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## RADICALISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN BOSNIA – „Circle of Lack of Knowledge and Islamofobia“

**Preliminary note**

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### **Abstract**

The concept of radicalization is very actual and presents an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the contemporary terrorism. Our knowledge of the factors that lead to radicalization and shape the mind of the prospective terrorists is an important analytical tool for practical policy in terms of proactive work and development of strategies for terrorism prevention. The problem arises in the attempt of its conceptual determination of the radicalization and violent extremism. The concept of radicalization is focused on the individual and, to a certain extent, on ideology and the group, while structural factors and efforts to address the causes of the phenomenon remain outside the epistemological range. In this paper author(s) use case study method as an empirical study of the social phenomenon of radicalism, extremism and violent extremism leading to terrorism and its impact on the subcultural behaviors of radical communities, the security situation where the boundary between the real phenomenon and the real life context are explored. In this paper, case study research method will brighten radical and extremist movements that are deeply rooted in Bosnian society, their connection with the countries of the region and the processing of empirical data on various forms of discrimination and Islamophobia will be discussed. The problem of this research is the impact of radicalism and extremism on the security situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the current security position of Bosnia and Herzegovina vis-à-vis its neighbors with social focus and the importance of the restructuring a conceptualization of radicalism, extremism and violent extremism leading to terrorism, destruction, human casualties and high media coverage of such acts. Period of terrorism implication on Bosnia covering 2010-2020. Results will precise essential weakness of the concept(s) of prevention in fight against violent extremism in addition to other methodological uncertainties addressed in this paper.

The paper seeks to examine the leading positions in scientific literature and critically review the epistemological and practical value of the concept of radicalization that leads to terrorism. From theoretical perspective this concept lacks solid grounding base and should be subject of critical rethinking. The establishment of effective mechanisms for deradicalization is one of the vital programs that Bosnia and Herzegovina will have to recognize and implement, especially through work with young people, which will involve various social actors, all in order to spread tolerance and equality in order to achieve greater degree in the creation of a free democratic society.

### Keywords

radicalization, violent extremism, lack of knowledge, Islamofobia, Bosnia and Herzegovina

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Looking at the wars that have taken place and are still taking place in the Arab world for the last 20 years and their security, geopolitical and strategic aspects that, according to the system of connected vessels, spill over into our region and the growing radicalization and extremization of societies around the world, different national, social, economic, social and religious beliefs, I found it appropriate to deal here with such phenomena from the standpoint of our state, state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Security itself is the degree (level) of protection from danger, loss, damage or some criminal activity, and as a form of protection are structures and processes that provide or improve security as a condition. Ensuring an adequate level of security is a task facing each state, so that each state through its activities seeks to fulfill this task. It is a necessary condition for a normal life, as well as a condition for the normal functioning of the community, society and the state (Ahić & Moratić, 2015). Security, as such a phenomenon, affects all aspects of life, and at the same time it is a condition without which it is impossible (*conditio sine qua non*) and as such we protect it with all our strength and available means.

Radicalism/extremism and security studies can and must be viewed multidisciplinary in finding the genesis of security phenomena, which arose from the process of radicalization in our area and their impact on our society as a whole.

Terms such as radicalism and extremism have different meanings and understandings. They relate to the same connotation and identify and we must emphasize that these are two different concepts, which have only some similarities. Radicalism as such can be related to some positive movements and changes in society, while extremism is not. They have a foothold in various spheres of life and society, in addition to security and political, they are also associated with phenomena in religion, sports and culture. Terrorism has its connection with radicalism and extremism, and especially with violent radicalism and extremism. Extreme ideas of an individual or a group that guide certain changes in society are a key motive for the development of terrorism. Violent extremism is closely linked to terrorism and leads to its emergence. In this

paper, we will explain the concepts of radicalism and extremism, their origin and interpretation throughout history, their security connection with the state and society and the use of different methods and measures for their recognition and suppression within a social community. As with most phenomena in society, leading to deviant ideas and behaviors, radicalism and extremism can be successfully avoided with the help of adequate education and training. A society that is educated, self-aware and aware of the negative consequences of radicalism, extremism and violent extremism leading to terrorism is ready to resolutely oppose these phenomena and ideologies.

This is attempt to investigate the threat posed by the various radical groups that exist in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the security system and society as a whole. Prevention of these phenomena is a great challenge for the developed countries of the world, and thus an even greater challenge for our society.

The phenomenology of security places this multidimensional phenomenon and activity very broadly. To understand some of the security issues, we decided to adopt an approach and analyze certain security risk generators, from racism, chauvinism, hate speech, through state, religious and political radicalism and extremism to what is potentially their most dangerous product, terrorist actions. Radicalism/extremism leading to terrorism is hostile and has a negative view of the achievements of civilization and modern society. It is evident that this is a very serious security problem for the countries that have been identified as targets, but also for other countries due to the possible implications of such activities.

The motives of terrorist groups are different: political, state, non-state, ethnic, religious, etc. and they also have a common connection, and that is hostility towards a certain state order. The very terrorist actions of certain terrorist groups, supported or unsupported by individual states, range from pure threats to use weapons of mass destruction, to the announcement of drinking water poisoning, to mass killings by planting explosive devices or public executions that we have recently witnessed in France and Austria. Given the fact that any type of weapon or device can be supplied to the black world market, terrorism is, without a doubt, a serious growing threat to security at both the national and international levels.

The danger of radicalism/extremism, which leads to terrorism in multinational states, is especially emphasized, when certain nations have a tendency to secede from their home countries and resort to terrorism in order to achieve such goals. Interethnic and interfaith conflicts are extremely fertile ground for various terrorist activities. In Europe, these phenomena are well known, starting from Ireland, Italy, Spain and all the way to the Balkan countries.

Today, the terms radicalism, extremism and terrorism are some of the most frequently mentioned in modern politics, the press, electronic media and even everyday speech. Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a state that suffered terribly in the 1992-1995 aggression on Bosnia, with its complex state and political system, has never fully stabilized its social and political circumstances.

When we talk about such events that preceded the war and the abrupt cessation of an entire socio-political system and the transition to a market-capitalist concept, as well as the Dayton system of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we find fertile ground for the growth of various "isms", all with additional factors such as: high unemployment rate, budget deficit, lack of business opportunities. All this creates great dissatisfaction among the population, and especially among generations of young people.

A large number of young people, starting with the generations that took part in the war, through the generations that spent their childhood in the war, to the generations that were born and raised in the post-war Bosnian society, with the factors we mentioned earlier, are excellent material for various world lobbyists who try to recruit individuals or groups to achieve their illegal goals or motives. An ideological and cultural space was created there, which attracted various sects and their teachings, and they are most often a mask for various foreign influences on the already fragile Bosnian society.

The aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina began with hate speech, extremism and the satanization of the other and the different, and was waged by an unprecedented form of violence. Taking into account all of the above, Bosnia and Herzegovina faces a major challenge in terms of developing a strategy to combat all negative phenomena that could harm and shake the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina and endanger the security of its population.

Various strategies, action plans and the adoption of various strategic documents in Bosnia and Herzegovina are very often reduced to symbols that are partially or not implemented in practice, and often remain just a dead letter on paper. Contemporary challenges, such as the ideological indoctrination of young people, radicalization, extremism, terrorism and the general rise of right-wing ideology throughout Europe and the world, cannot but be an alarm for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Here we must also take into account the migrant crisis that is shaking the strongest economies in Europe and the world and could create a humanitarian catastrophe in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia and Herzegovina is largely intertwined with its neighboring countries in economic, political, social, religious, ethnic and security terms. Therefore, we consider it expedient to analyze the current strategies and adopt a comprehensive prevention strategy, with a small modification and adaptation to its micro environment, to combat radicalism and extremism, both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in neighboring countries.

This paper will contribute to some answers and clarifications of the situation that arose from this global phenomenon and problem, and to the identification of phenomena and conditions that lead to radicalization and extremism in our society.

## **2. METHODOLOGY FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1 Research problem**

The problem of this research is the impact of radicalism and extremism on the security situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the current security position of Bosnia and Herzegovina vis-à-vis its neighbors and social focus and the importance of the emergence and conceptualization of radicalism, extremism and violent extremism leading to terrorism. destruction, human casualties and high media coverage of such acts.

The very ability of the state system and its apparatus to respond to an increasing number of security challenges is one of the key factors for the normal and perspective functioning of the state, its protection of the constitutional order, possibilities for ensuring basic human rights and needs and development of a positive economic environment. It is very important to emphasize that the authorities in BiH, as well as the state authorities in the region, must undertake more comprehensive activities in various segments in order to ensure a positive security

environment for citizens in their territories. Here we can emphasize that a very important place in the fight against radicalism, extremism and violent extremism is occupied by law enforcement agencies, and in addition to the reactions of these law enforcement agencies and other security services, criminal law institutions also play an important role. In order to prevent or reduce these phenomena, the state, as a legislator, has criminalized in its laws such behavior and activities that in one form or another can be recognized as a criminal offense of terrorism, incitement to terrorism or joining terrorist organizations.

There are many reasons why Bosnia and Herzegovina is interesting for various policies and political influences, as well as various criminogenic groups. Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a part of the famous "Balkan route" through which narcotics, weapons and people are smuggled to the countries of Western Europe. The war in Syria and Iraq and the phenomenon of foreign fighters, as well as their departure and the subsequent return of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the battlefields of these countries. A migrant crisis that is gaining momentum and spiraling out of control. All of these are things and events that pay attention to the security situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In addition to the above, other parts of society can and must be involved in the preventive fight against all manifestations of this plague. Also, everyone should be involved in finding sources of radicalization and extremism. After the identification and sanctioning of such socially harmful phenomena and after the process of deradicalization, we should all participate in the reintroduction of such persons into the normal course of society.

## **2.2 Subject of research**

From the research problem one can come to define and research the subject of this paper, and that is radicalism and extremism in security studies, a case study in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We will deal with the issue of various factors that pose a risk to radical groups as a real problem faced by the security system of this country and the actions of radical groups in certain phases when radicalism turns into extremism, which later leads to terrorism, or identifying a security threat to reflect on the security destabilization of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A certain part of Bosnian society that is affected by radicalization, and which as such is recognized as a security problem within the security policy, has its roots in war events of 1992-1995, where there was an escalation of all negative forms of intolerance towards everything that is different.

Some were colored by religious fundamentalism and fanaticism, others by nationalist and fascist ideas, and some simply as mercenaries/dogs of war, many of whom had a criminal past. With their engagement, motives and crimes, they contributed to the already bloody conflict becoming even more extreme, and the escalation of violence even greater. Post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, constitutionally, economically and competently, is divided into different levels, fragmented between different political interests, reintegration processes are very slow and mostly inefficient, while reforms implemented mostly only formally. In the sources of radicalism and extremism in Bosnia and Herzegovina we can recognize forms of religiously based radicalism within Salafi Wahhabi persons and communities and widespread ideology inspired by right-wing, ultra-nationalist and separatist ideas, and to the detriment of the other and different in our case, against the other two nations.

Since the main role in the fight against radicalism, extremism and violent extremism leading to terrorism is played by law enforcement agencies, which, within their legal competencies, have these phenomena as a subject of research, this paper will pay little attention to its work. These agencies, as well as the legal framework under which they operate, and also to dedicate themselves to the genesis of the occurrence of these phenomena, both in our country and in the region. A special place in the subject of research is occupied by the early recognition of these phenomena and their prevention at the earliest stage, as well as the process of deradicalization of persons or groups who have been exposed to these phenomena.

The security policies pursued in the European Union and our region in terms of combating radicalism, extremism and violent extremism leading to terrorism and even the very occurrence of terrorism aims to show the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina in terms of combating these phenomena.

## 2.3 Research goals

### 2.3.1 *Scientific goal*

The scientific goal of this research is to describe and attempt to explain the impact of radical groups on the emergence of radicalism, extremism and violent extremism leading to terrorism and to provide a detailed analysis of the impact of extremism on security threats within and outside Bosnia and Herzegovina. Other social subjects in recognizing and combating these phenomena.

Identifying and describing the problem is the first and perhaps most important step in overcoming it. The very description and study of radical groups that have their own personal subculture, blindly pursuing their ideological goals, can contribute to an attempt to better understand the problem of radicalism that turns into extremism, violent extremism and terrorism. This research may also serve as a basis for further and deeper research, all for the purpose of developing methods for the early identification of radicalization and extremism, as well as the causes of terrorism. The importance of inter-agency cooperation, both at the national and international level, should be emphasized here.

Modern trends in the fight against radicalism, extremism and violent extremism that lead to terrorism have no limits and require new methods of intelligence and investigative character. It is also of great importance to constantly educate human resources and make joint efforts within national and international strategic actions in the fight against these phenomena.

Media that have the power and ability to determine which topic will be current and how the public will observe a certain phenomenon and greatly contribute to the formation of attitudes and opinions of public opinion, must refrain from sensationalism and misreporting and want to get as many clicks and views. By studying the causes and motives, we can work on the prevention, i.e. prevention of the occurrence of harmful consequences.

### 2.3.2 *Social goal*

The social goal of this scientific research is to learn about the importance and role of security agencies in the fight against radicalism, extremism and violent extremism leading to terrorism, and the possibilities and ways in which Bosnia and Herzegovina fights and copes with these phenomena, which can serve to improve plans and state strategies, all with the aim of more

efficient fight and prevention. It should also reflect on the recognition of the problems of radicalization and extremism and point to the threat and security situation as well as the possible political destabilization of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This thesis can be supported by the increasingly widespread media appearances of various radical groups that are trying to impose their ideology and vision of social order, and on the other hand, the growing media campaign and speeches of political leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina and political leaders on the source of radicalism and extremists in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the threat to Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region, and the impossibility and sustainability of such a state.

In addition to creating a bad image with such statements, and at the same time sending a bad image of Bosnia and Herzegovina, they also cause difficulties for economic development because investors are not inclined to invest in potentially insecure areas.

One of the trends of radicalization and extremism in Bosnian society is reflected in the activities of the Wahhabi movement as well as a large number of movements and groups that advocate right-wing nationalist ideology, such as the Chetnik and Ustasha movements. The activities of these movements, which in Bosnia and Herzegovina have an increasing number of members and sympathizers, and where young socially vulnerable people are primarily targeted, who do not yet have an established attitude towards life.

### *2.3.3. Temporal and content determination of research*

This paper, basically, on the topic “Radicalism/extremism in Bosnia and Herzegovina-circle of lack of knowledge and Islamophobia” mostly covers the period of the introduction of multi-party system and the disintegration of our former state, as well as the post-war period. The research project mostly refers to the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the region, and due to a better understanding of things and understanding of certain phenomena, we had to expand to other areas, such as Syria, Iraq, the Middle East, Ukraine, USA and Western Europe.

## **2.4 Hypothetical framework**

### *2.4.1 General hypothesis*

In social conditions in which radicalism, extremism and violent extremism are actively manifested, there are possibilities that are more than sufficient for the manifestation of certain security risks. Prevention by state bodies and its active role represents a significant contribution in the fight, is in the prevention and suppression of such negative phenomena.

### *2.4.2 Special hypotheses*

The fight against radicalism, extremism and violent extremism leading to terrorism is a priority for the countries of the region, as well as for the rest of the world.

Without strengthening democracy as well as understanding and cognition of traditional, cultural and historical heritage, society is prone to negative manifestations of fundamentalism and radicalism that can lead to extremism, and escalate into threats to security or even terrorism.

### 2.4.3 Method of Research – Case study

The case study method is an empirical study of the social phenomenon of radicalism, extremism and violent extremism leading to terrorism and its impact on the subcultural behaviors of radical communities, the security situation where the boundary between the real phenomenon and the real life context will be explored. In this paper, as a case study, radical and extremist movements that are deeply rooted in Bosnian society, their connection with the countries of the region and the processing of empirical data on various forms of discrimination and hate speech will be discussed.

## 3. CIRCLE OF LACK OF KNOWLEDGE AND ISLAMOFOBIA

Radicalism implies the beliefs or actions of people who propagate thorough and complete political or social reform or social or political movements aimed at fundamental changes in the structure of society (Oxford Dictionary, 2010: 166).

If something is said to be radical, it does not mean that it is backward and dangerous, but on the contrary, it can have progressive and advanced meaning.

It can be radically defined in different ways, depending on the circumstances. In a particular context, it can simply mean wanting to cause political change and does not have to pose a threat to society unless it is linked to violence or other illegal acts, such as incitement to hatred or human rights violations.

At the moment, there is no generally accepted definition of radicalism and radicalization as processes in the academic and political community. These communities link radicalism and radicalization to violent extremism or describe radicalism as part of the path to terrorism.

The European Commission has defined radicalism as a phenomenon in which people accept opinions, attitudes and ideas that could lead to terrorism.

The expert group for violent radicalization, formed by the European Commission, which had the task of analyzing academic achievements on the topic of radicalism and radicalization, stated in its report that global, political and social motives are important as well as ideological and psychological. defined as socialization towards extremism, which manifests itself in terrorism.

The term radicalism was first used by the British politician Ch. J. Fox, who advocated a “radical” reform of the political system in the direction of the introduction of universal suffrage. After that, the term referred to the social movement that developed in Europe from the end of the 18th to the middle of the 19th century. In Great Britain, the movement invoked the values of the Glorious Revolution (1688) and the French Revolution (1789). He fought for greater rights of citizens in relation to Parliament and the King: the right to resist the government in case of abuse, the right of the people to form a government, and for religious tolerance and social reforms. The most prominent representatives of the movement (the so-called British radicals) were: Richard Price, T. Paine, J. Priestley and others, some of which were organized into associations such as the London Revolutionary Society, and some into political parties such as the Land Party. The British government banned the work of radical societies, but the radical movement significantly influenced the political theories of natural rights and popular government, which served as the basis for the democratic and socialist demands of the Labor movement in 19th-century Britain. Since the mid-20th century, the term radicalism, especially in American



political discourse, has been used as a synonym for left (communism) or right (fascism) political extremism (Shmidt, 2013). The notion of radicalism is represented in the names of modern political parties that ideologically extend from those seeking reform of the electoral system, through progressive liberal parties and Republicans, to parties of extreme left and right political orientation, but also in various social and religious groups (religious radicalism, etc.).

### **3.1 Radical/Radicalism/Radicalization**

The notion of radicalism is represented in the names of modern political parties that ideologically extend from those seeking reform of the electoral system, through progressive liberal parties and Republicans, to parties of extreme left and right political orientation, but also in various social and religious groups (religious radicalism, etc.).

Thus, radicalism is the name for the direction of critical re-examination and radical change of the existing political and social system. In politics, this name is used for a consistent, often exclusive, attitude, which requires the use of decisive methods in defense of a particular political idea.

Radicalism is also the name for a branch of liberalism, an ideology that developed in the 19th century and had a significant influence on the politics of some European and Latin American countries.

Radicalism, is political radicalism, is an expression used in politics and political theory to denote individuals, movements and ideologies that advocate radical change in society or uncompromising achievement of their political goals. Very often radical individuals and movements call themselves radicals. It can be clearly seen that he first found a foothold in politics, and later he became attached to some interesting phenomena in society and hesitations.

The term radicalization is much debated when used in the context of violent extremism, and the term radicalization is commonly used to describe a process in which a person adopts extreme views or behaviors to legitimize the use of violence (UNESCO, 2019). When it comes to radicalism, both in everyday speech and in professional texts, this term is used in different, sometimes opposite ways. The term radical in any case creates the connotations of something lively and exclusive. However, it is not necessarily negative. It can be said that radical changes are needed in a society, which does not necessarily imply that changes must happen in a radical or extreme way. It is also possible that someone of a different attitude, the very attitude that radical changes are needed, considers it extreme. There are radical political parties that are registered and legal, for example. are not covered by the document dealing with the fight against radicalism.

Radicalization can be a driving force for beneficial change and it can be aimed at achieving change, as was once the case with advocating for the abolition of slavery or the struggle for the right to vote, which in the past were ideas contrary to established attitudes in society. they were also considered radical. This supports the fact that radicalization does not always have to be negative. Throughout history, various changes have taken place in society and the system that have led to radicalization that has ultimately yielded positive effects and changes. Yet the radicalization associated with violent extremism offers many negative and deviant changes that lead to the use of force and is generally considered a negative phenomenon.

Radicalization is a process and all those who start that process can be radicalized, but they do not have to be involved in violent actions. In a democratic system where there is freedom of

opinion, belief and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, the expression of radical views is a protected right, not a legally problematic one. Extremist beliefs arise through the process of radicalization and this is a basic aspect of the period of radicalization.

The process of radicalization can be triggered or encouraged by socio-political or socio-psychological circumstances that directly or indirectly affect the individual. The reasons why individuals join radicalized groups, as well as the reasons why such groups were formed, are complex and different. People living in poorer countries in transition and where society has problems with corruption, religious and national intolerance, and a lack of quality education are much more prone to radicalization. Radicalization is changeable and it is renewed and adapted to each new context, trying to neutralize the fight against it.

In certain contexts, radicalization may simply mean wanting to cause political change and may not pose a threat to society unless it is linked to violence or other illegal acts, such as incitement to hatred or human rights violations.

When it comes to radicalism, both in everyday speech and in professional texts, this term is used in different, sometimes opposite ways.

In a paper entitled *The Concept of Radicalization as a Source of Confusion* (Sedgwick M, 2010) first of all, it calls into question the validity of the use of the term radicalization, because it has a different meaning in different contexts. This author states that radicalization has one meaning in the security context, another when it is word in the context of the integration and rise of the new European nationalism and, thirdly, when used in the context of foreign policy. Different meanings are entered confusion and it is not possible to try to use radicalization as an absolute term and however, Sedgwick states that it is more correct to say yes Sedgwick, for that reason it should be rejected.

The term radicalization is used in a relative sense with the remark that when used the term should always be carefully stated. There are terminological differences related to the notion of radicalization. Next, from the very beginning, we notice that the question to be pointed out relates to the difference between radicalization and violent extremism that can lead to terrorism. In order to determine the relationship between the two concepts, they determined the differences and possible convergence points, above all, should have a generally accepted onedefinition of terrorism. However, there is no agreement in theory and practice and, as he states, Walter Laquer – Terrorism is almost impossible to define (Laquer W,2000).

### 3.2 Extremism

Extremism is a term used to denote acts or ideologies that go beyond the framework and are considered socially acceptable, either for pragmatic or moral reasons. This expression is almost as a rule derogatory, and moderation is cited as its opposite.

Extremism implies holding extreme political or religious views. In politics, extreme ideologies are usually considered to be those belonging to the extreme left, extreme right, or religious fundamentalism. Followers of these ideologies or movements, as a rule, never call themselves extremists, but are therefore more inclined to call themselves radicals. This is why the term radicalism has become commonplace today as a kind of euphemism for extremism.

Extremism comes from the Latin word *extremus* and can be translated as extreme, intransigence in certain ideas, attitudes and actions, and propensity for extreme views and actions (especially in politics), which reformists and reactionaries attribute to revolutionaries.

One of the approaches to the topic of radicalization starts from the effort to explain the specific process of that phenomenon that leads to the extremist type of thinking and action that is most drastically reflected in terrorism.

Extremism means the activities and views of individuals who oppose the democratic order and implement or advocate for violence, hatred, intimidation, discrimination and the overthrow of the democratic constitutional order.

The theoretical definition of extremism is quite different. Different authors have spoken differently and approached this notion. It should be taken into account, first of all, that this is a phenomenon that is not of a purely political nature but can equally be found in different spheres of society. Extremism is found in culture, sports, art, religion, while its destructiveness is most pronounced when it comes to politics. In culture, extremism can be viewed through the prism of denying the democratic determinants of culture where politics and the possibility of inciting violence dominate.

Thus, it could be said that the term extremism refers to acts or ideologies that go beyond the framework that is considered socially acceptable, either for pragmatic or moral reasons. Extremism corresponds to the idea of a border, that is, restrictions. This is also its basic definition, and therefore we often talk about extremism as behavior that is on the border of what is allowed with a tendency to cross that border. These boundaries are not uniform and can occur in the form of customs, laws, religious and moral norms, so the notion of extremism is different. Hence the explanation why in one environment the same phenomenon can be considered extremism, while in another, in which the boundaries of behavior and the axiological system are different, it is not.

Violent extremism refers to the beliefs and actions of people who support or use ideologically motivated violence in order to achieve radical ideological, religious or political views. Violent extremist attitudes can be exposed to a range of issues, including politics, religion, and gender relations. No society, religious community or worldview is immune to violent extremism.

In her work, Lynn Davies defines violent extremism as not allowing a different point of view, keeping one's own beliefs exclusive and the only correct ones, and using violence to impose one's own opinion on others.

The terms terrorism and violent extremism are often used together, although they cannot be said to be synonymous. Violent extremism is a broader term and includes a terrorist act, as well as those who do not have to be so qualified. The UN Security Council established the difference between the two terms, marking violent extremism as something that contributes to terrorism.

Extremism is not a 21<sup>st</sup> century phenomenon, but modern violent extremism has somewhat different characteristics.

The processes of globalization lead to a new type of connecting such groups, the use of new communication technologies (social networks) through which individuals and groups are easier to connect, but also easier to recruit, and lead to a different level of unpredictability. Often, the perpetrators of the attack are already committed in advance to commit suicide during the attack.

Access to means of enforcement has been facilitated by the availability of information over the Internet, and individuals and groups have access to a wide variety of weapons, sometimes those for mass destruction. The emergence of violent extremism and radicalism, especially that which leads to terrorism, is not a new form of socially destructive behavior, but conceptually and terminologically adapts to the time in which it manifests itself in its various forms. Psychological view of the problem of violent extremism leading to terrorism is guided by the realization that the link with psychology is an inseparable element in the emergence, existence and consequences of violent extremism and special importance should be given to psychology as one of the elements in this phenomenon. Many of the responses offered by experts include that terrorist instigators are just stalking those who feel disenfranchised, who see themselves as victims or those who have a desire for action and believe in violence. This understanding of things fits into the accepted theories that terrorism is a psychological way of warfare. The notion of psychology on the one hand and radicalism and violent extremism on the other are two sides of the same coin, that is, inseparable wholes to be viewed in the same context intertwined through the individualized role of an individual who may be a bearer of extreme ideologies a world of destruction and suffering. Given that Bosnia and Herzegovina is affected by the problem of radicalism and violent extremism, there is a need to include and monitor this phenomenon from a psychological point of view and take interventions to prevent and create resistance of individuals and communities to these or similar phenomena. The conceptual framework from which we start implies the identification of eight drivers that can lead to radical behavior and result in active violent extremism:

- the role and impact of global politics – violent extremism is a consequence of very complex political, social and economic conditions, as well as a consequence of regional and local geopolitical events that can destabilize a region and raise existing tensions in a society
- economic exclusion and limited opportunities for upward social mobility, ie the connection between unemployment and certain social identities, and the systematic denial of opportunities for upward social mobility, can lead to alienation and frustration, which can further lead to radicalization and violent extremism
- political exclusion and reduction of space for civic activism
- inequality, injustice, corruption and human rights violations
- dissatisfaction and rejection of the existing socio-economic and political system
- rejection and rejection of growing diversity in society, is various forms of discrimination and intolerance
- weak state capacities and lack of security
- the inability of the state to ensure respect for basic human rights affects the growth of inequality and the creation of an empty space in which “non-state” actors can take over state functions, including a monopoly on violence
- changing global culture and trivialization of violence in the media and entertainment exposure to violence in the media (which is almost a twenty-four-hour phenomenon in modern society) can make people less vulnerable to real-world violence, and consuming violent video games can increase aggressive thoughts and behaviors. These drivers of radicalism and violent extremism should not be viewed individually or separately (CeSid, 2016).

### **3.3 Case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina (lack of knowledge and deliberate Islamophobia)**

The socio-political spectrum at the global world level is increasingly shifting to the right. And new waves of violent extremism, radicalism and terrorism have begun to sweep the world, which, thanks to the development of information technologies, mass media and primarily social networks, are under constant public attention.

The number of surveys, starting with the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, which try to answer the question of why people, especially young people, join violent extremist groups and participate in or support violence themselves, is constantly increasing. At the same time, the public and scientific interest mainly focused on the study of phenomena in Western Europe, North America and the Middle East, while, according to some, the situation in the Balkans received much less attention.

In the fight against violent extremism and radicalism, at the 14th session of the Council of Ministers of BiH, held on July 8, 2015, Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted the “Strategy of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the Prevention and Fight against Terrorism for the period 2015-2020”, still valid strategies, the Government of the Federation of BiH in July 2020 adopted a fully standardized, synchronized and harmonized “Action Plan of the Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the prevention and fight against terrorism in the Federation of BiH for the period 2020 – 2025”.

As the basic goals of these strategies, he can state that the suppression of all forms of extremist and terrorist activities, while respecting all values of democracy, rule of law, human rights and freedoms, make Bosnia and Herzegovina an area safe for life and work of all its citizens and others territory.

The guidelines or sub-objectives of this Action Plan could be reduced to four main points:

1. prevention of hate crimes, radicalism, extremism and terrorism in all its forms
2. protection of critical infrastructure
3. improving procedures for investigation and prosecution of terrorism and related crimes
4. response, is reaction to possible terrorist attacks and remediation of their consequences.

In the context of this Strategy and Action Plan, special focus is given to measures to prevent radicalization and indoctrination processes leading to terrorist ideologies, and in particular those forms that contain clear elements of incitement to terrorism, either directly or indirectly, public glorification or promotion of terrorism. and recruitment for terrorism.

What all extremist groups we hear about in the media on a daily basis is their belief in the correctness of the ideologies they advocate, while at the same time believing that phenomena such as multiculturalism, democracy, tolerance and inclusion in society are phenomena that need to be changed, even by force-while not choosing the means.

In terms of scale and mortality, no modern terrorist attack in Bosnia and Herzegovina can compare to crimes committed during the war in BiH. From 1992 to 1995, extremists illegally imprisoned and killed thousands of people in camps throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially under the control of Bosnian, Serbs and Croats. The worst of these attacks was the

Srebrenica massacre in July 1995, which was later classified and convicted by the International Court of Justice in The Hague as an act of genocide.

Although according to some sources the Chetnik movement originated long before the Second World War, it experienced real expansion and the doing of evil and cruelty during the Second World War, and the crimes of the Chetniks were committed not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, but also in Serbia. there were also Serbs, especially pro-Communists.

The memorandum “Homogeneous Serbia” written by Stevan Moljevic (a lawyer in Banja Luka and one of the main political organizers and propagandists among Mihailović’s Chetniks) on June 30, 1941, shortly after the defeat of Yugoslavia by the Axis powers in the April War, required renewal. Yugoslavia with the firm hegemony of Serbs over other peoples in Yugoslavia, and then over the wider area of the Balkans, for which purpose it is necessary to secure wider areas that are predominantly or exclusively inhabited by Serbs. Moljevic also envisions the forced eviction of the non-Serb population and, in particular, ensure access to the Adriatic sea (*Homogenius Serbia, XIV* : 1981).

### 3.3.1 *Bosnias „extremism“*

After the end of the war in BiH, we continue to witness the glorification of convicted war criminals as well as war criminals from Second World War.

Religious and national extremism continues to burden the societies of Southeast European countries. The phenomena of Greater Serbia extremism are still present in some countries, which are manifested by the denial of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of neighboring countries, such as BiH, Croatia, Kosovo and Montenegro. This extremism is publicly manifested through the appearances and gatherings of Greater Serbia extremist organizations, as well as the use of other public gatherings, in which, in addition to extremist messages, the state symbols of the above-mentioned states are destroyed. Greater Serbia extremism also promotes messages against the expansion of the European Union and NATO to Southeast Europe, while emphasizing its commitment to Russia.

The gathering of the Ravnogorski movement in Visegrad, from whose name the word “Chetnik” was dropped in 2004, we are increasingly witnessing radicalization and extremist behavior of members of this movement, and this is supported by their announcement of a new “hell” and “bloody Drina”.

It is a worrying fact that even today, after so many crimes and victims, individuals support the Chetnik movement and the ideology of hatred and evil. This is especially true among extreme right-wing groups and individuals. Precisely for these reasons, is for glorifying Chetnik<sup>1</sup> crimes and the fact that terrorists and extremists find inspiration in these and similar crimes, it is becoming very dangerous for the society in Bosnia and Herzegovina, because historical facts are being revised and Chetnik ideology is being revived. That this has become a practice is shown by the lines of members of the paramilitary organization of the Chetnik Ravna Gora movement. It is a disappointing fact that these installations, as well as various events organized by Chetnik associations, are attended by young people and children.

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<sup>1</sup> II World War Serbian fashists movmunt on the territory of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, Slovenians

According to the “Research Forum of Extremism”, experts from Sarajevo are focused on the phenomenon of foreign fighters in Syria, and do not pay enough attention to what is happening in the smaller BiH entity. Russian investments, aimed at strengthening the religious feelings of Serbs, have led them to call Republika Srpska the “Orthodox Jamahiriya.” (Edina Bećirević, Extremism Research forum, BiH report, 2018)

The deadliest armed attack in New Zealand took place on March 15, 2019, where 51 people were killed and about 50 wounded. Brenton Tarrant admitted to carrying out attacks on worshipers who gathered in two mosques to offer Jumu’ah prayers. Tarrant wrote a 73-page manifesto entitled “The Great Replacement” based on the conspiracy theory of the same name, which originates from France, with the thesis that immigrant groups, which have a higher birth rate, take the space of the European population in their homes and present anti-immigrant views. He also mentions the names of several Serbian personalities, such as Miloš Obilić, who in the Serbian tradition presents himself as the hero who killed the Turkish Sultan Murat I in the battle of Kosovo in 1389. In his manifesto, Tarrant also mentions the Serbian prince Lazar when Obilić served and who was killed in the Battle of Kosovo (Tarrant B., Manifesto:2019).

Continental European example, In his big manifesto, Andreas Breivik dedicated a significant part of his political platform to Croatia and listed two political parties, HSP and HDSSB, which should be counted on in raising a future uprising against Islam and the fight to expel Muslims from Europe.

On this patterns we can see Serb Nationalism raising and again finding routes and similar thinkings in Western Europe (rightwing shovinit and leftwing extreme socialis/comunists) in France, Belgium, Germany and especially in Orbans Hungary.

### *3.3.2 Region-neighbors as an actors in circle of labeling Bosnia for „Islamism“*

„Islamism is on Balkan peninsula is present a long period of decades. One of probably the most famous examples of radical political action Islamist is the Young Muslims organization, of which the first president was a member Independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, otherwise the author of Islamic declarations – the classic Islamist political program for which it is he was once persecuted by the communist authorities of the former Yugoslavia.

Establishing a wide and well-organized network of Islamists and terrorists, however, it began intensively only after the disintegration of the SFRY and the beginning of the war in BiH, when tens of thousands of Islamic fighters – mujahideen came to help The Balkan Peninsula is best known for its turbulent history fought in the so-called The Army of BiH, in order to create the first Islamic state on the territory Europe“. (Jelena Vuković, Faculty of Political Sciences University of Belgrade, FBN, Banja Luka Zbornik radova Bijeljina, BiH 2017).

This kind of „experts-academic“ papers, presented and published by public universities like University of Banjaluka, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, are pure Islamophobia because all of the facts that have been stated are deliberately false. No relevant evidences or evidence in court of law were accepted that mujahideen came to help in making „Islamic state“ in Bosnia. That's why we can claim that, deliberate misuse of unknowledge is used for making Bosniak muslims undercoverd possible raising religious extremists and terrorists. And Serb nationalist use this kind of horrible thesis for justification of aggression, ethnic and war crimes

and Genocide in and around Srebrenica, that have comited and for what for are convicted by highest relevant Court – United Nations International War Crime Tribunal ih Hague.

“Those who want a civic state – I respect them, only today in Bosnia and Herzegovina to say ‘civic state’ – it means classical unitarism in some form and theoretical form, and that means basically an *Islamic state*, and that someone turned it in a caliphate or some other connotation gave that expression...” (Dragan Čović, Croatian Member and President of Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina balkans.aljazeera.net, 2019).

The Jerusalem Post on 31. July 2019 deleted from its website a part of the text about the visit of the President of Croatia, Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović said: “Migrants don’t really want to stay in Croatia,” but simply move to Germany. Although almost all claim to be refugees from Syria, most are actually African or Pakistani migrants trying to cross the border and cross into Croatia from BiH, where Grabar “Kitarovic said that it was very unstable and that in some aspects it was taken over by people who have ties to Iran and terrorist organizations. She stated that *BiH now controls militant Islam*, and added that some are very violent and break into people’s homes” (Free Europe, 2021).

At present time Serb and Croat nationalist use modern time terorist activities for justifying and missuse of modern terorism hapening for direct labeling of Bosnia and Herzegovina for „fruit-full“ ground for home grown terrorism and religiously oriented terrorism in general.

After the beginning of the agrresion on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, there was the first appearance of foreign “mujahedin” warriors in 1993 who came mostly from the Middle East, the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa. After the end of the war, a number of them remained in Bosnia and Herzegovina and founded closed Salafi communities, and later came the local population where they based their lives on strict religious rules in accordance with their interpretation of religion and Islam, and the establishment of “parajamats” that the Islamic community does not admits.

In the last 10 years, Bosnia and Herzegovina has experienced several terrorist attacks. The 2010 bombing, which planted large quantities of explosives near the Bugojno police station, the Mevlid Jašarević armed attack on the US Embassy in Sarajevo in 2011, the armed attack in April 2015 on the Zvornik police station and in November 2015. attack in Rajlovac where soldiers of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were targeted.

Later, all these events had a connection or were connected with the activities of these communities and were connected with Salafism (Bećirević E, 2016).

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The ability of a state apparatus to respond to security challenges is one of the key factors for the normal functioning of the state, its protection of the constitutional order, and the provision of human rights and economic development. A state that is not ready to recognize and deal with these types of threats through the implementation of legal solutions and authorizations, is losing its credibility at the domestic and international level.

Balkan social and political events at the end of the last century led to the escalation of all forms of intolerance, especially national and religious, which during the war grew and escalated into extremism and was the cause of terrible crimes. Proponents of extremism never



say for themselves that they are extremists, because extremism is a socially unacceptable ideology. They prefer to call themselves radicals. These two categories are intertwined and interconnected and we can say that one tends towards the other. Therefore, the appearance of these categories in society and their mention, definition and processing in security circles are inseparable and viewed as threatening each other, and later as mutual components.

The security policy established by the state derives from the security situation. This primarily refers to the activities of radical and extremist groups whose activities could use terrorism as a means to achieve religious, ideological, political or other goals. Supporting radicalism due to the spread of a certain ideology, whether it is the political nature of the extreme right, extreme left or religious fundamentalism, is a suitable ground that can cause a certain kind of destabilization in society. We are witnesses that such indoctrinated categories are often used in attempts to overthrow certain political systems, conduct political campaigns, at sports matches and the like, both in the world and in our country. Disorders of the economic system, bribery, corruption, negative demographic fluctuations, reduction of the working age population, unemployment, all of the above creates fertile ground and environment for the development of all forms of organized crime, money laundering, extremism, terrorism and terrorist financing. Encouraging radicalism, while neglecting the development of positive social relations and working on mechanisms that will recognize and suppress radical phenomena in society, can have far-reaching negative consequences for the development of society for the product. Due to the previous trend of foreign fighters going to Syria and Iraq, and the frequent mention in some media and media appearances of regional politicians, Bosnia and Herzegovina is characterized as a country with a large number of terrorists or potential terrorist cells, and that it is a country where a large number of terrorist acts have been committed, ie that these acts were mostly committed by radical extremists. If we look at all these factors, we can say that radicalism and extremism are a security issue that can affect the security situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As the spread of radicalism and extremism, as well as terrorist attacks, is an ideal opportunity to destabilize and provoke political crises, there is a justified fear that certain extremist groups, under the directives of “political currents” or their own ideology and fanaticism, might try to destabilize security and political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, we tried to point out the threat posed by radicalism and extremism to Bosnian society, as well as the readiness of Bosnia and Herzegovina to respond to radicalism and extremism leading to terrorism. Here, too, attention should be paid to individuals whose actions influence the spread of radical and extremist ideas, and which have negative consequences. The fight against these deviant phenomena should be closely related to education and training, and a very important place is occupied by religious education, as well as the involvement of governmental and non-governmental organizations, all in order to reduce radicalism and extremism among young people. We must work on understanding, educating and supervising the use of social networks and the Internet, because this can have a negative and devastating effect on the still undeveloped and young people in our society.

Bosnian society with a high degree of bribery and corruption, nepotism, unemployment and illiteracy, is a fertile ground for the indoctrination of young people into extremist beliefs. Radicalism and extremism are also fatal because they precede terrorism, and terrorism is a threat to the security of every country and society. The radical discourses that prevail in everyday speech and public appearances, and are represented in all three national corps in Bosnia and

Herzegovina, negatively affect the building of a common future and mutual trust and respect. War events and speeches that incite mutual hatred, glorification of war criminals and political strife lead to a greater spread of radicalism and extremism, because where hate speech produces radicalism, extremism and violence, radicalism, extremism and violence produce additional hate speech and so we fall into a vicious circle with no way out. We must also be careful here, because excessive preventive and repressive action without clear goals and defining phenomena and strategies can lead to abuse in terms of stopping non-violent expression of different and different opinions and undermining democratic society and freedom of speech, as one of its principles.

When we look at the fight against radicalism and extremism, taking the views or beliefs of certain groups that are considered radical, as well as their peaceful expression, should not be considered criminal acts. Radicalization that does not turn into extremism, ie does not have the characteristics of expressing violence, hate speech or any other criminal act such as incitement to hatred, should not be a reason for law enforcement agencies to take measures. Responsibilities on this issue must be taken over by other social actors, primarily at the legislative level, through schools and educational institutions, as well as religious communities, all for the sake of creating and advocating for a healthy society. The fight against radicalism, extremism and violent extremism leading to terrorism, which are only declarative commitments, do not constitute an effective way of fighting radicalism and extremism without concrete measures implemented on the ground.

People who are considered to be at risk of radicalization and extremism should be diverted from the path leading to terrorism. Such identification can be very sensitive, given that radicalization also happens to ordinary people, and not only to people who are alienated and on the margins of life. The process of discouraging people at risk of radicalization includes various forms of support, from psychological counselling and mentoring, directing people towards positive life forms, to creating a safe environment and directing young people to education, sports or other socially useful activities. The construction of such a chain in the process of deradicalization, which will include various institutions and social actors, must be initiated by the state leadership with clearly defined obligations, responsibilities and goals. Institutions for the implementation of prison sanctions must play a significant role in terms of the re-socialization of radicalized persons. Some research indicates a high degree of radicalization in prisons, where there is insufficient access of re-socialization of convicts, who had previously had links with radical groups or were exposed to radicalization in prison. In this context, BiH society has yet to face this problem due to the expected large number of returns of foreign fighters from the Syrian and Iraqi battlefields to be indicted and sentenced to prison terms.

The terrorist threat posed by fighters who participated in the volunteer contingents of various groups in Syria and Iraq, for Bosnia and Herzegovina is currently weak or non-existent, ie less than in other European Union countries. As an example, we have terrorist acts in the countries of the European Union, which happened recently in Austria, where the perpetrator is a person who has experienced a certain degree of radicalization, and, according to operational information, declared himself a member of ISIL.

The establishment of effective mechanisms for deradicalization is one of the vital programs that Bosnia and Herzegovina will have to recognize, without Islamophobic attitudes, and implement, especially through work with young people, which will involve various social actors, all

in order to spread tolerance and equality in order to achieve greater degree in the creation of a free democratic society.

The threat from radical extremists and their ability to commit terrorist acts in Bosnia and Herzegovina is no greater than in other neighbouring countries or regions. However, taking into account all factors: from decentralized state organization, divided and fragmented competencies of police, education, health, weak socio-economic policy, large number of unemployed, departure of entire young families, migrant crisis, as great pressure, attacks, interference in domestic politics and territorial claims by neighbouring countries and their great support by certain political structures within Bosnia and Herzegovina, gives us the right to give this topic and problem a significant place in security policy and assessments, all for the sake of preserving territorial integrity and state sovereignty, as and creating a comfortable environment for living and working.

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