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SHORT COMMUNICATION

## **Analysis of the religious wave basing on the concept of the Four Waves of Terrorism by David Rapoport from the perspective of selected political events**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This article is a comprehensive analysis of the fourth wave of terrorism, the definition of which was coined by an American professor, David Charles Rapoport. The author of this publication, building on his two earlier works, attempts to present the last wave of terrorism predominantly by focusing on selected political events taking place within the timeframe of the so-called religious wave. The article examines said events in the context of security and methods utilized during terrorist attacks.

**Keywords:** Terrorism, The Four Waves of Terrorism, David Charles Rapoport, Jimmy Carter, Jerry Falwell, Moral Majority, Operation Rescue, Randall Terry, Joseph Scheidler, Camp David, Gush Emunin, Jewish Terror Organization, Hagana, Jewish Terror Organization

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

The aim of this paper is to expand on the concept of the fourth wave of terrorism, which was proposed by an American professor, David Charles Rapoport, and his colleagues at the

beginning of the 2000s. The expert in question identified four major waves of terrorism, three of which have been examined and the outcomes of the analysis of which have been published in this magazine. To expand his earlier considerations, the author presents the importance of certain events, which are in many cases highly political in nature. The author is going to attempt to present ideologies such groups follow and explain why the government is not always capable of effectively dealing with such threats.

## **2. FOURTH WAVE OF TERRORISM - RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM**

The fourth wave of terrorism (the religious one), which is also called the Era of Jihad, starts – according to Rapoport – in the period of gradually diminishing importance of new-left movements (the end of the 70s is connected with the fall of the second generation of the German RAD and 1981 is the year of the collapse of the core of Italian Red Brigades, resulting in their division into smaller groups). Even though in the case of the new-left wave, Rapoport did not specify the exact starting and ending point of the discussed period (its beginning is estimated to fall on the second half of the 60s and end – on the last years of the 80s), in the case of the religious wave, an exact year is provided – 1979. It is the year of Iranian Islamic revolution, which resulted in transforming the political system from constitutional monarchy to Islamic republic (Chehabi, 1991). The fourth wave, which – according to Rapoport – is still going strong, has been predominantly focused on religious fundamentalism and shown the true face of the Islamic fundamentalism. Terrorist organizations basing their beliefs and goals on Islamic fundamentalism are, among others: ISIS, Al-Ka'ida, and Boko Haram. They are frequently discussed and analyzed in a number of scientific publications. The author has decided not to focus entirely on Islamic fundamentalism, but rather to present two of its variations that are researched to a lesser extent, namely – Christian and Jewish fundamentalisms. The former is going to be analyzed through the prism of the Moral Majority organization whereas the latter – of the Jewish Gush Emunin one. Similarly to the analyses carried out within the framework of earlier publications, the aim of this publication is not to discuss all fundamental or terrorist organizations operating during the religious wave. Basing on the selected organizations, as well as events and pressure groups, the author is going to present religious motifs which, after being overzealously interpreted, resulted in violence and terror.

### **2. 1. Christian fundamentalism**

The beginnings of the fundamental movement date back to 1898, when a Protestant conference in Niagara Falls was organized, during which, a declaration on the indisputable importance of the Bible was adopted and claims that the second coming of Christ was immanent were formulated. The aforementioned event to a notable extent affected the American political scene. Yet another breakthrough was on 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1976, when 48<sup>th</sup> presidential election was won by Jimmy Carter. For the first time ever, a person who was a self-professed evangelical Christian was to rule the country (Espinosa, 2012). Carter's policies were predominantly rooted in political ideas of the Democratic Party the president was a member of, which was rather problematic for more conservative and Christian voters. A vocal opposition to the said way of governing the country was gathered in 1979 by Jerry Falwell and had the form of an organization called the Moral Majority, which was

predominantly against federal jurisdiction. Liberal approach to abortion adopted by Carter and his party (Daynes, Tatalovich, 1992), as well as the inability to maintain at least satisfactory (from the point of view of the society) Church-State Relations caused Carter to start losing his Christian voters (Benson, 1981). Such a state of affairs was taken advantage of during 1980 presidential election by his Republican opponent - Ronald Reagan. Said person gained popularity amongst the newly established Moral Majority organization after claiming that he was for bringing back prayers in public schools (Williams, 2010). The aforementioned organization gained popularity when Reagan won the election twice and regularly supported the postulates of the Moral Majority, which became a remarkable lobbying power in the United States (Bates, 1991). A significant part of the society was familiar with the nature of the organization and even though it was not responsible for any terrorist attack, it should be mentioned, because it started the trend of the emergence of religious organizations in the USA. Yet another example of such a group is the Operation Rescue organization created in 1986 (King, Husting, 2003). Its members achieved their goals by resorting to violence, claiming that Christian faith was their motivation. The major goal of the Operation Rescue (OR) group was to ban abortion, which was prohibited by the Christian religion. Randall Terry and Joseph Scheidler, the founders of the OR, started the age of widespread disruptions and protests, the aim of which was to close down abortion clinics (Monagle, 1995). Initially, demonstrations were peaceful, such as the ones resulting in stopping the operation of the Cherry Hill abortion clinic (1987), municipal clinics in Atlanta during a Democratic convention taking place in the country (1988), and in three-day blockade of the operation of Wichita clinic (1991). During the same period, there were radical attacks, the motif and aim of which were similar to the ones of OR, but the use of force was disproportionate to the one resorted to the Operation Rescue. Similar groups, such as Rescue America and Defensive Action were against abortion, but their actions were oriented towards blowing up clinics and murdering doctors engaged in abortion practices (Carlson, 1995). The reason behind the radicalization of abortion opponents was the inability to fight for their rights in an administrative manner – the majority of pro-life cases were lost in the court (Hewitt, 2000).

## **2. 2. Jewish fundamentalism**

1979 is not only the beginning of Islamic revolution and Christian fundamentalism that was especially strong within the borders of the United States, but also – of Jewish terrorism. Its starting point were attempts at peaceful mediations started by the government of Jimmy Carter, which ended in signing an international agreement in Camp David signed on 19<sup>th</sup> September 1978. Parties taking part in the meeting in Camp David were Jimmy Carter, Menachem Begin (Israel), and Anwar Sadat (Egypt). They all pointed to the need of creating an international union, which resulted in signing a peace treaty in 1979 between those countries (Princen, 1991). Peace with Egypt was negatively received by the far-right inhabitants of Israel, especially – by the members of the Gush Emunin movement, which – starting from 1977 – was colonizing the occupied territories. Said movement even transformed into a political party, causing decisions made by the leaders of Gush Emunin to be closely monitored by the natives and international groups. The name of the organization can be translated as the Bloc of the Faithful. The group presented the extreme face of Israeli nationalism and Zionism, the representatives of which believed that the areas of Judea and Samara had been gifts from the God given to the nation of Israel (Weissbrod, 1982). As a result of the treaty with Egypt in 1979 and the possibility of creating an autonomous

Palestinian country, the discussed group appointed a unit, the aim of which was to use physical force towards Arabs inhabiting the area of Israel and occupied territories. It was called Gush Emunin Underground (Sprinzak, 1987). While familiarizing oneself with the literature of the subject, one can find such references to the discussed units as: Jewish Underground, Makhteret, or Jewish Terror Organization. The new form of terrorism used by Gush Emunin Underground was inspired by the mode of operation of a Jewish paramilitary organization called Hagana. Its initial aim was to ensure safety of civilians, but afterwards, there were retaliatory actions aimed at Arabs. After the Second World War, the members of the organization coordinated the immigration of the survivors of holocaust (Arnov, 1994). After 1945, the organization became more radical. It was disappointed by the post-war actions of the British government cooperating with Irgun and Lehi and decided to start a series of terrorist attacks aimed towards the British (Wagner, 2008). Hagana, which motivated their actions with the protection of the well-being of the Jewish community, became the core of the Israel Defense Forces after gaining independence by Israel (Perko, 2003). Gush Emunin Underground predominantly targeted Palestinians. In 1980, the members of the organization planted bombs in the cars of three Palestinian mayors. Three years later, in Hebrona, Jewish settlers belonging to the Gush Emunim Underground attacked an Islamic college. Due to the fact that machine guns were used, three people were shot dead and thirty other were injured (Peri, 1983). The organization planned many other actions, such as blowing up temples or attacking busses transporting Palestinian people. Fortunately, said plans were not put into effect, because in April 1984, the agents of the Israeli Shin Bet counterespionage agency arrested 25 individuals connected with Gush Emunim Underground, which was the beginning of the end of the organization (Pascovich, 2017).

### **3. CONCLUSION**

As it can be concluded after reading the article, the end of the 70s was not only the period of development of Islamic terrorism (which was and still is a dominant religion followed by many terrorists), but also – of Christian and Jewish ones as well. In both discussed cases, the reason behind resorting to physical force and attacks were political decisions and their uncertain consequences in the future. Laws adopted by president Carter, which were received negatively by the Christian community connected with the lack of willingness of the state to improve its relations with the church and to propose stricter abortion-related regulations caused Moral Majority to emerge. During the presidency of Reagan, it was a group that was well known to many Americans. It caused the surge of new members and supporters, among which there were those with radical beliefs as well. The inability to settle problematic issues in an administrative manner also was the reason behind the creation of such organizations as Operation Rescue, Rescue America, and Defensive Action, which blew up abortion clinics and murdered doctors directly involved in abortions. The statement that nothing unifies better than a common enemy can be used to show the motives of the Jewish Gush Emunin Underground organization, the members of which fought with the Palestinians. The cause of radicalization of the Gush Emunin political movement was, similarly to the USA, a political decision. The Camp David peace treaty signed between Egypt and Israel in 1979 was negatively received by the inhabitants of Israel, who were unsure of the future of their country.

The underground unit of the Gush Emunin organization attacked Palestinian people. They wanted to follow the actions of the Hagana paramilitary organization, which – as presented in this article – was remarkably different from Gush Emunin Underground. It has to be stated that the discussed organizations discontinued their operation and are now not a threat to civilians. The article also shows that religion followed by a given group, especially while over-interpreted, may be a serious threat. Such a religious motivation is typically taken advantage of nowadays by fundamental Islamic groups.

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