Terrorism in the Context of Conflicts in the Modern World

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Abstract. *Contrary to popular expectations, armed conflicts persisted after the end of World War II. Some countries are fighting for independence, others for influence, and others are experiencing civil wars. This is determined by cultural, ethnic and religious differences. The modern world is tormented by many conflicts which, despite their regional scope, have an impact on the political and military situation on the entire globe. The functioning of formal borders that do not coincide with national borders, the low sense of nationality compared to ethnicity, poverty and political instability are also conducive to the use of terrorist methods. Terrorism is almost as old as civilisation. However, unlike in the past, today's terrorists use violence on an unprecedented scale. Terrorism in many cases shows its regional specificity, varying according to the cultural and civilisation area in which it occurs. Reasons for resorting to terrorist methods may be a need for freedom, protection of one's heritage, sense of harm done by the occupier, a need to express dissatisfaction with the political system or changes being made, or, finally, a mere desire to draw attention to the problems of countries and societies that have not yet been noticed or have been ignored by public opinion. Religion is also a frequent reason for resorting to terrorism. Contemporary terrorism is represented mainly by extremist Islamic fundamentalism and is based on the clash of two cultures. It is a global threat, and anyone can become its potential victim today. Numerous signals of the emergence of new, hitherto unknown organisations prove that in the future, unfortunately, the escalation of the phenomenon will have to be taken into account.*

Introduction

In the history of mankind, there have been around 15,000 wars so far, and the armed conflict as understood today is an even broader concept. War is an organised armed struggle between states, and, in the light of the international law, non-state actors are now also becoming participants in such an armed conflict. After the Second World War, there were about 2,500 big conflicts, both inter-state ones, i.e. armed actions taken by one state against another, and internal conflicts, which were inspired from outside and often led to civil wars[1]. Since the end of the Second World War there have been only 26 days of peace, according to *optimists*[2]. The concept of *world fronts of aggressiveness and their concentration*[3] was even created

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[1] Śniatkowska K, Współczesne konflikty zbrojne na świecie. *Electronic source:* http://geografia.na6.pl/wspolczesne-konflikty-zbrojne-na-swiecie, *accessed:* 5.10.2018.

[2] *Electronic source:* http://sciaga.pl/tekst/101727–102-wojna_a_konflikt_zbrojny, *accessed:* 5.10.2018.

[3] Kęsoń T, Badania konfliktów zbrojnych i wojen w XX wieku — doświadczenia polemologiczne, [in:] M. Huzarski, Szulc B (Eds), Metodologiczna tożsamość polemologii, AON. Warsaw, 2010, p. 43.

following the localisation in time and space of 71 largest armed conflicts after World War II. According to it, there are nine such fronts: North African, South African, North American, South American, Chinese, East Asian, Afro-Asian, East European, North Irish[4]. The most common causes of armed conflicts include territorial and national disputes, social and political factors, the pursuit of military superiority in the region and interference of foreign states, the desire for economic domination and competition for raw materials and natural resources, the processes of nation development, racial prejudices, as well as ideological and religious conflicts[5]. All this means that, even during periods universally recognised as times of global peace, local or regional armed conflicts are being waged in order to achieve the objectives of various social groups by means of violence, not only by official armed forces but also by other organised and armed groups. Despite international efforts, the risk of further conflicts is increasing. At the same time, when comparing the areas of increased probability of armed conflict outbreaks with the indicators of terrorist threat for particular regions of our globe, a very similar distribution of threats can be observed.

Taking the geographical extent of conflicts as a criterion for division, one can distinguish several types of conflicts: local, sub-regional, regional, supra-regional or even global. They occur between two or more parties because of a difference of interest. When there is a conflict of interest in one country, there is an intra-state conflict. However, when there is a disagreement between states, there is an international conflict. A significant number of internal conflicts, however, become international by the involvement of a third party. It takes the form of financial and material support, or indirect military aid.

Until recently, two states were distinguished in war doctrines: war and peace. Nowadays, the world is oriented towards a third, intermediate state, in which military conflict can also occur in the form of other actions[6]. There are no open, frontal battles between armies, and an unarmed opponent acts in a completely different way, leading a form of irregular combat. They operate in small groups and strike by surprise, often carrying out suicide attacks. Already in the 1980s, the activity of terrorist movements was perceived as proxy warfare or low intensity conflicts. According to this concept, each group had its principals either in the Kremlin or in the White House. The world was seen through the prism of the Cold War between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and the ongoing competition for influence between the two powers[7]. Today, at the next stage of the phenomenon evolution, the line between terrorism and war is blurred[8]. Considered a plague of the 21st century, terrorism is even called the creeping Third World War[9]. This war has obviously different characteristics than the popularly recognized and understood concept so far.

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[4] Paździorek P, Konflikt w teorii sztuki wojennej, Internet publications of AON. *Electronic source:* http://w-zid.aon.edu.pl/wzid/index.php/publikacje, p. 118.

[5] *Electronic source:* http://sciaga.onet.pl/12581,61,177,156,0,21347,sciaga.html: *accessed:* 5.10.2018.

[6] Paździorek P, Konflikt…, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[7] Aleksandrowicz T, Terroryzm międzynarodowy. Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Łośgraf, 2008, pp. 17–18.

[8] Heisbourg F, Prognozy XXI wieku. Wojny. Warsaw: Prószyński i s-ka, 1998, p. 52.

[9] Huzarski M, Zmienne podstawy bezpieczeństwa i obronności państwa, AON. Warsaw, 2009, p. 27.

The review of the literature, as well as selected acts of international law and the Internet sources allowed to establish links between conflicts in contemporary world and widely applied terrorist methods, and drawing conclusions was possible due to theoretical methods employment including analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, comparison, analogy, concluding. This work aims at description, at a general level, of both phenomena and links between them.

Main Part

Armed conflicts cannot be conducted according to any rules. They are precisely described in the humanitarian law[10], in which participants rights and obligations are determined. Their main principle involves limited sources engaged to beat the opponent and impose one's will and a special protection of civilians not engaged in the conflict. The methods of an armed combat which cause unnecessary suffering or excessive loss to the environment (chemical or biological weapon) are banned, an obligation to distinguish participants of an armed conflicts from civilians has been imposed, therefore the attacks should target military objects only.

A war is a socio-political phenomenon. It is an integral part of the humanity since the beginning of social organization with its scope expanding along with technology development. A number of contemporary threats is of supra-state character. It also concerns a potential target of an attack which not always has to be a state or soldiers of an enemy army. Nowadays a target often includes civilians who are to be threatened, terrorized, forced to surrender, change political or cultural preferences, or even exterminated[11]. This is where terrorism appears, which in many cases demonstrates its regional specificity, varying according to the cultural and civilisation area in which it occurs. It has its roots both in the internal conditions of a given country, changes in the mentality of societies, as well as in the irrational perception of the surrounding reality by the human being. This phenomenon is almost as old as civilization. But unlike the past, contemporary terrorists use violence on a previously unimaginable scale, both in terms of conventional threats and those of a completely new, previously unknown nature and consequences. They are mainly aimed at intimidating a social, national or religious group that is much larger than the one directly attacked.

The absolute prohibition of terrorist activity as a form of armed struggle is an essential part of international law and there can be no derogation from it. This follows from the provisions of the *Convention for the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War*[12] and *the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions*[13]. However,

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[10] The Law of armed conflicts (ius in bello — the law in the time of war), also called international humanitarian law or war law is a set of regulations accepted by international communication, describing the ways of conducting armed conflicts, protection of their victims and participants.

[11] Berger R, Terroryzm, Bydgoszcz 2012, p. 35.

[12] Convention of 2 August 1949, Geneva, Dz.U. 1956, No. 36, item 171.

[13] Protokół Dodatkowy I do Konwencji Genewskich dotyczący ochrony ofiar międzynarodowych konfliktów zbrojnych oraz Protokół Dodatkowy II do Konwencji Genewskich dotyczący ochrony ofiar międzynarodowych konfliktów zbrojnych, Dz.U. of 1992, No. 41, item 175.

the opponent of the state, which is not a subject of international law, is not bound by any restrictions. Terrorist groups therefore use violence that contravenes existing legal norms in order to achieve specific political, social or economic objectives. Such actions are often complementary to armed conflicts and have often contributed to the final success of one of the parties..

The reason for resorting to terrorist methods may be the need for freedom in a conquered nation, the need to protect one's heritage, the sense of harm done by the occupier, the need to express one's dissatisfaction with the political system or the changes being made, as in the case of left-wing, Marxist or neo-nazi terrorists (Red Army Faction, the Red Brigades, French organization OAS protesting against the independence of Algeria), and finally, the mere desire to draw attention to the problems of countries and societies that have so far been unnoticed or disregarded by public opinion. Religion is a frequent reason for resorting to terrorism. For example, Islamic fundamentalists seek to establish the primacy, sovereignty of religion over secular life in the state[14].

Until the end of the 1960s, the forms of this phenomenon were usually considered a marginal threat, taking the form of anti-colonial terrorism. Military action on the territory of selected countries was aimed at liberating them from the burden of colonialism, and terrorism itself was perceived as an internal problem of individual countries on a much smaller scale. The 1970s was not only the period of exceptional activity of all extremist groups, but also the beginning of a phenomenon called international terrorism. The ease of movement and transport of money and weapons in democratic countries, with the simultaneous support of totalitarian countries, as well as the freedom of terrorist groups to obtain material means, allowed for frequent contacts between groups from different countries and continents, mutual assistance in actions and exchange of experience. There was even cooperation between terrorist groups with very different ideological backgrounds, whose only common goal was the destruction of the democratic, bourgeoisie world[15]. Enemies and defenders of individual ideas, from those of various political and social systems to patriots and revolutionaries radically proclaiming their mission, resorted to terrorism.

The modern world is experiencing many forms of terrorism, but the most spectacular and symbolic, and thus most interesting, are the acts of violence caused by mainly Islamic extremists. Over the centuries, terrorism and religious motivations have often been combined. However, it is precisely in the last century that this phenomenon has significantly increased in strength, and instead of the large international conflicts that have ended, smaller, local conflicts have taken place. The UN has developed its activities, nations have gained sovereignty and quickly become members of the international community. As a result, there was no longer any need for terrorist acts to manifest their insurrectionary demands[16]. The best example of such activity is of Al-Qaida's[17] — one of the best-known and

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[14] *Electronic source:* http://www.akohard.kk.e-wro.pl/Ksiazka_html/terroryzm.html, *accessed:* 5.10.2018.

[15] Guła P, Terroryzm międzynarodowy — zarys problemu, „Biuletyn Centralnego Ośrodka Szkolenia Straży Granicznej" w Koszalinie, 2009, Vo l. 1, p. 33.

[16] Hoffman B, Oblicza terroryzmu. Warsaw, 2001, p. 87.

[17] From Arabic القاعدة — a base.

most active organisations currently using terrorist methods. It was created in 1988 and initially opposed the aggression of the USSR in Afghanistan. Then it set itself the goal of fighting against the influence of Israel, the USA and Western civilization in Muslim countries, and now has several thousand members underground all over the world. Other modern terrorist organizations also bring together individuals and legal entities from many parts of the world, use financial resources from different countries, and choosing their targets they are guided by political criteria.

Terrorist activities transcend the borders of the countries that have so far been theatres of their activities. Those who practise political violence on an international scale do so in the hope that it will have a positive impact on their national affairs, often assuming that the presentation of the matter on the world stage will help them to compensate for the harm suffered. The perpetrators are now attacking not only local targets, but also symbolic objects of supranational character. In this way, national extremists can commit acts of international terrorism by selectively attacking the international symbols present in their country. More and more often, they also go abroad to attack the objects of the hated opponent on their territory, thus moving the battlefield to their territory. By attacking the civilian part of society, they seek to reduce the involvement of a given country in distant conflicts, and they also want to demonstrate the powerlessness of its authorities in confronting an invisible opponent. The already mentioned Al-Qaida has such sophisticated operational capabilities that it has managed to carry out terrorist attacks on the territory of several different countries, on several continents, over the years of its activity. This means a major breakthrough in the scale of the threat: terrorism has moved from a local character, usually limited to the territory of one country, to a threat on an international or even global scale.

In order to speak of international terrorism, several conditions must be met, including: there must be an ideological justification for the organised attacks, affecting more than one country and its population; the objectives of the attacks must not be confined to a limited territory, but distributed in different places; the terrorists operate internationally and the members of the terrorist organisation come from different countries from which they are expanding their activities[18]. There is no doubt that, in the case of many groups, all these conditions have now been met.

The modern world is plagued by many conflicts which, despite their regional scope, have an impact on the political and military situation on the entire globe. They carry many military and non-military threats which must be faced by state authorities in order to ensure the security of their citizens. In many cases, regional conflicts are transferred to other countries, such as terrorist attacks. Groups of this type, operating within a given country, can have a negative impact on the security of other countries, easily crossing borders in a globalised world. This is the case, for example, with Islamic fundamentalism, which, in the framework of the holy war announced — jihad, is waging an undeclared war with Israel, the United States and the countries that identify themselves with the policies of these countries. Despite the local theatre of action, the international community is involved in such conflicts, partly changing their nature. Thanks to its mobilization and involvement

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[18] Dietl W, Hirschmann K, Tophoven R, Terroryzm. Warsaw, 2009, p. 28.

in conflict resolution, the situation is improving. However, regardless of where the conflicts take place, a common feature of these conflicts in the global world is that they affect — albeit with varying degrees of intensity — the entire international community. This results both from deepening economic ties, intensification of migration, mobility of threats, wider access to modern military technologies, as well as from the dissemination of information systems that create both a direct communication network and a valuable source of information of various kinds, helpful in planning various activities. The factor significantly contributing to the development of terrorism is globalisation, creating favourable conditions for its development. The opening of borders to free trade has a positive impact on the movements of terrorist groups on a global scale. Thanks to this, terrorists gain a very large number of people willing to cooperate, as well as access to a huge number of administrative and economic buildings, important from the point of view of society[19]. The negative effect of globalisation is the possibility of using various methods and forms, as well as attack tactics, which creates much greater opportunities for action. This is facilitated by advances in information technology, communications, transport and the more free-flowing transfer of capital[20]. The opening of borders not only means that they can be easily crossed, but also their disappearance, which in turn results from overcoming spatial communication barriers. All this enables terrorists to carry out their attacks in any corner of the world. In today's world, it is hard to imagine a country or an international organisation that could be sure that it will not become a target for terrorists. The situation in international politics is formed by transnational terrorist networks, which increasingly influence the development of the global security, political and economic situation. The peaceful forms of pressure developed by the global community, such as economic sanctions and trade embargoes, do not work. Even the use of armed force is not very effective, and no country, not even the strongest one, can resist it alone. On the other hand, both the United States and Russia are considering the right to an individual preventive attack. There are no universally accepted criteria for explicitly determining whether a preventive strike is a necessary defence or political-military blackmail[21].

Contemporary terrorism is a global threat, and anyone can become a potential victim of terrorism today. The latest wave of terrorism is closely linked to religious extremism. Among its causes are the consequences of modernisation, cultural, social and political crises and the alienation of young people living in mutually hostile communities. This phenomenon is also part of European society[22] and Europe has become both the target and the basis of such terrorism. Classical Islam is considered an omnipresent ideology. In the concept of fundamentalists, who

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[19] Jakubczak R, Terroryzm współczesny — aspekty społeczno-gospodarcze, [in:] Żuber M (Ed.), Katastrofy naturalne i cywilizacyjne. Terroryzm współczesny aspekty polityczne, społeczne i ekonomiczne. Wrocław, 2006, p. 34.

[20] Hołyst B, Terroryzm. Warsaw, 2009, p. 387.

[21] Malak K, Terroryzm — nowe wyzwania bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego. Nowi aktorzy w środowisku międzynarodowym, [in:] Kowalczyk K, Wróblewski W (Eds), Terroryzm: globalne wyzwania. Toruń, 2006, pp. 49–50.

[22] Roy O, The Challenges of Euro-Islam, [in:] Garfinkle A (Ed.), A Practical Guide to Winning the War on Terrorism. Stanford, 2004, p.54.

regard the overriding value of religious traditions and the aversion to any changes which are perceived as a violation of religious identity, as they did at the beginning of the religion, it can now also cover all aspects of the life of Muslims. It is all about the real influence of religion on society and politics. From this point of view, therefore, Islam is becoming politicised — it is not just a matter for believers, it is becoming a tool for politics. However, the true and real threat from this powerful religion comes from the hostility to the West and also from competing with the West to offer mankind its own political concept, so the combination of politics and faith[23]. A characteristic feature of fundamentalism is not only the strict adherence to basic dogmas, but also radical distrust and scepticism towards other concepts of life. The confrontation with those who do not accept these dogmas takes the form of an apocalyptic struggle, a struggle between light and darkness, good and evil, heaven and hell, the chosen and the condemned ones[24]

Islam is a religion that defines human relations with God, but it is also a social system that for several centuries has been regulating individual as well as group relations and personal norms of conduct in everyday life. Therefore, it is treated by its followers as the science, culture and history of this civilization. It is the common religion of the vast majority, as about 90% of today's Arabs and therefore it is an important factor of their unity.

It has a particular significance in strengthening the attitudes of Arab nationalism[25]. Fundamentalism, as well as Islamic terrorism, is associated mainly with the Middle East, but this phenomenon is also known in Africa and the Far East, as well as in Europe. It appears wherever there is a considerable number of followers of this religion, particularly in areas of poverty or social problems. The reasons behind Islamic fundamentalism also stem from the rapidly growing dissatisfaction among Muslims, ruled by various colonial authorities, as well as from the opposition of many communities to the progressive weakening of the influence of religion in Muslim countries and attempts to modernise them in a Western way[26]. The situation is getting worse because of the disgust that the Islamic world feels towards secular materialism and because the West has been labelling Islam as radicals and fanatics. The contemporary Islamic jihad is a kind of antibody to a disease that globalisation is considered to be. According to fundamentalists, it imprints the unwanted stigma of Western culture with its consumption and secular humanism. For militant Muslims, the only way to revive the Islamic world is to engage in a campaign of self-destruction that will result in the Islamic state emerging from the ashes. Essentially, there is a moral justification for violence in Islamic culture, particularly against an unfaithful enemy military force[27]. It is relatively tolerant to its own followers, but the non-believers should be destroyed. In this religion war is allowed, but at the same time, the lack of violence and peace are long-awaited goals. The Quran says

[23] Kaczmarek J, Terroryzm i konflikty zbrojne, a fundamentalizm islamski. Wrocław, 2001 p. 73.

[24] Lewicka M, Fundamentalizm muzułmański — odkrycie naszych czasów czy stały element myśli politycznej islamu?, [in.] Backer R, Kitab S (Eds), Islam a świat. Toruń, 2004, p. 4.

[25] Guła P, Terroryzm międzynarodowy, w tym islamski- zarys problemu. Szczytno, 2009, p. 23.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 17–20.

[27] Ch. Eskridge, Demokracja, globalizacja i bezpieczeństwo w świecie islamu, [in:] Szafrański J, Kosiński J (Eds), Współczesne zagrożenia terrorystyczne oraz metody ich zwalczania — Conference proceedings. Szczytno, 2007, p. 22.

in its teaching: *Do not take away the life of others — God says that life is sacred — if the reason is not upright.* Nevertheless, extremist Islamists claim that violence not only can, but should, be an acceptable method of defending against the various enemies of their religion. At the same time, they see these enemies everywhere where the teachings of Islam about social order or about the attitude towards people of other religions are questioned[28]. Islam therefore has a characteristic of violence, which is also used in the name of God[29], so that the acts performed in its name are seen as a divine service and help to establish God's justice.

The contemporary terrorism is represented mainly by extremist Islamic fundamentalism and is based on the clash of two civilizational cultures[30], while Islamic fundamentalism is a tool for defending Muslim countries against universalist tendencies, which are a manifestation of the globalisation process. The observation of this phenomenon leads to the conclusion that this process is almost exclusively one-way in nature. The Islamists, by preaching their slogans, are exploiting the poverty in the areas controlled by them. The reward for poverty and asceticism is to be a dignified life after death. Such a policy must be challenged in the future with social discontent, even among fanatical religious believers, who, at the same time, notice the differences between their standard of living and the welfare of a narrow class of privileged class[31]. The result may be a powerful and threatening state on the planet, a dangerous and deteriorating state, affecting the world economy.

One of the characteristics of modern terrorism is the increasing number of attacks, with increasing civilian casualties, suicide attacks and executions of vulnerable people e.g. tourists. It is impossible not to mention here the most important terrorist attack ever carried out by al-Qaeda terrorists. On 11 September 2001, hijacked passenger planes hit two World Trade Centre towers in New York, killing 2973 people. This event was the direct cause of the declaration of war on terrorism, which became the overriding objective of the US government, and altered the world's approach to this phenomenon. The international community understood that it should intensify its efforts in the fight against terrorism, at political, social and economic level, and that the phenomenon itself should be the focus of attention of individuals, states and international organisations[32]. On the one hand, each country creates its own policy against terrorism. All states use almost the same methods and means to combat terrorism, as well as to carry out military operations, mainly the armed forces, and on their own territory also the forces of law and order and security services[33]. On the other hand, however, it is necessary to undertake cooperation in this area, which results from the helplessness of actions of individual entities in the light of the universality of the phenomenon.

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[28] Tomasiewicz J, Terroryzm XXI wieku, „MMS Komandos" 2001, No. 10, pp. 17–20.

[29] Tomasiewicz J, Krwawi wojownicy. *MMS Komandos,* 2000, Vol. 6, pp. 11–14.

[30] Wars P, Geneza i współczesny kształt terroryzmu, [in:] Jałoszyński K, Wiśniewski B (Eds),Terroryzm. Diagnoza, zadania administracji publicznej w przeciwdziałaniu zjawisku. Bielsko-Biała, 2007, p. 39.

[31] Jałoszyński K, Terroryzm fundamentalistów islamskich. Warsaw, 2001, p. 9.

[32] Liedel K, Zwalczanie terroryzmu międzynarodowego w polskiej polityce bezpieczeństwa. Warsaw, 2010, p. 34.

[33] Jakubczak R, Terroryzm ..., *op. cit.*, p. 37.

Threats are common today, so international cooperation in eliminating them is a necessity. Terrorism became the subject of interest of almost the entire human community, and the decisions developed on the basis of reflections on its essence took the form of global actions, involving unprecedented resources, both military and peaceful, supported by unimaginable financial expenditures. The global war on terrorism, proclaimed by the most powerful state, the USA, supported by most countries in the world, seems to be endless, despite the enormous commitment of resources and people[34].

Conclusions

An armed conflict seems to be attributed to mankind and for thousands of years has been the reason for the beginning or end of tribes, cultures, empires, states and nations. In modern times, a number of states have found themselves outside the borders of the international community. Some have chosen isolation, others permanently violate international norms. Many Asian countries (India, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand), Middle and Middle East (Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Israel, Yemen, Chechnya, Turkey), Africa (Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Chad, Uganda, Central African Republic, Algeria), South America (Colombia, Peru) are facing civil wars or conflicts on ethnic or political grounds, where clashes between different groups are frequent. The conflict between Israel and Palestine has been going on for decades and, in addition to military action, terrorists, who have also got involved, are disorganizing the enemy forces with their actions. Such phenomena are also very common in Muslim countries, where, in addition to the military forces, there are also terrorists who are fighting the enemy, causing conflicts to escalate. International terrorism is characterized by an extraordinary dynamic of change, and this is linked not only to the variability of its forms, but also to its geographical scope. It has become a tool used almost all over the world, which makes it one of the forms of asymmetric conflicts, and therefore a tool often used by small, mobile groups. It has an exceptional ability to adapt to the changing political and economic situation — both at the national and wider levels, negatively affecting the functioning of states and the international community, as well as individuals. It strikes at the foundations of the modern world and its order, gaining more and more dimension and resonance nowadays. The more difficult this task is, the more drastic the means the author will be willing to use to attract the attention of the audience. It should be remembered that terrorist groups are not only better organized, but are also reaching for more extreme tools. This points to a significant breakthrough in the scale of their threat.

They are clearly becoming independent of states' support and are therefore practically independent players on the world stage. Therefore, they aspire to the role of independent actors of international relations, ready to undertake actions that destabilize the state of regional and world security. What is more, their

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[34] Skrzydlewski P, Terroryzm jako środek zniewolenia człowieka, [in:] Jaroszyński P, Tarasiewicz P, Chłodna I, Smoleń-Wawrzusiszyn M (Eds),Terroryzm — dawniej i dziś. Lublin, 2001, p. 188.

operational potential is not fully revealed. Some of them may be expected to make attempts to acquire weapons of mass destruction, and it cannot be ruled out that some of them already possess such weapons.

For the reasons mentioned above, the phenomenon must be expected to escalate. This is demonstrated by the numerous signals coming from all corners of the world, and the emergence of new, so far unknown organizations proves that the fashion for terrorism is not passing away. The development of the phenomenon will be the result of both the external and internal political situation, including the state of the economy, changes in development differences and the unfavorable demographic structure of individual regions. The combination of these factors will determine which types of terrorism will be more likely to develop, depending on the conditions of specific areas. Unfortunately, it can be said with certainty that in the future we will continue to face it frequently.

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Streszczenie. *Wbrew powszechnym oczekiwaniom, po zakończeniu II wojny światowej konflikty zbrojne nie ustały. Jedne kraje walczą o uzyskanie niepodległości, inne o wpływy, a jeszcze inne przeżywają wojny domowe. Decydują o tym różnice kulturowe, etniczne i religijne. Współczesny świat targany jest wieloma konfliktami, które — mimo swojego regionalnego zasięgu — mają wpływ na polityczną i militarną sytuację na całej kuli ziemskiej. Funkcjonowanie granic formalnych, które nie pokrywają się z granicami narodowościowymi, niskie poczucie przynależności państwowej, w porównaniu z przynależnością etniczną, bieda i niestabilność polityczna sprzyjają również stosowaniu metod terrorystycznych. Terroryzm to zjawisko prawie tak samo stare, jak cywilizacja. W odróżnieniu jednak od przeszłości, współcześni terroryści stosują przemoc w niewyobrażalnej wcześniej skali. Terroryzm w wielu wypadkach wykazuje swoją regionalną specyfikę, różniąc się w zależności od obszaru kulturowo-cywilizacyjnego, na którym występuje. Powodem uciekania się do metod terrorystycznych może być potrzeba wolności, chronienia swojego dziedzictwa, poczucie krzywdy wyrządzonej przez okupanta, potrzeba wyrażenia niezadowolenia z systemu politycznego lub wprowadzanych zmian, czy wreszcie zwyczajna chęć zwrócenia uwagi na problemy krajów i społeczeństw, do tej pory niezauważonych lub lekceważonych przez opinię publiczną. Częstym powodem uciekania się do terroryzmu jest również religia. Współczesny terroryzm reprezentowany jest głównie przez ekstremistyczny fundamentalizm islamski i jest oparty na zderzeniu dwóch kultur cywilizacyjnych. Jest zagrożeniem o charakterze globalnym, a jego potencjalną ofiarą w dzisiejszych czasach może zostać każdy. Liczne sygnały o pojawianiu się wciąż nowych, dotychczas nieznanych organizacji dowodzą, że w przyszłości — niestety — trzeba się liczyć z eskalacją zjawiska.*

Резюме. *Вопреки ожиданиям, после окончания Второй мировой войны, вооружённые конфликты не прекратились. Некоторые страны борются за независимость, другие за влияние, а третьи — ведут гражданские войны. Данную ситуацию определяют культурные, этнические и религиозные различия. Современный мир раздирают многие конфликты, которые, несмотря на их региональный характер, оказывают влияние на политическую и военную ситуацию на всем земном шаре. Функционирование формальных границ, которые не совпадают с национальными границами, нехватка чувства гражданственности по сравнению с этнической принадлежностью, бедность и политическая нестабильность, также способствуют использованию методов террористической деятельности. Терроризм почти так же стар, как и цивилизация. В отличие от прошлого, современные террористы используют насилие в невообразимых масштабах. Терроризм во многих случаях проявляет свою региональную специфику, различаясь в зависимости от культурного и цивилизационного пространства, в котором он происходит. Причиной использования террористических действий может быть потребность в свободе, защита своего наследия, чувство ущерба, причинённого оккупантом, необходимость выражать недовольство политической системой или внесёнными изменениями, а также обычное желание обратить внимание на проблемы стран и обществ, которые до сих пор широкая общественность не замечала или игнорировала. Религия также является частой причиной обращения к террористической деятельности. Современный терроризм представлен в основном экстремистским исламским фундаментализмом и основан на столкновении двух цивилизационных культур. Это является глобальной угрозой, и сегодня каждый может стать ее потенциальной жертвой. Все чаще поступающая информация о все новых и до сих пор неизвестных организациях свидетельствует о том, что в будущем, к сожалению, необходимо ожидать эскалации данного явления.*