alispahić, 2019). There is often a misinterpretation that only states can possess intelligence and counterintelligence capabilities, but this is not just strictly reserved for them. Terrorist organizations, as products of the aggressor state, also include intelligence and counterintelligence sectors, which are engaged in gathering information about the target, as well as protecting the organization itself from the penetration and penetration of enemy agents.

The goal of the sabotage operations is to inflict losses in manpower and war equipment on the enemy side; to cause as much uncertainty as possible in his ranks; to interfere with and neutralize his command system; to slow down, make difficult and prevent the maneuver of his forces; to destroy material goods and infrastructure facilities that are especially useful to him in the organization of armed struggle (Muslimović, 2011). During terrorist activities and their actions, inflicting material damage produces almost the same effect of fear and panic among the population of the attacked state.

The sabotage activities of destroying an object that primarily symbolizes power (the attack on the Pentagon on September 11, 2001), sends a clear signal of the possibilities and capabilities of terrorist organizations. Planning, logistics and action, as integral parts of the execution of an act, must be at a very high level for the sabotage activity to succeed. Sometimes, through the above, it is possible to see the connection between a terrorist organization and the state that helps it to achieve its own goals in the Special War. Diversions are just one of the types of guerrilla warfare of an aggressive state, which uses a terrorist organization as a medium, whether it is in direct or indirect connection with the aggressor.

#### **2.4.3. Terrorist attacks**

Terrorist attacks, which are manifested through direct killing of people with various types of weapons, hand tools, vehicles and other objects, represent the finalization of the terrorist organization's intention to produce a certain situation and a certain social change. By killing hundreds of innocent civilians, damaging or destroying property, the message is clearly sent that no one is safe or untouchable anymore.

The modus operandi of any terrorist attack is based on two ideas, finding and selecting an adequate target that has a certain symbolism and taking as many human lives as possible with weapons, explosives, vehicles or hand tools to multiply feelings of fear, panic, hatred and weakness. Given that in modern times, every terrorist attack is covered by the media on a global level, psychological elements (fear, panic, hatred) very easily spread from the place of the act to other parts of the country or region. Also, terrorist organizations are skilled in manipulating the media and use them as an advertising tool, taking responsibility for the attack and in most

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<sup>10</sup> Diversion (lat. *diversio*) diversion, diversion, change of direction; a military unexpected attack; diverting enemy attention to the other side; thwarting certain intentions (Anić, Klaić, & Domović, 2002).

cases, promise the next. Terrorist acts such as the Charnayev brothers' bombing<sup>11</sup> of Boston in 2013, the Bataclan massacre<sup>12</sup> in Paris in 2015, the Munich terrorist act of 1972 by Black September, and many other acts, in their actions, used various methods of destruction of manpower - civilians, cold steel and firearms, explosives, motor vehicles and other objects. Unlike diversion and sabotage, the primary intent of terrorist organizations was not to damage a facility or destroy critical infrastructure to avenge or reduce productive and service power, but to kill as many civilians as possible and provoke fear, which allows for monopolizing power to be passed from the hands of the state and security agencies into the hands of terrorists who de facto become masters of life and death.

Many definitions of terrorism are only based on the commission of the act itself, i.e. the act of violence, which in fact represents only the final phase of the entire operation. The fight against terrorism should not be based only on the use of anti-terrorist units during physical violence carried out by the cells of terrorist organizations at a certain micro level. The phase of violent action by terrorist organizations represents only the end of their intentions, from which new social changes and phenomena are currently emerging.

### ***2.5. Forms of terrorist acts***

Human creativity in creating systems and methods of taking another human life is immeasurable. Throughout human history, Homo sapiens has devised ways to gain dominance over nature, animals, and other Homo sapiens or hominid species. Considering the period of technical and technological development of human civilization, people also modified and created means for physical force and coercion. Hannibal crossed the Alps with his elephants in a few months, and today hundreds of planes cross the Alps and other mountain systems in a matter of minutes.

Given that terrorism is one of the main methods of Special Warfare, a method of physical combat that replaces open conflict between two military or economic powers, terrorist organizations as an extended arm of the state and intelligence sector can have access to different types of resources ultimately exploited in war. The assistance of an aggressive state waging a Special War to terrorist organizations is immeasurable and crucial to the successful destabilization and demoralization of the target state. Given the modern age of technical and technological achievements in which we live, terrorism can accordingly manifest itself in six main forms that have their own subcategories and subsystems: 1. nuclear, 2. chemical, 3. biological, 4. computer, 5. ideological, 6. religious terrorism (Alispahić, 2007). Technical and technological advances have enabled terrorist organizations to advance and sophisticate methods of attacking the state and its population. The times of attacks with knives, automatic rifles and other means are behind us, and new ways of destabilizing the target state follow in the footsteps the strategies and ideology of the Special War.

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<sup>11</sup> The Charnayev brothers' bombing took place on April 15, 2013 in Boston during the traditional Boston Marathon. The brothers killed three people with the help of explosive devices, while one hundred and eighty were injured, seventeen of them critically. The hunt for the terrorist brothers lasted until April 19, when Johan Charnayev was arrested and his brother Tamerlan was killed in an exchange of fire with members of the police and security agencies.

<sup>12</sup> The attacks in Paris in November 2015 were a series of coordinated terrorist attacks that took place on Friday 13 November 2015 in Paris, France and the northern suburbs of the city, Saint-Denis. Starting at 9:15 p.m., three suicide bombers crashed in front of the Stade de France in Saint-Denis, during an international football game, after their plan to enter the stadium failed. Another group of attackers then shot at crowded cafes and restaurants in Paris, and one of them blew himself up by activating an explosive vest. The third group performed another mass shooting and took hostages at a rock concert attended by 1,500 people at the Bataclan Theater. The attackers killed 130 people, including 90 at the Bataclan Theater. Another 416 people were injured, nearly 100 seriously. Seven attackers were killed. According to the testimonies of investigators and survivors, the attackers cut off the victims' testicles, removed their eyes, dismembered and massacred their bodies. The purpose of it all was to send a message of hatred and contempt towards the victims as well as others that they are nowhere safe.

### ***2.5.1. Nuclear terrorism***

The process of arming in fear of the other is a vicious circle into which many countries of the world have fallen. Given the hostility and anarchy in the international system, it is to be expected that certain states that have nuclear programs will access plans for their use through the actions of terrorist organizations that are allegedly not affiliated with any official government. A nuclear terrorist attack is when a terrorist organization uses nuclear devices with the aim of causing numerous human casualties and great material destruction (Alispahić, 2007). In this way, with one nuclear device, it is possible to completely destroy any city. In addition to the destructive power possessed by nuclear warheads, the accompanying phenomenon is gamma and beta rays, whose radiation kills everything that survives the initial explosion. Everyone is familiar with the images of deformities of Chernobyl workers and rescuers in Ukraine after the reactor explosion, and the very thought that a nuclear device could be used by terrorists causes great fear and panic, both to the civilians and the military leadership of every country.

### ***2.5.2. Chemical terrorism***

Unlike nuclear terrorism, which is significantly destructive and deadly, and which leaves long-term consequences both for the place where it took place and for the region, chemical terrorism is of a more localized type. The most striking terrorist attack occurred in early 1995 when members of the Japanese group - the sect 'Supreme Truth' (Aum Shinrikyo) released poisonous gas (sarin) on several different targets, such as subway stations in Tokyo and Yokohama, when about ten thousand people died and five thousand were injured (Alispahić, 2007). Although nuclear and chemical terrorism are not on the same destructive level, chemical terrorism is still extremely dangerous and poses a major threat to the target state. Chemical terrorism can be divided into two categories:

- 1) Attacks aimed at causing great damage; terrorist organizations release chemical poisons into places where large numbers of people usually gather, into watercourses, or into places that are not ventilated, leading to many casualties;
- 2) Chemical attacks with the aim of intimidating, blackmailing or causing economic damage, for example by injecting toxic chemicals into certain products, such as food (Alispahić, 2007).

A covert and invisible attack will take a large number of lives before the cause is discovered. In this way, terrorist organizations get enough time to hide and to publicly take responsibility for the attack and the killed from a safe and secure place through the media. The use of chemical reagents and other substances is far more economical and efficient than just procuring or even making a nuclear bomb. Chemical bombs or chemical agents also produce a large number of casualties, but without damaging infrastructure and ancillary facilities.

### ***2.5.3. Biological terrorism***

Biological terrorism implies the use and spread of different types of biological weapons (such as different types of microbes) in populated areas in order to influence people's morale and cause numerous casualties (Alispahić, 2007). The previous year 2020 was marked in the world as one of the worst due to the spread of the COVID-19 virus pandemic. The government's restrictive measures, as well as the danger of the virus itself, provided a clear picture that states are unable to fight biological weapons. The situation caused by the corona virus itself destroyed or weakened many economies, industries, interpersonal relations and many other things. It has become obvious that in the event of a biological attack, the capacity of the state authorities to limit spreading of the virus or microbe is rather questionable.

With the use of biological weapons, relatively large-scale lethal effects are achieved, and in one attack it is possible to infect a large number of people who will further transmit microbes and viruses, and thus cause an increase in the number of victims of the attack itself.

#### **2.5.4. Computer terrorism**

Computer terrorism is a relatively new phenomenon in the domain of security threats. With the development of technology, and its dominance and omnipresence in human life, conditions have been created for its abuse. Man's dependence on the computer as a device and its system applications have opened a new front for the aggressive actions of states and terrorist organizations as extended arms of an aggressive state. The term computer terrorism means an unauthorized and illegal intrusion or threat of intrusion into computer systems, networks or information stored, with the aim of influencing governments, states or the population in achieving political goals (Alispahić, 2007).

The growing dependence on computer technology, both of the ordinary man and the state, allows aggressive actors to attack in the virtual, cyber world as well. Social networks, which have become an integral part of our everyday life, hide a lot of information about users, and unauthorized access to this information can be used for various coercive purposes. Also, technical and technological projects such as hydro or nuclear power plants are fully computerized and depend on the correct and protected operation of computerized automatic control systems. Penetration and successful implementation of a virus or other malicious program in such protected systems can have huge and unforeseeable consequences for humans and infrastructure.

Unlike conventional terrorist attacks that use traditional and direct methods of taking human lives, computer terrorism directed against critical infrastructure is a completely different, indirect method of destroying manpower and infrastructure. As Muhić (2019) states: 'Cyber-attacks targeting critical infrastructure are much more devastating when it comes to the damage done in human lives, lost infrastructure, time and financial resources lost by infrastructure downtime and the resources needed to have the critical infrastructure repaired and put back into operation. The advantage of cyber-attacks on critical infrastructure is reflected in the secrecy of the attack and often the victim himself does not know that he was the target of the attack and the attack itself can be characterized as an accident or negligence in handling control systems. Also, computer terrorism is not only reflected in the attack on critical infrastructure and physical facilities, but also in the attack on certain Internet services that provide services such as online banking or communication. One of the most effective methods of attacking such online services is the DoS (Denial of Service)<sup>13</sup> attack, which significantly affects the needs of users who are unable to perform the necessary tasks, which can directly affect their lives. Attacks on communication or financial services in modern times represent a significant blow to both the user and the owner of the service.

The Internet, as an integral part of human life, is also a place where terrorist organizations operate, using it as an advertising space to recruit and propagate their own ideas, thus winning the hearts and minds of certain sections of society, while producing fear in others. This is possible because there is no universal censorship that would thwart or destroy any attempt by terrorist organizations to advertise their goals and endeavors. Social networks, such

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<sup>13</sup> DoS is a cyber denial-of-service attack in which the perpetrator seeks to make a device or network resource inaccessible to intended users through temporary or indefinite interference with an Internet-connected host service. Service denial is usually achieved by flooding the target device or resource with redundant requests in an attempt to overload the system and prevent some or all legitimate requests from being met. The device or service is attacked with tens and hundreds of thousands of requests that burden the system, and at the same time prevent real users from accessing the services.

as Twitter, Facebook or Instagram, rarely censor users who publish advertising content of terrorist organizations. In the midst of the fight against ISIL, its members were often active on social media, posting videos of executions of prisoners or military actions taken. They also used social networks as a means of recruitment through which they invited the ‘oppressed’ and ‘endangered’ to join them in the ‘higher goal’ of creating a caliphate and pan-Islamism.

Computer terrorism is not something that can be ignored, because our physical and material life is closely connected to the abstract cyberspace that exists outside the physical world. Inadequate response to the threat of computer terrorism puts millions of people in danger, and in the future, it may become the main weapon of cyber terrorists who have ‘passed’ from the material to the intangible, cyber world.

### ***2.5.6. Religious terrorism***

Religious terrorism has been linked to Islam since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The ideas of pan-Islamism, which reached their peak with ISIL, created a new paradigm of religious terrorism that not only seeks to destroy the other and the different, but also to create a religious state. Religious terrorism, embodied in the form of insurgency, can cause great damage to both the aggressor and the local population. After the invasion of Iraq and the fall of Saddam Hussein, various militant groups emerged that were fighting against ‘infidels’ and ‘traitors’. The power vacuum created by the fall of Saddam in Iraq has been filled by various organizations such as Saddam’s Ba’athist loyalists (Fedajini, Naqshbandi armies, etc.), as well as the Shiites’ (Hezbollah, Quds Brigade etc.) and the Sunnis’ (Al-Qaeda, ISIL, Ansar al-Sunnah etc.) insurgents, which enabled constant fighting between the factions and constant abuse and harassment of Iraqi citizens.

ISIL had shown its power in most brutal ways in Syria and Iraq, through video documented executions of both ordinary civilians and prisoners. Terrorism in this case did not have a global and international scale, but local and regional, in the area of Syria and Iraq.

The basis for the terrorism of ISIL and Al Qaeda was reflected in the fight against ‘infidels’, which meant anyone who did not have the same pan-Islamist ideas as the terrorists themselves. Their distorted and fabricated version of Islam as a religion has been used as a major driver of terrorism and destruction.

Among radical and extremist leaders, the term jihad is often used, which translates as the fight against ‘infidels’. Aggressive and destructive attitudes towards diversity do not benefit much the ordinary terrorists who are just cannon fodder and the object of contempt. In fact, the destruction only benefits the leaders of radical and extremist groups, who are becoming richer, continuing to deceive their supporters.

### **3. Symbiosis of Special War and terrorism**

Special war as a strategy has broad perspectives and methods of action that open up infinitely many fronts and ways of subverting a society. The strategy and tactics of the Special War bypass the direct conflict of the state against the state and focus on the covert actions of state actors and public actions of non-state actors in order to influence the attitudes and thinking of the target society. The human mind becomes the main target, not the body. Various forms of violence destroy the physical, but the immaterial resists and only makes violence unsuccessful and counterproductive. A mixture of kinetic and non-kinetic subversive measures, it allows balancing between open and covert warfare. Balance is necessary because of the sanctions that can follow if the state only uses kinetic measures or failure to achieve targets if only non-synthetic measures are used.

Hybrid war represents only one subsystem of the Special War (Muhić, 2020), a method and a means for more complete realization of the goals of an aggressive state. Similar to the Chinese ‘unrestricted warfare’ described by Colonels Liang and Xiangsui, Special War seeks to circumvent conventional rules and possible sanctions, and creates its own rules and justifications for action.

The special war and the Chinese doctrine of ‘unlimited warfare’ have a point of intersection in the use of irregular means of struggle to achieve goals. As Colonels Liang and Xiangsui (1999) said, ‘The West sets the rules, should we as a weak state abide by them? No!’ The rules of war are established by the powerful who can bear specific and huge losses, and the Special War is also suitable for those who cannot bear great sacrifices and sanctions, and by using secret channels they act invisibly so that certain events are linked to some completely different actors. Terrorism as a kinetic strategy and method of the Special War circumvents many rules, especially if carried out skillfully, without the possibility of connecting the state with a terrorist organization. The whole purpose of the Special War is to make the intentions and actions of an aggressive state invisible and for the only noticeable thing to be social change within the target state.

Terrorism and the Special War have an almost unbreakable connection, which is reflected in the power of terrorism to produce consequences in both the material and immaterial, abstract domains. It is this action on two fronts, material and immaterial, that enables the ideas and goals of the Special War to be realized faster and easier. Terrorism as an antisocial activity is a small war, the massacre of innocents who pay the price for the power of their own state. If the attacked state is strong enough militarily, it gets bypassed and instead soft targets are hit. Acts of terrorism are used in all phases of war, as a preparatory phase, as a phase of active war and as a phase after the end and achievement of the war aim. Terrorism at all stages is a driver for achieving the goals and intentions of the aggressor.

### ***3.1. Terrorism as a phase of Special War***

Terrorist acts can be an overture to the Special War but also a certain goal of its own. Strategic and tactical softening of the terrain, through the actions of terrorist organizations ordered by the aggressive state leadership and its intelligence sector, contributes to a significant weakening of the attacked state and the creation of special social conditions and phenomena that enable the weakening of the state. Terrorist actions attacking civilians, institutions and critical infrastructure carry a significant dose of psychological warfare. Although the main goal of ‘ordinary’ terrorists who are the cannon fodder that attacks, is to kill as many innocents as possible because they are different from them and their relatives, the real goals of the ordering party can be quite different.

The psychological value of a murderous and destructive attack is immeasurable, especially if it is adequately planned and carried out, which will produce the desired effects that open the door for other Special War activities to be undertaken. Special War is not just the use of one tactic and method, but a complex system of seemingly unrelated and irrelevant elements, which over a long period of time, constantly undermine the national security and integrity of a state. Terrorist acts ordered by an aggressive state, create a specific climate for the citizens and the state leadership of the attacked state. Fear, panic, hatred, mistrust, disobedience and mutual divisions are the primary factors to be achieved by the act itself, not the killing of innocent civilians which for them are just numbers and statistics. Real changes start with the implementation of these factors in society, which grows from relatively stable and strong to unstable and weak. Such a climate of an unstable society that is divided into those who say they should take revenge for the act and those who talk about forgiveness and reconciliation,

produces both internal changes and problems. Primary distrust of those who want revenge towards those who favor forgiveness, while both camps fear re-attacks.

An aggressive state that ordered a terrorist act often stands on the side of the avengers, but also on the side of those who forgive, in order to provide assistance to both camps in order to create as many internal problems as possible. The rift is often deepened with the help of the media, which are significantly influenced by the state and the intelligence sector, as well as the actions of trolls and bots on social networks whose task is to spread and multiply fear, panic and hatred. The propaganda activities of the media and paid actors on social networks start an inert mass that does not want to do anything out of fear. The goal is not only to fear future attacks, but to produce more pronounced divisions and internal conflicts with the authorities. While the riots are taking place in the attacked country, the aggressive state is further helping to maintain and spread the riots through the activities of various non-governmental organizations (intelligence screens), provocateurs and secret financing, protection and training of terrorist organizations that will be used again in the next phases.

Once the terrain has been softened through provoking internal conflict, fear and panic, new attacks are often carried out, which of course deepen internal conflicts, but also inflict precise and specific damage on defense and other sectors that serve to resist in the event of a conventional war.

### ***3.2. The Phase of achieving the goals of Special War***

After the first phase of attacks that serve to create fear, panic, mistrust, hatred, etc., the second phase refers to kinetic actions against critical infrastructure, important facilities that serve the state as a means of defense in case of war, and attacks on entities that could affect the security of the target state. Attacks on critical infrastructure by terrorist organizations are key to winning a Special War. What cannot be achieved by using intercontinental ballistic missiles, modern bombers or tank divisions, is accomplished by well-trained members of terrorist organizations. Also, sophisticated terrorist attacks are not carried out by 'ordinary' terrorists - cannon fodder that will be killed in a conflict with the local police or will only surrender when the ammunition runs out. For specific tasks of attacking and destroying important objects or killing important and important persons for national security - politicians or scientists, specially trained individuals with extremely high abilities (physical, mental) are used, unlike ordinary cannon fodder. These 'terrorists' are not exactly the terrorists in the true sense of the word, but mercenaries or recruited personnel of the intelligence and special services of the aggressive state. Their goal is to enable the weakening of the target through diversions, sabotages and assassinations, because the above is not possible through open, conventional war.

Special terrorist operations of kinetic nature directed against critical infrastructure can be carried out using physical means of force, but also those invisible, which are located in a virtual, cyber space. Attacks with the help of viruses and malicious programs are more suitable for waging a Special War because they do not leave many traces and evidence for investigation, while on the other hand the benefit, i.e. the damage they produce, is enormous.

By destroying essential elements for maintaining every day normal life, such as communication systems, money transfer, electricity and water supply systems and others, in addition to direct attacks on users of these systems and services, the state is also attacked as an object to be weakened and destroyed. Endangering and destroying services such as communications or energy, as well as destroying research centers that are directly linked to national security, significantly changes the normal way of life, and begins to spread distrust of the ruling regime. It is this distrust in the ability of the ruling regime to protect society that benefits the aggressive state waging the Special War. A synergy of multiple fronts that includes

propaganda attacks (media and social networks), terrorist attacks (in physical and cyberspace), political and diplomatic attacks and scandals, as well as attacks by regular armies when needed, contributes to a faster destruction and occupation of the attacked countries. In this way, the aggressive state takes over the conquered resources (people, infrastructure, natural resources) relatively quickly, without great danger to its ruling regime and its own citizens. The idea of the Special War is to inflict as many different types of losses on the enemy as possible, without exposing oneself to danger and losses of manpower, equipment, morals, etc.

Acts of terrorism, violent and direct, as well as those that exist in the intangible, cyber world, are methods for achieving the goals and tasks of the Special War, but they never stop. Their purpose is to destabilize and demoralize society, not to destroy it in the physical sense of the word, but rather on the psychological, mental and intellectual levels. During the realization of the goals of the Special War, when the attacked state falls into crisis (moral, spiritual, economic, political, etc.), the activities of the Special War do not stop, but remain constant, ensuring unhindered acquisition of resources and elimination of possible counterattack. The acts themselves primarily demoralize the ordinary people, bringing them into a state of hopelessness, which is an adequate strategy for reducing all defense capabilities.

### ***3.3. Terrorism after achieving the goals of Special War***

Once an aggressive state achieves the goals and tasks for which the Special War was waged, violent and murderous terrorist acts and acts cannot cease. The very purpose of such acts is to demoralize and destabilize society and cause internal, social problems such as mistrust, division into camps, creation of a *fifth column* and traitors, which completely prevents a return to normalcy. A system of attacks on society that are of a violent, physical type and those that are in the domain of technology and service activities, can never stop, and are carried out to control the masses which could then be used to create significant political and social changes such as overturn of government and installation of incompetent, corrupt or own players - agents.

The goal of every Special War is to achieve a certain benefit, either in a material or non-material sense. The acquisition of resources, as well as deliberate weakening of the enemy so that he does not become a security threat in the future, is pursued through constant subversive action. The cessation of subversive activities such as terrorist attacks creates enough space for the 'recovery' of the state and unification of the society. Terrorist attacks aided by propaganda, primarily on social networks which are almost an indispensable part of our lives, create a kind of control over the attacked society, which prevents recovery and progress. Chains and shackles of control are a necessity of the Special War, and it is inadmissible to remove them from the targeted state. They are the very core of any Special War, which creates a state of apparent peace - the absence of conventional conflict, while on the other hand, the peace is actually a low-intensity war, a war of intelligence services used by terrorist organizations, paramilitaries, media, high politics, diplomacy and other elements of undermining the enemy.

### **4. Genocide as a form of terrorism for the purpose of Special War**

Special war, as a form of active action of an aggressive state, can occur both in time of war and in time of peace. Acts of terror and terrorism as forms of kinetic action of terrorist or paramilitary organizations are directed primarily against non-military targets, i.e. civilians and infrastructure used for the purpose of living and providing certain services (housing, hospitals, schools, religious buildings, etc.).

The system of terror and terrorism during the war creates the setting for demoralization of the population and reduction of their combat capabilities, which accelerates their disappearance. Special war, as a system of aggressive, subversive and destructive methods, does

not run away from conventional war, but incorporates certain strategies and tactics of destroying the enemy. Of course, these strategies are not aimed at enemy soldiers, but at civilians. Civilians as a vulnerable category, protected by all the rights of war, expect not to be the subject of combat operations, but aggressive states that wage unjust wars, target civilians as a form of effective destruction of the enemy through its de facto reduction. By killing those who cannot defend themselves, significant psychological successes are created for the aggressor, who, using the momentum, tramples everything in front of him, ignoring the consequences. The reason for such seemingly reckless behavior is a well-thought-out plan to deny and fabricate the truth written by the winner, as well as, in the worst case, to prosecute 'lower' military and political personnel, thereby putting an end to the whole story.

#### **4.1. About genocide**

Genocide as a special form of enemy destruction has been present in human civilization throughout history. The goal of aggressive states was the total destruction of these nations, ethnic and religious groups. By destroying them, the aggressive totalitarian regimes sought to acquire resources such as wealth, territory and natural resources. The differences between the aggressors with genocidal intentions and the victims were used to justify the heinous and brutal acts of destruction of ethnic, religious and national groups.

According to the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (2021), the term 'genocide' is defined in Article II of the Convention as: group: killing group members; causing serious physical or mental harm to group members; intentionally imposing on a group of living conditions calculated to lead to their physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures to prevent intra-group births; forcible transfer of children from one group to another. Also, Article III of the Convention (2021) lists the following offenses: genocide; genocide planning; direct and public incitement to commit genocide; attempted genocide and complicity in genocide.

Raphael Lemkin (1944), a Polish lawyer and creator of the term 'genocide', describes genocide as follows: 'In a general sense, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when it is committed by mass killing of members of that nation.' Instead, its purpose is to denote an organized plan, which includes various actions aimed at destroying the basic foundations of the life of national groups. The goals of such a plan would be to destroy the political and social institutions of culture, language, national feelings, religion, economic existence of national groups, as well as the destruction of personal security, freedom, health, dignity and life of individuals belonging to those groups".

If we analyze the given definition of genocide, we realize that genocide is not just one act of killing, torturing, intimidating or expelling a group that happened at random. Genocide, unlike the above, is an organized plan, which serves for the total destruction of one group. Organized plans for such a large 'endeavor' are not created by ordinary soldiers who are recruited from all walks of life, who in certain cases do not want to take part in the war. Thus organized plans and colossal 'attempts' to destroy a group of people are created by state leaders and state elite, which, by analyzing the problem - destruction, creates solutions - justifications for the crimes committed.

The claim that genocide cannot be committed without the participation of the state and its apparatus is confirmed by sociologist Irving Horowitz, who claims that genocide requires a totalitarian state structure and extreme ideology. Horowitz (1999) argues that genocide is the systematic destruction of a society by the bureaucratic apparatus of a totalitarian state. The aggressive states waging the Special War are trying to dehumanize the victims, in order to

justify their own intentions to destroy and wipe out one group from the face of the earth through propaganda and other systems.

#### ***4.2. Modern terror and genocide***

Terror, as a planned action of the state or some other actor to consolidate power, contributes to creating a climate of fear and uncertainty in unjust wars. The use of terror in military operations of ‘cleansing’ the territory of enemy fighters and civilians is one of the strategies of aggressive states waging the war and using the methods of Special War. The goal of such states is to intimidate the enemy through killings, torture, rape, demolition and burning of residential and religious buildings, but also to destroy a significant part of its population. In the very essence of conducting operations against the civilian population, strategic and purposeful ‘soft’ targets are selected, which are tactically inferior relative to the aggressor’s. Inferior targets are selected such as enclaves, surrounded and isolated territories that are poorly supported by manpower, armaments, food and drinking water, means of communication and adequate defense systems. During attacks on such targets, sieges are set up aimed at exhausting the enemy, as well as propaganda operations to spread fear or message to keep alive if the defenders surrender. Of course, there is nothing to do with survival and humane treatment of the defenders, so only deception is stated to make it easier to occupy the territory.

Also, the sowing of terror is often done with paramilitary units, which gather both military and civilian waste, criminals of the worst kind, who in case of committing major crimes, can be quickly prosecuted by the government to justify it before international institutions with the excuse that such units operated independently and without control. Special war, unlike the doctrines of conventional war, forgives and justifies such heinous acts, which is its basic idea, victory at all costs. Also, the ideologues of the Special War on Terrorist Operations expect that the other side will take the same measures because the first act of crimes against civilians created new rules of conflict. If the attacked state initiates the same operations of terrorizing and killing civilians, the aggressor state, with the help of strong state propaganda, media, social networks and other systems, sends fabricated and exaggerated data on enemy acts to the world. Such tactics aim to justify future crimes and to mobilize as many new ‘volunteers’ as possible into paramilitary, terrorist formations that will defend ‘the people and the homeland’.

The Chinese form of genocide through the Special War is reflected in the repression of Uighur minority that China considers a danger to the communist order. Uighurs, as an ethnic minority in China, are frequent guests of so-called ‘vocational camps’ that many Western governments and media have condemned and openly referred to as ‘concentration camps’. The Uighurs, residents of Xinjiang province, pose a major threat to the communist system because of their religion and ethnicity, as they are not members of the majority Han culture. Consequently, the Chinese authorities have taken measures to bring them to the ‘right path’ through torture, killing, abuse and other forms of physical and psychological violence. The Chinese authorities consider the beliefs, cultures and traditions of certain ethnic and religious groups to be ‘unhealthy thoughts’, particularly the ones relating to the Uighurs.

Chinese, anti-Uighur, genocidal policies are based not only on torture and killing, but also on limiting the reproductive abilities of Uighur women (Banks & Wilson, 2020). Since the dominant urban Han Chinese fear the increasing trend of natal growth of Chinese minorities (mostly Uighurs), measures were taken to severely punish those who do not respect the policy of one child or two children in rural areas. Since the Uighurs as a minority were entitled to two children, each subsequent child was considered a misdemeanor and the Chinese government imposed fines for it. Due to a sharp increase of birth rates of the Uighur minority, stricter

sterilization measures have been taken (Zenz, 2020). By 2019, Chinese authorities planned to subject over 80 percent of women of childbearing age in rural areas to ‘birth control measures with long-term effectiveness’ (Zenz, 2020). The Chinese government's fear of the Uighur minority ‘threatening’ its birth rate has been resolved through concentration aka ‘vocational’ camps fighting ‘subversive’ thoughts. Given the nature and purpose of these camps, only Chinese communist authorities can decide when a person is sufficiently ‘educated’ in terms of love of China (Muhić, 2020).

Official internal documents of the Chinese government obtained by The New York Times (Ramzy & Buckley, 2019) speak of the bureaucratic treatment of the families of those sent to adopt the ‘true values of communism’. Through a system of deception, threats and promises, bureaucrats explain to the children of the detainees that their parents are in technical ‘training’ and that they are not detained, but also that children's behavior can determine when their parents return from ‘training’. In this case, China's special war genocide policy against minorities does not follow old camp techniques and methods of the Third Reich or Karadzic and Mladic in Bosnia, but devises new innovative methods of covering up genocide through the use of euphemisms to redefine the process and action, attempting to conceal the real goal.

An unjust and aggressive state is essentially the biggest ‘terrorist’ who can achieve unjust goals through a wide range of available means (police, intelligence and secret services, paramilitary formations and terrorists, propaganda, bureaucracy, etc.). By destroying civilians as unprotected and weak categories, the victor writes a new history.

### **Concluding remarks**

Special War as a global phenomenon, strategy and doctrine of both powerful and less powerful states, resorts to the use of violent means, which can be kinetic or non-kinetic in nature. The nature of the Special War, as a means of achieving unjust goals, is such that it includes various forms of subversive, anti-social and anti-state action, through open, semi-open and covert forms of work and actions. The actions of the various subjects and elements of the Special War produce social changes that favor and move in the desired direction of an aggressive state. The very purpose of the Special War is to create a certain climate that supports social change by weakening the attacked state through provoking mutual divisions, hatred, panic and disloyalty. This climate can be achieved through active and passive actions, i.e. open and covert methods. Active actions such as terrorist attacks of a physical, kinetic and non-kinetic type depending on the target, or subversive action through precisely targeted propaganda (demoralization, destabilization, crisis and normalization), enable rapid and visible social change. On the other hand, passive subversion measures, which are mainly in the field of high politics and diplomacy, achieve long-term goals, and due to the period of events and processes, are invisible at a given moment.

Terrorism, as an active measure that produces momentary social changes and phenomena, is an indispensable part of the modus operandi of any aggressive and unjust state. With the help of terrorist organizations, acts of violence are also carried out, the primary goal of which is to create fear, panic, feelings of helplessness, hatred and the like, and after that the secondary goal is victims, whether human or infrastructural. The very purpose of terrorism is to show the enemy that they are not untouchable and that the enemy is always near, observing, observing and punishing.

Genocide also appears as a special type of terrorism. Mostly the states that have extremely aggressive tendencies towards other people's territories and resources, tend to take measures to completely destroy the enemy who differs from them on ethnic, religious or some other basis. Genocide, as one of the forms and consequences of the Special War, could not have

survived without terrorist tactics that serve not only to destroy, but also to intimidate. Also, the Special War helps genocide in its denial and mitigation through the action of propaganda that hides crimes, finds excuses and fabricates 'facts'.

Special War, as a means of aggressive states for unjust purposes, justifies the use of terror, terrorism and genocide, because these elements are powerful and effective enough to create social change and phenomena. The power and effectiveness are reflected in the choice of a target that lacks the ability and capacity to defend itself. By approaching 'hard' targets such as regular armies and protection and defense systems, and attacking 'soft' targets - civilians, it is possible to inflict colossal damage on the enemy, not only in the form of loss of lives, but also in breaking the national spirit and unity. The purpose of the Special War is not destruction only through the application of physical measures, but destruction through the application of psychological measures that diminish the capabilities of the attacked state and society. The application of Sun Tzu's centuries-old strategies and tactics such as 'attack where the enemy least expects', 'if the enemy is united, divide it' or 'if there is high morale among the enemy ranks, demoralize it', are the foundations of Special War which in total transcend the physical ways of conquest and pass to the psychological ones, where occasional physical and violent actions serve only as a supplement to the realization of the psychological, invisible ones.

Terrorism and genocide as modern diseases in the service of aggressive and unjust states that strive to conquer resources as the main driver of hostilities are the main stumbling blocks to the world peace.

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