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New Tendencies in the Terrorist Attacks Against Europe

Új tendenciák az Európával szembeni terrortámadásokban

Absztrakt

2015-től kezdődően az európai biztonság kérdésköre jelentősen átalakult. A 2015. november 13-án bekövetkezett párizsi terrortámadások a biztonsági dimenzió átalakulásának olyan fókusza volt, amely gyökeres változásokat eredményezett a kontinens életében. A terrorizmus olyan új tendenciákkal tért vissza a kontinensre, amelyekre az európai társadalmak nem, vagy csak minimálisan voltak felkészülve. A terrorkihívás új arca természetesen számos új kérdést is felvet a megelőzés, a védekezés és az elhárítás szemszögéből is. A folyamatosan növekvő terrorkockázat számos, rendkívül összetett tényezőből eredeztethető, amelyek kombinációja eredményezi a szokatlan és rendkívül bizonytalan állapotot. A terrorizmus aktív jelenléte által eredményezett folyamatosan változó biztonsági kihívásokra az európai biztonsági intézményrendszer nem, vagy csak nehezen és akkor is mindössze részben képes hathatós válaszokat generálni.

Kulcsszavak: post-modern terror, security awareness, ramming, UAV, CBRN

Abstract

Since 2015 the range of problems of the European security has significantly changed. The terrorist attacks that happened in Paris on 13th November, 2015 meant the turning point of the fundamental changes in the Europe's security dimensions. The terrorism returned to the continent with such new tendencies for what the European societies were not prepared at all or at least, only minimally. The new face of the terrorist challenge raises new questions about prevention, protection and the counter-actions. The growing risk of terror has multiple and very complicated origins which combination results an unusual and extremely uncertain status. The European institutions is not in the position to give efficient answers or it can give only partial response to the permanently changing security challenges provoked by the active presence of terrorism.

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INTRODUCTION

11th September, 2011 is a date that most deeply shocked the Western civilization. The date of the largest terrorist attack against the United States initiated from American soil. All the people having an appropriately developed mind that time remember the events of the date independently where they lived in Brazil, France, the US or in Central Europe. The shocking effect of the attack is still vivid. The events of 11th September have had so deep impact in the cultural and social fields of the Western societies that changed the quality of life, the frames and the notion of the safety and security and created the image of the "new enemy." This new enemy – the terrorism – as a generalized target is in the focus of the armed conflicts of the Western culture.

THE BACKGROUND OF CONTEMPORARY STATUS QUO OF TERRORISM IN EUROPE

Some events of the counter-terrorism war has reached Europe recently starting the chain of events that became determinant in the actual situation of security in Europe. It was widely spread that "Since transnational asymmetric terrorism occurs only intermittently, many people think it is possible to defend against it completely or even relatively completely."[2] Nevertheless, the terrorist attacks against Europe contradict to this theory.

Which are the new tendencies? How is the European security ambience where the people of the continent live? The first event, the starting point was the series of attacks in Paris on 13th November, 2015. That day the terrorist perpetrated attacks on six places and the tactics applied by the terrorist to split the counter-terrorist forces is worth to be analyzed. The main attacks were carried out in the city center relatively close to each other. Beside of these places there was another one in the outskirts of the city. That was Stade de France stadium the venue of the football match between France and Germany. This was the attack which divided the law-enforcement forces. This was one of the reasons why the field commander of the police forces reported to the superiors the elimination of the terrorist only at 00:58, while the first explosion happened at 21:16. During almost four hours the terrorist kept threatened and terrorized the inhabitants and tourists in the heart of the French capital, one of the most important centers of the European culture with firearms and explosives. The results of the chain of events are 137 victims and 352 wounded people. Analyzing the method of perpetration we see a combined one. There were attacks perpetrated using explosives by suicide bombers and firearms by shooters. This is the practical beginning of the current European terrorist status quo which served as a base for the new

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[2] Perl, Raphael F.: Asymmetric Warfare: A Doctrine to Fit the Times. In: Kiss Álmos Péter (szerk.): Asymmetric warfare conflict of the past, the resent, and the future. Dialog Campus Kiadó, Budapest, 2017, 45.

mentality in the security policy and for the change of methods in the struggle against terrorism determining the activities of the counter-terrorism forces.

The next event happened on 22nd March, 2016 in Brussels in two places: at one of the subway stations and at the Zaventem airport. In both places the terrorists perpetrated attacks using explosives. At the airport the terrorists used new tactics, new terrorist principles. According to this the blasts were carried out in several phases. Three bombs were deposited at the airport in a way that the running crowd after the first blast hade to pass near the second and the third devices so that blasts timed with a certain interval one after the other should have caused the maximum of victims. Due to a technical failure only two bombs exploded. The attack in the subway was a "classic" attack, using an explosive device in a backpack. A similar attack was perpetrated earlier in London in 2005. The Brussels-attacks' balance was 35 victims and 320 people wounded.

The next event was the terrorist attack in Nice on 14th July, 2016 on the National Day of France. The attack was a classic "ramming" on the most overcrowded promenade of the city where a huge number of people walked along the seaside. The truck went through the walkway causing 86 dead casualties and 302 wounded people.

Unfortunately the chain of events did not terminate there. It continued log:

- A truck attacked the people in Berlin on the Eve of the Christmas festivities causing 12 dead casualties and 49 wounded people.
- A suicide bomber tried to enter a concert hall in Manchester on 22nd May, 2017 and when he could not enter the concert he exploded the device on his body in front of the building. The explosion took 22 lives and left 120 people wounded.
- The next attack took place in London, on 3rd June, 2017, based on using a vehicle and combined with other methods. When the ramming was impeded the perpetrators left the vehicle and continued the attack stabbing the people around. Eleven people died in the attack including the three terrorists and 48 people received wounds. Similar attacks took place in the British capital on 22nd March and 25th August too.
- On 14th July, 2017, in Barcelona a group of perpetrators rammed into the people walking on the Rambla, the most famous walkway in the city. They killed 15 people and wounded several hundreds.
- The terrorist attacks mentioned above determine the actual landscape of terrorism in Europe. There were also other minor attacks as well but the enumerated acts were somehow special due to its method of implementation and cruelty. The European states were surprised and shocked by this form of terrorism but the investigations of the events of the previous decades brought up many other cases in the World which already had the risk of a comprehensive wave of terrorist attacks in Europe.

ANTECEDENTS OF THE CURRENT EUROPEAN TERRORIST STATUS QUO

No doubt, there is a significant number of events, acts, political, economic and social processes could be enumerated which one way or another had certain links to the terrorist attacks of the past period in Europe. The main reasons are the following:

1. problems of the migrants of the second generation;
2. problems of the foreign/returning fighters;
3. the wave of the illegal immigration;
4. the international counter-terrorism struggle;
5. spreading democracy vs. the authoritarian leaders;
6. the Islamic State.

After this short enumeration it worth to investigate the content of all these points.

1. Problems of the migrants of the second generation

Previous researches prove the most of the perpetrators are from the group of the migrants of second generation. Those who radicalize and become potential perpetrators are also from this group. The essence of the problem is that the masses of migrants were not taught to integrate into the European cultural community. It is NOT assimilation but the incorporation into the European cultural community when preserving the individual values which requires long decades. "The frustrated situation of the first generation is inherited by the further generations in the much of cases. The second generation which does not have any direct impression or experience about the conditions of the place of origin, about the quality of life there, about the individual and social perspectives, has an illusory and idealistic imagination about that unknown world."[3]

The masses of the classic first generation migrants arrived mostly to Western Europe in the 60-ies and 70-ies due to the demand there of cheap labor force. They settled down and carried out works what German or French citizens would not do at all. If any economic crisis happens these persons are fired first being hardly educated and trained, so their children faced an unfavorable situation when neither their parents nor themselves found their place in the society. Another group is consisted of the migrants who live in good conditions, having well remunerated jobs, they or their parents are successful but despite of this they are rootless and feel themselves out of the society. The Western political system has an ambivalent attitude regarding this problem. "The problem is that political correctness has long paralyzed meaningful discourse. Both in America and in Europe there is an elite consensus that immigration, multiculturalism, and the existence of an ever-growing Muslim diaspora within the Western world are to be treated as a fixed given, and must not be treated as problematic."[4]

[3] Bács Zoltán György: A radikalizáció és a terrorizmus kapcsolata, egyes formái, gondolatok a megelőzés lehetséges perspektíváiról. *Nemzetbiztonsági Szemle*, 5 (2017/1), 7.
[4] Trifkovic, Srdja: Demographic Jihad as a Weapon of Asymmetric Warfare. In: Kiss Álmos Péter (szerk.): Asymmetric warfare conflict i. m. 284.

2. The problems of the foreign/returning fighters

The foreign/returning fighters are those already radicalized persons mostly of the second generation who went to the conflicts' zone where they participated in the local conflicts as fighters and returned home later. This is a huge problem because many radicalized persons return to the continent having direct combat experience. Recognizing this problem the France suggested a modification of the Constitution: those French citizens who participated in activities of terrorist organizations and in combats can be deprived of their citizenship. According to the International Law no one can be deprived of his or her citizenship this way so the countries of origin have to receive back these persons.

3. The wave of illegal migration

The wave of illegal migration reached its peak in 2015. It came out later that a big number of terrorists arrived to Europe using the malfunctions of control due to the unexpected mass of migrants. By all forecasts this tendency will continue. The number of countries of origin of the migrants is growing parallel to the growth of the factors generating migration. From these factors it is worth to mention the struggle for water. The shrinkage of the drinking water resources is a global problem going parallel to the global warming-up. For today it became indisputable that "in many places in the World conflicts will happen for the drinking water and a growing number of persons will violently die struggling for the water sources."[5] The answers to be given to this problem are limited. Quite often the competent international organizations have no reaction while the number of those who leave their country in hope of a better life or just hoping to survive is growing.

4. The international struggle against terrorism

The international war against terrorism announced after 11th September, 2001 by the US-president George W. Bush – beside of its positive results made the population of the Western countries a target. The war is usually an armed struggle where the opposing forces try to eliminate each other using different weapons. The terrorist attacks hit Europe can be considered that the enemy kicked back. The problem is to draw a line between different acts of war without which the legal consideration of the separated acts can be false. Therefore it is important to have in mind that "the nature of terrorism is complex. A range of acts might fall within the ambit of a 'terrorist act', depending on how that term is defined and perhaps even upon the entity using the term. Terrorism will almost invariably involve criminal acts."[6]

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[5] Padányi József: Vízkonfliktusok. *Hadtudomány*, 25 (2015), 283.
[6] Conte, Alex: The Nature and Definition of Terrorism. In: Conte, Alex (szerk.): Human Rights in the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism. Springer-Verlag, Berlin Heidelberg, 2010, 35.

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5. The spread of democracy vs. the authoritarian leaders

This topic is a delicate one in Europe and in the Western culture. The problem exists and Iraq and Libya are the best example that a political model invented for the Western cultural space hardly can have chances to work in a basically different culture. The transplantation of the Anglo-Saxon type of democracy to the political realm of Eastern cultures is more than difficult. On one hand because the general view of Western democracy was tailored for the Anglo-Saxon culture, and the farer we penetrate the East the more difficult will be to naturalize without changes. With other words: any kind of democracy can put its roots in Eastern cultures only if tailored to the local conditions.

6. The Islamic State

The most of the terrorist acts enumerated above – directly or indirectly – can be linked organically to the Islamic State. This terrorist group has basically transformed the global map of terrorism spreading the terrorist threat onto Europe at the same time.

CHANGES IN THE TERRORIST ACTS

We can state that the neither the goals nor the targets of the terrorism changed. We can witness some changes only in the tools and methods. The classic terrorist communities during their activities applied traditional methods imposing self-limitation while the terrorist acts had mostly warning character. In that period the will of killing human targets was limited. Despite of this the actual post-modern terrorist activities are indisputably aimed to maximize the destruction and the number of dead victims.

The tools of the classic terrorism were mostly the firearms and the bombs. In many cases the traditional tools appear in the post-modern terrorism in new forms. For example, in the case of the attack in Nice the primary tool was a vehicle but the perpetrator also used firearm. The different explosive devices are still in use but the development of the technology is imminent.

In the practice of the post-modern terrorism some new tools appear:

1. The CBRN-devices: the use of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear devices and materials can be one of the major challenges in countering terrorism. The warming-up of the Earth opens new perspectives for the terrorists. This phenomenon created the chance for the use of biological agents with expectations they never had before to implement new types of attacks with a much higher number of victims. This threat is imminent and still growths so the World must prepare for that.

2. The cyber-terror proved the cyberspace offers new opportunities for the terrorism. The internet has given a much wider space for radicalization than ever before. "In the internet of everything, ideas take a gigantic leap every day and disruption (both good and bad) is the norm. One such disruption which has revolutionized the way information is

exchanged in real time has been the advent of social media."[7] It is worth to mention the cyberspace plays an important role in financing the terrorism as well.

3.   The use of drones is a new challenge. Beside the unlimited spread of these devices the situation is even worse due to the lack of juridical regulation of these flying devices.

Along with the tools mentioned above it is necessary to refer to the ramming when the terrorists use a common vehicle as lethal weapon. Ramming has traditions in warfare for thousands of years. The ancient Greeks used floating objects during battles on the seas and the so called "kamikaze" attacks are of the same group.

Seemingly, on one hand the tools of the post-modern terrorism partially are the same as they were in the period of classic terrorism but on the other hand new tools appeared in the hands of the terrorists raising the risk of terror.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE TERRORIST ATTACKS IN EUROPE

The following conclusions can be withdrawn from the background analysis of the terrorist attacks in Europe:

1.   Significant relations have been proved between migration and terror that seriously impacts the European security ambience. It worth to mention just for example that the three perpetrators of the attacks in Paris on the 13th November, 2015 arrived to Europe with Syrian and Moroccan passports. This was a direct import of terror which made possible for the terrorist communities to send trained and prepared terrorists to Europe. As the result of this process the terrorists and the local radicals can carry out joint operations with very high level of destruction.

2.   The internal radicalism and the infiltration of extremists using this internal radicalism. The events of the past periods in Europe also proved the fact that the radicalism existing in the communities of migrants of the continent can go spreading further helped by persons with extremist views arriving to the continent with the migrant masses. This idea is confirmed by earlier researches in Hungary that "proved the radicalization as a direct national security risk in the form of transmission of the experiences and observations of the returning warriors and their logistic supporters potentially hidden among the people coming from the conflict zones to the young Islamists exposed to radicalization with migrant background."[8]

3.   The tensions in the society grow parallel to the growth of inclination to radicalization of the migrant communities. The process of migration is not finished when the temporary of definite residence permit or other immigration permits are issued. It is either

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[7] Pandalai, Shruti: Strategic Communication in the Age of 'Instant Warfare': The Social Media Challenge to India's National Security. In: Kiss Álmos Péter (szerk.): Asymmetric warfare conflict i. m. 169.
[8] Laufer Balázs: Migrációs státuszkérelmezők esetében felmerülő lehetséges nemzetbiztonsági és terror kockázatok. *Terror & Elhárítás*, 6 (2017/3), 82.

finished once the job opportunities are created because integration programs should be set up based upon continental-wide coordination in order to foster the not only the integration of the migrants but their acceptance by the societies as well. Unfortunately these integrating processes were missing during the past decades thus the current situation of migration burdened with conflicts in Europe is the result of the missed processes.

4.   Once the programs mentioned above are still missing the unrest in the society it can end up at the strengthening of the radicalistic ideologies as it was seen in the results of the recent elections in Germany when the counter-immigration parties strengthened their positions. That is to say, the lack of integration programs can provoke social tensions having a significant national security risk, the "European-rooted" radicals can appear and their groups can take some actions against the migrants. Nevertheless, their activities can be aimed against the current political system as well. For time being this level of activity is not proper to the extreme-right-wing communities. The reason is that "the level of dissatisfaction with the actual state power did not reach yet a level at which the groups proclaiming ideas opposing to the political elite in power did not receive popular support."[9]

WHAT THE FUTURE CAN BRING US?

This question follows logically from all what was set out earlier. What the future can bring up in a so deeply changed security ambience, in the period of the post-modern terrorism? In which direction and how the terrorism will develop in the forthcoming years or decades is a hard question to be answered by every researcher. Answering even to the simplest question we must take into consideration different factors of uncertainty. Due to that the terrorism is mostly a political phenomenon among the factors of uncertainty the most important is the human factor[10] therefore it is as incalculable as the human behavior is. Nevertheless, it does not mean that to increase the security we should refuse the chance to forecast the expected tendencies and to take the necessary measures.

It is true "the terrorism has become one of the biggest global security challenges of our days without borders what the national states cannot deal with alone and efficiently for longer time. The solution of this problem requires a complex approach supported by the cooperation the interaction of international organizations and alliances."[11] Just the coordinated efforts and actions can create the possibility to give appropriate and efficient answers to the security challenges.

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[9] Farkas Sándor: ISIL – A legsikeresebb terrorista szervezet? *Hadtudományi Szemle*, 10 (2017/4), 27.
[10] Gál István László: Some Thoughts about Terrorism and Human Rights in Hungary: the Ahmed H. Case. *Terror&Elhárítás*, 6 (2017/3), special issue, 32.
[11] Németh József: "Mérföldkövek" a terrorizmus elleni tevékenységben. In: Hautzinger Zoltán – Verhóczki János (szerk.): Sodorvonalon: Tanulmányok Virányi Gergely 60. születésnapja tiszteletére. Magyar Rendészettudományi Társaság, Budapest, 2012, 207.

Which can be the main features influencing the new European security structure from the point of view of terrorism? It is highly probable that the following segments must be considered:

1.   Significant changes in the world map of terrorism. The evolution of the terrorism is in a very intensive phase when the old frames undergo significant modifications. In the focus of the changes is the requirement that the terrorist groups should be maximally capable to meet of the expectation "to implement dangerous hits incalculably, unexpectedly, rapidly with a high level of mobility."[12] Therefore the structure of the terrorist organizations will undergo a basic change as their operational methods as well. One of the important moments of these changes is the use of the ramming attacks in Europe perpetrated by single terrorists. As a consequence of the changes not only the terrorist acts carried out in Europe acquire new features but the global terrorism also undergoes radical changes.

2.   The growth of the terrorist acts in Europe within the frame of the global terrorist expansion.

The processes referred above bring the significant growth of terrorist attacks. Probably, the growth of frequency of the attacks will not be concentrated upon a well-determinable geographic area but we have to count on the growth of the terror risk within the global escalation process. This escalation will cross the state borders and will cause inter-cultural clashes. One of the favorite places of this process is Europe where the inter-cultural clashes can receive a special dimension i.e. the growing number of attacks is an imminent threat.

3.   The creation of new organizations and the growing activity of the old ones. Along the actual processes going on in the security process the creation of new terrorist organizations and the activation or re-activation of previously inactive organization has high probability. In general terms, "although the struggle against terrorism has already reached successes, the terrorist networks still have important resources."[13] The best example is the Islamic State which still represents a global security risk despite of the elimination of their last strongholds in Iraq and Syria. It must be clear: the victory over the Islamic State does not mean the IS will stop existing. The terrorists will continue searching for new places where they can appear and act as it was seen in the case of the al-Quaeda which has still existing subsidiary organizations in Africa, Syria and Iraq. Seemingly, there is a certain balance among the complementary organizations once one of the groups weakens another will strengthen. This process creates certain competition where a terrorist organization can

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[12] Gál István László: A terrorizmus finanszírozásának fogalma és technikái a XXI. században. *Szakmai Szemle*, 14 (2016/1), 83.
[13] Resperger István: A nemzetbiztonsági szolgálatok tevékenysége – biztonsági kihívások, kockázatok és fenyegetések. In: Resperger István (szerk.): A nemzetbiztonság elmélete a közszolgálatban. Dialog Campus Kiadó, Budapest, 2018, 76.

confirm its stability, potential and strength by perpetrating the higher number of the more devastating attacks.

The renovating security ambience requires renovating answers. One of its possible ways is the following:

- Handling the problems of the migrants' communities of the second and third generations.
- The implementation of the social integration, the abolition of the parallel societies because these represent a threat for the existence of the state itself.
- The implementation of more efficient measures on behalf of the law-enforcement organizations.
- The increasing of the speed and efficiency of the inter-agency exchange of information. Although the inter-agency exchange of information is one of the most important points in the counter-terrorism since 11th September, 2001, another even more efficient way has to be found, elaborated and implemented in order to increase the efficiency of counter-measures against terrorists.
- The implementation of the necessary changes in the legal regulations. That kind of changes are needed in the legal regulation which prefer the protection of the human rights and of the democratic values but at the same time can assure the efficiency of counter-measures against terrorism on behalf of the law-enforcement services. There is a logic question, whether the security or the freedom is stronger? From which point the will of security threatens the freedom? It is important to notice that "the fields and priorities important from the point of creating security can be set in order according to the subjective opinion of the leaders of the community and of the country; the fields and priorities are ranked upon their importance and they determine accumulated the content of the different fields of security according to the position of the given country and community."[14]
- The European experience obtained in the counter-terrorism context has already proved that "during the training of the law-enforcement agents the security awareness has special importance."[15] For today it has become clear that the all-society spread of living with security awareness is a must to reduce the security risks related to terrorism.

CONCLUSION

No doubt, "the terrorism intentionally bothers the people. This is its purpose therefore it appeared once again in the focus of our attention."[16] As the consequence of the events

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[14] Dávid Ferenc: Nemzeti biztonság és nemzetbiztonság a stratégiaalkotásban. *Nemzetbiztonsági Szemle*, 5 (2017/3), 7.

[15] Veress Gábor – Bács Zoltán György: Az észak-írországi terrorizmus. *Terror & Elhárítás*, 6 (2017/3), 164.

[16] Townshend, Charles: A terrorizmus. Magyar Világ Kiadó, Budapest, 2003, 7–8.

happened in the post-modern security ambience the terrorism will acquire new forms of appearance. Once these new forms of perpetration spread the level of threat increases parallel and the European societies, the political life and the law-enforcement organizations must be prepared to face this new situation. During the preparation special attention must be paid to the fact that the "Terrorism is dangerous because it does not directly target the opposing government or forces, but instead has the potential to create a disequilibrium in the society and through intimidation and fear is able to provoke the government to react in an ineffective way."[17]

The growing risk of terror has multiple and very complicated origins which combination results an unusual and extremely uncertain status. The European institutions is not in the position to give efficient answers or it can give only partial response to the permanently changing security challenges provoked by the active presence of terrorism. The result can be that the European Union can significantly delay answering to the rapidly changing multi-parametric security challenges. Any delay in this important field can cause not only huge material and ideological losses but can take many human lives.

The success depends on the shortest elaboration of responses. It should not be the time as one of the most important factor even in the security policy. Therefore, if the feeling of safety of the European masses cannot be restored soon brutal activities of radicalistic communities more dangerous than the para-terrorist groups can be expected. "From ancient times there has always been death. If the people do not have faith, the state cannot stand."[18]

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17. Veress Gábor – Bács Zoltán György: Az észak-írországi terrorizmus. *Terror & Elhárítás*, 6 (2017/3), 113–167.