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“Culture of Remembrance: Twilight or New Awakening”



International University of Sarajevo
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CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE

Book of proceedings

I INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

*“Bosnia and Herzegovina – Culture of remembrance:
Twilight or new Awakening“*

Editors

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CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE**

*“Bosnia and Herzegovina – Culture of remembrance:
Twilight or new Awakening“*

**I MEĐUNARODNI SIMPOZIJ
KULTURA SJEĆANJA**

*„Bosna i Hercegovina – Kultura sjećanja:
Sumrak ili Novo buđenje“*

**И МЕЂУНАРОДНИ СИМПОЗИЈ
КУЛТУРА СЈЕЋАЊА**

*„Босна и Херцеговина – Култура сјећања:
Сумрак или Ново буђење“*

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Controversy over the Sarajevo assassination – Is it a terrorist act?

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Summary

The event that marked the 28th of June 1914 and which in world history indicates the immediate cause of the beginning of the First World War also means facing the world with the power of terrorism as well as the effects of a terrorist act in the form of assassination. This paper argues that assassination in Sarajevo is a terrorist act with characteristics of state-sponsored terrorism. The conclusion is made on the following basis: analysis (theoretical analysis, frequency analysis, critical evaluation) of the definition of the phenomenon of terrorism and assassination as the modus operandi of terror, synthesizing these findings and critical evaluation of the role of the assassination in political history. The constant feature of terrorism is its political utility and strategic instrumental rationality and assassination in history proved to be a very effective tool for achieving high utilization of terrorism and strategic effects of terrorism, which put terrorism in the framework of the phenomenon that has total power attributes. The elements that define terrorism are the strategic use of terror, the asymmetry of violence, focusing on non-combat targets, spreading fear as a mean of influence and coercion to the general public, seizing power and achievement of political goals. The assassination is premeditated, intentional, targeted and unlawful attack on the life of prominent person which has a political goal. The assassination in Sarajevo was carried out by members of the Serbian nationalist movement who advocated the unification of South Slavs and that resulted in the formation of a secret terrorist organization that stands behind the whole event. The policy objective, which directed assassination, was a South Slavic unification that was achieved in 1919 with the Treaty of Versailles after the end of the First World War, so it is possible to speak about the successful example of the classic state terrorism with delayed real effects.

Key words: Sarajevo assassination, terrorism, state terrorism, First World War.

The middle of 2014, precisely June 28, marks the centenary of one event which may have been crucial for the political and other developments in the 20th century. This is an assassination of Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, which some analysts highlighted as the assassination of the century (Chaliand and Blin, 2007). All the facts about the event have long been known, but its meaning still causes disagreements, disputes and different interpretations. However, one thing is certain: this event marked the immediate cause for the beginning of the First World War, it was the spark that ignited the events that followed. For the first time in history, the world was faced with the power and global effects of terrorism as well as with assassination which in that period was its dominant mode of execution (terrorism *modus operandi*). This case is more than a good introduction to a deeper analysis of the role of the assassination as a form of terrorist activity in the overall political, social and security processes.

Sarajevo assassination: historical context

The overall geopolitical and geostrategic relations on the eve of the First World War have convincingly demonstrated the scope of the meaning and consequences of terrorism. Assassination in Sarajevo, on 28 June 1914 in which heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Archduke Franz Ferdinand was killed, was the immediate cause for the world's first global conflict. Why the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne was assassinated? Events in the Balkans has been turbulent since the Treaty of San Stefano, means from the 1878 and the Berlin Congress.¹¹⁹ The Congress of Berlin awarded Austro-Hungary administrative control of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a prelude to later Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in October 1908. There are several important consequences of the Berlin Congress.

First of all, with these conclusions the former constellation in Europe and in the Balkans was changed. Secondly, it is obvious that the great powers had the same goal at the Congress – to not allow creating a regional superpower in the Balkans. Thirdly, the results of the Congress were the prelude to the further Austro-Hungarian and Serbian confrontation about Bosnia and Herzegovina but also about wider Balkan's issues.

For the Kingdom of Serbia, such a context has jeopardized the desire to expand westward. Starting from the Pan-Slavic idea, Serbia has been focused on creating a South Slav state seeing itself as the 'Balkan Piedmont', means leader. Austria-Hungary was standing in the way of achieving the desired Serbia's political and territorial objectives. Subversive activities undertaken since 1910 have not substantially weakened Austria-Hungary, and that is the reason why the Serbian side, which was nationalist reinforced after the Balkan wars, sought additional ways for weakening the Austro-Hungarian goals and thus achieve its goals (Renouvin, 2008; Kardum, 2009). In the terrorism "golden age", because of the importance that the assassinations played in the so-called first and the anarchist wave of terrorism (Rapoport, 2013), terrorism was quite convenient mean for use in the national-revolutionary issues.¹²⁰

The assassination of a leader of Austria-Hungary as part of a strategy of decapitation was a logical choice for its fading. The direct executors were members of the organization 'Young Bosnia' led by Gavrilo Princip (Thompson, 2012: 404). It is a nationalist movement that advocated for South Slavic unification and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Serbia.¹²¹ Such pro-Serb dimension was the reason why the 'Young Bosnia' enjoyed the support of Serbian nationalist circles.

Primarily it was a Pan-Serbian secret organization 'National Defense'. 'National Defense' was established in 1908 to promote Serbian cultural and national interests. But gradually more and more

¹¹⁹ The importance of the Berlin Congress for relations between major world powers, for the subsequent movement of the historical scene and the outbreak of World War I see more in: Debidour (1933) and Šulek (1938 and 1939).

¹²⁰ An anarchist wave of terrorism lasted from 1880 to 1920. The anarchists who reject any form of government or state government determining them as a unquenched evil for which the despotism is inherent feature, promoted the assassination as a central instrument for achieving goals. In such way US Presidents were killed: Abraham Lincoln (1865), James A. Garfield (1881) and William McKinley (1901). Anarchists from many countries in Europe at that time were gathered in the International of Anarchist/Black International also frequently used assassinations: in 1898 in Geneva killed Austro-Hungarian Empress Elizabeth (killer Luigi Lucchi), in 1900 the Italian King Umberto I (killer Gaetano Brescia), on several occasions they tried to kill the famous German statesman Otto von Bismarck, French President Marie Francois Sadi Carnot was assassinated in 1894 (killed by an Italian anarchist Santo Caserio), while the Spanish Prime Minister Antonio Canovas was assassinated in 1897 (killer Michele Angiolillo), and Prime Minister Jose Canalejas 1912 (killer Manuel Pardinás), Egyptian Prime Minister Buṭrus Ghali was killed in May 1910 (killer Ibrahim Nasif al-Wardani). See more in: Jensen Bach, 2013; Laqueur, 1987; Townshend, 2003; Kalinić, 2003.

¹²¹ About the role and significance as well as the ideological background of „Young Bosnia“ see more in Masleša (1990).

was turning to subversive activities directed towards Austria-Hungary. In this framework was created a space for manipulation of 'Young Bosnia', in accordance with the Serbian nationalist interests which were more and more pronounced and more connected with the Serbian authorities. The radical fraction of the 'National Defense' in 1911 has created a secret terrorist organization 'Unification or Death' ('Black Hand') which were led by the head of the intelligence services of Serbian General Staff, Lieutenant Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijevic Apis. His role in the assassination was proven at the Thessaloniki process on which he was sentenced to death and executed in 1917, but in the retrial in 1953 was rehabilitated. It's the organization 'Unification or Death' that gave 'Young Bosnia' instrumental, organizational and logistical support for the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian Archduke.

For the first time in history, the world has witnessed the case of state-sponsored terrorism. Two months later, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia and shortly after the storm of war engulfed Europe (Chaliand and Blin, 2007; Combs and Slann, 2007; Anderson; Sloan, 2009).

Terrorism: generic definition or pluralism of meaning

Terrorism is on the world stage more than two centuries. Terrorism is the subject of interest of many scientists, scholars, politicians, journalists, professional members of the intelligence, security, military and police institutions, who are trying to answer one question: what is terrorism? However, extensive efforts have not succeeded: a generic definition of terrorism has not been achieved. Moreover, some authors point out that this is an 'intrinsically ambiguous' symbol (de la Calle; Sanchez-Cuenca, 2011). Depending on researcher view and interest, each author (actor) have variously defined the term terrorism.¹²² Statistical data are very convincing. Within academia, 260 definitions of terrorism are used, while various governmental and international organizations are dealing with over 90 definitions (Schmid, 2011). The problem of defining terrorism affects not only public and political discourse, experts in terrorism also have not achieved accepted definition.

In science, the definition implies standardization of the meaning of any term. However, although terrorism is one of the most common topics of social sciences there are a number of dilemmas and controversies around it (Spencer, 2006). It is also one of the most politicized terms in the political vocabulary today. Political scientist Martha Crenshaw believes that the definition of terrorism necessarily involves the transformation of terrorism into usable analytical term, not its use as a means for debate (Crenshaw, 1995: 7).

Terrorism is a term that belongs to those in the social, political, academic and professional discourse that is most difficult to determine. British sociologist Philip Schlesinger, however, believes that the process of defining terrorism is a part of a wider dispute in relation to the ideological and political objectives (cited in Schmid, 2004). Terrorism is a combination of political goals and social disintegration and division in terms of national and ethnic issues, economic, cultural issues, religious, ethno-religious, symbolic and identity issues. Many of today's versions of terrorism assume that understand terrorism is actually understanding that this is a concept that cannot be fully understood (Furedi, 2009).

Definitional and other disputes and controversies within the social sciences on terrorism suggest that terrorism studies have analytical deficits and limitations.

Is it even possible to produce objective knowledge about terrorism? Can we therefore understand terrorism if it is not possible to determine the meaning of a word that represents the starting point of all knowledge or opinions? This brings up the question The question then arises - is it possible to study terrorism at the scientific level if it is not clearly defined? Scientific and professional

¹²²For example, the word "terrorism" in Google gives 23 500 000 results, while the phrase "definitions of terrorism" gives 515 000 results. Accessed on 03/24/2014.

positions are polarized. If terrorism is not an objective, coherent and consistently defined, the determination of a phenomenon and behavior as a terrorist can only be a matter of subjective labeling. Terrorism thus is not objective, empirically identified phenomenon, but socially constructed and historically contingent category of human behavior which depends on the particular circumstances, socio-political context and intentions of the actors. Therefore, the concept of terrorism has no its intrinsic essence, it is more a human (social) construct (Schmid, 2004). On the other hand, what says Harvard sociologist Lisa Stampnitzky seems plausible. She believes that the expert discourse on terrorism operates between science and politics, between academic expertise and state (Stampnitzky, 2013).

Regardless of the different views on terrorism and various scientific and expert definitions, analysis of existing definitions of terrorism clearly indicates its contents. Terrorism is the use of violence (terror) in order to achieve political goals. Such content in the mid-1980s clearly demonstrated the results of scientific research. In an attempt to answer the question - what is terrorism? - Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman (1988) investigated the frequency of certain words in more than 100 up to the mid-1980s known and relevant definition of terrorism. The results showed that violence, politics and terror are the words that have appeared in most definitions: violence in 83.5% of cases, politics in 65% and terror in 51% of cases. It was the first achieved 'academic consensus' (1984) regarding the definition of terrorism. This consensus has brought 22 elements of terrorism and three of them (indicated above) had the highest frequency of occurrence in the existing definitions. The second 'academic consensus' (1988) was based on comments by fifty scientists on the content of the definition (elements) of terrorism from the first 'academic consensus'. According to the results, the definition of terrorism included 16 elements (Schmid, 2004: 382).¹²³

Finally, multidecadal rigorous academic and thorough expert analysis of the current definition of terrorism is the basis for Alex Schmid (2011) to speak on the achieved revised/upgraded academic consensus on the definition of terrorism, so-called 'revised academic consensus definition'. In terms of achieved consensus ten elements are defined that constitute the term terrorism or represent the explanatory definition of terrorism: 1) the dual character of the concept of terrorism: it is a doctrine that postulates the effectiveness of the use of a special political violence and assumed its strategic effects, which should produce power in the political conflict in which victims of violence (primarily civilians and non-combat forces) are not the primary target; and it is the practice, tactics or method of (de)personalized killing and production shocking violence on the public with the aim to influence the political process or manipulate the process; 2) the triple context in which terrorism occurs: the rule of fear (eg. a repressive and illegitimate regimes); continuous protests and propaganda by other means that lead to disruption of public order; context of irregular, psychological or asymmetric warfare; 3) executors as sources or agents of violence: terrorism is the product of man, no terror without terrorists who are non-state and state actors; 4) political character: terrorism is a political (not criminal) violence; 5) violent acts of terrorism involving the commission of a demonstrative, intentional, unilateral, illegal or illegitimate and without moral restraint, selective or non-discriminatory act of violence, which causes death or serious injury and which is undertaken in peacetime or outside the zone of combat operations; its goal is deterrence or coercion against a third party who is directly or indirectly connected with the victims, with the

¹²³Terrorism is: 1) an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated 2) violent action, employed by 3)(semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for 4) idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. 5) The immediate human victims of violence are generally 6) chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or 7) selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. 8) Threat—and violence—based 9) communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main targets are used 10) to manipulate the main target (audiences(s)) turning it into a 11) target of terror, 12) a target of demands, or a 13) target of attention, depending on whether 14) intimidation, 15) coercion, or 16) propaganda is primarily sought.

ultimate aim of complying (subordination) executor goals; 6) communication based on threats: the threat of terrorist violence is a form of "conditional killing", it is creating a climate of fear, which implies a threat coming impact anytime, anywhere and to anyone if they do not comply with the requirements of terrorists; 7) the distinction between direct civilian victims and the final target audience: direct victims who are subjected to threats of violence or use of violence execution are different from the final target audience; therefore anyone can be a victim of terror; direct victims are impersonal target; they are passive means to achieve the goals of terrorists; most of the victims regardless of whether they are representative or symbolic targets of violence actually are the objectives of the secondary character¹²⁴; 8) terror/fear/horror: the intended act of violence is designed to produce the effect of extreme fear or intimidation (terror) which is above the proportion of the results of violence; terrorists are trying to cause public shock, fear and an exaggerated climate of terror¹²⁵; 9) intent: a terrorist act is undertaken with the intent to terrorize the aimed target and exploitation of uncertainty created by the act of execution of a terrorist act; threat of future terrorist act is in compliance (subordination) function of the terrorists or deter the other side from taking any action inconsistent with the aims of terrorists; 10) terrorism does not make an individual act of terror, but it is a campaign that takes place in a series of terrorist acts.

What is assassination?

Premeditated, intentional, targeted and unlawful attack on the life of prominent person which has a political goal¹²⁶; is a form of behavior that is human community has met long ago. The assassination is one of the oldest and most fundamental of terrorist assets. Philosophers and theologians question about the justification of killing political opponents are thematizing more than 2000 years. Plato in the *Republic* and Aristotle in *Politics* are talking about morality of tyrannicide or killing of despotic rulers. Cicero in his work *On Duties (Latin: De Officiis)* says that tyrants usually end up with a violent death (cited in Pettiford and Harding, 2005: 27-28).

In the framework of the doctrine of tyrannicide, the assassination was simultaneously presented as a strong ideological statement as well as a powerful political weapon. Yet the notion of 'assassination' (lat. *attentare* - try) was created much later. Its origin is linked to the group of Shia Islam, the so-called *Assassins* or *Isma'ilis* who were active from 1090th to 1275th, and argued for the expansion of the pure version of Islam. Assassins were the first group that has used assassination as a political weapon in a planned and organized way and as a long-term orientation, they have developed the doctrine of justification killings of religious and political opponents. Assassin (from Arabic *Ḥashshāshīn* – hashish committed) is a term for a militant sect which was located in the fortifications near the Caspian Sea in Persia. They stabbed the victims, usually politicians and religious leaders, who did not accept their sermons, and they did it at close range so the victims had no possibility of escape. Just like today's suicide bombers assassins believed to be sacrificed for more goals. During actions are neither planned nor tried to escape, since it is within the group, the mission of survival considered disgraceful (Chaliand; Blin, 2007(a); Thackrah, 2004; Wardlaw, 1990).

Scientists have been divided for decades on the issue of assassination – is it a terrorist act or is it a separate act of political violence with use of lethal force. They had different opinions about whether

¹²⁴In the case of non-state terrorism and having in mind that one of the fundamental functions of the state is to provide security to its citizens, a terrorist act causes instability of the social order proving that the state is unable to protect its citizens which brings into question the social contract between government and citizens.

¹²⁵The degree of fear of secondary victims, means society (public) depends on the spatial and emotional distance to the direct victims and ranges from fear, over anxiety to despair. Social groups that have a positive attitude towards terrorists or negative towards the victims do not share such feelings.

¹²⁶Killings of prominent people from criminal or personal motives, which in the wider sense could also be considered as assassination, are not subject of these considerations.

the occasion of the assassination distinguish target and final goal or target is also the ultimate goal. According to the first criterion (which, for example, represented by Adrian Guelke, Christine Fair) assassination is an act of terrorism. In the second case (Boaz Ganor, Jeffrey Simon) assassination is not considered terrorism. However, after 'second academic consensus' regarding the definition of terrorism, scientists have gradually harmonized their positions so that the third, revised/upgraded academic consensus on the definition of terrorism ('revised academic consensus definition') had undoubtedly involved assassination in the typology of terrorist acts. Additionally, from the perspective of a terrorist, assassination has a dual role: elimination opponent and intimidate the larger community to which he belongs (Schmid, 2011: 62-64).

Noting that the assassination is difficult to define, Audrey Kurth Cronin refers to customary international law which determines the assassinations as the selective killing of enemy individuals by insidious/secret means and methods (Cronin, 2009: 228fn57).

In the dictionary of terrorism, which is a supplement of impressive study *The Routledge Handbook of Terrors Research*, Alex Schmid (2011: 606-607) determines assassinations as deliberate and premeditated selective murder of high-ranking or prominent person in the community leadership that is prepared in secret and has the character of surprises. Assassinations could be motivated by different reasons and therefore may or may not need to have the character of a terrorist act, even if it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between them. The assassination is an act of terrorism if the victim is not only the primary objective but also serves as a generator of shock and fear among the population at large.

Professor of sociology and anthropology, Nachman Ben-Yehuda, from the Jerusalem Hebrew University, had investigated the assassinations in the wider sociological prism within the concepts of justice/injustice and social control. According to him, a rhetorical means of 'political assassination' can be used within the framework of an alternative system of justice, within the social systems that use this deadly act in the struggle for legitimacy and social control, and for setting the moral limits. In his work Ben-Yahuda referred to the definition of the assassination of Jamesa F. Kirkham, Sheldon G. Levy and William J. Crotty (*Assassination and Political Violence*, 1970) according to which this act is planned, tried and executed murder of prominent political figures by the assassin where the act is done in a different role from the role of government (Ben-Yehuda, 1997:28).

William Crotty distinguishes several categories of assassination: a) anomic assassination: the murder of political figures for private reasons; b) assassination due to replacement of elites (elite substitution): the murder of a leader for replacement; c) tyrannicide: murder of despotic rulers; d) propaganda of the deed: the assassinations focusing on broader problems, and e) terrorist assassination that is undertaken from different motives and reasons: as a form of demonstrating the inability of the authorities to fight against the rebels, as a form of neutralization of government support of the public, form of engagement in support of the revolutionary movement (Crotty, 1998).

The assassination as a political weapon, as well as the *modus operandi* of terrorism, in all its fullness proved at the time of so-called the first global wave of terrorism, in the second half of the 19th century. Anarchists were his loyal supporters. The assassination was their primary strategy of violence, so anarchists have turned assassinations and with them terrorism as well, in a global phenomenon.

Experts agreed on the fact that it was the *golden age of assassination* (Rapoport, 2013). The assassination had taken place again in the 'third wave' of terrorism: the wave of the New Left (*New Left Wave*) in the late 1960s. Analysis of terrorist organizations suggests that the terrorists are very creative in the commission of terrorist acts, and they have an innovative *modus operandi* which means that one form of terror usually replace with another.

Of course, this is conditioned by their instrumentally rational approach to linking the results of the analysis of the strategic environment, their own objectives and social effects of terrorist acts. Assassinations once had a strategic dimension, then the hijackings had a shocking effect, later were the kidnappings then tactics 'hit and run' while in recent years suicidal acts were those which paralyzed society/societies. Regardless of innovation, assassinations have not lost its importance even in the era of terrorism. After examining the authoritative global database of terrorist strikes, *Global Terrorism Database – GTD*¹²⁷, drawn up by experts from the American University of Maryland notes that the assassinations are in third place on the ranking list of the most commonly used modes of execution of terrorist attacks. In GTD basis there were 125 087 terrorist acts that occurred in the period 1970-2013¹²⁸. In the category *Attack Type* there are different categories: assassinations, armed assault, bombing/explosion, kidnapping, hostage-taking, etc. Assassinations make 15,913 or 12.7% of all attacks (*Table 1*).

Table 1: Terrorist Attack Types 1970-2013

Attack Type	Frequency
Bombing/Explosion	59968
Armed Assault	32027
Assassinations	15913
Facility/Infrastructure Attack	8024
Hostage Taking (Kidnapping)	7048
Hostage Taking (Barricade Incident)	724
Unarmed Assault	703
Hijacking	487
Unknown	3898

Source: GTD – Global Terrorism Database

Strictly statistically, assassinations have not lost its importance even in the today's era of terrorism. From the 1970s to the late 1990s the number of incidents (assassinations) in the world was continuously growing (*Picture 1*). The first peak was in the late 1970s when the world average was about 600 incidents per year while the culmination was in the early 1990s when the number of assassinations committed around the world, on an annual basis, had risen to 1,150. By the end of the 20th century the number of incidents has declined over the years. With the beginning of the 21st century, the average number of assassination is 300 per year with a clear increasing tendency.

¹²⁷National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, START: A Center of Excellence of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, University of Maryland, The Global Terrorism Database - GTD, <http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data/gtd>. Accessed on 02/15/2014.

¹²⁸Data for 1993 are not included in the database.

Picture 1: Incidents (assassinations) over time 1970-2013



Source: GTD – Global Terrorism Database

A number of world leaders and statesmen were victims of assassination. Pope John Paul II was wounded in an assassination in May 1981, the executor was Mehmet Ali Agca, a member of the Turkish extremist organization the Grey Wolves (*tur. Bozkurtlar*). Five months later, Egyptian Islamists killed President Anwar Sadat Mohammad. In 1984, Indian Prime Minister Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi was killed by her bodyguards, Sikhs. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the same year in Brighton survived an unsuccessful assassination attempt of the Provisional Irish Republican Army. John Major was also the victim of a failed assassination attempt by the Republicans in 1991. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was killed in 1995 in an assassination by Jewish rightists. Assassinations are one of the trademarks of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil homeland, who, until 2009 when they were defeated by government forces, through terrorism sought to achieve an independent Tamil state in Sri Lanka. They killed the leaders of Sri Lanka and India. In a suicide act committed by the Tamil Tigers on May 1 1993 in Colombo, president of Sri Lanka, Ranasinghe Premadasa, was killed. In October 1992 presidential candidate Gamini Dissanayake Lionel was killed while in December 1999 in a suicidal act the president of Sri Lanka, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga was wounded. At an election rally in a suicidal act on 21 May 1991 in Sriperumbudur near Chennai, a member of the Tamil Tigers, Thenmozhi "Gayatri" Rajaratnam has killed Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister and 25 people more. In accordance with the Tamil Hindu tradition welcomed the prime minister, bent down to touch his feet and then activated 700 grams of explosives in an explosive belt.

Sarajevo assassination: a terrorist act

Is Sarajevo assassination an act of terrorism? One of the lasting characteristics of terrorism is its political usefulness and thus the definition and understanding of terrorism in accordance with the political interests of specific actors, which is also one of the central sources of power terrorism: namely, what it is for someone terrorism, for someone else is a struggle for freedom. And while for some terrorists are really terrorists, for others they are, at the same time, freedom fighters and national liberators.

This is also a framework for observing the Sarajevo assassination. Therefore, the answer to the indicated question need a bit calm scientific approach. Why Sarajevo assassination is terrorism? Analysis of available definitions and extraction of the constituent elements indicates the following critical elements of the definition of terrorism: strategic use of terror; asymmetry of violence; focus on noncombatant targets; spreading fear as a means of influence and coercion to the general public; seizing power and attainment of political objectives. Furthermore, according to the *Global*

Terrorism Database Codebook assassination is an act which has the primary objective of killing one or more of the outstanding individuals.

The assassination in Sarajevo is terrorism, namely state-sponsored terrorism, because it passes two indicated determinations, as well as the definition of terrorism from the third, revised/updated academic consensus.

(Re)interpretation of events with some historical distance, their adaptation to specific political interests and contextual complications, controversies and dilemmas associated with the Sarajevo assassination can be observed in one Finnish case also. Finnish anarchist Eugene Schauman assassinated Russian General-Governor of Finland Nikolay Bobrikov in Helsinki in 1904 after which Schauman committed suicide. Russia, which ruled in Finland in that time, characterized this act as a criminal anarchist act. Finns had a different view of the case. After obtaining independence in 1917, Eugene Schauman took his place in the pantheon of the Finnish national heroes. He became a secular martyr, a symbol of the struggle for national independence, and the memorial plaque inscribed the following: *Se Pro Patria Dedit* (he had laid down his life on the altar of the homeland). However, during the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the assassination of former Finnish Prime Minister Matti Taneli Vanhanen described the act as a pure political terrorism, as a poor act. However, commemorative plaques remained intact (Hanhimäki; Blumenau, 2013).

There are no grounds for disproving the fact that the Sarajevo assassination is a terrorist act. Controversy could only exist about the success of achieving the final political goals through this state-sponsored terrorist act. According to some opinions it was an unsuccessful act. The arguments for this approach are found in a possible strategy of 'Black Hand' whose aim was to destabilize the Austria-Hungary and delay the onset of the First World War in which Serbia after the Balkan wars was not ready. Opposing views that seem convincing say that the Sarajevo assassination was one of the most successful acts of terrorism in the history of terrorism. Their arguments suggest that the ultimate goal of politics, where the assassination was a tool, was the realization of the South Slavic (Serbian) unification. The act of assassination failed in the plan, but it happened with the final dismissal of events for which the assassination was the driving force: the peace agreement after the First World War at Versailles in 1919 where South Slavic state – Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes - was created.

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