

## ГЛОБАЛЬНІ ПРОБЛЕМИ СУЧАСНОСТІ

УДК 323.28

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### EVOLUTION OF STRATEGY AND METHODS OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY IN THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

*The stages and methodology of terrorist activity in the European countries have been investigated from the beginning of the origin of terrorism in its modern understanding. The strategy, tactics and methods of terroristic acts realization, which are typical for every wave of terrorism in Europe, have been revealed. Among those are the basic evolutionary changes and their dependence on several factors.*

**Keywords:** *terrorist strategy, terrorist methods, waves of terrorism.*

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### ЕВОЛЮЦІЯ СТРАТЕГІЇ І МЕТОДІВ ТЕРОРИСТИЧНОЇ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ У КРАЇНАХ ЄВРОПИ

*Досліджуються етапи та методологія терористичної діяльності в європейських країнах від початку виникнення тероризму у його сучасному розумінні. Розкриваються стратегія, тактика і методи здійснення терактів, що характерні для кожної хвилі тероризму в Європі. Серед них виділяються основні еволюційні зміни та їхня обумовленість низкою факторів.*

**Ключові слова:** *терористична стратегія, терористичні методи, хвилі тероризму.*

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### ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ СТРАТЕГИИ И МЕТОДОВ ТЕРРОРИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ В СТРАНАХ ЕВРОПЫ

*Исследуются этапы и методология террористической деятельности в европейских странах с начала возникновения терроризма в его современном понимании. Раскрываются стратегия, тактика и методы осуществления терактов, которые характерны для каждой из волн терроризма в Европе. Среди них выделяются основные эволюционные изменения и их обусловленность рядом факторов.*

**Ключевые слова:** *террористическая стратегия, террористические методы, волны терроризма.*

**D**evelopment of methods and forms of assassinating during more than one hundred years has been substantially transformed. It is related to many factors of objective nature, such as technological development, development of mass media of communication, appearing of new extremist ideologies, features of international processes, relations between the states, and other factors. In this transformation the certain stages can be distinguished that were characterized by the change of both general

strategy of preparation and realization of acts of terrorism and by application of new methods or accents displacement from one to the other means and forms of terroristic acts realization. Today we can observe yet another terrorism activation in the countries of Europe, as it has taken place periodically. But is this activation related to the changes in strategy and methods of activity of terroristic groups?

Much attention is devoted to the methodology of terroristic acts realization both in scientific literature and on the side of establishments practicing fighting against this phenomenon. With the origin and active

distribution of terrorism in Europe at the end of the 19-th – beginning of the 20-th century, the off-type criminal behaviour was initially faced by the law enforcement, lawyers, politicians, officials. They, on one hand, became the objects of terrorist attacks, on the other – those, who had to organize and realize the fighting against terrorism. Thus the urgent necessity of fighting stipulated the beginning of researching the terrorist methods. W. Laqueur, B. Jenkins, B. Hoffman, V. Vityuk, S. Efirov became outstanding researchers for that time.

Further on the development of terrorist methods of criminal groups and methods of counterterrorist fight of the state started taking place as a reaction to each other's activity. The process of evolution of terrorist and counterterrorist methods was accompanied by corresponding researches in scientific environment. The works of O. Budnitskiy, S. Babkin, A. Zelin, J. Esposito, N. Bajema are among those. Modern conceptual research works on terrorism in the sphere of terrorist methodology expose the list of accessible methods and strategies for the terrorists, their danger and examples of application, and prove the probability of implication of other yet more threatening methods. Thus they pay little attention to the reasons why those methods have become popular, the evolution of transition from one method and strategies to the other, to the cause-effect connection between the activity of terrorist organizations and the policy of the European states. Therefore the aim of the article is to expose the evolutionary stages and conditionality of the choice of terroristic methods used in the European countries.

Terrorist actions, namely violent actions, implemented by non-state subjects and having public nature, ideological basis and aims, states related to the policy, started appearing and gradually spreading in the countries of Europe in the 19-th century. This phenomenon was constrained, firstly, with the protracted distribution of left and originating of anarchist ideas in society that time; secondly, with appearing the plenty of theoretical works that comprehended social and political situation, and sometimes suggested resolving the problems in a violent way. In particular, the ideas that influenced the origin of terrorism are contained in the works of Carl Heinzen, Carlo Pisacane, Max Stirner, Johann Most, Emma Goldman, Mikhail Bakunin, Wilhelm Weitling, Nikolai Morozov et al. Thirdly, with creating grounded on that the radical, extremist organizations or activity of individuals that acknowledged violent struggle as the only means of

achievement of political and social changes (revolutionary, terrorist groups). For example, groups of babouvists, blanquists, anarchists, organizations «People's will», «Battle organization of SR party», «Federation of anarchists of Iberia» and others. In the 19-th century revolutionary violence began to be considered as means of resolving not only social but also national problems, that generated the first displays of ethnic terrorism in Spain, Great Britain, on Balkans. Then there has appeared right terrorism, opposite to revolutionary left, that uses the same methods on the basis of racial and national intolerance. The bright representatives of this kind were «Ku-klux-klan» in the USA, the Black Hundreds in Russia, fascist, neo-fascist and other right-extremist movements [1]. A great value in further distribution of terrorism in the world was played by the movement of anarchists through their distribution of both ideas of terrorist fight and its methods. One of the most developed directions of anarchists' activity was the handicraft industry of explosive and distribution of instructions that told about the methods of violence and endamagement. In 1885 the known book of Johann Most was published under the title «Science of revolutionary military operations: guidance on use and preparation of nitroglycerine, dynamite, pyroxylin, fulminate, explosives, primers, poison and other» [2]. The anarchists' acts of terrorism were presented in two ways: assassination attempt on monarchs, members of royal families, presidents, other high-post persons, as well as unsystematic terrorist actions under a slogan «nobody is free of guilt». The anarchists' movement gave advantage to the actions of individuals or small groups, which made it difficult enough to reveal or prevent the acts of terrorism. They were the first who used the method of androlepsy. Among the basic instruments of terroristic acts there were melee weapons and fire arms or explosive.

Thus, at the end of the 19-th – beginning of the 20-th centuries influenced by the theoretical ideas and practical experience of the left revolutionaries and anarchists the organizations, groups and separate individuals started operating and developing in Europe, the USA, and Russia, new for the state subjects of social and political violence that used terrorist facilities of fight. This period can be considered the first stage in the development of terrorism and terrorist methods in Europe.

The next outburst of the use of terrorist methods of fight and appearing of such organizations in Europe was in the middle and

second half of the 20-th century It was related to the activity of the left and separatist organizations the most known of which are «Faction of Red Army» (1968-1993) in Germany, «Red brigades» (1970-1988) in Italy, «Action directe» (1979-1990) in France, GRAPO (mid. 1970-ies-1981), Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA, since 1959) in Spain, Irish Republican Army (IRA, as terrorist organization since 1969) in Great Britain, «Movement of November 17» in Greece et al. Their choice of terrorist methods of fight took place under the influence of started on the verge of centuries, but unfinished matter of building the socially fair state by revolution and «propaganda by action». Further distribution in the world of the left revolutionary ideology, the ideologists-theorists, as well as some states stood behind assisted the origin of the groups, intended to use terrorist methods. The activity of South American organizations became the first displays of the left terrorism in the middle of the 20-th century [3]. There were the theses of wide spectrum of theorists of the left doctrine (leninists, trotskists, maoists and others) in the basis of their ideology. The strategy and tactics of actions were based on the theory of «municipal guerilla», theoretical and practical essence of which was elaborated by the leader of Brazilian left radicals João Carlos Marighella in 1967 and expounded in «Short textbook of municipal partisan» [4]. Further on it became the bechbook of the most left terrorist organizations of the world, and Europe. Terrorist strategy, types of acts of terrorism and facilities for their realization in the European countries in a great deal coincide with the practice of analogous left and anarchist groups of end of the 19-th – the beginning of the 20-th century. In particular, the activity of European organizations was of anticapitalist orientation (for predecessors yet antimonarchical), undermined the political and economic bases of the state. Public, security agencies, authority structures, business, bank sector, and ordinary citizens came forward as the objects of attacks. Among the types of terroristic acts the advantage was given to the attacks with fire-arms on the representatives of police, authority and business; androlepsy with the demands of redemption or liberation of the accomplices of terrorists from prisons; planting explosive devices in public places (in street actions or simply outside, in shops, near certain administrative, symbolic or private buildings). The explosive could be in bales, in cars or even buried under a road. Gradually it was equipped by the achievements in industry of soldiery

technologies: radio-control, timers, various sensors. On the verge of 1970-80-ies such type of act of terrorism as aircraft hijacking with passengers as hostages entered practice with certain demands to the authorities and demonstration of power. Thus unlike the acts of terrorism of end of the 19-th – the beginning of the 20-th century, the activity of the European terrorists of the middle - the second half of the 20-th century became more various and technically equipped. It became possible via the increase of financial possibilities of terrorist groups comparatively with their predecessors. The states that were in the situation of the bipolar world and pursued their own political aims came forward as basic sponsors, using the terrorists as an instrument. They gave them material, technical, informative and other types of help, made international relationship between separate terrorist organizations. Thus we can distinguish the second stage in the development of terrorist methods the countries of Europe ran into, related to the expansion of spectrum of methods, economic feasibilities and general rising in price of terroristic act.

In the 1980-ies the number of acts of terrorism in Europe began to diminish, which was related to the crisis of the left ideology in the world and the loss of external sponsors by the terrorist groups. However, during that time, there spread in Islam countries the movement for liberation of Afghanistan and fight for Islam spiritual, social values, construction of the Islam state both on territory of separate country and embracing the limits of entire Islam countries and further to the world. The struggle envisaged creation of terrorist organizations and their vigorous activity. The intensity of this process grew during 1980-90-ies and spread outside the Islam countries. War in Afghanistan attracted radical Islamists from different countries, united them in one strong community. They became the experienced fighters in the use of diversionary, terrorist methods. And the presence of external sponsors allowed preparing plenty of guerilla fighters. After war finished in 1989 Islamists gradually moved to different countries together with their experience and connections. It was on the base of Fighters-Afghan and the international system of logistic formed during war at the beginning of the 1990-ies that the world network of the Islamist terrorist groups began to be formed. It consisted of both old pre-war organizations the members of which came home (for example, to Egypt, Pakistan), and of new small groups created round Fighters-Afghan in many countries of the world or existent groups that joined Islamist

movement (for example, in Indonesia, Philippines). Their connections allowed them to coordinate their actions or helping each other in case of necessity. They had a certain coordinating and sponsor center presented by Osama bin Laden and his surrounding, as well as separate countries. Degree of independence of terrorist groups actions was high and gradually increased. Ideology of worldwide jihad found its sponsors both among the states and non-state subjects, thus the improvement of terrorist methods continued.

Since then until now Islamist terrorism has become the basic terrorist threat for Europe. However, most acts of terrorism in the 1990-ies, conducted by the Islamist groups took place outside Europe. The Europeans suffered those in other countries, mainly of Asia and North Africa. It took place because, firstly, in this period the terrorist network was just formed and began to develop, it had the coordinators and sponsors who in turn had interests in Muslim countries and USA and the terrorist organizations activated in those, id est there was no interest in such actions in Europe. Secondly, to implement the act of terrorism in any country, the Islamist network relied either on old organization operating there (in Egypt, Pakistan, Indonesia, Philippines, Algeria and other) or sent the trained terrorists who were not citizens or locals in the country selected for the terroristic act. To make the acts of terrorism in Europe the logistic was more difficult, and there were no local Islamist organizations. At this time on the territory of European countries the so-called «dormant cells» were formed faster [5], the appropriate charity organizations, informative infrastructure (printing-houses, sites), Muslim radical ideologists were sent, theologians, fundamentalism mosques were opened. Moreover, this infrastructure could be also used for actions in Muslim countries, for example, explosions in Kenya and Tanzania were financed from Dublin, murder of Massoud in Afghanistan was done by two Shakhid journalists who arrived from Belgium [6]. The Algerian, Moroccan, Pakistani cells appeared to be the most organized and effective in the European countries. Id est the European countries territory in the 1990-ies was rather used as auxiliary for activity of terrorists in Asia and Africa. Such strategy allowed Europeans themselves not to feel the activity of terrorist organizations. However, their activity in Europe showed up at in early 2000-s.

In 1990-ies comparing to the previous wave of terrorism in Europe in the 1970-ies certain transformation took place in terrorist methods.

Unlike the acts of terrorism of the left terrorists, in that it was possible outline the potential circle of objects of attack (according to ideology), Islamists according to the ideology do not limit this circle in the European countries. They do not try to minimize a victim, and vice versa put an aim to increase them. Gradually, during the 1990-ies, a hierarchical constituent in the Islamist network structure controlled by Osama bin Laden diminished, but the financial was kept and other types of help from a center. That is the hierarchical structure was transformed in the direction of a network. It allowed the terrorists to carry out the massive acts of terrorism, hundreds of people became victims (2963 – in 1996, 914 – in 1997, 6693 – in 1998, 939 – in 1999, 1196 – in 2000) [7]. The main method of terroristic acts implementation became the explosion in public places used in a greater number than in the 1970-ies. To implement the explosions the Shakhids were mostly used. This instrument in terrorist practice was firstly used by the Islamists (as early as in the 1980-ies), and today it remains one of the basic.

Yet another changing of tactics and strategy of international activity among Islamist terrorist organizations took place after the activation of counterterrorist policy of many countries of the world after the USA appeal, caused by explosions in the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. As a result of the states' conjoint counteraction, the terrorists lost part of their infrastructure, channels of logistic, financing, staff. As the reaction to that, the general approach of the Islamists changed towards their own tactics and strategy in international direction. Besides, the presence of the European armed contingents in Afghanistan gave reason for activation of terrorist groups in the European countries. Among substantial changes in the activity in Europe it is possible to distinguish the following ones. Firstly, to avoid the exposure in the developed European countries, where government force authorities operate effectively, the co-operation between terrorist cells acquires the features of the so-called «virtual network», the idea of leader-free counteraction lies in the basis of which. It was expressed by an American neo nazi L. Beam, who asserted that pyramidal organizations were very vulnerable in the epoch of computer technologies. By their means it is possible to expose the structure of organization, the orders from the center that is why the counteraction to the state must be built on network organization without a leader or with a leader-symbol. In such organization the individuals and groups

operate separately one from another and never apply to the center for instructions or orders [8, 34]. The task of the leader in such network is only to stimulate the little cells or individuals to their own initiative. Activity of such leader-free cells was shown in the acts of terrorism in Madrid in 2004, London in 2005. Since then the specialists have begun to mark high degree of noninteraction of the battle forming in relation to leading structures [9, p. 4]. Another change in the strategy of behavior of the Islamist network, entered in particular by Osama bin Laden organization, has become the co-operating with local structures in other countries. The researchers mark that if before «Al-Qaeda» gave advantage to creation in the certain countries of the cells for the specific act of terrorism rather than to the contact with already operating there extremist organizations (for example, none of the performers of terroristic acts on September, 11 had European or American citizenship), then after 2001 it changed its strategy and for preparation and implementation of one-time operations it began engaging local structures or habitants [10, p. 34].

The further process of the strategy development in this direction followed suit of increasing independence of local cells, the phenomenon of the so-called «franchising» of Al-Qaeda in different countries, mainly independent local terrorist organizations bound to Al-Qaeda by ideological, methodological closeness or episodic small help is necessary. For example, Tehrik-e Taliban in Pakistan, Algeria, Libya. Development of one of such franchising of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, created in 2003, gradually resulted in conflicts, and further in open confrontation between them. As a result in 2014 a fully non-dependent on Al-Qaeda organization was created – the Islam state (or its previous name the Islam state of Iraq and Levant) that for today is the most cruel and fanatic in achieving its aims. Violent activity of ISIL today takes place in two directions. On one hand, military opposition on the territory of Syria and Iraq, on the other, there are terrorist actions in the territory of any country, in that case European. At a rough estimate of the American researchers since 2014 ISIL has carried out or inspired the realization of about 140 acts of terrorism outside Syria and Iraq [11]. Firstly since 1970-ies the European countries again felt the considerable splash of terrorist activity in their territory. Starting from 2015, in the different countries of Europe a few the acts of terrorism take place each year, carried out by the supporters of ISIL [12]. Compared to Al-Qaeda, ISIL has affiliated with

it groups in 28 countries versus 12 [13, p.59]. Also, in the European countries ISIL shows greater activity today than Al-Qaeda. However both organizations have started using new methods for realization of acts of terrorism. In particular, terrorist attacks in Europe of the past three years demonstrate the return of the strategy towards wider intimidation of western audience by means of mass actions in the European countries. Before that the acts of terrorism against Europeans were implemented in the territory of other, mainly Asian countries (Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq). And the amount of the conducted attacks shows the terrorists' capacity to realize such plan. For the realization of this strategy the activity of lone persons and small autonomous groups is emphasized [14]. It results in the greater variety of methods in realization of acts of terrorism. For example, the acts of terrorism in Paris in 2015 with simultaneous explosions in different places and use of fire arms; acts of terrorism with the use of explosive in the subway, airport, concert, that is in the places of mass gathering; attacks with knife, use of cars for head-on crash with people on a sidewalk, in the square, in the park [15]. Such facts underline the variety of threat, to warn which is a difficult task for security services. It is impossible to protect all buildings and streets, it is difficult to envisage such actions or to watch all of people sympathizing ISIL. New in the activity of terrorist groups has become the methodology of recruiting the preparatory and executive links of terrorist group in Europe. First of all, they began to come forward both at the same time. If, for example, for preparation of terroristic acts on September 11, the executants had financial and organizational help from other people, then in the modern acts of terrorism the executants or the executant must plan, prepare and carry out the act of terrorism themselves. Such executants only have general ideological persuasions and aims. Secondly, when recruiting a future terrorist there might not be a direct contact with operating terrorist groups or terrorists, visit of conflict regions. The locals are recruited by means of social networks and mass media. The latter are used for distribution of propaganda meant for different target audiences in different countries, for exposition of instructions about how to get weapon, choose aims for attacks and conduct the act of terrorism. Thus, the communicative channels already have all necessary information for creation of lone terrorist-person. The first evidence of the change of terrorist strategy and methods were yet in 2015, when the head of ISIL al-Baghdadi

called for his supporters to choose between joining the organization in Syria and Iraq or implementation of terroristic acts in their own countries. The same year such appeal to its supporters was made by Al-Qaeda [16]. Thus, we can distinguish the next stage in transformation of the strategy and methods of activity of terrorist groups in the European countries, which consists in the orientation on the increase of violent activity in the very territory of the European countries with the purpose to intimidate the population and cause internal social conflicts, dissatisfaction by the authority, which must result in the crisis of the political system, weakening of the state and eventually its disintegration from inside. In the methods of activity the accent is displaced onto the activity of independent little groups or lone persons that was begun yet in the 1990-ies by «Al-Qaeda», and is now picked up and developed by ISIL successfully. Also the active use of mass media, noncontact recruiting and inspiration on realization of terroristic acts, orientation on easy, accessible and mass defeat targets. Thus, ISIL using the experience of «Al-Qaeda» and bringing in the strategic and methodological corrections, has activated, so to say, the third wave of terroristic acts in the European countries, that has different from previous (in the 1970-ies) methods of realization of terroristic acts and general strategy of activity, conditioned by other ideology and communicative abilities.

Thus, the three waves of terrorist activity in Europe can be distinguished: a 1) turn of the 19-20-th centuries, 2) 1970-80-ies, 3) modern wave since 2014. Each of them has the strategic and methodological features, conditioned by both social circumstances inside the European countries, by the specific international relations between the states and different ideological ground of terrorist organizations, different material and communicative possibilities of terrorists. It is possible to mark certain dynamics in the methods and facilities of realization of terroristic acts. If to compare the first and second wave of terroristic acts, the expansion and complication of methods and facilities took place, which it is related to the state help for the terrorist groups. The third wave compared to the second differs by the retention of already existent terrorist facilities in its practice, but by displacement of the accent onto using simpler and appliance of new facilities of terroristic acts (for example, trucks instead of airplanes). However, among all spectrum of terrorist methods and facilities used during more than one hundred years by the

terrorist organizations of different ideologies, the explosive and methods of its use appeared to be the most popular. It is thus possible to state, that there is a certain successor in the use of methods and facilities by the terrorists of different current, as well as the evolution in the strategic and tactical spheres of activity, conditioned by the objective factors.

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УДК 327(327.8:341.1)

**Запорожченко Р.О.**

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### **ТАКТИЧНА СКЛАДОВА ЗОВНІШНЬОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ СУЧАСНИХ ДЕРЖАВ У СИСТЕМІ ГЛОБАЛЬНОГО УПРАВЛІННЯ**

*Розглядається проблематика ролі та місця сучасної держави в системі глобального управління. Проаналізовано теоретико-методологічні концепції глобального управління та їх застосовність у сучасних дослідженнях. Визначено особливості тактичної складової зовнішньої політики держав та розроблені індикатори (параметри) для їх типологізації. Запропоновано типологію тактик сучасних держав з урахуванням структурно-функціональних та ціннісно-нормативних параметрів.*

**Ключові слова:** глобальне управління, держава, світовий порядок.

**Запорожченко Р.А.**

### **ТАКТИЧЕСКАЯ СОСТАВЛЯЮЩАЯ ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ СОВРЕМЕННЫХ ГОСУДАРСТВ В СИСТЕМЕ ГЛОБАЛЬНОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ**

*Рассматривается проблематика роли и места современного государства в системе глобального управления. Проанализированы теоретико-методологические концепции глобального управления и их применимость в современных исследованиях. Определены особенности тактической составляющей внешней политики государств и разработаны индикаторы (параметры) для их типологизации. Предложена типология тактик современных государств с учетом структурно-функциональных и ценностно-нормативных параметров.*

**Ключевые слова:** глобальное управление, государство, мировой порядок.

**Zaporozhchenko R.**

### **THE TACTIC COMPONENT OF MODERN STATES' FOREIGN POLICIES IN THE SYSTEM OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE**

*The present paper deals with the issue of the role and place of a modern state in the system of global governance. The theoretical and methodological conceptions of global governance and their implementation in modern research have been analyzed. The specificities of the tactic component of the states' foreign policies and the indicators (parameters) for their classification have been determined. The typology of modern states' tactics with the account for their structural and functional as well as value and normative parameters has been worked out.*

**Keywords:** global governance, state, world order.