



Terrorism and the Question of Moral Justification: A Bioethical Point of View

V.O. ADEFARASIN

Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Nigeria

Abstract. There have been cases of violent and horrific acts on the international scene that have been referred to as terrorism. People have been discussing terrorism mostly in relation to diverse issues such as the abduction of Terry Waite (an envoy of the Church of England) in Lebanon in January 1989, the bombing of the Pan African Jumbo Jet which killed 270 people on 21st December, 1988, the suicide flights into New York's World Trade Towers on 11th September, 2001, the various bombings in Iraq, India and very recently, in London and other gory attacks on individuals, institutions and communities in different parts of the world. Given this, the poignant questions are: who are terrorists? Are they criminals or liberation fighters? What is the moral justification for terrorism? Who are they fighting for? Can terrorism be made a way of life? In other words, can it be made a way of addressing grievances? What are full consequences of terrorism on property and human lives? Do terrorists have a better way of addressing their grievances? Do we have any reason to support terrorism? In order to achieve its intended objective, the paper discusses meaning and definitions of terrorism, nature, sources, dimensions, types, causes, effects and proposed solutions to the problem of terrorism. The paper concludes that there is no moral justification for terrorism, it is unethical because it is evil, it is a serious, heinous and nefarious crime, hence, we should all rise up for its utter condemnation.

Keywords: Terrorism, loss of lives and property, violence, moral justification.

1. Introduction

Terrorism in its classic form refers to acts of violence by clandestine groups, involving acts of sabotage of public installations and the destruction of precious lives and property. Those involved are united by political ideology or extremist beliefs carefully plan

such attacks well in advance, and often select their target using explosives to make a great impact, attract attention or spread grief, horror and intimidation. One can rightly say that it is an unconventional war against the society or an establishment, but resented order.

The history of terrorism dates back to the days of the "Red Terror" during the French revolution in the 18th Century. Terrorism consequently spread to the rest of Europe and then USA and Russia, often in the service of nationalist and anarchic goals. But it will suffice to note that in the 20th Century, terrorism became more sophisticated and spread throughout the world. In Europe, groups like the Red Brigade, the Basque Separatist ETA, the Red Army and The Provisional Irish Republican Army used terror tactics to pursue ideological and national ends. While the Palestinian struggle threw up some groups including the Black September that abducted and murdered Israeli athletes during the 1972 Olympic Games, other groups such as Aum Shinrikyo were believed to be active in Japan. It was also believed that terrorist groups were active in the US, and were involved in the World Trade Center and Oklahoma bombings in the 1990s. Since September 11, 2001, it appears that the search for terrorist groups in the war of terror has uncovered the existence of such groups across the world. Such groups have been found in Indonesia and the Philippines and other parts of Asia (Olukoju and Falaiye, 2008:116).

Due to the transformation that the world is undergoing, terrorists' networks involve many individuals, have also become more sophisticated in their operations, more mobile and transnational in moving resources, recruiting operatives, planning and coordinating their operations across the world. They also engage in complex opaque operations, avoiding detection, and inventing unconventional as well as conventional weapons. Apart from the use of

conventional civilian aeroplanes in the tragic September 11, 2001 attacks, terrorists have also used dangerous chemicals and gases such as Sarin in Tokyo subway attacks, used suicide bombers, and biological weapons such as anthrax elsewhere. Increasingly, they have targeted civilians-tourists, bus and train commuters, public buildings, and air travelers, while avoiding to a large extent, military installations and infrastructure. It would appear that the strategy of terror is to now strike at the infrastructure of globalization or “soft targets” usually civilians, as a way of spreading fear among the populace and intimidating the “enemy”. However, it should be noted that a lot depends on who has the power to define terrorism, and the ends that such a definition serves.

2. Meaning and Definitions of Terrorism

From the outset, it is imperative to note that terrorism is difficult to define. Like “beauty” “terrorism” is in the eye of the beholder. One man’s freedom fighter, is another man’s terrorist. It must be equally be noted that terrorism has these appellations such as: freedom fighter, guerilla, insurgent and revolutionary. According to Adeniran, (2007:246) the term is traceable to the French word *terrorisme*, derived from the Latin word *terrere* (to frighten or cause to tremble) and was commonly used in the last decade of the 18th Century when the use of the guillotine was extensive. From the latter part of the 20th Century to the present century, it has become more widespread, involving greater sophistication and networking, and inspiring greater horror than ever before.

In practical terms, terrorism is a compulsive strategy often employed by those who consider themselves relatively disadvantages and weak, and who seek reversal of authority or opportunity by forcing the powerful into compromise or concessionary terms. In the process of applying terror, people are eliminated and structures demolished in order to create fear and force those who are the targets of the acts to do things they would normally not do. The terrorist is indifferent to the immediate and of course, remote consequences of his act to both himself and his victims. Terrorism can be viewed as a theatrical warfare whose drama involves threats of use, or actually the use of some violent act on the person or group against whom the violent act has been targeted. The ultimate aim is to compel a relevant authority to act in a particular manner as dictated by the perpetrators of the reign of terror.

The UN General Assembly Resolution 49/60 (adopted on December 9, 1994), titled “Measure to

Eliminate International Terrorism,” contains a provision describing terrorism:

Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the consideration of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.

The Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism was adopted by the Council of Arab Ministers of the Interior and the Council of Arab Ministers of Justice in Cairo, Egypt 1998. Terrorism was defined in the convention as:

Any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to the public or private installations or property or to occupying or seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize national resources.

UN Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004) gives a definition:

Criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidating a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act.

A UN panel, on March 17, 2005 described terrorism as any act “intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing an act”. The European Union defines terrorism for legal/official purpose in Act. 1 of the **Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism (2002)**. This provides that terrorist offences are certain criminal offences set out in a list comprised largely of serious offences against persons and property which:

Given their nature or content, may seriously damage a country or an international organization committed with the aim of: serious intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing an act; or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization.

The United States has defined terrorism under the **Federal Criminal Code**. "... activities that involve violent... or life-threatening acts... that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or any state and ... appear to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and ...(iv) occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States..."

US Patriot Act of 2001: terrorist activities include:

- Threatening, conspiring or attempting to hijack airplanes, boats, buses or other vehicles.
- Threatening, conspiring or attempting to commit acts of violence on any "protected" persons, such as government officials.
- Any crime committed with "the use of any weapon or dangerous device," when the intent of the crime is determined to be endangerment of public safety or substantial property damage rather than for mere personal monetary gain.

Federal Bureau Investigation (FBI) definition of terrorism: The unlawful use of force or violence against a persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives. **U.S. Army Manual** defines terrorism as the "calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear. It is intended to coerce or intimidate governments or societies ... (to attain) political, religious, or ideological goals."

3. Nature, Sources and Targets of Terrorism

Terrorism manifests in violence. It is a brutish tactic that thrives in the use of violence, generally in an indiscriminate way to harm, cause distress and inflict fear upon a population. International terrorism is either inspired by, or have implications or impacts on certain factors across international borders. These factors include politics, religion, race, ethnicity and material gains. The perpetrators of such dastardly acts are considered as terrorists, revolutionaries, militants, guerrillas, rebels, separatists, etc.

In the past, the zones of terror were always limited to predictable spheres. First, we could always determine the instigating, the inhibiting as well as the situational factors which impact upon the behaviour of the terrorist. Second, we could predict the form and potency of the terror. Today, not only has modern technology expanded the zones of terror, the human

condition and aspirations as well as the nature and levels of global interactions now compound the motivational factors, the situational factors and the inhibiting factors which conspire to create fertile grounds for the spread of terrorism. These have consequences for the sources and targets of terrorism.

The present situation in which terror is employed to achieve specific goals was no doubt anticipated by Aristotle, Polybus and Machiavelli whose analyses betray a seemingly covert perspective that presents violence as a means employed in bringing about intended situations based largely on political motives and calculations. These political analysts appeared to be mindful, in particular, of the types of terrorism which associated with political agitation and political repression and other categories of terrorism which can be classified as revolutionary, sub-revolutionary, counter-revolutionary, etc. the zones are determined by the objectives, while the targets are prescribed by the intended goals of the terrorists (Adeniran, 2007:246-247).

In spite of the Machiavellian analysis in terms of nature, source and potential dimensions of terrorism, the phenomenon has evolved in stages and developed into different types. We now have about six (6) types- three of which were identified by Gerald Holton (1978:265-274) as follows:

Type I: Terrorism which consists of acts that attempt to impose terror by individuals or small groups on other individuals or small groups and, through them, indirectly on their governments.

Type II: Terrorism imposed by governments on individuals or on groups of local or foreign populations, e.g. the use of atomic weapons, poison gas, Nazi camp genocide, etc.

Type III: Terrorism which results from states disseminating high-level technology. The type presupposes that targets, such as nations, will not have open to them the conventional responses and will have to devise new methods.

To the foregoing types must now be added three others, thereby bringing the categorization to six, to conform with the contemporary dimensions of terrorism. These will be regarded as types IV, V, and VI with the following characteristics:

Type IV: Terrorism carried out by individuals or groups using paleotechnic means of technology against governments.

Type V: State (i.e. government) terrorism against another state using non-state actors.

Type VI: Programmed state terrorism carried out through policies of selective reprobation and instrumental violence (Ibid).

The spread, modes and dimensions of terrorism is proportionally linked to the increasing potentialities of man's control, or lack of it, over the aspirations of others and the rate of increase of such potentials depends on whether or not realization or attempted fulfillment of the aspirations by some people can endanger the liberties of others. Terrorism has therefore become, within the complexity of human development process, an instrument for achieving desired goals which, in some cases, could entail self-defense or self-assertion. But, since the dread it inflicts as well as its modes and dimensions are very often irrational, it has become dressed up in the character of evil. The range of perspectives on terrorism is summarized by Horowitz (1977:29)

... a belief that it is the only possible means to bring about social change to a view of terror as the last refuge of scoundrels. Terrorists themselves are seen either as authentic heroes in a notable heroic mission or as petty criminals who coat their venal arts with their ideological gloss...

This confirms the diverse views on terrorism. But whether the terrorist is eccentric, mystical, mad or revolutionary as many have tried to portray terrorist of different persuasions, the point is that, at any given point, the impact of terrorism is devastating on the human psyche and on the society. Since terrorism involves, largely, the coercion of leaders or entire population through fear, dread or traumatization, the impacts are felt more severely, especially since the modern forms of terrorism have come to depend largely on technology. The technologically capabilities recently acquired by man have increased the potentials of terrorism, particularly with regard to the scale of damage that can be done. In any circumstance, terrorism succeeds depending upon the target and the method.

In addition to the technology at the disposal of the terrorists, such factors as the state of mind, the values of the victims of terror as well as the international environment or the political situation in which the victim and the victimizer operate, history, culture or common aspirations; are forces that could impact on the target. The type of terrorism that is manifest within a country has sources that are different, or could be different, from the type perpetrated at international levels. In other words, territorial terrorism and extra-territorial terrorism have different targets or goals and their sources could also be different.

In analyzing the sources and targets of terror, there is the temptation to erroneously focus exclusively on explicit signals. Unfortunately, absence of explicit

indicators does not necessary mean that incipient terrorism is less devastating or potentially less destructive, but because it is more subtle, more programmatic and more policy-related. It is perpetuated by way of projection of force with the instrumentality of programmes, policies, ad hoc actions, etc. the manifestations are to be found in a complex of inter-state and intra-state interactions and in a way authorities relate to the public.

While implicit violence is invariably a product of institutional policy (of government and corporate bodies), explicit violence is an act of the individual or group of individuals or group of individuals operating under the sponsorship of cooperate and non-cooperate bodies. The two distinct categories of foreign based operatives, homofighters and xenofighters, derive motivation for the perpetration of violence from diverse sources. Homofighters are presumably engaged in domestic political struggle against the government or a rival political organization and often enjoy foreign support or sponsorship in their insurgency. With regard to the xenofighters, these are extra-national forces that could be engaged in activities against nationals, their government and organizations.

There is a third group that does not subject itself to precise categorization. In this category are the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the United Red Army (URA) of Japan, the Hezbollah, etc. Their motivation could be explained beyond ideological perspectives, while the targets of their assaults could be determined by geographical, socio-political, economic and technological factors.

In societies that are in a state of underdevelopment or decay, state terror is a political weapon, used to establish authority and compel obedience; while in territories or societies seeking freedom, terrorism is used to secure that goal. In this regard, it is a product of frustration and disenchantment since guerilla warfare is no longer an attractive choice and convectional military option offers very little promise. In all cases, the element of tension is constant. The cause for which a disgruntled or dedicated and determined individual or group resorts to executive kidnapping, bombing (of airports, city centers, leisure facilities, transport systems), hijacking, etc. usually stems from a sense of deprivation of very basic needs or conditions of life (Adeniran, 2007: 249).

4. Dimensions of Terrorism

There is hardly any distinct line of demarcation between the so-called national terrorism and the so-called international terrorism. However, since what can be regarded as national terrorism is capable of snow-balling into the international arena, it is necessary to touch on the state-bound terrorism before examining the other side of the coin for what can pass for international terrorism.

4.1 Territorial Terrorism

The psycho-dynamic of terrorism at national and international levels (the territorial and the extra-territorial) are basically the same. When force is used to produce fear, the victim who is target, and the perpetrator of the act are at two different ends of a conflict continuum; and the terrorists themselves, the targets, the victims and the audience are all affected one way or the another by the impacts of the dastardly act. Moreover, the responses or reactions received by the act usually have some bearing upon the success or otherwise of the terrorists' act (Ibid: 250).

Sometimes, factors responsible for internal domestic terrorism coincide with those which encourage terrorism at the international level. At the national level, for instance, relative deprivation with regard to the allocation of some fundamental necessities of life, poverty or political frustration can fuel terrorist activities. Religious intolerance or fanaticisms are also potential terrorist incendiaries. Whatever the cause, the result is always instrumental (or goal-directed) violence resulting from the terrorist's conviction that he must impose some fear or inflict some damage on certain individuals or group of individuals. A striking characteristic of terror is its domino property. This is embedded on the logical deduction that a set of terrorist acts in some way or another, usually relates to some other acts of terror.

In societies where there is a lot of inequality, terror assumes the status of a political symbol and, at some point, it becomes widely perceived either as an act of self-defense or a liberation strategy rather than a mere act of horror, relying on brute force. When fear is instilled by the exercise and use of violence by the terrorist, it either threatens some established norms or shakes some belief systems leading to defensive measures or counter-terror. While the goal of the terrorists is always to change the status quo, based on the fatalistic belief that there is nothing too much to sacrifice in order to achieve the set goal, the strategy sometimes alienates some believers in the means to the detriment of attaining the goal.

When domestic (state-bound) terrorism is countered, the result is either positive or negative. The result is negative if it ends up as abortive acts; that is, for instance, if the counter-attack only succeeds in presenting the terrorists as heroes or martyrs.

Alternatively, if there is effective internal counter-attack which makes it unattractive to continue with original acts of micro terrorism, the terrorists will suffer a set-back and the counter-measures are said to be successful. The acts of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) connected with the Patty Hearse Case in the United States and similar acts of terrorism in the 1970s are clear cases of micro terrorism. These cases are in the tradition of traumatic violence, but are in a different mode from that displayed by Sirhan-Sirhan in the assassination of Robert Kennedy, or in the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II (Ibid: 251).

A review of the types of terrorism that occur within the nation-state shows that the individual terrorist has undergone some mental dysfunction, living in a different world where personal responsibility is attached to the need to bring about or create an unusual situation that invokes terror. It also suggests that it is a problem that relates to policy goals of nations. If we take, for example, the countries where terrorists activities have been prevalent, such as Italy and Lebanon, we see that the terrorists, the target and the victims are participants in the political process. The terrorists aim for certain political results by arousing acute social anxieties. Their strategy is to achieve an objective through what Harold Lasswell has identified as the symbolic enhancement of instrument or procedure of destruction which facilitates the consolidation of a terror regime as was the case in Nigeria during the (1993-1998) regime of Sanni Abacha (Harold Lasswell, 1978:255).

In the cases of Italy and Lebanon referred to earlier on, terrorism is not new. What became alarming some years ago was the social chaos and economic destruction that the nation-based terrorism in the country was creating and many instances of such a scenario were recorded during the last three decades of the 20th century. The activities of the Red Brigade in the late 1970s, to the abduction and murder of Aldo Moro in 1978, were instances of terrorists' acts which compounded problems of understanding the complex dimensions of terrorism.

The Maitatsine rioters of the 1980s in Nigeria, the murder of some promising Nigerian politicians since the beginning of the 21st century and similar incidents are indicative of terror at the micro level in Nigeria. There is a catalogue of different categories

of terrorism all over the African region- from Sudan to Liberia – the greater percentage being institutional. One can also recall the cases of Ireland, Iraq or the Congo, etc. However, the various acts of terror within national boundaries include selective or mass murder, or attempts at murder, homicide, robberies, extortions, dynamiting as well as both short-term and long-term kidnapping. Some are political, while others are not.

The storm of nation-bound terrorism witnessed in the past few years throughout the world seems lay credence to the following hypotheses:

- that a tradition of political extremism promotes extremist tendencies and programmes which readily encourage terrorism;
- that unfulfilled expectations and the torment of uncertain future stimulate terrorism;
- that loss of confidence or lack of faith in a country's ability to respond to justice increases the chances of the country's leaders and institutions becoming targets of terrorism;
- that extremist ideologies feed on individual prejudices and fears and promote terrorism;
- that terrorism results from frustration and serves either to accentuate resentment for the existing order or challenge prevailing implicit or explicit terrorism of the dominant group (Ibid: 252).

What is amazing is the increasing utility values of explosives and incendiary bombs in the spread of terrorism. In the last decade of the 20th century, the ease with which fire bombs were constructed and used, coupled with the extensive damage they created, made them attractive in spite of their crude nature. For instance, with a Molotov cocktail or a glass bottle filled with an inflammable mixture (petrol with thickening additives such as motor oil), and a fuse attached to the bottle designed to ignite the flammable mixture when the bottle is shattered against the target, the terrorist is ready for his hit-and-run or suicidal operation. The crises in Iraq, Afghanistan, etc. have popularized suicide bombing. Today, in the theatre of terror, the production of the time-delayed fused and barometric bombs are being improved upon, with serious consequence for personal and national security. But, far more dangerous weapons of terror are the Precision-Guided munitions (PGMs), nuclear explosives, chemical, biological and radioactive weapons the use of which the world should pray against (Ibid: 253).

From some of the hypotheses discussed earlier, we can now infer that at the national level, assassination

or the likelihood of it, decreases as the level of political unrest diminishes along with increased satisfaction of the basic needs and aspirations of the people. From the first recorded cases of terrorism, including the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44B.C. through the Robespierre, Saint-Just and Couthon of the French reign of terror (1793-1794); to the cruelty and ruthlessness of recent years in which Ruth First of South Africa, Kudirat Abiola of Nigeria, Saje Ghandi of India, Hariri of Lebanon, etc., were eliminated, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the level of risk of assassination or the propensity to resort to terror is proportionate to either the levels of desperation of potential terrorists or the levels of vulnerability of potential victims or targets (Ibid:253).

4.2 Terrorism Across National Boundaries

The foregoing suggests that territorial terrorism, no doubt, poses a great challenge to national security. The nature of most states makes each of them insecure and potentially under constant threat of terrorism. Extra-territorial terrorism could, however, be more devastating since, in addition to kidnapping or political assassination and other forms of political violence, it entails economic destruction, social dislocation, etc.

Moreover, whereas at the national level of the source of violent acts can be easily traced and solutions to the problems found (such as in cases of kidnapping, acid attack, etc.) at extra-territorial plane, terrorism does not subject itself to easy scrutiny, and therefore, proffering solutions is more difficult. It is difficult to identify the actual sources of terror across national boundaries and, even when identified, it is impossible to deal with it without the collaboration of all relevant actors within the international system. Unfortunately, it is often difficult for nations to act independently and successfully against cross-border insurgency, because of different approaches adopted by different countries in responding to terror, often dictated by their political and ideological orientations and towards current events within the international system.

Terrorism across national boundaries indeed makes it difficult for nations to act independently or with absolute certainty of success in view of the fact that nation-states react differently to terror in accordance with their particular ideological orientations and the political situation within the existing international system.

Furthermore, when preference is given to violence as a means of settling scores at the national level, the

urge to inflict damage replaces the option for articulation of shared values or the type of rationality that produces consensual politics, and cross-border terror becomes an instrument used in securing compliance or achieving goals and objectives that are in consonance with the values of the terrorists. The incidence of terrorism, whether organized or spontaneous, which can attract prompt counter-measure by government at national levels through increased security checks, police surveillance, intensified search and seizures, and the introduction of new legal codes; usually assume different dimensions when moved into extra-territorial levels, thereby defying most counter-measures. The operation of Al-Qaeda, said to have enjoyed enormous support from the Taliban in Afghanistan and patronage of other governments, attest to this. To deal with this type of situation, relevant measures have to be taken at three levels; the national level, the sub-regional or regional level, and the international level.

There are, in a broad sense, two categories of international terrorism: conventional and nuclear. Both could be perpetrated by different groups of people-especially the youth, including even women. A fifteen year old youth was among the group, alleged to have been inspired by Pakistan that attacked the Indian High Commission in London on 20 February, 1973, while kidnapping of Peter Lorenz, leader of the Christian Democrat Union of West Germany, was staged in February 1975 by a group which included a 31-year old German woman. These and many more, including hijackings by the Moro National Liberation Front Supporters and the Croatia Nationalists, fall within the conventional type of terrorism. And so are the late 1990s air attack on Kabul, Afghanistan, the killing of eight applicants queuing for casual work outside a factory site in Johannesburg on 29 January 1996, the abduction of seventeen French tourists by some Al-Aslam tribesmen in Yemen early 1996 and the mass suicide bombings in Iraq since the crises which followed the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime (Ibid: 254).

Although, many of these instances of terrorism were localized, they were directed at foreign nationals. The terror in Yemen was also aimed at securing the release of Zebnallah Duman, the terrorists' fellow tribesman jailed for abducting a United States national in September 1995. Other acts of terror which readily come to mind include the Munich massacre of Israeli Olympic athletes in 1972, the bombing of Air India flight 182, the bombing of American Embassy in Kenya and Tanzania on 7 August, 1998, the Bali bombing, the Beslam school

siege in Russia in 2005 and the 7 July and 21 July, 2005, bombings in London. The regular tactic commonly used by terrorists is that very often they enter host countries legally and at other times, they enter surreptitiously with questionable passports and visas. In most cases, they set up a fairly complex intelligence network through which recruitment, induction and operation are carried out (Ibid, 255).

In the past, it was generally felt that a nuclear dimension in terrorism was unthinkable, but with rampart detonation of explosives at important places of human assembly- airport, railway stations, shopping centers etc., needs have arisen for extra caution aimed at discouraging accessibility of terrorists to nuclear technologies. Some decades ago, Dimitry Rotow testified before the American Senate that it thought it was "highly unlikely that any terrorists group would ever have the technical sophistication to actually produce a thermonuclear device". Current events within terrorist enclaves seem to suggest otherwise.

The first nuclear terror alarm sounded when a twenty year old Massachusetts Institute of Technology undergraduate (USA) created an accurate technical design for a fission explosive. This development was documented in the Nova science series on public television on 9 March 1975. Before then, the feminist Majority Report had published in the 'Handy Women Guide: HA piece on how to Build Your Own Atomic Bomb and Strike A Balance Of Power With The Patriarchy.' Several informal but successful efforts at the design and manufacture of nuclear weapons have pointed the way to future dangers. Many people have contended that the success recorded by terrorists in producing fission explosives would not guarantee them easy access to of pure fission explosives technology because of the high costs of acquiring this device, and because nuclear devices do not require fission trigger to initiate explosion of thermonuclear reactions in very light hydrogen isotopes such as deuterium and tritium. However, these arguments seem to have provided insufficient information on the extent to which the technology can be manipulated (Ibid: 256).

The nuclear age certainly does not seem to leave much room for comfort in the face of raging terrorism. A mere sabotage of nuclear reactor facilities can pose potent enough danger. The recent past experience of the former Soviet Union's Chernobil disaster and the 'fry experience' of the Koko ports waste in Nigeria, are examples of the possible devastation which toxic and nuclear misuse can create. The situation becomes more frightening when viewed against a background of cooperation

and collaboration among terrorists. The notorious route (US-Canada-France-Lebanon-Paris-Italy-Israel) associated with the complex operation of the Japanese United Red Army gunmen who carried out the mass murders at Tel Aviv's Lod airport in 1972, the network of Venezuelan Illich Ramirez Sanchez (Carlos the jackal) and the financial and military support which the secret agents of some governments give to terrorists attest to the real dangers posed by inter-terrorists-gang cooperation (Ibid: 256).

5. Causes of Terrorism

Some of the causes of terrorism are unwillingness to explore peaceful means of seeking redress such as consultation, dialogue and compromise; failure of peaceful means of redressing grievances; instinct of aggression and domination; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; incompatibility of conflicting ideologies; subjugation, oppression and exploitation; social inequalities; frustration; instinct of self-preservation; and instinct of vengeance. In addition, the nature of the opposing party may be such that will make the exploration of a peaceful settlement futile. Besides, frustration can serve as an influential factor. (Opafola, 2008:17)

Instinct of aggression and domination can propel terrorism. Among other things, this instinct sometimes fuels the desire for territorial expansion. The existence of weapons of mass destruction gives impetus to the instinct. Even if terrorism is not a product of the instinct, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is a causal factor. Any country, institution, group or person who has control over these weapons may not only be tempted to use them, but may also indeed use them to terrorize others. It should not surprise anyone that those who have these weapons are not interested in destroying them, while those who do not have them are making efforts to acquire them.

Terrorism can result from the incompatibility of competing ideologies (www.terrorism.com) (www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/terrorism). Consider for instance, the ideological conflict between the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R) and the West especially the United States of American and their respective allies. The difference between socialist ideology and capitalist ideology was responsible for the conflicts usually referred to as the cold war. It appears the expression "cold war" is a euphemism. The two blocs engaged in terrorist acts. Examples are the American attack on Cuba and Soviet's assault on Vietnam.

Terrorism can also be driven by subjugation, oppression and exploitation. Generally, a distinction can be drawn between economically and advanced countries and economically backward ones. (Opafola, 1997:1-38) (Opafola, 2000:201-218). Similarly, each country – especially in Africa – parades a class of the rich and a class of the poor. In most cases, the rich nations subjugate, oppress and exploit the poor ones. Many, if not all the rich people usually subject majority of the poor to similar conditions. In some cases, the oppressed have adopted terrorism in a bid to free themselves. Some of the oppressors have resorted to counter-terrorism. In the Philippines and the Romania, for example, terrorist acts graduated into popular uprisings which culminated in the eventual overthrow of President Ferdinand Marcos and President Nicola Ceacesque respectively. Current events in Afghanistan, Iraq, Israel and Lebanon partly illustrate the ideas of terrorism and counter-terrorism. (Ibid; 18)

Subjugation, oppression and exploitation breed and perpetuate social inequalities. Pervasive and unchecked social inequalities may produce frustration. Frustration can serve as the pivot of the instinct of self-preservation and the instinct of vengeance. The case of a frustrated person is like that of a drowning man or woman. To a drowning person, any life buoy is useful. Whether he or she will eventually be saved is a secondary issue. What is primary is the possibility of avoiding death through the use of a life-saver. In an attempt to restore hope and preserve his or her life, a frustrated person may resort to terrorism. This may be an attractive option especially when "other avenues for change including economic campaigns, protest, public appeal, and standard warfare hold no hope" (www.terrorism.com) (www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/terrorism). When a person or group fights back, it is not necessarily with a view to preserving life – personal life or lives of members of the group. The action might have been influenced by the instinct of vengeance, the desire to retaliate. Suicide bombers belong to this category of terrorists. Furthermore, frustration may stand on other sociological and psychological platforms. Some of the sociological factors are poverty, discontent with own community, political instability, and discontent with society. Psychological factors include loneliness, crisis-ridden personal life and stress (www.terrorism.com) (www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/terrorism). Antecedents usually have consequences. Having discussed some of the causes of terrorism, it is imperative that we consider some of its effects.

6. Effects of Terrorism

Terrorism has the following effects, among others: provocation, ill-treatment of people; killing of people; destruction of property; wastage of scarce resources; disruption of existing social and, or, political order; and insecurity. Terrorism acts are, by nature, provocative acts. The objects of such actions usually do not take things lying low. Human targets usually do not take things lying low. The cycle seems to continue *ad infinitum*. Attacks and counter-attacks between Israel security forces and Palestinian separatist forces partly illustrate the point that terrorism generates and fuels conflicts.

Ill-treatment of people is also a by-product of terrorism. Subjugation, oppression, exploitation, kidnapping, coercion, intimidation, inculcation of fear, torture, rape, and maiming of people, among other things, amount to ill-treatment. Directly or indirectly, ill-treatment sometimes graduate into loss of life or lives. Unbridled subjugation, oppression, and exploitation of the people of economically backward nations directly by their own rulers or indirectly by some of the economically advanced countries have resulted in abject poverty and mass misery in the poor states. In those countries, inability to meet basic necessities of life is one of the factors responsible for infant mortality in particular and low life expectancy in general. Furthermore, some hostages have been tortured to death while some rape victims are either killed by their assailants or to die later as a result of wounds sustained. Some people may even prefer suicide to being raped. Intensive and extensive coercion, intimidation and fear may eventually lead to loss of lives. High degree maiming may also lead to death. It is probable that terrorists do not anticipate the above-stated instances of death in undertaking their actions. However, that they are responsible for the ill-treatment from which the deaths proceed may be beyond dispute.

If the charge of attempted murder is a weak plank on which to nail terrorists, that of premeditated killing of people is strong enough to spell doom for them. Some terrorists deliberately kill human targets. They usually kill hostages and or, civilians. In some cases, the murder is expressed in the following forms, among others: assassination, massacre, and genocide.

Another effect of terrorism is destruction of property, public and private. In this respect, terrorists can be described as arsonists. Occasionally, the willful plunder extends to villages, towns and cities and is usually accompanied by destruction of lives. By so doing, terrorists waste human material, financial and other resources. In addition, they try to disrupt and in some cases, indeed disorganize existing social and

political order. General insecurity then follows. In this regard, we submit that terrorism can produce insecurity of lives and property, social dislocations and political instability, among others things. This claim is illustrated by the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on World Trade Center and the Pentagon in U.S.A; July 7, 2004 terrorist attacks in London, Britain; the attacks of the allied forces on Afghanistan and Iraq and their consequences; attacks and counter-attacks between Palestinian separatist forces and Israeli forces etc.

7. Proposed Solutions

We believe that terrorism can be drastically curtailed and eventually stopped through sincere and concerted efforts. It is towards this end that we make the suggestions below. The spirit of regarding human beings as ends and not as means to an end should be cultivated by all. Terrorist attacks on fellow human being erode human dignity. In spiritual terms, the attackers and the victims suffer as they are reflections of one another. The moral burden of the offender reflects the agony of the offended. A balance scale is needed.

One of the ways of achieving this balance is to respect human rights and freedom especially as stated in the relevant United Nations Organization's (U.N.O) Charter. It is important to emphasize the need to respect the freedom of thought, speech, association and religious worship. An impartial observer of certain global trends will recognize that some countries are now using the fight against terrorism as a smoke screen not only for promoting selfish national interests, but also for checking the spread of an opposing religion. How such agenda can be successfully pursued remains to be seen. As implied in some of the above-stated instances of international terrorism, one of the antidotes of terrorism is respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of nations.

Terrorism can also be checked through the enthronement of democracy and faithful implementation of democratic principles. Each country should be free to choose any type of democracy (or similar forms of government): Liberal democracy, majoritarian (parliamentary or presidential) democracy, non-partisan or no party democracy, consensus democracy, deliberative democracy, socialist democracy, etc. Apart from nations, groups, societies, and institutions (especially international ones like the U.N.O.) should also be fully democratic in composition and operations. It is democratically imperative that the use of veto power by certain members of the U.N.O.'s General

Assembly should stop soonest in order to pave way for lasting global solutions to terrorism. Committed members of the U.N.O. should always respect the organization's resolutions. National and international laws should be obeyed appropriately.

Furthermore, state-sponsors of terrorists acts should be held responsible and properly sanctioned. The following observations are relevant: when proof of state sponsorship of a terrorist act is obtained, the response may include economic sanctions. Sometimes, state-sponsors are forced to back down by offering incentives. An example is that of Pakistan, which is supported by the Taliban until it was forced to sever its links after pressure from U.S. (www.terrorism.com) (www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/terrorism).

Generally, justice demands that terrorists should be punished while aggrieved individuals, groups, institutions, societies and countries should be compensated. At the international level, war crimes Tribunals in The Hague, Netherlands, Rwanda and Sierra-Leone and the International Criminal Court can handle the dispensation of justice (Iyoho, 2004:204). In addition, nations which are objects of terrorists acts, may establish special courts to try terrorists.

Concerted efforts currently being made world-wide to reduce drastically abject poverty and mass misery should be increased. These efforts include the resolutions of the group of eight industrialized nations, the granting of debt relief, cancellation of debts, award of grants (or aids), granting of loans with little interest or no interests, and New Partnership for Africa's Development (N.E.P.A.D). The "donors" should act in good faith and the "recipients" should judiciously apply the "incentives". Nationally and internationally, efforts should also be made to ensure economic growth translates into economic and social progress. Specifically, economically backward countries should utilize part of their foreign reserves to turn their economies around and improve the living conditions of their citizens. Social security should be given the attention that it deserves especially in economically backward nations. Unlike the rich nations, most of the poor countries are lagging behind in the provision of social security measures. The latter should pay greater attention to this.

Again, surveillance activities by governments should be on increase. At airports, x-ray scanners should be erected while searches by security personnel must be conducted at random. Appropriate machineries must be established for the expression of political,

economic and social grievances while government must employ the least coercive means of social control available at all times and in all circumstances. There should be international collaboration at tackling the menace of terrorism. Also, there must be a new approach in the detection and prioritization of terror threats: surveillance and information sharing among states.

Again, individuals, groups, institutions, societies and nations should cultivate the spirit of consultation, dialogue and compromise. These strategies, among others, are essential to the peaceful management and resolution of disputes. The above mentioned and related strategies will partly facilitate and promote peaceful and enduring solutions.

Besides, that networking among terrorists groups across the world has increased hence, the need for countries to close ranks and unite against threats posed by their activities.

Moreover, collaboration with terrorists must be condemned and discouraged.

In addition, there is the need to establish a new world order which would as a matter of urgency address the disturbing issue of injustices wherever they may exist. Today, this appears to be the soundest basis for bringing about cultural stability and global peace.

Furthermore, we need to find a lasting solution to the Middle East problem which has been aptly described as a family squabble.

This is not all, we dare say that the world peace cannot be guaranteed until peace returns to the Middle East. The apparent displacement of priorities which has characterized the world's pursuit of peace has made Madunagu to describe the war against global terror as unwinnable until: *exploitation, oppression big-power, violence, humiliation, improvisation (sic) and gross inequality – the root causes of terrorism – are banished from the face of the earth.* (The Guardian, 2005:65).

One cannot agree less with Madunagu because we have left undone those things we ought to have done and we have done those things which we ought to have done. And now there is no peace on earth. This is not all, the financial and military supports being enjoyed or given to terrorists must be thoroughly investigated and discouraged.

Imposing the most punishing diplomatic, economic and military sanctions on all terrorist states. To this must be added these measures:

- Freeze Financial assets in the West of terrorist regions and organizations
- Surveillance against organizations inciting violence cum terrorism.
- Training of Special Forces to fight terror.
- Strict and severe impositions of heavy sanctions, on supplies of nuclear technology to terrorist states.
- Concerted efforts must be made to end all state support for and complicity with terror.
- Iran, Iraq, and others must be prevented from developing nuclear weapons and to disarm them of their weapons of mass destruction. This mission must be vigorously and continuously pursued. The mission must not be watered down.

8. Conclusion

Having explained what is meant by terrorism, its nature, dimensions, causes, effects and proposed solutions, I want to conclude that if all the proposed solutions are taken care of by the government, and terrorism which poses great political, economic and diplomatic challenges to our society will be reduced if not totally curbed. Again, it must be stated that terrorism has no moral justification; hence, we should all rise up and call for its total condemnation. Terrorism, by all known standards has devastating effects on human psyche and on the society at large. On a final note, Balogun's (2006:30), submission on world peace is very crucial to this paper. The search for world peace should not be left in the hands of the proverbial four people, namely, everybody, somebody, anybody and nobody. We are told that there was an important job to be done and everybody was sure that somebody would do it. Anybody could have done it, but nobody did it. Somebody got angry about that because it was everybody's job. Everybody thought anybody could do it, but nobody realized that everybody wouldn't do it. Finally, everybody blamed somebody when nobody did what anybody could have done. The important job we are referring to here today is world peace. This job is beyond the capability of the opposing forces in the Middle East. Nor is it the sole responsibility of the United Nations serving us with resolutions. It is the West that created the chaos around the world and it is the West that must take on the responsibility of restoring peace. The world peace is a task that must be accomplished by all.

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