

THE CHALLENGE OF TERRORISM AND TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION

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Abstract: *While spawned and ferociously fueled by economic factors, the process of Globalization started to alter society's DNA even from well before it acknowledged its existence. Having taken on a dynamics of its own, this phenomenon is constantly manifesting itself through new concepts and problems that make yesterday's answers look obsolete. In this context, the security management of an entity, be it a state or a corporation, is being constantly faced with gradually more complex challenges. The present paper aims to briefly take in account, using a holistic approach, the general manifestations, links and inter-dependence between phenomenon like transnational crime and Islamic fundamentalist terrorism.*

Keywords: *security, transnational crime, Globalization, asymmetrical threats.*

I. Introduction

We are living in a world where local economies, social groups and even whole civilizations have become the exponents of a dynamic system, integrating themselves in a global network through communication, transport and commerce. On the other hand, an interesting feature of this extremely complex system is that its vulnerabilities identify themselves with factors that determine and drive its existence, like economical, technological, socio-cultural, political and biological ones that spawned it in the first place. The present paper aims to be a short „taking into account” and analysis of these vulnerabilities and the impact of certain asymmetrical threats on the global security.

Starting from the „action-reaction” principle, for each concept, approach method or technology there is a solution that counter-balances them. A good example in this regard would be the emergence of the tactics of neutralizing fortifications exploiting their construction vulnerabilities, technique utilized for the first time by the Assyrian army in the VIIth Century B.C. which in time became an indispensable tool for any army. Extending this example, the systems made up of multi-national entities like the European Union have their own vulnerabilities, that can be exploited and/or generate effects of different magnitudes, ranging from effects like problems in harmonizing the different judicial systems to the

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shortcomings of the European security agencies that have led to the 2004 Madrid or the 2005 London bombings.

This present subject started to be more extensively treated after the terrorist acts of September 11th on the Twin Towers and the terrorist acts that followed this moment. Beside the fact that this phenomenon is not a new one and that History can relay us somewhat similar moments in which this phenomenon has evolved, the complexity of our present environment can frustrate even the most high-performance security technologies. In this regard, the ample juridical mainframe that safeguards the essential human rights and liberties, coupled with an extremely complex information environment in which a dazzling amount of interactions takes place under different forms, can greatly encumber the security management activities. Even so, the State of Law and the principles of democratic governance must be upheld and respected, despite the vulnerabilities that they can generate.

II. Globalization, systems and vulnerabilities

The attempts of defining „Globalization” and to root it into a compact, schematic and comprehensive formulae have not been met with full success but have led to encrusting a representative image of the phenomenon. In support of this argument, we have gathered the following definitions of Globalization, each one touching one of its aspects:

From an economical perspective,

„Economic "globalization" is a historical process, the result of human innovation and technological progress. It refers to the increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows. The term sometimes also refers to the movement of people (labor) and knowledge (technology) across international borders.”¹

A cultural perspective,

“Cultural globalization is distinguished by a consciousness of dwelling in the world, and a conception of that world as a fluid, interconnected, conflicted, and dynamic whole.”²

A juridical perspective,

“A historical process which engenders a significant shift in the spatial reach of networks and systems of social relations to transcontinental or interregional patterns of human organization, activity and the exercise of power.”³

Taking in account an impressive collection of similar points of view, Nayed Al-Rodhan and Gerard Stoudmann tried to compile a more thorough definition in

¹ The International Monetary Fund, Globalization: Threat or Opportunity, (<http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2000/041200to.htm#II>), p. 2.

² Melba Cuddy-Keane, Modernism, Geopolitics, Globalization in Modernism/Modernity, Maryland, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, vol. 10, nr. 3, p. 539-558, p. 553.

³ Anthony G. McGrew, Global Legal Interaction and Present-Day Patterns of Globalization in V. Gessner, A. C. Budak, Emerging Legal Certainty: Empirical Studies on the Globalization of Law, Surrey, Ashgate Publishing Company, 1998, p. 327.

their work *“Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and A Proposed Definition”*, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 2006, in which they point out that:

“Globalization is a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and trans-cultural integration of human and non-human activities.”⁴

As a conclusion, the Globalization process employs not only the process itself but also the consequences of this process of „congregation” of the international communities. In this regard, the present paper focuses itself on the system left behind by this process and some of its vulnerabilities to certain types of asymmetrical threats.

Firstly, we will take into account the general vulnerabilities of an international system, so that later we could ascertain a more focalized perspective. In this regard, Kenneth N. Waltz offers us a general view on the „international system”, portraying it more as an heterogeneous system than a homogenous and unitary one. According to Waltz, power can manifest itself in two types of structures: a hierarchical and an anarchical one. The hierarchic structure imposes superior-inferior type of power relationships, whilst the anarchical one supports and promotes the independence of each and every unit. In case that an uneven distribution of power occurs, however, centers of power spawn, profoundly affecting the units and forming, depending on the degree of polarization, uni-polar, bipolar or multi-polar structures⁵. In the case of the interactions between these two types of structures, the stable ones of a certain type envelop and neutralize the effects of the minority of opposing-polarized structures⁶.

Therefore, according to this perspective, structures of different degrees of hierarchy or anarchy are outlined, not pure structures, all of these giving birth to an etherogenous system. Moreover, an interesting interaction of these two types of power structures is their inter-connectivity, every hierarchic system being touched by a „dose” of anarchy and vice-versa. Taking in account these arguments, we can ponder if the general vulnerabilities of a system that is outlined along one type of structure consist of elements that have qualities that are specific to the opposing type of power structure. As a conclusion, the general vulnerabilities of a hierarchical system may be embodied by its anarchical components or qualities and vice-versa, if taking into account a predominantly anarchic system, its hierarchic qualities or components can definitely embody its vulnerabilities.

Using this approach, we can interpret the withdrawal of Spain from Afghanistan in 2004, after the Madrid bombings. Spain was a component of a hierarchical system, that acted on the impulse of common interests. Even so, the

⁴ Nayed R.F Al-Rodhan, Gerard Stoudmann, *Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and A Proposed Definition*, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 2006, p. 20.

⁵ Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1979, p. 114 sqq.

⁶ Barry Buzan, Richard Little, *International Systems in World History*, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 41.

bombings that took place on the 11th of March 2004 (3 days before the parliamentary elections) changed the behavior of this unit or the system. As a consequence, Span chose to follow its own interests (over the interests of the system of which it was part of) and had redrawn form the Iraq Operations Theatre⁷, acting the role of the anarchic element within a hierarchical system, therefore ascertaining its own independence (in relation to the system) through adopting a behavior that was incompatible with that of the other elements.

Another example is Al-Qaeda, viewed as a structure, its operational functionality being a good example of an anarchic system with hierarchic elements. One of Al-Qaeda's characteristics and at the same time one of its strong points is the use of a structure based on 2 types of inter-connected networks, Professional Clandestine Networks and Amateur Clandestine Networks. The communication between these types of networks is limited both between them and within the cells that make them up, the connections between the units being engineered with different „off switches” that can be shut in case operations against the networks occur⁸, this way saving the majority of the professional components and ensuring the continuity of the system.

Therefore, Al-Qaeda maintains the specific characteristics of the hierarchical structures, like the existence of a general command structure and exercising a certain level of coordination. However, the anarchical component is in majority within this system, from the recruiting process that relies more on passive recruiting⁹ to its structures¹⁰, that enjoy a great degree of independence in their operations and other connected activities.

As a general conclusion, in an international system whose elements are inter-connected and their interactions are extraordinarily complex and dynamic, if this system would be a predominantly hierarchical one, its vulnerabilities would be embodied by its anarchic characteristics. In this case, if a unit follows its own interest at the disadvantage of the common interest of the whole system, it not only constitutes a vulnerability of the whole system but even a serious threat to the security and even to the existence of that system in the context in which the risk factor rises exponentially with every dissonant element.

III. Asymmetric threats to the national and international security

The term „asymmetry” refers to the propriety of the relationship between two terms, that is not reciprocally valid¹¹. The term „asymmetric threat” is generally used in relation to the usage by state or non-state actors – international terrorist networks and organizations- of violent means in order to provoke terror and to generate huge moral, material and symbolic damages on actors that are much

⁷ Congressional Research Service Report RS21812, oct. 2004 apud Wikileaks.

⁸ Derek Jones, Maj. US Army, Understanding the Form, Function, and Logic of Clandestine Cellular Networks: The First Step in Effective Counternetwork Operations, School of Advanced Military Studies, United States Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kentucky, 2009, p. 34 sqq.

⁹ Steve Clemons, Drones and the Death of Al Qaeda's No. 3, în publicația *The Washington Note* (www.thewashingtonnote.com), 1 iunie 2010 (declarație dată de Michael Hoh).

¹⁰ MI5, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/al-qaidas-structure.html>.

¹¹ Definiția oferită de Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române.

more powerful¹². At the same time, this concept can be extended to defining phenomenon like organized transnational crime, white-collar crime as well as other types of similar phenomenon that endanger the security of a state. In this regard, the inter-connectivity and the dynamics of the interactions between entities does not profit only to the legitimate state and international organisms but also to illicit ones.

Terrorism as an asymmetrical threat

The terrorist phenomenon seems to escape a unitary definition and its ultra-dynamical and adaptive nature assures the imminent moral usage of any attempt to catch its essence. Even so, a definition is necessary and we found a most suitable one enounced by Walther Laqueur – "Terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted"¹³. Of course, even this definition is inconsistent if we are to assume that terrorism gains a positive or negative connotation based on the point of view of the observer¹⁴, just the same as the „innocent” quality of the passive subject of the violence. This last remark may be insensitive but the understanding of a phenomenon implies a certain degree of empathy and in the „jihadi” vision the civilian population is not considered to be innocent but a component of „Dar Al-Harb” or the „realm of war”, which is regarded as a threat to Islam and an exponent of the conflict which every (radical) Muslim has the duty of waging¹⁵. Another argument is the status of the targets, one of the most resounding successes of modern terrorism being the Beirut Barrack bomb attack on the 23rd of October 2983 which determined the withdrawal of the International peacekeeping force from Lebanon.

Transnational crime as an asymmetrical threat

The UN Convention¹⁶ against organized crime defined a „criminal group” as: „...a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit”.

The image of organized crime has somewhat gained notoriety over time, instilling itself in the collective imagination under different forms, from the image of the American gangster to the one portraying Russian or Japanese businessmen

¹² Prof. univ. dr. Ioan Mircea Pașcu, lect. drd. Sergiu Nicolae Vintilă, *Teoria Relațiilor Internaționale, note de curs*, Școala Națională de Studii Politice și Administrative, Facultatea de Științe Politice, p. 27.

¹³ C.A.J (Tony) Coady, *Terrorism, Just War and Supreme Emergency*, în *Terrorism and Justice: A Moral Argument in a Threatened World*, Melbourne University Publishing, 2003, p. 8.

¹⁴ SUA a sprijinit financiar și logistic mujahedinii care luptau împotriva URSS în Afganistan, care erau considerați „luptători ai libertății” (freedom fighters).

¹⁵ Curente fundamentale alimentate de Sayyid Qutb și Abul Ala Mawdudi susțin că pe lângă cei 5 stâlpi ai Islamului există și un al 6-lea întru chip de datorie de a lupta în Jihad.

¹⁶ United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, New York, 2004, art. 2, lit. A.

that proudly wear their concealed tattoos that reflect their membership to the faction or caste that they belong to.

This phenomenon has evolved in time, gaining ever more complex characteristics, manifesting itself in our present times as some very complex and well structured mechanisms. At the same time, the image of the „gangster” underwent some transformations, gradually morphing itself from the opportunistic maverick of the inter-wars period or of the 70s to the unscrupulous ex military „professional” of the post 1991 period only to take the present form of an emasculated, shy young man, with socializing problems that spends most of his time in front of a computer screen and which, unlike his predecessors, manages to do millions of dollars worth of damages with only a few lines of code and technical equipment bought for a ridiculously low amount of money, considering the benefits it brings to the organization it belongs to.

Having a very complex structure in which specialized organisms fulfill well determined and concrete functions, from the recruiting of new members from diverse social environments, including the academic one to the undergoing of specific economic activities, both licit and illicit. Because of the adaptability, dynamism and efficiency of these structures, the transnational criminal entities make their presence felt in almost all of the geographical areas of economical importance. In the EU’s case, one of the most important occult presences are the varied Russian speaking criminal groups that are generally referred to as „the Russian Mafia”¹⁷.

The problem posed by legislation in combating transnational crime.

One of the major problems in countering transnational crime, in the context of such complex interactions between entities, is identifying these interactions or the criminal phenomenon in the first place. This process is more cumbersome in the context in which these interactions seemingly take place in accordance with the national legislation. A good example would be the diverse charity foundations that are more or less hijacked in order to be used in money laundering activities or fraud, generating untraceable flows of money with a high probability of serving obscure interests¹⁸.

A different approach that can support this argument can be exemplified by the Abdul Quadeer Khan case. He is a Pakistani scientist that used his access to classified nuclear information while he was working for a Dutch company for illegally transmitting nuclear secrets to third parties. After his apprehension in Pakistan, Dr. “Khan was acquitted and became the father of the Pakistani uranium enrichment program that culminated with Pakistan attaining nuclear capabilities. These secrets smuggled by Dr. Khan in 1976 constitute a threat to the International System, evermore so because these projects were sold to third states through obscure channels. Firstly, they were sold to Syria together with the plans

¹⁷ Walter Kego, Alexandru Molcean, „*Russian Speaking Organized Crime Groups in the EU*”, Institute for Security and Development Policy, 2011, accesat în data de 28.07.2011 la adresa: http://www.rikareliv.info/images/Nr%204-2011/2011_kego-molcean_russian-speaking-organized-crime.pdf.

¹⁸ OECD, Report on Abuse of Charities for Money-Laundering and Tax Evasion, 2008.

of an atom bomb. Even if Pakistan did not sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty, Syria had signed it so the buy-sell was quasi-legal from Pakistan's point of view. Even if Dr. Khan was placed under house arrest for a couple of years, he was released in 2009, enjoying his freedom of movement.

Taking into account that the technologies he sold eventually ended up serving regimes like N. Korea and that the international community doesn't have any instrument through which it could follow and control these kind of transactions, we can surely ascertain that this type of threat can have some extremely destructive effects. A more convincing argumentation would take in account the phenomenon of white collar crime but in the interest of celerity, we have decided to not touch this subject in the present paper.

The problem of apparent legality and of promoting private interests of a state actor in the detriment of the whole international community prove to be a troublesome hindrance in coordinating, harmonizing and synchronizing the strategies and neutralizing efforts of these kind of threats, in the absence of a global sovereign authority.

IV. Terrorism and transnational crime

The discovery of IRA explosive specialists within Columbian criminal environments or the financing of the Al-Qaeda terror campaigns through funds obtained through the exploitation of opium poppy fields raise alarming question marks. Moreover, an ascending trend in the interactions between different criminal entities can be observed¹⁹, in a context in which geographical barriers start to become negligible impediments in organizing and carrying on illegal actions. From this point of view, Globalization offers more benefits to these types of clandestine highly adaptive organizations and extending beyond the local environment becomes almost implicit. In an era of information in which its exploitation is crucial, state entities are occupied with the modification of their procedures and the constant adaptation to the necessities of the moment, being forced to utilize their bureaucratic instruments and legislative procedures that are both time and resource consuming.

The governments hold in their composition cumbersome bureaucratic mechanisms and sometimes a negative multiplying factor is that these mechanisms are politically polarized, traits that not only restrict the reaction time but on the other hand restrict the cooperation between state actors that encounter difficulties in such conditions.

At the opposite end, the clandestine entities adapt almost instantly, assuring their real-time reaction to the strategies of neutralization employed by state actors. Arms and drug traffickers, forgers, traffickers or persons and entities involved in money laundering are the protagonists of more and more dynamical interactions, manifested through more and more complex and improbable strategic alliances that bring different cultures together and eliminate geographical barriers between continents, demonstrating the importance of

¹⁹ Itty Abraham, Willem van Schenden, *The Making of Illicitness, Illicit Flows and Criminal Things*, Indiana University Press, 2005, p. 3.

network theory²⁰. A very good example of this would be Al-Qaeda's efforts to cooperate with Mexican crime networks involved in drug and person trafficking, illegal immigration belonging to the Mara Savatrucha organization (MS-13) in order to secure an infiltrating mechanism for its agents to be able to enter the US via Mexico²¹.

Even though terrorist and criminal organizations have very different ideologies, modus operandi, structures, etc. they are not as different as they would seem, the contrast between them being one of quantity of the terrorist-type manifestations versus the criminal-type ones.

In the first case, the specialized literature has analyzed the links between terrorism and drug trafficking and even person trafficking or other criminal phenomenon. In great part, the accent has been put on narco-terrorism and particularly the close ties between paramilitary guerilla organizations that control vast territories which harbor opiate plantations and terrorist groups that would assure the transport and commercialization of the final product in an exterior area, in exchange for protection and a part of the profit.

Another relevant symbiosis is that of terrorism with money laundering through modern and traditional means. One of these traditional means is „hawala”²², an informal system of money through which a person can send an amount of money through juxtaposed persons, relying on trust and their reputation. Nothing is systematized, everything taking place ad-hoc, without leaving any licit trace. This means is widely used but it's not the only one employed for such obscure objectives.

At the same time, certain individual terrorist cells resort to criminal activities in order to sponsor their own ones. For example, after the arrest of Ahmed Ressay in 1999 and his accomplices, their ties to organized crime were discovered after a failed attempt of trying to bring an explosive packed truck from Canada to the U.S.A.²³ Despite the fact that the American authorities had been repeatedly warned by European law enforcement agencies of these ties, these warnings were not being taken into account. Other examples of auto-financing would be credit card scams and kidnappings.

In this regard, we cannot rule out the morphing of a terrorist organization into a profit driven criminal one, like in the case of Abu Sayyaf²⁴, Al-Qaeda affiliated organism which was initially religiously motivated but which later on found a new economical motivation for its kidnappings and its piracy acts.

²⁰ În sensul Network Science (Știința rețelelor) – Disciplină ce studiază fundamentele teoretice a structurii rețelelor și a manifestărilor dinamice ale acestora atât cât și a studiului aplicativ al rețelelor existente în multe sub-câmpuri, Ted G. Lewis, Network Science: Theory and Applications, John Wiley and Sons, New Jersey, 2009, p. 7.

²¹ Jerry Seper, Al Qaeda seeks tie to local gangs în The Washington Times, 28 sept. 2004.

²² Mecanism cunoscut și ca „hundi” sau „padala”, folosit extensiv în Orientul Mijlociu, Africa și sudul Asiei.

²³ Vehicul ce urma să fie utilizat într-un atentat asupra Aeroportului Internațional Los Angeles.

²⁴ Dr. Louise I. Shelley (coord), Methods and Motives: Exploring the Links Between Transnational Organized Crime and International Terrorism, National Criminal Justice Reference Service, 2005, p. 36.

As for criminal organizations, there are many examples in which these resort to terrorist acts, from the „traditional” public assassinations of diverse mafia-like organizations to less common actions like the assassination of Giovanni Falcone on the 23rd of May 1992, when a half-ton bomb was placed and detonated under the freeway on which the magistrate’s motorcade was passing by. An example in which a criminal organization transforms itself into a terrorist one, in this case from a profit oriented to a politically motivated one, was Pablo Escobar’s ELN which planned on organizing a bombing campaign against the Columbian Government.

Even though the emergence of a truly hybrid organization which would embody both types of criminal organization is not at the present a reality, these groups continue to expand and to form solid partnerships, creating and exploiting the vulnerabilities of state actors.

V. Countering asymmetrical threats, an external policy or a domestic one.

Events from the past 9 years have demonstrated an extraordinary resiliency of the insurgent groups from the Afghanistan and Iraq Theaters of Operations. The „War on Terror” was launched in 2001 with the invasion of Afghanistan. Since then, astronomical sums of money have been spent for the arming and maintaining a military presence in the Theaters of Operation. At these costs there are added ones for reconstruction, arming, equipping and instructing the local forces, etc. Taking in account that the results of these campaigns was in general: the elimination of Al-Qaeda training camps, only to find a convalescent and even more powerful Al-Qaeda after the Iraq invasion; the destabilization of the zone and Iran’s taking over as a „Local Power”; causing millions of civilian victims, greatly multiplying the risk of radicalizing the moderate population; plus the economical and other type of results, that we will not take into account. The big problem is that after 10 years, not only that Islamic-fundamentalist terrorism continues to exist but it appears to be thriving, extending its arsenal of tactics and recruits and even more gravely gaining a somewhat legitimacy in some religious Sunni and Shia circles, which play a crucial role in Muslim culture.

Maybe some voices would argue that for the fulfilling of the 2001 proposed objectives there would be the need for more time but in the interest of prudence, the best solution would be to find new solutions and implement them if not in parallel with the ones available at the moment, then by replacing the old ones entirely.

In this regard, terrorism and organized crime have a powerful transnational characteristic, transforming themselves into stateless organisms as both have demonstrated over the last decade. At least in the case of Islamic fundamentalist terrorism, the phenomenon is manifesting itself in different territories, some being controlled environments like states of law and others being still dominated by chaos, like the operation theaters of Afghanistan. In this last case, the countering of this phenomenon cannot take only one form, that of military operations within the operational theaters or that of counter-terrorist operations in state controlled territories where the final effects of terror take place. The best

solution would seem to be blending these two types of doctrine and forming a new system of measures that would benefit from the key characteristics of the phenomenon that they counter, like dynamism, adaptability and cost-effectiveness.

Through developing the European Union's organizational infrastructure, all the premises of obtaining such a system can exist and forming a doctrine that can help in mollifying both types of phenomena at an European level or on a much wider scale. The biggest challenge in this regard is keeping the values of democracy and of the state of law untouched, the cohesion and the optimization of the European Union's governance mechanisms and stimulating the decision making process in key issues, retaining at the same time the democratic legitimacy and institutional control.

Conclusions

The challenges of the asymmetrical threats in the context of Globalization and the dynamics of the XXI Century, together with the experience combating terrorism of the last decade suggest that a change of doctrine may be in order and the focusing on rather the internal environment than the external one. However, there are important challenges in attaining this objective which needs to be fulfilled without the prejudice of democratic values and the State of Law. What cannot be obtained one way shall have to be obtained in another one and in this regard collaboration between partner states, dynamization, coordination and harmonization of the adaptive process seems to be the obvious solution. Both the success of a future counter-terrorist strategy and one against transnational crime will most probably be dependant on a doctrine based on cooperation and the following with priority of the common interest and not the individual one. Unfortunately, at least from a legislative point of view, the lack of existence of a supranational sovereign system raises some problems that will have to be surpassed.

The dynamics of the transnational criminal phenomenon request an equally dynamic feedback, which can keep the pace and be at least as adaptive. In the context in which terrorist cells communicate through PC games²⁵ (*massively multimedia online role-playing games, MMORPG*), the European Union doesn't have a strategy of combating these kind of asymmetrical phenomenon that would satisfy the exigency of an adaptability demanded by the dynamic imposed by the international environment, the latest E.U. Strategy Against Terrorism dating from 2005²⁶, which had its gaps at that time²⁷, six years ago. The current international system, at least at the European Union level, is somewhat unprepared for a change in the policies for combating terrorism or of optimizing the policies of combating organized crime, being unable to capitalize on the force multiplier constituted by

²⁵ Andrew Cochran, MetaTerror: The Potential Use of MMORPGs by Terrorists, 1 martie 2007, http://counterterrorismblog.org/2007/03/metaterror_the_potential_use_o.php.

²⁶ Council of the European Union, The European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 30th of November 2005.

²⁷ Miriam Allam, Damian Gadzinowski, Combating the Financing of Terrorism: EU Policies, Polity and Politics, EIPAscope 2009/2, p. 37.

flexibility, adaptability and synchronization in the context in which the decision making process still take place at a multi-polar level.

If we are to adopt a more optimistic perspective, we can look upon the recent efforts in consolidating and optimizing the organisms of the European Union as a promoter of these changes that would offer us in the end and international security organism that is as adaptive and as dynamic as the threats against which it defends us from.

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