

Larysa Savosh

Lutsk National Technical University, Ukraine

[larysa.savosh9@gmail.com](mailto:larysa.savosh9@gmail.com)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0831-201X>

Olena Baula

Lutsk National Technical University, Ukraine

[o.baula@Intu.edu.ua](mailto:o.baula@Intu.edu.ua)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2609-0211>

## Globalized Terrorism as a Threat of International Safety

**Summary:** The article examines the evolution of the term “terrorism”, analyzes the features of the modern stage of terrorism and assesses the profits of modern terrorist organizations. Authors studied the process of terrorism like the one that is becoming a lever of world politics at the present stage of human development. The publication substantiates the complexity of the influence of the functioning of international terrorist organizations on the social, political and economic situation of individual countries and the system of international relations in general. The trends of activity of international terrorist organizations are highlighted. The ways of hampering the terrorist threat are justified and proposed in the article.

**Keywords:** terrorism, international terrorism, globalization, international security, globalized terrorism.

## Globalny terroryzm jako zagrożenie bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego

**Streszczenie:** Artykuł analizuje ewolucję terminu „terroryzm”, cechy jego współczesnej fazy oraz dokonuje oceny zysków organizacji terrorystycznych. Autorki badały proces terroryzmu stającego się dźwignią polityki światowej na obecnym etapie rozwoju. Publikacja potwierdza złożoność wpływu funkcjonowania międzynarodowych organizacji terrorystycznych na sytuację społeczną, polityczną i ekonomiczną poszczególnych państw oraz ogólnie na system stosunków międzynarodowych. Zaakcentowano trendy w działalności międzynarodowych organizacji terrorystycznych. W artykule uzasadniono także i zaproponowano sposoby ograniczania zagrożenia terrorystycznego.

**Słowa kluczowe:** terroryzm, terroryzm międzynarodowy, globalizacja, bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe, globalny terroryzm.

In the conditions of growing globalization and the integration of the world economy, international terrorism significantly strengthens its position. However, there are some moral, ethical and legal constraints concerning covert or explicitly authoritarian regimes that are implemented about own policies, but if sufficient resources are available, it is possible to defend the interests effectively through the activities of the “manual” terrorist organization. Nowadays, international terrorism has both a direct impact on the political and economic world systems and indirect impact due to the unofficial connection with the “the great ones of the earth”, which is carried out through the constant flow of capital.

Despite centuries of history, there is currently no universal definition of “terrorism.” The main obstacles are the subjectivity and emotionality of judgments about terrorism as a phenomenon. As the letter of the Law should be clear and impartial.

In the broad sense, “terrorism” means a threat to the commission or the actual act of violence (physical, psychological) committed in order to achieve a particular political, economic or ideological purpose.

One of the first that attempted to define the term “terrorism” in international law was the League of Nations. In article 2, paragraph 1, of the “Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism”, signed on November 16, 1937, it is possible to find the definition of a “terrorist act” as “a criminal activities directed against a state, that are intended to sow terror in the minds of certain individuals, groups of people or society as a whole” (League of Nations, 1937). However, this definition is not able to be considered correct and perfect regarding modern terrorism. The evolution of the definition of terrorism has the following stages:

- 1795–1798 years: Terrorism – the policy of the Jacobins during the Great Terror;
- 1916 year: Terrorism – the way (to use both by the revolutionaries and by the kings) to impress their enemies and as an example for those who are in doubt about joining them (revolutionaries/kings), which at the same time satisfies the bloodthirsty primitive instincts inherent in many people (Le Bon, 1916);
- 1987: Terrorism is an act committed to achieve an inhuman and immoral purpose, and includes the threat to the security of all kinds and the neglect of the rights recognized by religion and society (Samii, 2002).

When going back to the history of the emergence of terrorism, researchers point out such concepts as tyrannicide, the movement of Sikars, and the Akkadian notion of melammu, as historical predecessors of “terrorism”.

Tyrannicide is the murder of a tyrant, which, unlike (періцид) rebellion, is committed for the purpose of the universal good. At the same time, it allowed both the persecution of the ultimate goal and the personal revenge from the killer.

The Sicarii movement is a religious sect in ancient Judea, named from the “sica” – the kind of dagger that was used to murder. Their activities during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC was described by Flavius Yosef (Josephus, 2009), particularly in the “The Jewish War” or “Judean War” where the Sicarii act as criminals who have killed their political opponents (mostly publicly) to achieve their own goal. They wanted to achieve the overthrow of the Roman authorities and the elimination of collaborators among Jews (mostly higher-ranked people).

The Akkadian concept of *melammu* is the first example of using intimidation, violence, or military aggression as a political lever and a necessary part of the king's policy (Fine, 2015). *Melammu* is interpreted as a royal power, applied to another monarch, which provides fear, and makes the inhabitants of another state to conquer. In other words, the essence of the concept of "terrorism" and its basic principles have had a long process of establishing along with society. No doubts that terrorism is not the "invention" of the Sicarii sect. Although the Sicarii sect is the first world-known group which began to use fear and general intimidation to achieve its goals. In those times, many secret organizations existed in different countries; in particular, there was a "Thuggee" organization operating in India (thuggee carried out ritual killings using a silk lace). Moreover, there were many similar secret organizations in China.

The more ancient history is considered to be the one about individual terrorist acts against the state and public figures committed by neighboring states. Thus, the governors of the Middle East, especially Syria and Persia, faced a significant problem of the activity of terrorist sect called Assassins, at the beginning of the first millennium. Assassins were the followers of the Muslim Islamists and were fighting with Muslim monarchs due to the belief that only one caliph had the right to rule Muslims. Assassins carried out raids on Syria from Persia and killed prefects, governors, and caliphs.

Along with encroachments on the lives of state and public figures, for an extended time, acts of terrorism also involved hostage-taking, kidnapping people for redemption, organizing armed resistance to the government, destroying and expropriating property, piracy, organizing robber gangs, etc (Мамичев, 1997, p. 27).

In the Middle Ages, the murder of political and social figures became a common phenomenon not only of court life but also of interstate relations. The Popes in their edicts even legalized the murder of kings and emperors who came out of obedience to the "Holy See" and excommunicated them from the church. Thus, with Pope Innocent III (1198–1216 years), The German Emperor, the English king and French kings (Черняк, 1988, p. 69), were excommunicated.

Among the conditions of the formation of a monarchy with the strong central authority, murders of political opponents were also a way of protecting the old tribal nobility. Thus, the murder of the princes Gleb and Boris (the first saints of the Russian Orthodox Church) committed in 1015 Sviatopolk. The murder was aimed at retaining the power illegally, seized by Sviatopolk after the death of his uncle Vladimir.

There are many pages in history about the period of the bloody reign of Tsar Ivan IV (1565–1584 years). He created a special repressive organ (*oprichnina*), which served as an instrument for the reprisal with all disrespectful princes and boyars. Revenge was getting more powerful for the boyars who resisted the royal will. The character of revenge was clearly not adequate to the threat from the side of boyars. It was aimed at preventive intimidation of the population with the fear of severe punishment and death, at reducing the psychological ability to resist the royal will, and at suppressing any independent steps. The painful death of the doomed ones had to be shown to the living ones. It was shown that not only the body but also the human soul would be punished.

The permanent terror of tyranny regime in Russia led to almost the same results as

the invasion of Batu. By the second half of the XVI century in many parts of the country, there were only 10 to 30% of the population left, many of which became victims of terror or emigrants.

Subsequently, terror was used to intimidate its political opponents by other representatives of the supreme power of Russia in order to strengthen their positions. In their arsenal, there were some political assassinations. It is possible to conditionally call all the actions described above, as the terrorist acts, because they were only a weapon of political intrigues, the main (if not the only one) way of eliminating the enemy in the battle for power. In those cases, when the one failed to commit the planned murder of statesmen, they were under the influence of constant fear for his life, and therefore in response, they initiated prosecution and physical removal of imaginary and real political opponents.

In the middle of the XVIII century in Western Europe, and at the beginning of the XIX century in Russia, the development of a revolutionary movement aimed at changing the social order. While in Western Europe this was caused by a budget deficit and a waste of royal families, the democratization of education was promoted in Russia. At the same time, the beginning of the theoretical substantiation of terrorism became an integral part of the ideology of the revolutionary movement.

The first experience of revolutionary mass terror is connected with the Great French Revolution. The Jacobin revolutionary committees consisted of the most active and fanatically devoted citizens' revolutions. These committees were created throughout the country and served as instruments of revolutionary terror, and subsequently of terrorism. They not only consistently pursued the policy of the center in their constituencies but also put pressure on the Convention, forcing them to comply with the demands of the fanatically-minded people.

Terrorism, from the very beginning of its application, was focused on the physical removal of a tyrant, a dictator, or a despot from the political arena. Formation of the basis of one of the varieties of anarcho-terrorism took place in the second half of the nineteenth century. Wilhelm Weitling, who was connected with this event, put forward the idea of a union of the working class with criminal elements. Johann Joseph "Hans" Most, who is also known as the author of the theory of terrorism as a detonator of the revolution, became the direct spokesman of the ideas about anarcho-terrorism. The so-called Sergey Gennadiyevich Nechaev phenomenon can also be referred to the same period. This phenomenon is a direct predecessor, a kind of "genotype" of modern left-wing terrorism. The "Catechism of the Revolutionary", created by him, even now has an extremely significant influence on the formation of the extremist beliefs of the left-wing terrorist environment. Sergey Gennadiyevich Nechaev brings particular attention to his figure due to the connection with the activities of "People's Will", which was the most influential revolutionary Populist organization. This organization officially appeared on August 15, 1879 in St. Petersburg, as a result of the split of the society "Land and Freedom" into "People's Will" and "Black Repartition".

The activity of the organization "Earth and Freedom" is associated with the figure of Valerian Osinsky, thanks to whom a full-fledged terrorist organization was organized.

The members of Osinsky's group wanted to engage in the assassinations of "harmful people", who hampered the revolutionary activity. The new implementation foresaw that the part of the revolutionaries had to deal only with terrorist acts. Later this idea was used by the organization "People's Will" (1879-1887 years). The main watershed, which separates People's Volunteers and Sergey Gennadiyevich Nechaev, still considered to be the different attitude to the issue of the admissibility or inadmissibility of any methods in the name of the target (Камю, 1990, p. 246).

At the turn of the XIX and XX centuries, terrorism had local, aiming character and limited effects. Usually, only specific representatives of power became the victims of militants.

Johann Joseph "Hans" Most, who preached "barbaric means to fight the barbaric system", played a special role in the propaganda of terrorism in Europe and the United States at the end of the XIX century. His idea was that exclusively terrorist actions, but not the words, could make the masses to put pressure on the government.

Before World War I, terrorism was considered as the primary weapon of the "left". Though, many radical nationalist organizations such as Irish separatists, Serbian and Macedonian national patriots, and others, did not neglect the terrorism.

Between the period of two world wars, terrorism was taken by ultra-right movements and parties. Their ideas and programs were imperfect as well as the cultural level was not high. Therefore this did not allow them, in particular, fascists to conduct a typical political battle with their opponents.

The beginning of the Second World War was a continuation of the merciless terrorist policy of the fascists against all mankind (except Aryans).

But Germany was not the only country where fascism existed at the state level. The 20s of XX centuries was the beginning of an irresistible political terror of the Italian fascists led by Benito Mussolini. The political terror was directed against Sicily, which fought for social progress.

Modern terrorism originates from the establishment of the Middle East terror organization Al Qaeda. Al Qaeda organization was not only a "preacher and protector" of its own political or economic interests for the first time but also a training ground for the protection of similar interests regarding its co-founders.

By March 5, 2019, The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) included 57 organizations recognized as the terrorists (Сводный перечень Совета Безопасности...), in the consolidated list of sanctions.

Regarding the geography and scale of the activities of such organizations, terrorism is becoming global, and its threat to international security is continuously increasing, despite the efforts of the world community. A characteristic feature of modern terrorism is the way of its implementation. In other words, it includes a conscious and demonstrative use of violence, directed primarily against peaceful, unarmed people (Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень, n.d.).

Modern terrorism contains some unique features:

1. Any terrorist act in the modern world is not accidental (even single blows or firing are provoked to occur in a certain place and in a certain way). Terrorism has

been influenced by globalization and tends to centralization.

2. Modern terrorism is a complex concept that has a political, economic, social, religious, and ideological feature at the same time.
3. Each existing international terrorist organization pursues exclusively material goals (power, money), which are the root cause and the primary source of terrorism. While ideological, political, religious, and social slogans are just slogans aimed at the formation of “cannon fodder”, ideological followers are ready for everything for the sake of the idea.
4. Terrorism develops along with the development of society and actively uses new technologies.

Modern terrorism tends to become more publicity-like and spread, unlike historical terrorism, characterized by closeness, secrecy, and awareness of the plan and goals of each participant in a terrorist plot.

It should be borne in mind, that most of the leaders of the terrorist organizations in the world were not, and they still are not just the poorest, most unprofitable, and poorly educated fanatics (Баула, 2018, pp. 22–31).

Consequently, international terrorism today is formed entirely based on economic and political benefits, but not on the revolutionary transformations.

Considering the past, society was not prepared to perceive terrorism as a lever of economic policy, as it is unacceptable from a moral and ethical point of view to “make money by murdering”. However, in the context of globalization, namely the economic aspect of terrorist activity and the possibility of its use as a factor of influence on the world economy, it became the key factor in the formation of modern-day terrorism.

In particular, economist Sean Ross points out on the five factors of the impact of terrorism on the modern economy (Ross, 2019):

1. Direct economic impact (including “Theory of the broken window”).
2. Growth of market instability.
3. Negative impact on insurance, trade, tourism, and foreign investments.
4. Impact of militarization on the economy.
5. The growth of international skepticism, in other words, the level of mistrust of the neighboring states and partners.

What is more, the terrorist activity includes illegal rampaging of weapons, people, drugs, money and other valuables. It is carried out through contacts with local and international criminal organizations and has a two-way benefit.

Taking into account the estimates by Forbes, global terrorist activity during 2014, 2015, and 2016 years, caused losses of 104 billion, 91 billion, 84 billion US dollars, accordingly. This situation significantly exceeds the last maximum of 76 billion dollars in the 2001 year (Zehorai, 2018).

Based on the SIPRI data, there were considered costs by the world’s largest capitals of the world to provide security or conduct military operations in 2017, and these costs were 1,686 billion US dollars. For the United States of America, these costs reached 610 billion US dollars (35%), for NATO countries-members (including the USA) the costs were 900 billion US dollars (52%), for China 228 billion US dollars (18%), and Russia



66.3 billion US dollars (3.8%). It should be noted that, compared to last year, Russia's military expenditures have significantly decreased (by 20% compared to 2016), which is due to the significant decline of the state's economy caused by international sanctions on its terrorist and actual criminal activity in eastern Ukraine and the Middle East (Світові військові витрати у 2017 році становлять 1,7 трлн. доларів – SIPRI, 2018).

For example, after the terrorist attacks in 2015 in France, the country lost 2.1 billion US dollars due to the reduction of tourists and purchasing revenues. Although these funds amount to only 0.1% of the country's annual GDP, travel agencies, transport companies and hotels, along with shopping centers, suffered considerable losses (Karaian, 2015). Regarding the fact that France is the second most powerful economy in the EU, even these losses in some cases have affected the economic situation at the regional level.

It is important to take into account the statistics of the terrorist world. Forbes magazine, published in January 2018, shared the information that the largest terrorist organizations in the world turned out to be the richest ones in 2017. In particular, the income of the Hizbullah organization in 2017 counted 1.1 billion US dollars (Iran's financing, drug trafficking, weapons, money laundering and smuggling). The revenue of the Taliban amounted to 800 million US dollars (drug sales, pirate mining, external financing) Hamas revenue (Gaza Strip) reached 700 million US dollars (illegal capital operations, investments of Iran and Qatar). The revenue of Al-Qaeda organization amounts to 300 million US dollars (illegal trafficking in drugs, weapons, automobiles, people, cigarettes, tobacco, external financing, coal). The income of the "ISIL" or "Daesh" organizations reached 200 million US dollars (oil, gas, minerals, weapons deals), and the Kurdistan Workers' Party had 180 million US dollars (drugs (heroin and hemp), human trafficking, tobacco, cigarettes, foreign legal funding) (Zehorai, 2018).

While analyzing terrorist activity, it should be noted, that terrorism is never a goal but it is always used as a mean of achieving it. The most famous terrorist attack was committed by the organization Al Qaeda on September 11, 2001. Robin Cook, a British politician, who is a Member of the Parliament and also a Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, noted in his speech on June 20, 2004, that in response to this terrorist attack "in case of bringing the army to Iraq, we are acting in the way that Laden would like us to do" (Протокол засідання Палати общин ...).

The article by Garicai Cheng from Harvard University, published in 2014, explains why the head of a huge organization puts all their activities at risk by provoking more powerful and influential states to military invasion. Al Qaeda was the source of the United States. According to the data provided in the article, the goal of the US was to conduct a "cold war" with USSR. Namely, the concept of Al Qaeda means the "base" (informational), which in other words is the list of all mercenaries financed by Saudi Arabia and trained by the US, in order to overcome the Soviet threat in the region. Besides, Saudi Arabia got access to oil fields controlled by terrorists. Hence, Al Qaeda organization is essentially a team of mercenaries who do not just perform one's task, but instead, through the "foreign orders", they are given the opportunity to carry out their own policies (whether it is empowerment or enrichment). The same information is provided by the former French intelligence officer Pierre-Ernie Bunel (2005).

The president of the Eastern Partnership Institute Abraham Shmulevich, does not accuse Russia of directly financing the terrorist attacks in Paris in 2015. Abraham Shmulevich notes that it was this country, which tried to maximize its political influence, benefited from those tragic events. Therefore, it was a real opportunity to overcome the European alienation at least a little, while covering by additional military power in the battle against international terrorism. In addition, observing the events in Ukraine and in the world that are covered in the media, one can observe a strange following tendency. As soon as terrorist attacks or active hostilities take place in Europe or Syria, respectively, there is relative calm in the zone of the OUF (Operation of the Unified Forces) and vice versa. For instance, once a particular operation fails or the terror stops, we feel a new wave of escalation (Financial Times знайшла вразливі місця ІДІЛ, 2015).

Summarizing the research on the activities of international terrorist organizations, there may be highlighted the following trends:

- The greatest terrorist threat in the world comes from the activities of the Islamist groups called Jihadist orientation of the Middle East region.
- The international terrorist organizations change the tactics of their actions, shifting the emphasis on expanding their activities in other countries, especially in the countries in the West.
- The rapid development of technologies contributes to the expansion of the activities of terrorist organizations in the virtual world and also promotes the development of advocacy methods.
- An increase in the scope of cross-border migration creates a basis for activating the activities of non-jihadist terrorist groups (Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень, n.d.).

Extensive international cooperation against terrorism began to emerge during the existence of universal law and order of 1815–1919 years. The active manifestation of anarcho-terrorism influenced the emergence of broad international anti-terrorist cooperation. In particular, the period from 1892 to 1901 was characterized by an extremely high number of attacks on monarchs and other high-ranking officials. Hence, this period is famous in history as the Decade of Reptiliancy. Generally, during the anarchist speeches of the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, attempts on state officials (as representatives of the bourgeois elite) “alternated ... with mass actions of” indiscriminate “violence in relation to representatives of the most diverse social population groups”. Anarchists considered dynamite as the primary tool of their “revolutionary war”. Andrei Serafimovitch Gratchev noted that some of them “attributed the explosives truly miraculous political qualities” (Грачев, 1986, p. 16.).

After the death of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria, caused by the actions of the anarchists (in September 1898) and the US President William McKinley (in September 1901) there were convened two international anti-Anarchist conferences, attended by representatives of European states. The International Roman Conference took place for the sake of public protection against anarchists in November-December 1898. During this conference, the concept of anarchism, legislative and policy measures to counteract it were discussed. In respect to the results of the conference, the final protocol was signed,



in which the definition of anarchism was presented as well as the ways to fight it (Deflem, 2005, p. 278).

The second conference took place in March 1904 in Russia. According to its results, a protocol was signed, which discussed the cooperation of police authorities and the exchange of relevant information. At the same time, this document was outrun by Italy and the USA with their attention, the countries which suffered the most from anarchism (Jensen, 2001, p. 15).

Despite the conclusion of the Rome and St. Petersburg Protocols, their provisions were not consolidated in the laws of these countries. Thus, the first international attempt to introduce unified instruments of the fight against terrorism was not successful enough. The above mentioned conferences testified to the recognition by the states of the international nature of anarcho-terrorism and their awareness of the need for collective action to respond to this phenomenon.

The Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism and the Convention on the Establishment of the International Criminal Court were signed on November 16, 1937, during the diplomatic conference in Switzerland. Hence, international legal obligations to combat terrorism was formulated for the first time, targeting a significant number of states. However, they did not come into force, which was due to the beginning of the Second World War.

Along with the creation of the United Nations, a new stage of international anti-terrorist cooperation began, which is operating until this day.

In order to counteract the threat of global terrorism for international security, it is important to undertake the following priority measures:

- Improve antiterrorist legislation and anti-terrorism policies at both international and national levels.
- Improve the combat system against terrorism and the system of prevention, response, and termination of terrorist acts and minimization of their consequences.
- Law-enforcement agencies and Intelligent agencies should concentrate efforts on improving the efficiency of inter-agency coordination and ensuring efficient and rapid information exchange.
- It is important to provide expansion and strengthening of cooperation and interaction with foreign intelligence services, law enforcement bodies, as well as international organizations, which combat terrorism;
- Increase sanctions against international terrorist organizations and their members (including blocking of accounts, assets, trade ban and contacts with their leaders, etc.);
- Form a system of decision-making in the area of counter-terrorism (Резнікова О.О. et al., 2017).

To sum everything up, terrorism today is a globalized concept that has no genesis link with political terrorism in its classical sense. Behind globalized terrorist organizations, there are big money and big ambitions; they generate a huge income and attract a large number of people and material resources. Nowadays, it is considered to be crucial to understand the motives and causes of modern terrorism as well as the trends in its development. This will allow analyzing events more effectively, to predict possible future

attacks, to seek ways of their prevention and avoidance, concentrating the efforts of the world community to combat this disaster.

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