

Jarosław Prońko

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Ing. Jarosław Prońko, PhD.
Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce

THE ENDOGENOUS CAUSES OF TERRORISM

Abstract:

*In defining terrorism, there is no doubt in a statement, that it is one of the methods of conducting political struggle, in other words, resolving conflicts between organised social groups (communities)¹. Those in charge of these groups are politicians who shape the dynamics of the conflict and mobilise the individuals who support their aims. Each conflict which cannot be resolved by means of politics, or is not intended to be so by the leaders of the opposing groups, leads to physical struggle². It is possible to conduct it in a number of ways, one of which is terrorism. Therefore, it can be argued that terrorism is a form of **political struggle**,³ that is, achieving some political goals by the weaker side of a conflict by means of terror.*

Keywords: *Terrorism, politics, madmen, fanatics, war.*

The first world war against global terrorism began at 18.27 on Sunday, the 7 October 2001. "This odd war", announced the US Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld, "won't be taking place only in the inaccessible Afghan mountains. All of us will be soldiers in it, menaced by the plague of terror, the citizens of the democratic world, defending ourselves from the control of madmen and fanatics. We are all anti-terrorists because we live in the vicinity of power stations, bridges, tunnels, scyscrapers and chemical plants, which are under the threat of the attacks. There is the total of at least 20 thousand facilities of this kind in the world"⁴.

¹ Usually between a social group and a state, which is a political organisation as well.

² Carl von Clausewitz, German military theorist wrote about it, "War is the continuation of *Politik* by other means".

³ See: *Terroryzm. Diagnoza, zadania administracji publicznej w przeciwdziałaniu zjawisku*, (ed) K. Jałoszyński, B. Wiśniewski, WSA, Bielsko-Biała, 2007.

⁴ P. Cywiński, *I Światowa wojna antyterrorystyczna*, „Wprost” no. 41/2001 (1985).

Donald Rumsfeld's harsh words portray terrorists as madmen and fanatics who spread the virus of terror among the citizens of democratic states. Is this portrayal genuine? And what is terrorism? Who are terrorists after all? What are the goals of their actions? What is the number of civilian casualties of the war on terrorism?

One major drawback in studies on terrorism is its definition, or rather the lack of it.

It has been emphasised by a lot of experts that terrorism (...) is one of the oldest threats known to exist in our world. This method of political struggle has been applied in all periods of both ancient and modern eras. No effective method of counteraction has ever been developed either⁵.

The phenomenon of terrorism is widely known and all of us know what it is and how it works, but to define it unequivocally is quite an issue. Even experts on the subject find it challenging which is reflected by over two hundred definitions currently on record. Since many of them have been formulated by UN agencies, they are treated as official ones⁶.

Terrorism is a multi-layer and multi-faceted phenomenon; consequently, trying to understand it from the perspective of an isolated area of study must fail. In fact, terrorism is a complex and extremely dynamic phenomenon, and moreover, it is developing at a formidable rate⁷.

In defining terrorism, there is no doubt in a statement, that it is one of the methods of conducting political struggle, in other words, resolving conflicts between organised social groups (communities)⁸. Those in charge of these groups are politicians who shape the dynamics of the conflict and mobilise the individuals who support their aims. Each conflict which cannot be resolved by means of politics, or is not intended to be so by the leaders of the

⁵ J. W. Wójcik, *Przeciwdziałanie finansowaniu terroryzmu*, Wolters Kluwer, Warszawa 2007, p. 29.

⁶ M. Borucki, *Terroryzm. Zło naszych czasów*, MADA, Warszawa 2002, p. 5.

⁷ B. Bolechów, *Terroryzm w świecie podwubiegunowym. Przewartościowania i kontynuacje*, Publ. Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2002, p. 26.

⁸ Usually between a social group and a state, which is a political organisation as well.

opposing groups, leads to physical struggle⁹. It is possible to conduct it in a number of ways, one of which is terrorism.

Therefore, it can be argued that terrorism is a form of **political struggle**,¹⁰ that is, achieving some political goals by the weaker side of a conflict by means of terror.

From the philosophical perspective, struggle is any action taken up by at least two entities, (assuming that a group can be an entity) during which at least one of them hampers another. Particularly, in one of the most common and perhaps most interesting instances, both entities not only aim at objectively contradictory ends, but in addition they are aware of it and they also take into account the adversary's actions to prepare their own plans. The case of the entities deliberately hindering one another is believed to be the most interesting one because, by doing so, the two opponents push one another in a particularly intense way to cope with the difficulties. Thus, indirectly, they make one another improve their techniques of operation¹¹.

The factor which is inextricably connected with every struggle is terror, i.e. applying fear as a tool for subjugating other people to one's own will. It is particularly evident during internal wars. Terror is usually used by:

- official authority, i.e. dictatorships; all dictatorships use terror against their political opponents;
- semi-official revolutionary authorities and insurgence leaders;
- small public groups making attempts to exert influence on the official rulers or on the rest of the community.

Fear is one of the basic *primaeva* features (not only of the human-being) and it stems from the survival instinct. It is linked with the ability to associate past events with some negative emotions, such as pain, humiliation, loss and suffering. Fear in its essence is related to the future. The past means unpleas-

⁹ Carl von Clausewitz, German military theorist wrote about it, "War is the continuation of *Politik* by other means".

¹⁰ See: *Terroryzm. Diagnoza, zadania administracji publicznej w przeciwdziałaniu zjawisku*, (ed.) K. Jałoszyński, B. Wiśniewski, WSA, Bielsko-Biała 2007.

¹¹ T. Kotarbiński, *Traktat o dobrej robocie*, Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1982, p. 221.

ant memories, and the present is suffering. Fear nevertheless, pertains to the loss, pain and suffering which might come true in the future. There can be a twofold effect of fear:

- negative – preventing us from trying to achieve a goal – this aspect is being used in a struggle,
- positive – protection of ourselves or some values important to us¹².

An adversary can be defeated (lose in a struggle) by means of physical destruction or through intimidation, the effect of the latter being either subjugation to our goal, or giving up the accomplishment of theirs.

The effectiveness of fear in achieving a political end is shown by the historical and highly meaningful instance of the Wallachian-Ottoman War of 1462. The most important role in the war was played by Vlad III the Impaler also known as Dracula (1431–1476). During that war the Wallachian army was not able to oppose the conquest of the much more powerful Turkish army. Consequently, the then ruler Vlad III conducted guerrilla warfare and used the tactics of “scorched earth”. He resorted to various methods, even to a biological warfare in a sense, as he sent his enemy his subjects who were ill with infectious diseases. Apart from causing chaos in the movements of the adversary army and weakening its military readiness, the other major intention of using guerrilla warfare was to capture as many prisoners as possible. Once the Turks reached Târgoviște, Vlad’s capital, the sultan was received with a horrific scene which went down in history as “the forest of the impaled corpses”. According to Chalkokondyles, a Greek chronicler, the marching Turks encountered a terrifying decoration by the road which consisted of Turkish captives impaled on stakes. The area of pales was one kilometre wide and three kilometres long. The number of the stakes was reported to be 20 thousands, which seems to be much overestimated, though. As the sultan saw his men hungry, thirsty, exhausted and losing their morale, he ordered a retreat¹³. The deciding factor for the withdrawal of the Ottoman army was fear which seized the soldiers.

¹² See: S. Gerstmann, H. Orlikowska, I. Stachnikówna, *Z badań nad psychologią strachu*, PWN, Poznań 1957.

¹³ See: J. Demel, *Historia Rumunii*, Zakład Narodowy Ossolińskich, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1970.

A recent example of the similar effectiveness of fear in an asymmetric war could be the Battle of Mogadishu (Somalia, 1993) in which 19 US marines lost their lives¹⁴ and although the goals of the operation had been achieved, the President of the United States ordered the withdrawal of the US troops from Somalia¹⁵.

Similar instances are numerous. Presumably, the bomb attack in Madrid on 11 March 2004, just three days before the parliamentary election, determined the outcome of the vote, as the first move of the newly elected Prime Minister José Zapatero was to ensure the withdrawal of Spanish troops from Iraq. Thus, it is evident that terrorist actions are not devoid of rational justification, despite being highly unethical from the point of view of morality, and, beyond any doubt, against the law. Nowadays this form of struggle intensifies and the frequency of its use is still on the increase. It results from a considerable disproportion between fighting forces on both sides of the barricade, namely, a powerful state in charge of its governmental apparatus, and capable of implementing measures of enforcement, is confronted by a small social group. More often than not, the latter has hardly noticeable social support or no social approval whatsoever. The struggle between such two sides is called an asymmetric conflict. If the weaker side wants to achieve anything, it has to show the stronger one that it is powerful, especially mentally. Specifically, it has to prove that it is capable of killing innocent people in order to achieve its goal, and consequently, it has to evoke fear in its adversaries, or at least make them think over the goals the weaker one wants to achieve.

Therefore, it appears to be a justified claim that terror is a tool, and that terrorism is a way to carry out a struggle, namely, to achieve some political goals by means of terror. It should be stressed however that this method of struggle is called terrorism only when it is used by the weaker side in an asymmetric conflict. The use of terror as a tool of achieving a political goal by the more powerful side is not supposed to be called a terrorism. It would

¹⁴ The Somali casualties have been estimated to be in the range of 200-1000 people.

¹⁵ Many books have been based on the events of this battle, as well as Ridley Scott's well-known film "Black Hawk Down" (2001).

seem as if the stronger side was legitimised to use terror, while the weaker one was not. It is a typical contradiction of Kant's categorical imperative.

To prove the above arguments it is worth recalling several famous operations carried out by the intelligence services of different states:

- Operation *Condor* carried out in the 1970s by joint action of the intelligence services of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, and the United States of America; the goal was to gather data on political opposition and assassinating some of its members. According to the “Archives of Terror”, 50,000 people were murdered, 400,000 people were imprisoned, and 30,000 were reported missing during that operation¹⁶;

- The United States Central Intelligence Agency Operation Cyclone (1979–1989) which comprised of financial support for the Afghan mujahideen during the Soviet war in Afghanistan. The cost of the operation only in 1987 amounted to \$630 million (between 1979 and 1989 the total of \$20 billion was spent); formation of a strong guerrilla movement was a side effect – nowadays, these are fighters form the core of the organisations defined as terrorist, e.g. Lashkar-e-Taiba, al-Qaeda, etc;

- The Cuban Project (also known as Operation Mongoose) run by the CIA in 1960–1975 was an effort to remove Fidel Castro from power in a series of assassination attempts against Castro and his closest associates; to achieve that, the intelligence services of the USA even cooperated with some organised crime groups during the operation;

- Mossad operation code-named Plumbat (1968) involving the stealing of 200 tonnes of uranium oxide which was crucial for Israel to produce an atomic bomb;

- Mossad operation code-named Operation Wrath of God (1972–1979) in retaliation for the killing of 11 Israeli athletes;

- Operation Opera (1981) was an Israeli Air Force strike on Iraqi nuclear reactor in Tammuz (2400 kilometres from the Israeli border);

- Operation Wooden Leg (1985) was an Israeli Air Force strike on the settlement of Hammam al-Shatt 19 kilometres from Tunis (the capital of Tu-

¹⁶ The archives were discovered by a lawyer Martin Almada in December 1992.

nia) where the PLO (the Palestine Liberation Organisation) headquarters were believed to be. The civilian death toll is not known.

A joint US-Israeli intelligence services covert cyber attack on the Iranian computer systems, reportedly initiated four years ago, by means of the malware called Flame, which is said to be related to Stuxnet viruses. The goal of the attack was to gather data on the Iranian computer systems as well as preparing the background for sabotage in cyberspace. Two years ago Stuxnet viruses caused a series of failures of the Iranian oil industry PLCs¹⁷.

The points presented so far make it possible to argue that terrorism is a social phenomenon governed by following combined conditions:

- applying terror as a main and often sole measure to achieve a political goal,
- applying this tool by the weaker opponent in an asymmetric conflict¹⁸.

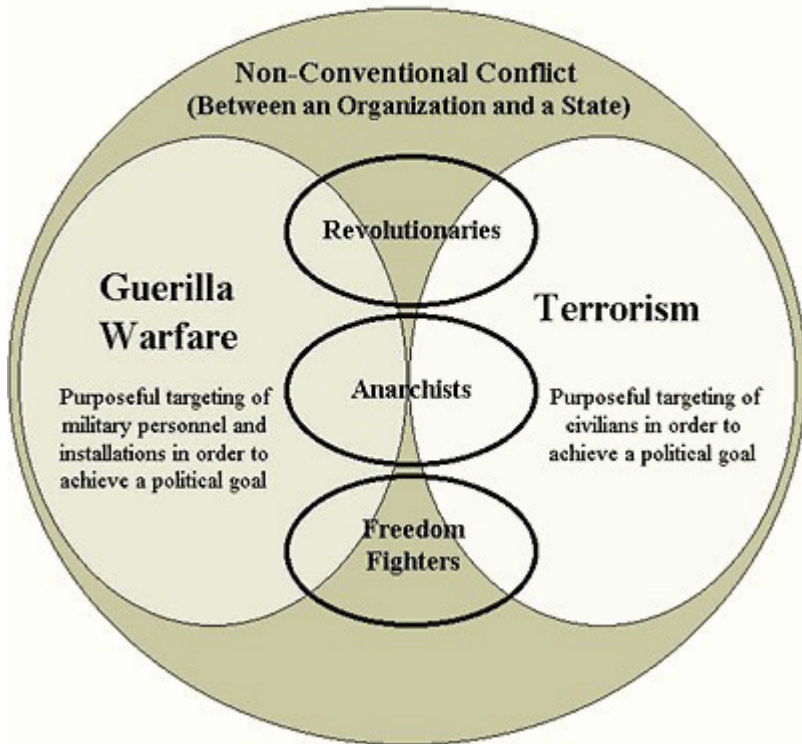
Nevertheless, the above criteria do not provide an unambiguous basis for classification of a particular case, because most of the guerrilla actions are likely to meet them. As an action leading to intimidate the opponent, terror remains guerrilla squads' major weapon against the occupant, provided the guerrilla are low in number or their action aims at secession from the legitimate authorities. The guerrilla fighters of all times followed this principle, including the actions of the Polish guerrillas during World War II.

An interesting suggestion on how to define terrorism has been brought forward by the Israeli researchers (See Fig. 1) according to whom terrorism is an action taken up by revolutionaries, anarchists or fighters for freedom, targeted at civilian populations so as to achieve some political ends. On the contrary, if some military and police institutions are attacked, that constitutes a guerrilla warfare.

¹⁷ See: E. Nakashima, G. Miller, J. Tate, **U.S.**, *Israel developed Flame computer virus to slow Iranian nuclear efforts, officials say*, "The Washington Post", June 19, 2012.

¹⁸ *Terroryzm...*, p. 50.

Figure 1. The diagram portrays a definition of terrorism by Israeli researchers
Ends & Means in Non-Conventional Conflict



Source: B. Ganor, *Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?* The International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism, 1998, p 9. [online: <http://www.understandterror.com/articles/Defining%20Terrorism%20by%20Dr%20Boaz%20Ganor.pdf> , 20.05.2012]

According to this definition, ETA, which attacked military and police institutions, civilian victims being only accidental, should be regarded an organisation applying a guerrilla method of struggle. In fact, it has been considered a terrorist organisation.

The proposed definition includes only the struggle of some political groups against the state, and at the same time it excludes some conflicts between po-

litical groups which are not a state, e.g. the conflict between white and black US citizens resulting in Ku-Klux-Klan set-up, which was later declared by the US a terrorist organisation¹⁹. Another example is the massacre of Tutsi by Hutu in Ruanda when during 100 days approximately one million Tutsi were murdered. Accordingly, the clashes in Northern Ireland were partly targeted against the British community inhabitants of that territory, and partly against the United Kingdom which supported them.

However, the said definition clearly indicates that the terrorist activity can only be carried out by political groups which fight against the state.

Therefore, as for formulating a definition, terrorism is not merely the case of applying terror but it is about by whom and against whom/what it is applied.

A cognitive dissonance is created in the notion of terrorism by what Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, said at the forum of the United Nations General Assembly in November 1974, “The difference between the revolutionary and the terrorist lies in the reason for which each fights. For whoever stands by a just cause and fights for the freedom and liberation of his land from the invaders, the settlers and the colonialists cannot possibly be called terrorist (...)”.

The similar belief is also shared by us, Poles. Józef Piłsudski, the First Marshal of Poland, has never been called a terrorist despite being a founder of the Combat Organization of the Polish Socialist Party (Organizacja Bojowa PPS) which in 1904–1911 conducted a series of bomb attacks, and train and post office raids. Similarly, neither Menachem Begin, laureate of the Noble Peace Prize in 1978 and the Israeli Prime Minister, nor Yitzhak Shamir (Icchak Jaziernicki) twice the Israeli Prime Minister, were called terrorists although in the 1940s they both commanded Jewish groups Lehi and Irgun, which were responsible for the series of terrorist attacks including the most violent bombing attack of the twentieth century on the King David Hotel in Jerusalem on the 22 July 1946. They were also in command during the Pales-

¹⁹ J. Tomaszewicz, *Terroryzm na tle przemocy politycznej. Zarys encyklopedyczny*, Katowice 2000, p. 61.

tinian inhabitants massacre in the village of Deir Yassin on the 9 April 1948, when 254 Palestinians lost their lives.

On the other hand, considering Stepan Bandera (1909–1959), the Ukrainian and Polish standpoints differ. The Polish believe him to have been a criminal, who was sentenced to life imprisonment for terrorist activity in the interwar time,²⁰ and an initiator of founding the OUN-B organisation, responsible for the massacre of Poles in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia. At the same time, the Ukrainians consider him a patriot. This was reflected in President Yushchenko awarding him with the title of the Hero of Ukraine. Although the presidential decree was cancelled by two instances of the Ukrainian courts, the very judgement seems to have been a result of pressure from the European Union and Poland.

Similar in tone to Yasser Arafat's address were Osama bin Laden's remarks given during one of his first interviews following the September 11 attacks, in a talk to Hamid Mir, a correspondent of the Pakistani daily *Dawn*, "In my view, if an enemy occupies a Muslim territory and uses common people as human shield, then it is permitted to attack that enemy. (...) America and its allies are massacring us in Palestine, Chechenya, Kashmir and Iraq. The Muslims have the right to attack America in reprisal. (...) The Sept 11 attacks were not targeted at women and children. The real targets were America's icons of military and economic power. (...) The American people should remember that they pay taxes to their government, they elect their president, their government manufactures arms and gives them to Israel and Israel uses them to massacre Palestinians. The American Congress endorses all government measures and this proves that the entire America is responsible for the atrocities perpetrated against Muslims. The entire America, because they elect the Congress. (...)"²¹.

Still a greater cognitive dissonance within the essence of terrorism concept is caused by the lists of the organisations designated as terrorist groups. These listings are maintained by the states and international organisations which passed some specific laws in terms of combating terrorism.

²⁰ Originally it was a death penalty.

²¹ P. L. Williams, *Al-Kaida*. Publ. Zysk i Spółka, Poznań 2007, p. 24.

Having compared the lists of terrorist organisations compiled by the United Kingdom, the European Union, the United States, Canada, India, Russia and Australia, it turns out that only two of the total number of 132 listed organisations are considered terrorist by every one of the above-mentioned states and organisations, namely al-Qaeda and Lashkar-e-Toiba²². The remaining ones are entered only on several lists, and most of them, i.e. 90, only on one or two listings.

Therefore, it has to be stated that the question of unambiguous classification of political group's military actions, be it terrorists or guerrillas which fight against the legally mandated rule, depends greatly on sentiment or antipathy for a group. In politics, there is no place for sentiment; what counts is the *raison d'État* or the national interest. **If a political group's military activity coincides with the national interest, it will be considered a guerrilla warfare, notwithstanding the methods used. Otherwise it will be classified as a terrorist group.**

The terrorist activity has been usually associated with unjustified death of numerous civilians uninvolved in military conflict. The following is some comparative data portraying civilian casualties:

Terrorist attacks on territories without military conflicts:

- the WTC and The Pentagon (2001) – 2973 killed, 6,291 wounded;
- Madrid (2004) – 191 killed, 1,858 wounded;
- London (7 July 2005) – 52 killed, 700 wounded;
- Mumbai (2008) – 195 killed, 327 wounded;

The death toll on territories with military conflicts:

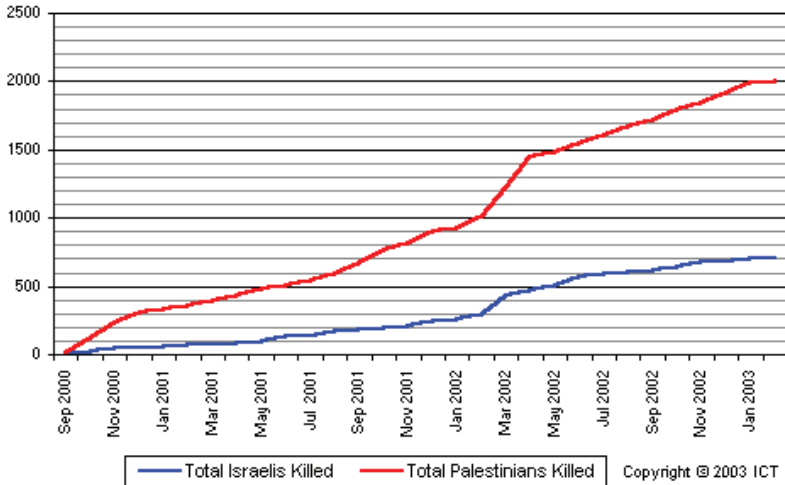
- The State of Israel – the death toll in 1967–2009: Israeli citizens – 7,558; Arabs (incl. Palestinians) 58,784²³;
- The State of Israel in Second Intifada (during that period anti-Israeli groups carried out 135 suicide attacks, which constitutes over two-thirds of all the attacks carried out on the territory of Palestine since 1986). Line Chart 1, authored by the Israelis, presents the casualties of both sides.

²² It was presumably responsible for the Mumbai attacks on 26-29 November 2008.

²³ Data from the Report prepared by The Bureau of Research, Polish Parliament (Biuro Analiz Sejmowych), on 2 February 2010 for Stanisław Kalemba, member of the Polish Sejm from the PSL party.

- Afghanistan:
 - civilian casualties – 2008 (2,118); 2009 (2,412); 2010 (2,777);
 - coalition casualties – 2008 (293); 2009 (520); 2010 (708);
 - in-fight rebel forces casualties (civilian and military): 2008 (4,303); 2009 (4,740)²⁴;
- Iraq – civilian casualties:
 - 66 thousand in 2004–2009 according to American official data; 600 thousand in 2004–2006 (2.5% of the Iraqi population) the data published in *The Lancet*²⁵.

Graph 1.1
Total Fatalities Incurred (Nationals Only), Cumulative



Source: <http://www.eretzyisroel.org/~jkatz/mostly.html> [accessed: 20 May 2012]

So high casualties are bound to evoke in civilians frustration and desire to strike back, particularly if there is a vast cultural and religious disproportion between the forces which “bring in peace and democracy”, and a local

²⁴ Source: <http://www.conflictmonitors.org/countries/afghanistan> [accessed on 20 May 2012] the site maintained by Human Project Security (HSRP).

²⁵ G. Burnham, R. Lafta, S. Doocy, L. Roberts, *Mortality after the 2003 invasion of Iraq: a cross-sectional cluster sample survey*, ”*The Lancet*”, Vol. 368, Issue 9545, pp. 1421–1428, 21 October 2006.

community. Moreover, given the locals were brought up in some exceptional conditions, like internal wars, dictatorship, poverty, aggression-dominated cultures, where the aggression provides a chance to survive, one should not be surprised by aggression outbreaks towards foreign militaries or alleged collaborators. This also conforms to the theory of aggression by Berkowitz, which conditions aggression on two dimensions, i.e. situational and environmental (upbringing). Moreover, the so-called triggering signal, for example the presence of foreign troops, plays also a vital role in inducing aggressive behaviour²⁶.

The theory of Berkowitz, mentioned above in relation to the number of casualties in civilian population, is strictly connected with the suicide attacks of which particularly Muslim fundamentalists are accused. However, the truth is that the orthodox Muslims cannot perform such attacks due to adherence to the restrictive principles of their religion.

Defining the suicide attacks is hindered by an essential dilemma of whether an attack is regarded as suicidal when the attacker accepts to die in action, or when completion of the task is dependent on the attacker's death. It has been recently agreed that the suicide attack occurs only when the attacker has to kill himself in order to accomplish the attack.

With reference to the history of such attacks, on a military level, the instance of the Japanese *kamikaze* pilots, who carried out the suicide attacks during the Pacific War, is rather well-known. Few remember that the first country which officially recruited the would-be suicide attackers was Poland. On 6 May 1939 commenced an official enrollment for the living torpedoes squadrons ("Żywe torpedy"), originally in a form of a social campaign for men and women volunteering to take part in suicide missions. The volunteers applied for participation in those actions by placing announcements in the press. In 1937 the first officially enrolled individual was Stanisław Chojecki, lance corporal (today NATO grade OR-03) in the military reserve force. The official Polish records report as much as 4,700 people, 150 of whom were female, willing to take part in a suicide mission. The profiles of such an in-

²⁶ See: the theory of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design.

dividual featured a city dweller of 18-28 years of age, employed in an office or in services, of secondary education. The number of accomplished actions is unknown. The only record of such military operations refers to the plans of the Pomeranian Army (Armia Pomorze). It is also evident that Stefan Starzyński also conducted recruitment for the suicide actions to which 1,000 people volunteered. As a result, they would carry explosives to the enemy firing points; the squad was fighting in Czerniaków district²⁷.

With regard to European instances of using suicide attackers, it is worth mentioning one more, namely, Leonidas Squadron, a German unit in which, according to official sources, some 70 volunteers served to fly on the German V1 flying bombs, however, they were never used as such. Still, 35 of them did complete a suicide flight on a different aircraft during the air-raids on the bridges on the river Oder (Odra) between 17-20 April 1945. Although 17 bridges were officially reported to have been destroyed, some historians have assessed the effectiveness of those actions with more scepticism (one rail bridge destroyed)²⁸.

In brief, it has to be stated that on the military level the suicide attacks are the result of enormous determination and will to win, regardless of the cost. Similarly to these acts, which occurred in the face of great threats, the contemporary suicide attacks follow the same pattern. It should be stressed that the following two examples do not fall into this category, as here the death of the attackers was the outcome of their own unyielding behaviour:

The attack of Baruch K. Goldstein, physician. He perpetrated a massacre of the Palestinians who prayed in the city of Hebron in the Cave of the Patriarchs (25 February 1994); killing 29 and wounding 125. He was lynched by the surviving participants of the gathering while he tried to reload ammunition. Some Jews pay tribute to him as a great hero, some others condemn his action.

Three terrorists from the Japanese Red Army on 30 May 1972 instigated a massacre at the Lod Airport in Tel Aviv, killing 29 and wounding about 80

²⁷ The data comes from the book: N. Klatka, *Polskie żywe torpedy w 1939 roku*, Gdański Dom Wydawniczy, Gdańsk 1999.

²⁸ B. Antony, *Berlin: The Downfall 1945*, Penguin Books, 2002, p. 238.

others; they were firing at anything that moved and throwing grenades until they shot themselves (one survivor was injured).

In the period of 1983-2000 the highest number of suicide attacks (171 in total) were carried out by the Tamil Tigers (the LTTE) who fought for the secession of the Tamil territory. They have been (or rather, following their defeat in the war of 2009, they were) a secular and Marxist organisation. The majority of Tamil people are Hinduists. They invented the so-called “suicide belt”, which they used in order to assassinate the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991. What preceded their activity, had been 7 massacres of the Tamil people by the Sinhalese. In the last one in 1983 almost 3,000 Tamils were killed.

The LTTE organisation perpetrated more suicide attacks than all the other organisations altogether, the continued “standing” being as follows (data until the year of 2000)²⁹:

- Hezbollah and Amal – 25 suicidal attacks,
- Hamas – 22,
- The Kurdistan Workers’ Party – 21.

On the territory of the State of Israel between 1989 and 2008 the total of 172 suicide attacks were carried out, killing the total of 804 people. The highest escalation of the suicide attacks dates to the period of the Second Intifada. During the 2000–2004 period 135 suicide attacks occurred, killing 572 people. It is important to point out that the term “intifada” differs from an uprising, as it results from the uncontrolled, spontaneous outburst of aggression in a society. It has nothing to do with a typical uprising which has its leaders and is controlled in a way. The immediate cause of the intifada outbreak was the shooting of a teenager by the Israeli snipers during Ariel Sharon’s visit to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem on 28 September 2000. The mount is a sacred site both for Judaists as well as Islamists. The civilian death toll has been cited earlier in the article.

²⁹ Schweitzer, Yoram (2000-04-21), *Suicide Terrorism: Development and Characteristics*, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism.

The Second Intifada suicide attacker's profile featured a young human-being of 17-23 years of age (73%), who was well-educated (36% of higher education; 47% secondary education). In comparison, only 5,3% of the Palestinian adolescents undertake secondary or academic education³⁰. It is then evident that the profile of the modern suicide attacker, at least in Israel, resembles the one of the Polish volunteering suicide attackers from the interwar period. The attacks are not carried out by uneducated individuals who are easy to be manipulated, but by humans who are fully-aware of what they do. Neither are they religious fundamentalists. Nevertheless, their determination in struggle is so intense that they are ready to sacrifice their lives. The determination presumably stems from the awareness of one's own helplessness in achieving life's goals, which could be the effect of an economic and social standing of the community they come from.

Other countries in which the problem of suicide attacks occurs are Afghanistan and Iraq. The longer the coalition forces stay in, the more increased the number of the attacks one can witness. There were no instances of suicide attacks in Afghanistan in 2002, but in 2008 there were as many as 239 of them. The biggest increase was over the years of 2005 (17), 2006 (140) and 2007 (228)³¹.

At the same time, the number of suicide attacks in Iraq evolved in the following pattern: 2003 (26); 2004 (71), 2005 (71); 2006 (136); 2007 (207); 2008 (95); 2009 (33) 2010 (52). As it was suggested by Robert A. Pape, a professor at the University of Chicago and the author of the famous book *Dying to Win*, "**the suicide attackers are the product of invasion**; there is no evidence to prove the claim that before the invasion in Iraq there have been any terrorist organisations which specialised in this type of attacks"³².

³⁰ See: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsources/Terrorism/suicide1.html> [accessed on 20 May 2012].

³¹ Data came from: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/publisher,UNAMA,,,49997b00d,0.html> [accessed on 20 May 2012]; http://csis.org/files/publication/burke/090803_RisingIntensityConflict20012007.pdf [accessed on 20 May 2012]; http://unama.unmissions.org/Portals/UNAMA/human%20rights/UNAMA_09february-Annual%20Report_PoC%202008_FINAL_11Feb09.pdf [accessed on 20 May 2012].

³² See: R. A. Pape, *Dying to win: the strategic logic of suicide terrorism*, Random House, New York 2005.

The detailed analysis of the emergence and evolution of main terrorist groups leads to the conclusion that the majority of them are the fruits of the Cold War, waged between the USA and the USSR, as well as of the contemporary wars, and the Israeli-Arab conflict in particular.

In terms of geography, terrorist groups (the criminal ones included) which emerged as a “side effect” of the Cold War came from the outskirts of the area where the two main actors of the conflict operated:

- Indochina Peninsula, now the Mainland Southeast Asia – the so-called Second Indochina War (1957–1975) in which the United States of America engaged officially, and so did the Soviet Union but less officially;

- Afghanistan (1978–1994) – the Soviet Union was engaged in it officially. Prior to the Afghan War some terrorist groups which spread the communist ideology had been formed in Afghanistan and Iran, and during the war, on the territories inhabited by the Kurdish people and in Turkey. It is worth mentioning here that the social-nationalist party Bass took over the power in Iraq in 1968 with the assistance of the CIA.

- South America – the Cuban Revolution and its impact; in all South America.

Nowadays in the majority of cases, particularly in South America and Southeast Asia, the fighters of these organisations are struggling merely to survive and for money. Hence, they are in almost all cases linked to the international drug trade and other forms of the organised criminal activity. They have been the children of war, its immanent terror, and poverty, which is common in those areas and to this date has been the main cause of high membership rate of these groups. In majority of these cases the predecessors of current fighters had been trained and supplied by the USA and the USSR.

Another essential category of terrorist groups are the organisations which operate on territories where the cold and, so to say, ‘hot’ war take place. To this category belong: Palestine, Cashmir, and Sri Lanka³³. Their main goal is to struggle against the occupying forces or for national liberation (e.g. The

³³ Also the Balkans, however, not terrorist but criminal groups have been formed there, one of them being the Albanian Mafia.

Tamil Tigers on Sri Lanka). The ideologies followed are of lower significance, though they can cause diversity and quite serious splits within those groups. Nevertheless, they do reveal some consistency. Namely, a driving force for all those splits is the seizure of power and taking control over particular territories, rather than an ideology. The splits will presumably not be reconciled once the wars are over, but the organisations will fight on until their natural termination would come because of having no goal to reach.

Europe's best known terrorist organisations are the separatist ones, for example in the Basque Country and Northern Ireland. In the first country, what spurred the armed activity of ETA was the crime committed by the Nazi unit Condor Legion on the 26 April 1937, when the town centre of Guernica was bombed, causing death of 1,654 people. The blame for the attack was placed by the Spanish nationalist propaganda on the Popular Front, which provided the Francoists with a pretext to enter the Basque Country and commence the oppression of the Basque people to uproot any manifestations of their national identity. In the time of those repressions ETA was formed, and subsequently, the political party emerged from it. Following the overthrow of General Franco, many years of negotiations ensued regarding the extent of that territory's autonomy. During that period a gradual decrease in the terrorist activity of the organisation was noticeable.

The other theatre of the terrorist groups' activities was Northern Ireland. Its territory has been witnessing conflicts since the Middle Ages when whole Ireland found itself under the British rule. In the 17th century colonisation of Ireland began. The land for the English and the Scottish settlers was obtained by expulsing the Irish proprietors from it, what gave rise to hostility between the English and the Irish, further intensified by religious differences. The Irish are Catholics whereas the British are mainly Protestants. As a result of numerous rebellions and uprisings, in 1921 the independent Republic of Ireland was proclaimed, yet Northern Ireland remained within the boundaries of the United Kingdom, since the majority of its population were represented by the Protestants of English and Scottish descent. It was the Irish Republican Army (the IRA) which fought for the united Ireland, and it was not until 1998

that a peace treaty was signed. In recognition of co-authoring the treaty, John Hume and David Trimble were awarded the Noble Peace Prize. In 2005 the Irish Republican Army announced its complete disarmament³⁴.

Both Basque and Irish secessionist aspirations as well as the corresponding Spanish and British governments' policies towards them were the foundations for the terrorist activity of these two European groups. The conflicts represent a typical asymmetric conflict. It is curious though, how they did not happen to reach the stage of a nationwide insurgency. Quite the opposite, they remained in the initial phase of stirring up such an insurgency. Typically, the national insurgency is started by the terrorist-like incidents which aim at stimulation of the whole society to rebel against "oppressors", and also lead to provoking such a nationwide insurgency³⁵. In both cases this general scenario was disturbed and the reasons for it could be sought either in the lack of popular acceptance of the goals pursued by the groups, or in the conscious strategies for their activities.

However, what remains a fact beyond any doubt, is that after many years some agreements were reached and they began a wholly peaceful process of normalising the situation on these territories. It is difficult to determine whether the process could have been possible without any terrorist activities of the political parties' militant wings, whose goal was secession. Accordingly, these two historic cases can be considered both in favour of negation of the terrorist activities, as well as for declaring such activities effective, particularly by political parties and social groups which undertake to attain goals that contradict the goals of a particular state.

Therefore, the following scenario for a certain terrorist activity could be outlined. A party whose goals are contradictory to the ones of a state, or a group of states, appears on the political scene. As a result of the contradiction, not only is the party incapable of accomplishing its prospective goals, but in many cases, it cannot promote these goals in order to gain more wide-

³⁴ The information on the emergence and evolution of terrorist groups come from: *Terroryzm. Diagnoza...* pp. 81-113.

³⁵ As an example, read some accounts of Tamil Tigers history (LTTE – Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam).

spread support. Such incapability can make the leaders of such a group apply the methods which will enable them to publicise their own beliefs, and moreover, make the authorities pay more attention to the problem. In a grim scenario the methods will include the acts of terror against government representatives or citizens of the state. The reaction of governments consists usually of stepping up security measures and aggravation of repressions against the fighting social group. The heightened repressions result in the rise of the number of terrorist attacks. The society begins to consider the probability that the social group could be right to have taken up such actions. The situation is a stalemate while the governments are changing. The issues voiced by the terrorist groups dominate the scene during some consecutive electoral campaigns. In consequence, after many years the agreement is reached, and to some extent it is satisfactory to both sides. What follows is either a decrease in terrorist activity or the ultimate abandonment of it.

The only guarantee that the activities are successful is a long-term endurance of a terrorist group as a military wing of a party, which attempts to attain the goals inconsistent with the state's national interest. This hugely depends on social support, not only because of financial and logistic assistance for those groups, but essentially because of the possibility to recruit new members, who have to qualify under some strict terms, nearly as strict as those for the special forces candidates.

The lack of support or more widespread social acclaim was the reason for the disappearance from the political scene of numerous terrorist groups, like the Red Army Fraction, the Red Brigades or the Japanese Red Army. Despite the fact that some of them have been dissolved only recently or they have come through to these days, the time of their intensive activities was quite short, not exceeding ten years.

Other scenario for the terrorist groups' formation is related to conducting wars. A long-term military conflict causes a change in mentality of a society, accustoms it to cruelty and lawlessness, and at the same time deprives the members of such a society of the prospects of development. All these elements within a society give rise to surfacing of some individuals for whom

war and killing is the only real world in which they can live. Such conflicts also attract mercenaries of all kinds for whom war is the only way to live. A classical portrayal of such a character was the one featured by David Morrell in his outstanding book: *Rambo: First Blood*. More often than not, after military operations have ceased or diminished, such individuals are not able to find their place to lead an ordinary life in a normal world. They often settle down in the areas not easily accessible by the civilization and wage their own wars. Since conducting a war requires financing, they initialise cooperation with criminal organisations. A great number of militants from the territories of the Caucasus, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Peru, Colombia, or Africa are people created and formed by war, whose interest does not lie in the ideals fought for, but in the fight itself. They fight at their own expense or for the party which pays more. They are also very frequently hired by some political parties to carry out terrorist attacks. Their services are also more and more often used by some states.

A prospective terrorist (militant) who will fight for money is not only formed by a long-running war, but also by the states which wage these wars. The legal status of the Private Military Companies (the PMCs) remains unclear. One example of such a company is Academi, previously known as Blackwater USA, which altered its name to Blackwater Worldwide in 2007 in connection with killing in Iraq 17 people by its employees³⁶. Another name change, this time to XE Services LLC, was made following the refusal of the Iraqi government to extend their licence to operate in Iraq³⁷. The organisation operates on the basis of the licence with the USA on the Iraqi territory. Their recorded history is as follows: 2001 (\$736,906), 2003 (\$25,395,556), 2006 (\$593,601,952)³⁸.

There are series of questions arousing with regard to the existence of such companies and their employment. Firstly, what will happen with the exqui-

³⁶ See: P. von Zielbauer, *Blackwater Softens Its Logo From Macho to Corporate*, "The New York Times", 22 October 2007.

³⁷ See: *Former Blackwater firm renamed again*, BBC News US & Canada, 12 December 2011.

³⁸ The United States House of Representatives: *Additional Information about Blackwater USA*. 14 November 2007 [accessed 15 December 2007].

sitely trained soldiers as soon as there is no work for them? Secondly, will they happen to start acting independently, and finally, which is even worse, will they become mercenaries ready to fulfil any task for a sufficient sum of money?

It is worth recalling a certain incident which, to my mind, might be a good summary of this article's content. In 1986, a bomb attack on a night club in West Berlin was committed. Two American soldiers were killed and another several hundred injured. The United States put the blame on Colonel Gaddafi's regime and retaliated by means of the bombings of Tripoli and Benghazi. Libya was afraid of taking up any direct action against the USA, as it would thus provoke further bomb raids. That was why Libya hired the Japanese Red Army, a terrorist group headed by Fusako Shigenobu. Especially for the needs of this very task, the group renamed itself as the Anti-Imperialist International Brigade (AIIB). As a revenge, the group instigated the attacks on the American embassies in Jakarta, Rome and Madrid. By using the services of a terrorist organisation Libya avoided further military repressions³⁹.

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