UDC 32

Terrorism as a destructive factor of international relations. Historical evolution of the phenomenon

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Abstract

The article analyzes the concept of "terrorism" and considers its historical background. From the methodological point of view, the differentiation of this phenomenon is conducted by such criterions as "terror" and "violence". The author also tries to substantiate persuasively crucial difference between these two definitions. In our days, we have to admit that terrorism has already become an inevitable factor of international relations being one of the most destructive challenges to mankind. Identification of concept of terrorism as social, political and, to some extent, spiritual phenomenon is seriously complicated by its multifactorial nature. For example, modern mass media in attempts to quietly exhaustive characteristic to terrorism, tend to equate such concepts, as "violence" and "terror". It definitely facilitates them a problem of identification of the phenomenon in the context of methodological approach. But from our point of view, such approach has also a serious drawback: simplification of an essence of the phenomenon not always leads to its revealing, and, on the contrary, often leads to its distorted understanding. Therefore, from the very beginning it is necessary to understand whether the unification of such concepts, different in their objectives and psychological contents, as "terror" (having, in most cases, political or military-and-political backgrounds) and "violence" (a much broader concept which methodological basis should be looked for in psychology of the personality or even society in general) is justified in principle.

Historical Backgrounds of Terrorism

As professor Y.S. Gorbunov notes, "… already at the time of the Roman Empire the concrete sense was put in the concept "terror": intimidation not in general, i.e. intimidation for the sake of intimidation, but intimidation of a political opponent (opponent) by violent methods, up to physical destruction of his certain representatives, for correcting the behavior of this opponent, for example for preventing a revolt, – that is inherent in today's understanding of terrorism" [Gorbunov. Terrorism…, 2010]. The most eloquent example of a comprehended and systemically organized terror at the time of the Roman Empire was the movement of Zealots (more precisely, their radical wing – "Sukkars", from sica armor – a handjar [Podshivalova, 2016]) in Judea. This was a religious and political protest phenomenon, appeared in the first half of 1st century AD, and reached its apogee by Judaic war of 66-73. The historical context of genesis of this oppositional movement (having also a radical wing) is the following. In the 6th year AD, after death of the tsar Herod the Great, Palestine lost independence and was occupied by Romans. Thus, two of four historical areas of Palestine – Judea and Samaria – were ruled by the Roman procurators directly appointed by imperial administration of Rome. It caused sharp rise of the nationalist movement which ideological basis was formed substantially by religious fundamentalists – Pharisees, and the most organized force was represented by national radical party of the Zealots. Counteraction to administrative work of the Roman governors became the first noticeable political act implemented by the Zealots. In particular, in 6th AD, some Judas Galilean together with the Pharisee Tsadock belonging, probably, to the priesthood of Jerusalem, called Jews to resist the population census which was carried out by Romans for the fiscal and property purposes, considering the census to be a formal inclusion of Judea in the Roman Empire as one of its provinces. Influence of Zealots was promoted by strengthening the economic exploitation of Judea by the Roman vicegerents (procurators) and their supporters from the highest Judaic society – the aristocracy, the upper class of temple priests, large landowners and rich men.

The movement of Zealots took especially radical forms in Galilee. That was the place where the definition "Sukkar" appeared. Adherents of a radical wing of Zealots got this sobriquet because of their guerrilla war made by terrorist methods against Romans and those Jews who were considered as traitors. These methods were rather simple: terrorists always carried pleated outerwear short swords or the perfected kitchen knives (as to get a sword, as well as any other weapon in Judea during the Roman dominion was extremely difficult). When holidays or other actions followed by crowds of people took place in Jerusalem, murderers mixed with the crowd and cut a throat to the enemies or slaughtered them in the back. The most famous victim of the Sukkars was the high priest of Judea of the period of the procurator Anthony Felix vicegerency (52 – 58 AD) Jonathan. Like modern terrorists, Zealots had branched secret structures, and their agency penetrated all links of government. Besides, they often kept in touch with gangs of robbers (speaking to the modern language – groups of insurgents), whose number constantly grew in the country. Some of these paramilitary groups totaled in the ranks to several hundred people. For example, the legendary field commander Eleazar terrorized vicinities of Jerusalem for nearly twenty years and had endured several procurators and high priests.

Group of Zealots in the 66th AD took Masada fortress near the Dead Sea that laid the foundation to Judaic war. They exterminated the whole Roman garrison with cruelty, and made the fortress that is located on a hill their stronghold. From there they made predatory attacks and terrified the Roman troops. During Judaic war, they still called to struggle not only with Romans, but also with the Judaic aristocracy. Though the Tenth legion under command of Flavius Silva captured Masada in 73rd year AD, they did not manage to captivate Zealots. The Roman historian of a Judaic origin, Joseph Flavius,

in the book "Judaic War" claims that "960 Zealots, except two women and five children, committed suicide, not wishing to give up Rome" [Flavius, www]. Despite a number of initial military victories and essential support among the poorest segments of the population, revolt of Zealots was suppressed by Romans. Not the last reason of their defeat was serious disagreement between their leaders. Perhaps, from the military point of view this factor led to defeat of revolt and destruction by Romans of Jerusalem and the Second Jerusalem temple (it was forbidden to reconstruct it). After that, part of Zealots escaped to the Egyptian provinces of Cyrenaica and Alexandria where they tried to continue their activity. However, already by the end of the first century AD, the movement of Zealots practically stopped to exist. Proceeding from methodology and political and religious base of the movement of Zealots, it is possible to assume that from the systematic point of view the revolt of Zealots laid the foundation to terrorism in its classical understanding.

Violence and terrorism. Dialectical analysis

We suppose that we have approached some kind of watershed, which is accurately separating the concept "terror" from the concept "violence". The basic and the defining difference of violence from terror is lack of a stage of intimidation. That means the violence by the nature can include great variety of the prime causes and motivations. From the point of view of realization, violence is also characterized by a variety of receptions and methods. But unlike terror, the violence (more precisely, the people who are carrying out it) does not set the task of extraction of certain political or other dividends from affecting the opponent. Political or other motivator, as a rule, gave (and gives today) to terror a certain two-level structure: from a stage of threats to a stage of realization of threats, or from a stage of causing the small ("warning") damage to a stage of causing irreplaceable damage. When studying a phenomenon of violence it becomes obvious that often it is very often implemented in a simple "one stage action" which task is reduced only to elimination of the opponent or making harm to him/her. Thus, often, publicity and causing any public response to the act of violence is in most cases extremely unprofitable to those who make violence as it can promote disclosure of this crime. On the contrary, for those who assassinate, publicity of terrorist attack plays nearly the same significant role, as the act of terrorism itself, thus it helps to reach one of the main objectives outlined above – intimidation of object with the subsequent correction of his behavior (or its expectation) that benefit on terrorists.

Analyzing the phenomenon of violence the author also offers dualistic classification of this definition. Proceeding from range of tasks and impact on the object, violence can be divided conditionally on household and criminal one. The first seems to be most massive as it includes practically all spheres of household conflicts lion's share of which comprises non-motivated violence (or violence with the minimal motivation), because of alcoholism, affect or other pathological phenomena. Here we can also mention violence made of jealousy, misunderstanding or household incompatibility of individuals. Though the some motivation here presents, but it is hardly comparative to major motivating terror factors.

Criminal violence is by its methodological nature slightly closer to terror, however, differs from it in narrowness of objectives and as it was noted above, lack of the stage of intimidation urged to influence the behavior of the opponent. Besides, the criminal violence is characterized by the fact that its political motivation is almost completely replaced by the material one. The exception is the violence motivated by revenge – in this case striving to justice acts as the main motivator (not ambitions of enrichment), but, certainly, from the point of view of the person, making this act of violence. But in

general, the main motivators of criminal offences are robberies, murders, taking of hostages/hostages as the instrument of the robbery. Sexual violence is also worth mentioning (however, this motivator is often explained by medical/psychological deviations) and the hooliganism (in cases of going beyond the brinks of administrative offense).

Thus, we have considered the concepts "terror" and "violence" and came to conclusion about essentially various semantic value of these definitions. Also initial goals which are reached by application of the first or second of the revealed concepts are various. Now we suggest proceeding to the basic subject of our research – to *terrorism*.

Frequency of committed terrorist attacks all over the world within the last 20 years grew in a geometrical progression; the same factor refers to the victims of these attacks. The attack on the World shopping center in the USA on September 11, 2001 (claimed 2977 lives of citizens of 92 countries of the world) [First video of Pentagon 9/11 attack released, www] is considered as the apogee of the terroristic activity, past a bit more than 10 years the terrorism began to acquire qualitatively other shape, having passed from classical tactics of terror to attempts of founding its own statehood. In June 29, 2014th in the territory of Syria smitten by civil war and northern part of Iraq also uncontrolled by the central government in Baghdad, a foundation of so-called "Islamic state of Iraq and Levant" (ISIS) [What does ISIS' declaration…, www] was proclaimed. It is a quasi-state with the Sharia form of government and headquarters (actually the capital) in the Syrian city of Ayr-Rakka. Besides Syria and Iraq, ISIS or groups under its control also participate in military operations in the territory of such countries as Lebanon, Afghanistan, Algeria, Pakistan, Libya, Egypt, Yemen, Nigeria, Northern Sudan, Somalia, and periodically conduct terrorist activity in some other countries. Many countries (including the Russian Federation) and international organizations have recognized ISIS as the terrorist organization.

Bruce Hoffman, the vice-president of the Washington office of the research organization RAND Corporation (informal public crisis service in Republican Party) on foreign policy and the expert in terrorism from the US Georgetown University, offers a number of characteristics allowing to separate terrorism from other types of crimes. In his opinion, the terrorism is:

 − exclusively political in its purposes and motives;
 − violent or what is not less important, threatening with violence;
 − intended for rendering long psychological influence, not just destruction of the concrete victim or object;
 − conducted by the organization with recognizable chain of management or some secret segmented structure, whose representatives do not wear a uniform or distinctions;
 − committed either by internal national group or foreign organization [Khoffman, 2003].

In the offered classification, in our opinion, it is necessary to pay special attention to a couple of moments. The first is especially political motivational basis of the phenomenon. That means that the terrorist orientation has a political motivator. It should be noted that the same principle is suitable and for the description of religious motivation of terrorism, though at first sight, the religious motivation differs from the political one. Nevertheless, first of all it concerns Islamic terrorism. This type of terrorism, which inevitably comprises at least the residual principles of Islamic statehood (in the countries practicing Islam of fundamentalist sense, the institute of the state is built inseparably in religion, not on the contrary), automatically "exports" the basic political principles, sounding only their religious component.

The second moment, on which the author wishes to focus attention, is the violent or "threatening with violence" essence of terrorism. It is remarkable that the American researcher puts on the same

level not only practicing violence, but also threat of its practicing. In our opinion, this circumstance is a key-point when distinguishing terrorism from the list of violent acts.

The former director of CIA U. Colby considers that terrorism is the tactics of illegible violence used against "innocent witnesses" in political goals [Covert Action, www]. This tactics of violence, as appears from its characteristic, extremely is not selective at identification of the targets that inevitably leads to death of those who is not a direct object of terrorist attack. And still, their death is not casual – in this case the innocent victims among the civilians (as a rule, they are just ordinary inhabitants who have no direct influence on the governmental policy) unwittingly act as the tool of political pressure against governing elite of the country which is the main object of a terrorist attack. In other words, having no opportunity to eliminate members of governing elite of any state, terrorists choose the least protected category of the population as targets, using terrorist attacks and death of ordinary people as intimidation acts of the government of the country.

The Russian researcher K.G. Gorbunov in the monograph "Terrorism: social and psychological research" emphasizes that "such understanding of terrorism applies to all levels of its demonstration. Often the terrorism acts as the international crime, which undermines the existing system of political links of different countries and encroaches on universal morals. Thereby, people who have no connection with processes of forming the global law and order, suffer in most cases" [Gorbunov. On definition…, 2010].

Absolutely different goals are achieved while attacking on state and political figures, law enforcement officers and "ordinary" citizens, at destruction or damage of plants, factories, telecommunications sources, transport and other similar actions, but it is possible to speak about terrorism only in case when the crucial goal of an act is intimidation, causing horror. It is the main feature of terrorism distinguishing it from other violent crimes. Sometimes physical impact is practically marginal, for example, some small explosion, which did not cause any harm or brought the minimum damage though it also was made for achieving some specific material goal, for example, intimidation of the commercial competitor. In this case, we deal only with mental aggression, which has just demonstrative character.

Demonstration takes place also when no material goals are pursued, and the terrorist just wishes to assert himself. Individual act of terror can have symbolical significance and can be aimed at affecting much bigger audience, than a concrete terrified victim [ibid.].

Actually, terrorism grows on the basis of significant public contradictions as a response of the engaged social groups to chronically unsolved (by the authorities) social and political problems. To such crimes, usually bring conflicts of political, social, territorial, national, worldview character. Moreover, in some cases the criminal offence also assumes a terroristic scale.

If the social and psychological fundaments of this destructive phenomenon are more or less clear, the legal side of the issue is just to be researched. Let's use for analysis some official sources – such as Federal law on counteraction to terrorism of March 6th, 2006N 35-FZ and the Criminal code of the Russian Federation.

So, in the Federal law "About counteraction to terrorism" [Federal Law No. 35-FZ of March 06, 2006, www] the following definition of the basic concepts connected with this type of criminal activity is given:

1) terrorism – the ideology of violence and the practice of impact on decision-making by public authorities, local governments or international organizations connected with intimidation of the population and (or) other forms of illegal violent acts;

2) terroristic activity – the activity including:

a) organization, planning, preparation, financing and commitment of an act of terrorism;

b) incitement to an act of terrorism;

c) organization of an illegal paramilitary group, criminal community (criminal organization), organized group for commitment of terroristic act, and participation in such structure as well;

d) recruiting, equipping, training and using the terrorists;

e) informational or other kind of complicity in planning, preparation or realization of an act of terrorism;

e) propaganda of terroristic ideas, distribution of the materials or information calling for implementation of terrorist activity or proving or justifying need of implementation of such activity;

3) the act of terrorism – an explosion, the arson or other actions frightening the population and creating danger of death for the person, causing significant property damage or approach of other heavy consequences, for impact on decision-making by authorities or the international organizations, and also threat of implementation of the specified actions for the same purposes.

Both methodologically, and dialectically everything that is specified in the Federal law as we see, completely corresponds to our analysis which is carried out above. The terrorism nature, its methods and the main objectives which terrorists seek to achieve, remained almost unchanged since Antiquity. Only technologies of terror have changed, information opportunities of terrorists (that is inevitable in a post-industrial era) considerably extended that affected the methods of their recruitment.

We already stated on probability of transformation of a criminal offense in terrorist activity above. Obviously, it depends on such factors as severity of the crime and extent of the caused damage (to people or infrastructure). In other words, in these cases the consequences of the criminal offend are comparable to the terroristic ones. To make the topic clearer let's address again to the Criminal code of the Russian Federation as in legal practice the definition of criminal action given in this source is the main basis for criminal office-work.

The Criminal code of the Russian Federation gives the following legal definition of an act of terrorism (Art. 205): "… commission of an explosion, the arson or other actions frightening the population and creating danger of death for the person, causing significant property damage or approach of other heavy consequences, for impact on decision-making by authorities or the international organizations, and also threat of implementation of the specified actions for the same purposes". In the criminal law includes also the definitions of other "terroristic" crimes which can be integrated on the specification basis of intimidation: "The infringement of life of the governmental or public figure made for the termination of his state or other political activity or because of revenge for such activity..." (Art. 277); "obviously untrue report on the act of terrorism" (Art. 207); kidnapping (Art. 126); taking hostages (Art. 206); stealing the air or water transport ship or railway rolling stock (Art. 211); violent seizure of power or violent deduction of the power (Art. 278); armed rebellion (Art. 279); public appeals to violent change of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation (Art. 280); diversion (Art. 281); initiation of race, racial or religious strife (Art. 282); obstruction of implementation of justice and conducting the preliminary investigation (Art. 294); infringement of life of the person who is carrying out justice or preliminary investigation (Art. 295); infringement of life of the law enforcement officer (Art. 317); application of violence against the authority (Art. 318); genocide (Art. 357); ecocide (Art. 358); attack on persons or institutions which use the international protection (Art. 360) [The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation of June 13, 1996 No. 63-FZ, www].

As we see, the verge between criminal offenses and terroristic crimes is very fuzzy. Besides, we suppose that the lawyers, developing the definitions for any crime, made an attempt to prevent the

foreseen destructive consequences of a number of offenses, despite that at the first sight some of these crimes do not seem to cause that damage which usually is consequent to a terroristic act. For example – the offense specified in Art. 282 (initiation of race, racial or religious strife). As we have repeatedly noted, national and religious aspects are used by terrorists for justification of the actions extremely often. Therefore Art. 282 of the Criminal code of Russian Federation, in our opinion, from the psychological point of view has some preventive or even anticipatory character.

Speaking about psychological basis of terrorism, it is worth to strengthen that terroristic propaganda encourages implementation of the most primitive instincts, creating illusion of opportunity to change the world "right now" (but not by progressive social transformations or advocating them within social movement). Besides, it gives the chance to splash out aggression which was accumulated in a person under the influence of various (social, political, economic, and psychological) factors, but was restrained in the frameworks of social institutes [Nardina, 2011].

The last aspect deserving to stop in detail in our research is an object of terrorist activity. Let us try to classify some target groups.

Interesting conclusions to this subject were made by the Russian researcher D.Yu. Bazarkina in her research "Communication effect of terrorism on the example of acts of terrorism in Madrid on March 11, 2004". Due to her offered classification, the main objects (targets) of terrorism in the XXI century are:

– the governments (the foreign state-opponent or the terrorists-suppressing regime in domestic country);

– power structures (can be segregated as target, independent from the attitude towards the government);

– public organizations, mainly international non-state organizations (NSO) and their branches as spokesmen of the point of view of certain groups of interests.

The social base for the terroristic audience is composed of:

– members of the terrorist group or its network itself;

– potential terrorists (from among the people who sympathize the terrorist organization or having a certain economic, political interest, trying to realize it, working within a terroristic group);

– the "investors" financing acts of terrorism;

– the protest movement, risking in some cases (intentionally or unintentionally) to provoke terroristic activity;

– ideologically sympathizing population of the country, where a terroristic action is conducted;

– population of some countries prone to terroristic promotion and to growth of number sympathizing terrorists (in case of "religious" terrorism – population of the Middle East countries where the ideological centers of the anti-western philosophy is extremely strong);

– figures involved in the arts and culture of different countries of the world capable (intentionally or unintentionally) to become conductors of terroristic propaganda [Bazarkina, 2014].

Consideration the objects of terroristic activity we can add to this list:

– the personalities (journalists, political scientists, leaders of social movements) having ideological impact on society;

– religious leaders and preachers (especially it is actual in the analysis of Islamic terrorism);

– the former participants of the terroristic movement who have for some reason "broken away" from it and started to cooperate with law enforcement bodies or special services. However, often such people are exposed to attacks from terrorists (the former accomplices) even without such cooperation, but only because of ideological and psychological revenge or simple in order to "clean the tips".

Social Backgrounds of modern Terrorism

Modern terrorism is characterized by the growing frequency of cruel acts of violence. It is characterized by big geographical scope, lack of obviously lined boundaries, existence of communication and interaction with the international terrorist centers and organizations, flexible and branched organizational structure. Technological achievements in the field of IT-technologies are widely used: information and propaganda work is conducted by terrorists with extreme efficiency. Such work includes selection and training of supporters, active functionaries and fighters for the purpose of their practical use in crisis areas. Thus the value of such recruits remains for terrorists on the lowest level – after their (often just one-off) use, their place will be always possible to substitute with new coming recruits. It will always easy to find those interested.

Terrorism, being an extreme form of expression of social, ethnic, religious radicalism and extremism, is not likely to stop before anything for achievement of its goals. Terrorists adhere to this principle, denying civilized methods of the solution of social, national, religious and other conflicts being traditionally solved in the frameworks of such international organizations as the UN, OSCE. A number of regional organizations of the humanitarian and political contents also exist.

Within the last decade terrorists took a distinct course on seizure of power in the countries (examples – Syria, Iraq, Egypt where the radical party "Muslim Brotherhood" was in power over a year, Libya, Northern Sudan, Somalia in which civil war continues till today) and transformation of terrorism into the international force. Thus strategy and tactics of the terrorist organizations is in increasing form passing to such forms and ways of committing actions (it would be incorrect to call them "combat actions"), which could generate growing fear among the population and provide the greatest propaganda success. By the way, the neglect to losses among civilians and aspiration to provoke security forces to the inadequate answer to acts of terrorism urges to cause at least – discontent as a maximum – hostility of civilians that creates potential social and political base for terrorism in any country.

The author of the manual "Terrorism and counterterrorist activity notes: questions of theory" S.I. Grachev asserts, - "The scale of terrorism all over the world causes need of intensive counteraction to it, and it assumes its intensive studying, searching of answers to the following questions: why has terrorism spread so widely; why is the terroristic methodology so often used for solving a wide spectrum of problems; to which consequences the using of weapons of mass destruction can lead? So, the issue of fighting against terrorism is relevant. Namely: how should international cooperation be extended and improved; how should national laws be organized; how should the system of effective counteraction to terrorism be constructed?" [Grachev, 2010].

Conclusion

Terrorism, undoubtedly, is one of the global problems. So, approach to searches of the answer to this challenge has to reflect this circumstance. It belongs to the unified understanding of a problem, careful studying and the analysis of theoretical questions of this type of violence. All this can form a basis of improvement and harmonization of the state and international legal acts, and especially comprehensive programs of fight against terrorism, joint planning and implementation of precautionary, operational search, political, economic and judicial actions. Unfortunately, today such cooperation is seriously complicated by political contradictions between the countries, or is even stopped at all as a result of the unilateral decisions made by some countries, especially for political

reasons. The best example here – lack of proper dialogue between Russia and the USA (and other countries of the so-called "western community") concerning the Syrian settlement conditioned by decisive military defeat of ISIS.

Deep scientific understanding of the essence of terrorism, identification, its reasons and conditions generating it and also the scientific analysis of transformation of its types and forms taking into account its adaptation to the changing geopolitical situation in the world, have to render decisive assistance in counteracting to this challenge. Our main goal here is not just the development of effective measures for counteraction to terrorism – the main task, in our opinion, consists in depriving terrorism of its socio-political soil on which it grows, in many respects, thanks to ignorance of its potential victims.

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Терроризм как деструктивный фактор международных отношений. Историческая эволюция явления

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Terrorism as a destructive factor of international relations. Historical evolution of the phenomenon

Аннотация

В статье рассматривается террористическая деятельность с точки зрения основных мотивационных факторов. Автор относит к ним социальное неблагополучие, политическую конъюнктуру, религиозный и национальный экстремизм, выражающиеся в формате противоправного «протеста». С методологической точки зрения дифференциация исследуемого феномена проводится по таким критериям, как «террор» и «насилие». Методологическую основу исследования составляет метод анализа ситуации (аналитический метод), сравнительный метод, метод прогнозирования, а также историко-аналитический метод, содействующий выявлению исторических корней изучаемого явления. Особый вклад автора исследования заключается в том, что в материале впервые дается не только исчерпывающая юридическая, но и убедительная историческая оценка террора и насилия, являющихся взаимодополняющими факторами изучаемого феномена – терроризма, несомненно, относящегося к числу глобальных проблем. Поэтому и подход к поискам ответа на этот вызов должен отражать данное обстоятельство. Это относится к согласованному пониманию проблемы терроризма, тщательному изучению и анализу теоретических вопросов данного вида насилия. Таким образом, автор приходит к выводу о необходимости дифференцированного подхода к изучению терроризма, что позволит четче понять его генезис и облегчит процессуальную работу.

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