Counter-terrorism strategies at the interstate level: 
economic, legal and sociocultural dimensions

Abstract. Based on the analysis of current trends and indicators of the effectiveness of interstate cooperation in combating the threat of terrorism, the authors have carried out a comprehensive study of the strengths and weaknesses of existing strategies for financing counter-terrorist activities at the interstate level and researched their perspectives in the context of the development of terrorist threats in the modern globalised world. Terrorism by its nature has a latent character; it is dynamically changing in relation to the choice of objects and ways of using violence. That is why the process of confronting terrorist threats should include a set of long-term political, economic, diplomatic, legal and social initiatives concern any country. By combining the efforts of various social institutions in the direction of raising the level of welfare of the nation, educational and training work with vulnerable strata of the population (young people, former prisoners, participants in hostilities, etc.), and support of moral principles in society, humanity will be able to avoid terrorism threatening its existence.

Keywords: Transnational Terrorism; Counter-terrorism Strategies; Financial Cooperation of States

JEL Classification: F29; F33; H50; K33; K42

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1. Introduction

International or transnational terrorism has no geographical boundaries and not only poses a threat to individual countries, but also casts doubt on the stability of the global legal order as a whole. To combat this threat, a coordinated use of political, economic, diplomatic, legal, social, and, if necessary, military means is needed. According to experts, in the near future, terrorism will rapidly develop, modify, and globalise. After analysing the top vectors of research on counter-terrorism issues, we identified some current trends in the «treatment» of this chronic «disease» of the 21st century society, substantiated by modern scholars.

Most experts in counteracting terrorist manifestations are unanimous in the following statement: modern terrorist organisations are powerful, equipped with the newest technical facilities, the latest weapon, information resources and whole «armies» of supporters (recruiting of which is carried out through the Internet as well), supranational structures. Therefore, effective struggle with them involves systematic efforts of no less powerful interethnic unions. Hence, there is search for and justification of new forms of cooperation between countries within the United Nations (UN), the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and regional groups designed on this sample, as well as the unity of bodies and forces of other supranational organisations.

In this regard, expenditures by the states on the fight against terrorism is the most controversial issue. An increasingly obvious indicator of the effectiveness of this struggle in the countries of Central and Western Europe is the growth of military spending (on arms, technical and informational equipment of military and law enforcement agencies, etc.). Our study will analyse the quantitative indicators of such expenditures by individual countries and show a correlation between the growth of terrorist activity in these regions and increasing expenditures on armaments from the state budget. Also, it should be kept in mind that society is increasingly spreading the idea of the need to use counter-terrorism measures and their supporters, avoiding any kind of negotiations and truces and the progressive type, when certain actions of material and moral character are allowed on the demands of terrorists, in particular terrorist leaders acceptance as subjects of negotiations, payment of ransom, etc. (Lebedinets, 2015).

However, researchers have not yet properly investigated the effectiveness of the available strategies, and the likelihood of the use of new ones, for financing counter-terrorism, driven by the dynamically changing conditions of a globalised society. There is a way of powers’ cooperation to consolidate on the model of FATF, where a financial component comes from membership fees. At the interstate level, legislative initiatives are being implemented to organise the financing of certain anti-terrorist projects. At the same time, we have not found a comprehensive study of the strengths and weaknesses of the strategies of funding counter-terrorist activities at the interstate level, which determines the topicality of this issue.

2. Brief Literature Review

The spectrum of recent research on counter-terrorist issues is rather fragmented, despite its breadth. Numerous investigations into the nature, varieties and sources of terrorism, as well as into the means to combat this phenomenon, are carried out in terms of separate academic perspectives (philosophical, political, criminological, economic, psychological, sociological, etc.), or as interdisciplinary research (A. Braithwaite, & Q. Li, 2007; Wilson & Piazza, 2013; Clarke, 2014; Trapp, 2015; San-Akca, 2016) and even popular science discourses. Consequently, the «portrait» of modern terrorism remains incomplete, and the mechanisms for dealing with it are underdeveloped.

The current scientific base contains more than two hundred officially recognised definitions of terrorism, each of which captures the essence of this phenomenon with more or less precision, broadening its definitive field through the clarification of means, attributes and classifications, or, conversely, narrowing it within the framework of a separate approach. Without excessive detailing of existing views, terrorism can be defined as a social phenomenon, which consists in the unlawful use of extreme forms of violence or threats of violence to intimidate opponents in order to achieve specific goals. Such a broad interpretation is justified by taking into account a special character of contemporary terrorism which is a simulacrum because of the ability to mimic different types of protest activities, preserving external «traditions» of classic opposition, such as national liberation struggle, guerrilla movements, «holy» wars, separatism, anti-globalisation, etc. At the same time, the instrumental nature of modern terrorism lies in the fact that it is, as a rule, a mechanism of achieving corporate, mercenary and criminal goals. Thus, in practice, there are difficulties associated with the need to identify...
various phenomena of terrorism and to differentiate terrorism from seemingly similar but essentially distinct phenomena.

A. P. Schmid and J. J. Forest (2018) address the question of complexity of analysing the fight against terrorism in the present day context, which comprises 150 unexplored or underdeveloped counter-terrorism topics. The authors point out that most studies focus on a limited range of phenomena.

Thus, in many of them, attention is paid to certain terrorist elements, and not to those political, religious or other movements and trends, to which they actually belong. Accordingly, perspectives change. Hence, efforts are focused on finding ways to deal with the consequences of terrorism, and not its root causes.

Another problem considered by the authors as the first priority in counter-terrorism studies is to prevent individual radicalism («downstream») and insufficient attention to prevent structural extremism («upstream»). In addition, the authors believe that there is a lack of research on the evaluation and application of specific strategies or certain experience in the fight against terrorism in practice, which means that most of them are not applied and their results are difficult to implement in real terms.

Also, there is a weak link between research on terrorism and other forms of violence, for example genocide, although they have a priori similar characteristics.

The authors have grouped the proposed topics into the following categories: «Terrorist organisations and members of terrorist groups» (25 topics), «Internet (social networks) and media-terrorism» (15 topics), «Causes of terrorism», «Religion and terrorism» - 10 topics for each of them, «Radicalisation and deradicalisation» (7), etc. The largest is a thematic cluster «Counteract terrorism by states and international organisations» - 37 topics. We consider it to be illustrative due to the fact that leaders from different countries, security forces representatives and law enforcement agencies tend to meet more often to resolve issues of efforts consolidation in fighting against terrorism. Within this area, international cooperation of particular states is gradually converging.

The purpose of the article is to carry out a comprehensive study of existing policies strengths and weaknesses in counter-terrorism at the interstate level, to analyse their prospects in the context of the growth of terrorist threats in today’s globalised world on the basis of the analysis of current trends and indicators of the interstate cooperation in combating threats of terrorism and to substantiate tendencies and perspectives of financing counter-terrorism activities in Ukraine.

4. Results

4.1. Countering Terrorism Financing

During the last decade, states have enacted many different legal provisions and policies, created dozens of structures and provided education for thousands of officials regarding tools and methodology to prevent funding terrorist activities by relevant organisations and groups. Almost in all countries, certain preventive measures have been put in place, aiming at protecting their finance systems from abuse. Many states have established financial intelligence groups. During the last decade, the FATF conclusions on the member states compliance as well as monitoring their implementation at the national level. The FATF conclusions on the member states compliance as well as monitoring their implementation at the national level. The FATF conclusions on the member states compliance as well as monitoring their implementation at the national level.

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with the 40 recommendations are presented in the Annual Financial Report Task Force (FATF) (2018). Ukraine is a member of the Group of Experts on the Evaluation of Anti-Money Laundering Measures and the Financing of Terrorism (MONEYVAL). It includes the Council of Europe countries that are not members of the FATF.

The purpose of such supranational unions is, first of all, cooperation within the field of financial (creation of special funds for the payment of membership fees), educational, (seminars, expert training, exchange of experience, etc.) monitoring (conducting research in individual countries and training recommendations) assistance in the fight against terrorism. An important direction of their activity is also the monitoring of global methods and schemes of money laundering of criminal capital and the development of countermeasures.

Thus, the fight against terrorism in the modern world has a strong regulatory and institutional basis. One of the major obstacles to combating terrorism threats by the international community is the lack of a coherent position of states regarding the most effective ways of financial investments in the fight against terrorism.

4.2. Two strategies to counteract threats of terrorism: from polarity of means to harmonization of opportunities.

4.2.1. Strategy 1:
Increasing military spending on counter-terrorism measures.

The end of the cold war, under conditions of post-bipolar world formation, when the USA is the only superpower, the emphasis has shifted towards defense strategies based on an idea that the future of military conflicts would be identified by irregular wars in «gray zones». That was one of the reasons why defense expenditure decreased and conventional arms reduced in NATO member states, which is highlighted by V. P. Horbulin in his monograph «The world hybrid war: a Ukrainian forefront» (2017)

Following the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, the fight against international terrorism has become a priority for many countries. The cost of counter-terrorism activities in each country has increased incredibly, particularly in those countries that have previously been sufficiently balanced on this issue, for example Canada, Japan and Germany.

In a study by K. Zucci, «What Countries Spend on Anti-terrorism» (2018), there is a solid analysis on the dynamics of military spending on counter-terrorism in some countries presented. The author shows the results of the Stimson Center study, according to which the United States spent USD 610 billion in 2017, which is 16% from the total discretionary budget, to fight against terrorism in the period between 2002 and 2017. These costs included measures to support internal security and international anti-terrorism financing programs in Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria. The US spending on counter-terrorism measures peaked at USD 260 billion in 2008 and dropped to USD 175 billion in 2017.

According to the Stockholm International Institute for Peace Research, the global military expenditure indicator in the year 2018 was USD 1.7 trillion. The United States continue to lead in this direction: in 2017 the country spent USD 610 billion on its armed forces exceeding the total sum of the corresponding expenses of the following seven countries on state budget.

With its USD 228 billion in 2017, China ranks second in terms of military expenditures, which represents an increase of 5.6% from the previous year’s expenditures. In total, from 2008 to 2017, China increased the cost by 13%. An analysis of the annual dynamics of spending in countries such as India (a 9% increase in 2017 compared with 2016 confirms the overall tendency to increase the cost of armaments in the world: India spent USD 63.9 billion, which is 5.5% more than in the previous period, and South Korea disbursed USD 39.2 billion, a growth of 1.7%. The main reason for the rising military spending in Asia is the growing tension between China and its neighbours.

The state budget of Ukraine for 2019 includes financing of the security and defence sector amounting to almost USD 101.5 billion (USD 3.76‰), which is almost by USD 15.5 billion (USD 574 million) more if compared to 2018, by USD 3.4 billion (USD 1.385 billion) more than it was in 2017, and by USD 45.9 billion (USD 1.7 billion) more than it was foreseen in 2016.

According to B. Lomborg (2008), the increase in security measures around the world by 25% will cost another USD 75 billion over a five-year period. In the extremely unlikely scenario that 1% of attacks worldwide could be reduced by the same 25 percent, every additional dollar spent on defense measures would benefit no more than 30 cents. Even with the most optimistic assumptions, this approach indicates inefficiency of investment.

In this regard, the following facts are illustrative. The strengthening of American embassies has led to an increase in the number of attacks on representatives of embassies in unprotected places. Acts of protection for officials have led to attacks on businessmen and tourists, as was the case of Bali in 2005. An increase in domestic security spending in the US, Canada and the European Union has led to an increase in attacks on US facilities in the Middle East and Asia, where there are less secure targets, which Islamic fundamentalists are in the position of supporting the local population.

On average, terrorism takes 67 more lives each year. The number of deaths increases because terrorists respond rationally to the risk of increased security. A recent study on the Copenhagen Consensus project made it possible to conclude that countries - targets of terrorists - spend too much on measures, and terrorists, in their turn, just carry the risk of attacking on another object.

However, with the political will and deepening of cooperation aimed at cutting off sources of funding to terrorists, the fight against terrorism can cost relatively cheap. This involves the extradition of more terrorists and the cessation of voluntary contributions, drug trafficking, counterfeiting of goods, trade and illegal activities that provide their means of action. Benefits will be significant. A twofold increase in the Interpol budget and the allocation of a tenth of the funds that the International Monetary Fund provides annually for financial monitoring and capacity development to identify ways to finance terrorists would cost around USD 128 million annually. Preventing at least one catastrophic terrorist attack would save the world at least USD 1 billion. Advantages of it, according to B. Lomborg, would be almost ten times higher than the cost.

4.2.2. Strategy 2:
Strengthening financial cooperation of states in the direction of scientific and technology development, as well as improving the general welfare

In the conditions of globalisation, the key factor determining the economic development is the way of forming world economic relations. The left-radical direction representatives of the socioeconomic development theories - I. Wallenstein (2004), R. Prebish (1992), S. Furtado (1970) and A. Emmanuel (1969) - blame the West for catching-up economies of the «third world». In their opinion, in the second half of the twentieth century, the general tendency to uneven distribution of resources, incomes and wealth in the world has not been eliminated; there is a continuing increase of inequality between countries (the core and periphery of the world economy), which thereby forms high tension. As a consequence, instead of the «end of history» behind Fukuyama, which meant the victory of the values of Western liberal civilization, we have an era of «collisions of civilizations» by S. Huntington, and modern terrorism has become a sort of manifestation of the struggle of the «South» against the «rich North». The widespread dissemination of Islamic terrorism is largely due to the fact that Islamic civilization, unlike Confucian, Indo-Buddhist and Iberian, failed to build economically and politically powerful states that could compete with Western countries (Kudryavtsev, 2003). Hence, there is a logical confrontation between various levels of economic development

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of civilization dimensions, with terrorism as a tool for the weaker—opposed. The Polish researcher N. Maxwell (2007) suggests considering the fundamental causes of terrorism in the world and effective ways of countering this phenomenon. These are not so obvious as weapons or special interstate military alliances. He examines the problem of terrorism in the light of more serious global problems such as global warming, proliferation of nuclear weapons, information warfare and raises the question of how humanity can learn to address these issues more effectively and reasonably than it does now. In particular, if we want to pursue a successful and intelligent fight against terrorism, the researcher emphasizes, we should take into account the following principles:

- compliance with international legislation should be ensured;
- police, not military, operations should be used against terrorism;
- civil liberties should not be abandoned; it is necessary to put pressure on nations suspected of aiding or concealing terrorists, using both diplomacy and secret services;
- if the acts of terrorism are caused by a prolonged conflict, such as the Palestine-Israeli conflict, all efforts should be directed by the international community of nations to resolve it, since it is precisely what generates the platform for terrorism in the world;
- terrorism must not be fought by recruiting terrorists;
- international agreements aimed at limiting the spread of terrorist acts must be maintained and improved by as many countries as possible.

Maxwell emphasizes that the most important principle is the eighth one which declares that the democratic nations fighting terrorism should be careful in order not to become like terrorists themselves. Elementary moral foundations that are in line with national and international political institutions should not be thrown out in fear of terrorists; our traditions and institutions of civil rights, freedoms and democracy should not be trampled under the influence of our own false assumptions that this is necessary for a successful fight against terrorism.

The author is convinced that not by means of force, but by combining the efforts of various social institutions regarding educational and/or training work with youth (first of all, by means of Internet resources) and support of moral principles in society, humanity will be able to avoid terrorism as a phenomenon which is extremely threatening for its existence.

Reflecting on the necessity of developing a comprehensive strategy for the fight against terrorism in the next 10-15 years for NATO, Gurkan (2008) emphasizes those areas of the Alliance’s activities that are still in the background, as compared to the implementation of a wide range of international military operations. In the researcher’s view, depending on the growth of terrorist threat, there may be a need to develop, for example, more civilian means, prioritize NATO’s scientific and technical programs, accelerate the implementation of NATO’s cyber defense policy or enhance NATO’s role in energy security, in particular in protecting vital energy infrastructure.

B. Lomborg (2008) points out that almost 40% of transnational terrorist attacks are directed against American interests, and in the near future believe that the only superpower of the world could do more to spread a positive image and overcome terrorist propaganda. This can be partly achieved through the redistribution or strengthening of external assistance. Currently, the United States allocates only 0.17 percent of the gross net income for official development assistance, which is the second lowest among OECD countries. The area of help distribution is often limited to countries that support the US foreign policy. In the near future, for developed and rich countries that determine the parameters of the global world order, there will be even more urgent need to create the conditions for the sustainable development of the poorest countries.

The problem of terrorism is not only humanitarian considerations and uncontrolled migration from these countries, but first and foremost, the growing threat of terrorism, which will encourage developed countries to design financial support for economic development programs of the Third World countries, including those that can potentially become the taste of a terrorist threat.

An important aspect in shaping the system of coordinated confrontation of terrorism at the interstate level is the financial investment of states in the development of information and communication technologies, not only within the framework of the corresponding domestic programs. Modern terrorist organizations are characterized by the trend to use the latest technologies and expansion of activity into the cyberspace by the spread of propaganda, recruitment work, support of communication with their cells (including through closed information networks like the Darknet and using the latest methods of encryption), illegal activity in cyberspace, connected with the implementation of hacker attacks, data theft, etc. Moreover, online payment systems significantly simplify financial transactions related to provision of criminal activity. According to various estimates, today there are at least 5,000 sites created by terrorist organizations.

The world will be able to withstand technologically «armed» terrorism by united efforts of states with more or less equal technological capabilities, which will again encourage developed countries to support and develop the technological potential of the Third World countries ready for active opposition to transnational terrorism.

4.3. Ukraine: Terrorist threats and prospects for their levelling

In the Global Terrorism Index, which is formed by the Australian Institute of Economics and Peace (University of Maryland) on a yearly basis, Ukraine ranked 17th among 134 countries with an index of 6.56 (the rating is measured from the top 10 points of terrorist activity to zero) in 2017. It should be noted there has been some improvement over the previous years, when through the Russia’s aggressive policy aimed to destabilise and disintegrate our state, Ukraine occupied the leading position in the ranking, with its 2014 - 12th place in 2014 and 11th place among 163 countries in 2015.

The 2017 ranking shows that the highest level of terrorist activity is observed in the Middle East countries, in particular in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Pakistan. There are bases of ISIS, Al Qaeda deployed in the territory of these states. Although the terrorist threat for Ukraine is still an extremely high, its main source is not international terrorist organisations, but the activity of quasi-governmental entities - the so-called «DNR» and «LNR» supported by the Russian Federation. The methods they use to achieve their political goals (shelling civilians, committing sabotage, creating obstacles to the work of international security organisations, and threats to the lives and health of their members, etc.) are consistent with the methods employed by groups recognised by a number of terrorist countries and international organisations (Rzennikova, et al., 2017).

With regard to the risks of financing terrorism, Ukraine has become a transit country for those seeking to join ISIS hot spots in Syria from 2014. Note that countries like the US are not regarded as potential targets by terrorist organisations, but are used for transit, respite, treatment and recruitment of new members - that is to ensure their activities. The facts of the transit potential of our state used by international terrorists are confirmed by the results of the activity of the Security Service of Ukraine. Recently, the security forces detected and blocked several transit channels for the transfer of foreign militants to the international terrorist organisation «Islamic State». Thus, in Kharkiv, special service operatives discovered a private apartment that was used to temporarily hide members of the abovementioned organisation who intended to transit to the Syrian-Iraqi combat zone; in Dnipropetrovsk a person originating from one of the former Soviet republics, who was searched by Interpol and who

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directly participated in the recruitment and transfer of “Islamic State” fans from Central Asia to Syria, providing them with means of accommodation and travel documents (Reznikova et al., 2017).

The 2017 report concerning Ukraine on Measures to Counteract Criminal Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing, prepared by the Expert Committee MONEYVAL (Committee of experts on assessment of anti-money laundering measures and financing of terrorism (MONEYVAL), 2017), notes the following promising directions of counter-terrorism activity for our country in the economic field:

- overcoming corruption manifestations in society by increasing the number and transparency of judicial proceedings against individuals (including officials, politicians from the highest levels of power), probably involved in dealings of money laundering;
- the fight against organised crime, in particular the application of specific measures on the centres of conversion of cash accumulated by organised and criminal groups;
- strengthening control over formal and informal banking operations (as of 1 April 2017, banks with foreign capital accounted for 34.6% of the capital of the entire banking system, with the share of foreign capital largely attributed to the Russian Federation (20%), Luxembourg (3.6%) and Cyprus (4%));
- systemic monitoring of non-profit organisations’ activities potentially related to the financing of terrorism, funded from charitable contributions, which, due to their status, are exempted from taxes.

In general, according to the Committee’s conclusion, the situation with money laundering and terrorist financing in Ukraine has had a positive dynamics in recent years. In particular, we can note the positive amendments to the Criminal Procedural Code of Ukraine concerning jurisdiction in relation to Article 209 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine and certain cases related to pre-trial investigation of money-laundering crimes.

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