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„BETWEEN REVOLUTION AND NIHILISM": EUROPEAN LEFT-WING TERRORISM IN THE 1970S AS A CRISIS OF MODERNITY. AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SOURCES OF RADICALISATION IN AFFLUENT SOCIETIES

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Abstract:
This article explores the roots and dynamics of political radicalisation in post-war Western Europe. The authors set out to explain how, even in affluent societies with stable institutions, steady economic growth, and expanding welfare systems, groups as extreme as the Brigate Rosse, the Rote Armee Fraktion, and Action Directe could emerge. The analysis points to the disillusionment following the '68 movement, the sense of being left out by the "consumer society", and the sharpening of Cold War rivalries. The authors argue that the turn to radicalism among students and the educated young was a reaction against the gap between lofty promises of emancipation and the everyday reality of bureaucracy, conformity, and technocratic control over social life. From a wider socio-political perspective, terrorism in the 1970s was more than just a political phenomenon: it reflected a deeper crisis of modernity, exposing the faltering of emancipatory narratives, and the shift from utopian revolutionary ideals to darker, nihilistic forms of violence.

Keywords: terrorism, Europe, left-wing extremism, radicalisation, Cold War, ideology, revolution, affluence, modernity

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Introduction

The 1970s stand out as one of the most unsettled periods in post-war Western Europe. Against the backdrop of the Cold War, the rise of welfare states, and ongoing economic modernisation, the continent saw a wave of radical left-wing movements, some of which turned to armed terrorism. Groups such as the Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF) in West Germany, the Brigate Rosse in Italy, and Action Directe (AD) in France used political violence in their fight against "fascism", "imperialism", and the "technocratic system", becoming stark symbols of a deep legitimacy crisis in Western democracies (della Porta, 1995, p. 23). While scholars have long examined this phenomenon from political science and historical angles, it also calls for a theoretical reading, as an expression of the broader crisis of modernity (Varon, 2004, pp. 101–103).

The aim of this article is to explore the socio-political roots of radicalisation in the prosperous societies of Western Europe during the 1970s, with a particular focus on the insights offered by theories of modernity. A comparison of Jürgen Habermas's analysis of the crisis of legitimacy and the colonisation of the lifeworld (Habermas, 1975) with Zygmunt Bauman's reflections on the crisis of meaning and the ambivalence of modernisation (Bauman, 1992; 2006) highlights a striking paradox: terrorism did not arise at the fringes of society, but at its very heart, among generations enjoying unprecedented levels of prosperity and personal freedom.

The central research problem this study tackles is this: how did the contradictions of modernity-those identified by Habermas and Bauman-feed into the rise of left-wing terrorist movements across 1970s Europe? The subsidiary questions focus on a few related issues. What structural political and social shifts marked the welfare states during this period? What deficits of legitimacy and meaning came to the fore in Western European societies? And in what sense might left-wing terrorism be read both as a method of political communication and as a bid to reclaim some sense of existential significance?

Methodologically, this study combines a historical-analytical approach with theoretical interpretation. It draws on historical sources, research on the activities of left-wing terrorist organisations, and literature from political sociology and modernity theory. The aim is not simply to lay out the facts, but to make sense of them against the backdrop of the crisis of modernity.

Left-wing terrorism, as well as other strands of political violence in Europe during the 1970s, has generated a rich body of literature, though interpretations

of the phenomenon have evolved over time. The earliest analyses focused primarily on reconstructing events and examining the activities of specific organisations. Classic studies by Dietrich Rucht (1991) and Donatella della Porta (1995) interpreted terrorism as the outcome of the radicalisation of social movements within a particular political context. John Varon (2004) highlighted both the similarities and differences between radical left-wing organisations in the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. These works were largely sociological and political in character, describing the escalation of violence, organisational structures, and relations with society. Since the 1990s, however, research has increasingly concentrated on the mechanisms of radicalisation and de-radicalisation (Crenshaw, 2001). Scholars in this tradition have not regarded terrorism as an irrational phenomenon, but rather as a political and communicative strategy.

Only sporadically has terrorism been examined through the lens of social and philosophical theory. In *Legitimation Crisis* and *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Jürgen Habermas developed concepts later employed by scholars such as Claus Offe and Ulrich Beck to interpret tensions within welfare states (Habermas, 1999). Zygmunt Bauman's reflections on "liquid modernity" and the "crisis of meaning" have been applied primarily to contemporary forms of radicalisation, yet they may also be related to the 1970s as an early manifestation of these issues (Bauman, 2000).

Despite the substantial body of political science and historical scholarship, a gap persists in interpreting European terrorism of the 1970s as a symptom of the crisis of modernity. Existing literature has tended either to concentrate on empirical accounts or to draw upon theories of political violence, but has less frequently juxtaposed these with the reflections of Habermas and Bauman. This article seeks to address that lacuna, arguing that left-wing radicalisation in affluent societies was the outcome of both a crisis of institutional legitimacy and a crisis of meaning in human life. The authors attempt to determine whether the terrorism of the 1970s can be understood as a distinctive response to the deficits of modernity – a response suspended "between revolution and nihilism". Polish scholarship has also begun to advance initial attempts at interpreting left-wing terrorism (Słodkowska, 2006).

From Emancipation to Violence: The Ideological Roots of the New Left

The New Left emerged as a phenomenon deeply rooted in the context of Western Europe in the 1960s and 1970s. Unlike the "Old Left", dominated by Communist and Social Democratic parties, the programme was grounded not only in the economic struggle of the working class but also in a critique of modernity in the broad sense. The philosophy of the Frankfurt School, and particularly the writings of Herbert Marcuse, had a formative influence on this movement. In One-Dimensional Man, Marcuse demonstrated that modern industrial society, by shaping and creating individuals' needs, integrates resistance and neutralises potential criticism (Marcuse, 1964, passim). The creation of "false needs" leads individuals to voluntarily submit to the system while believing they are realising their own desires (Marcuse, 1964, pp. 20–21). Social dissatisfaction in Europe and beyond thus became a catalyst for a wave of leftist contestation in affluent societies such as the United States, Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, and Japan (Pajorski & Piwowarski, 2013, p. 50).

Marcuse, among others, combined cultural philosophy with Marxist reflection and psychoanalysis, demonstrating that oppression is not limited to the economic sphere but extends to symbolic and psychological domains. Emancipation, therefore, should signify not only the acquisition of the means of production but also the liberation of the individual from mechanisms of consumerism and alienation (Marcuse, 1964, pp. 35–40). Social movements, organised collective actions aimed at achieving concrete goals, could act as catalysts for societal transformation. These included revolutionary movements aimed at rapid social change (Zamęcki, 2011, p. 93). In this context, Marcuse's call for the "Great Refusal" was interpreted as an impetus to reject the existing order and to seek radical forms of resistance (Marcuse, 1964, pp. 251–255). According to his vision of history as "reversed progress", however, he maintained that alongside the development of forms of repression, the possibility of their abolition grows (Jawłowska, 1975, p. 152).

This message resonated strongly with the countercultural movements of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as with university youth. Western economic affluence generated a paradox: material stability did not translate into a sense of freedom or meaningful life. Instead of satisfaction, there was a perception of enslavement by consumer culture and the bureaucratic state apparatus (Płuciennicza, 2011, pp. 132–134). Student movements, from West Berlin to Paris,

interpreted Marcuse as a theorist legitimising radical searches for alternatives to capitalist-liberal democracy.

A further impetus for the New Left was disappointment with traditional left-wing parties. Social Democrats and Communists were criticised for conformism, subordination to the logic of the Cold War order, and the loss of revolutionary potential. In West Germany, the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) was seen as having shifted from an oppositional stance toward the establishment, while the Communists had lost the ability to engage with youth movements (Płucienniczak, 2011, pp. 140–142).

Similar processes occurred in Italy. The operaismo (workerist) movement offered a sharp critique of capitalism and the ossified Italian Communist Party (PCI). Operaismo focused not only on "grand politics" but also on the everyday life of workers: social alienation, experiences of factory labour, discipline, and production rhythms (Roggero, 2023, pp. 12–15). From these experiences arose the idea of working-class independence and the belief that struggle should be grassroots, detached from party hierarchies (Pasquinelli, 2015, pp. 49–52). Radicalisation in this context was not only a reaction to repression but also an attempt to destabilise the impasse in which the traditional Left was trapped. Disappointment with bureaucratisation and compliance with the state system motivated some youth and workers toward radical solutions, including violence.

During the 1960s and 1970s, there also emerged a need to legitimise aggression as a political instrument. Although Marcuse argued that his critique need not lead to terrorism, his call for the "Great Refusal" and his warnings against the oppressive rationality of technological society were interpreted by some as an endorsement of the use of force in the name of emancipation (Marcuse, 1964, pp. 251–255). The ideas of Third World revolutionary movements also exerted considerable influence. Frantz Fanon's writings, especially The Wretched of the Earth, presented violence as an act of purification through which colonised peoples reclaim subjectivity (Fanon, 2025, pp. 23–26). Western European radicals drew parallels between their own situation and the experiences of colonised societies: the welfare state appeared as an "internal coloniser", and the struggle for liberation was conceived as analogous to national liberation movements in Vietnam or Algeria (Fanon, 2025, pp. 70–72).

The influence of cultural philosophy and psychoanalysis was also significant. Erich Fromm, in Escape from Freedom, highlighted the paradox of modernity: although formally independent, the individual tends to retreat

into conformity and authoritarianism (Fromm, 1993, pp. 130–135). Such diagnoses suggested that only a radical break with prevailing norms, potentially through violence, could pave the way for genuine emancipation.

Western European societies experienced an unprecedented level of prosperity, education, and social welfare. At the same time, however, this very system generated new tensions. Citizens' high expectations for political and cultural freedoms were often unmet. The Vietnam War, persistent social inequalities, and gender and racial discrimination were interpreted as evidence that liberal democracies could not guarantee genuine emancipation (Berman, 2007, pp. 45–49). Higher levels of education provided the younger generation with access to critical political and philosophical texts, facilitating the rapid dissemination of radical ideas (Berman, 2007, pp. 90–94). Universities became laboratories for revolutionary theory and practice, from discussions of Marcuse's writings to experiments with new forms of communal life.

The process of radicalisation gradually blurred the line between system critique and violent practice. Permissible forms of resistance-strikes, protests, and demonstrations-were often met with brutal police interventions, reinforcing radicals' perception of the state as inherently "fascist". In their eyes, this justified the use of counter-violence (Negri & Muhlmann, 2012, pp. 81–83).

It was in this context that the terrorist organisations of the 1970s emerged: the RAF, the Red Brigades, and Action Directe. Their ideology combined a critique of modernity, rejection of the traditional Left, and fascination with Third World revolutionary movements. Viewing the democratic system as a façade for the "dictatorship of capital", they adopted armed struggle as their primary mode of action (Willms, 1996, pp. 12–16).

The ideological roots of New Left radicalisation reveal a complex process in which emancipatory aspirations-born from a critique of the welfare society, the bureaucratisation of the Old Left, and interest in decolonial thought-merged with the belief that only violence could overcome systemic resistance. The crisis of modernity manifested not only in theoretical discourse but also in political practice, as visions of liberation transformed into acts of terrorism.

The Welfare Society and the Generation of Rebellion

The 1960s and 1970s in Western Europe witnessed unprecedented economic growth, often referred to as the "golden age of capitalism" or the "trente glorieuses" period. Countries such as West Germany, Italy, and France experienced

stable GDP growth, high employment levels, and the expansion of welfare state institutions. This context might have been expected to foster social stability and mitigate radical political dissent. Yet paradoxically, it was precisely within these affluent societies that a dramatic radicalisation of the younger generation occurred, as they rejected conservative power structures and the logic of capitalist consumption. Theodor W. Adorno argued that welfare societies generate new forms of alienation, in which the individual no longer suffers only from material deprivation, but primarily from existential emptiness, a consequence of life subordinated to the logic of the market and mass culture (Adorno, 1999, pp. 45–47). Radical youth rebellion therefore arose not from poverty, but from a sense of saturation and fatigue with a society perceived as inauthentic.

The generation coming of age at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s was the first to grow up with access to education, expanding consumer opportunities, and extensive social welfare systems. In West Germany, they were referred to as the Kinder des Wirtschaftswunders – the children of the economic miracle. They became the foundation of subsequent contestatory movements, from the student demonstrations of 1968 to extreme radical groups such as the RAF. This generation had no direct experience of war, yet lived in the shadow of its memory and of their parents' moral responsibility (Judt, 2008, pp. 523–526).

In countries such as the FRG, this produced confrontation with the Nazi past, while in others-Italy, for instance-it entailed reckoning with the legacy of fascism and its post-war mutations. Awareness that political and economic elites were often drawn from individuals active under authoritarian regimes became a key determinant of radicalisation. Simultaneously, the welfare society facilitated the expansion of mass higher education. Universities, overcrowded and ill-adapted to the growing student population, became loci of social tension. Rising educational levels in industrial societies did not automatically yield integration, but generated new expectations and frustrations (Tilly, 1978, pp. 101–104).

University students demanded not only access to knowledge but also meaningful participation in shaping social and political life. Welfare societies, founded on institutional stability and a compromise between capital and labour, were simultaneously highly hierarchical. State institutions, families, and universities operated according to patriarchal models, eliciting growing youth resistance. Modern society does not rely solely on political repression but on micro-mechanisms of discipline that produce obedient subjects (Foucault, 1998,

pp. 135–138). Student rebellion-and later, radical strands of the revolutionary Left-was directed precisely against this "hidden violence of normalization".

This rebellion had both political and cultural dimensions. The rejection of bourgeois morality, sexual emancipation, experimentation with drugs, and alternative communal lifestyles formed an integral part of the opposition. The generation of the 1960s and 1970s evolved from materialist to post-materialist values, emphasising individual autonomy, civil rights, and authentic experiences (Inglehart, 1977, pp. 21–24). This cultural shift created fertile ground for seeking radical forms of political action, as traditional forms of participation-political parties and trade unions-were perceived as outdated and corrupt.

Although welfare states guaranteed rising levels of consumption, many young people protested against this way of life. Consumption was not a mere process of satisfying needs but an instrument of power reproduction, transforming the individual into a passive recipient of images (Debord, 2006, pp. 25–28).

Critique of the Consumer Society and the Radicalisation of the 1970s

Critique of the consumer society was a central element of the ideology of radical groups, which perceived capitalism not as a system of welfare, but as a form of modern enslavement. However, this critique did not constitute a straightforward reproduction of classical Marxism. The radical youth of the 1970s combined elements of Marxism, Maoism, and anarchist thought with countercultural inspirations. By rejecting capitalist consumerism and the bureaucratic stagnation of socialist states, they sought a "third way" – a revolution that was intended to be not only political but also existential.

Not all participants in the '68 generation's rebellion turned to terrorism. Yet frustration over unfulfilled revolutionary expectations, escalating geopolitical conflicts (e.g., the coup in Chile, the Vietnam War, the oil crisis), and police repression of student movements led some young people to conclude that the system could not be changed through peaceful means. Frantz Fanon, widely read by European radicals, emphasised that violence could serve a liberatory function, enabling the oppressed to regain subjectivity (Fanon, 2025, p. 37). For some activists, this interpretation provided a justification for the shift from protest to terror.

In this way, the welfare society paradoxically became the site of the genesis of the most radical forms of dissent. It was not pauperisation but the sense that a world of consumption and stability left little room for authentic existence

that drove individuals toward the idea of total revolution. This was a revolution born of affluence rather than poverty; thus, it dramatically reflected the crisis of modernity.

In this context, radical political movements-such as the RAF, the Red Brigades, and Action Directe – can be interpreted as communities of meaning, providing young revolutionaries with what the welfare society could not: a sense of mission, identity, and transcendence beyond the banality of everyday life (della Porta, 1995, passim).

Terrorism as a Political and Existential Project

Left-wing terrorism of the 1970s represented not only a radical form of opposition to the political and economic order of Western Europe, but also an expression of a deeper crisis of modernity. In this sense, it was not solely an instrument for changing power structures, but also an existential project-a means of imbuing life with meaning in contexts that many young revolutionaries perceived as lacking legitimacy and authenticity. The use of violence in the name of "revolution" was both a tool of political articulation and a means of filling the axiological void generated by welfare societies.

From this perspective, revolutionary left-wing terrorism aimed to destroy the state and dismantle the existing order, ultimately giving rise to a society composed of free associations led and controlled by a terrorist revolutionary avant-garde (Kijowska, 2018, p. 203).

Jürgen Habermas, analysing the dynamics of late modernity, highlighted the problem of a "legitimation crisis", arising from the growing divergence between the politico-economic system and the needs of civil society. Welfare states, while providing material security, increasingly reduced citizens to the status of clients, subordinating social life to systemic logic. Habermas termed this process the "colonisation of the lifeworld" – a situation in which market and state mechanisms penetrate everyday practices and social relations, constraining autonomous communication and collective action (Habermas, 1975, pp. 68–74).

Indeed, the affluence of the 1960s and 1970s in Western Europe enabled the luxury of reflection, which in certain circles led to critiques of social problems and of capitalism as the responsible system. By the late 1960s, youth in some Western European countries, protesting against the exploitation of Third World states, were united by a sense of injustice and opposition to US foreign

policy, perceived as imperialist. Christoph Wackernagel, a member of the RAF, stated: "Anti-imperialism meant primarily protest against the Vietnam War, but also against American dominance in most Third World countries" (Maniszewska, 2014, p. 36).

It should be noted that revolutionary tendencies among academic and intellectual circles were a response to a sense of dehumanisation and instrumentalisation. Terrorism appeared as an attempt to regain agency and restore a space for authentic action, albeit in an extremely destructive form. Paradoxically, in their struggle against the system, revolutionaries employed a logic of violence that effectively reproduced the mechanisms of domination they sought to overthrow.

Zygmunt Bauman emphasised the ambivalences inherent in modernisation processes, which, alongside the promise of progress, generated disorientation and a crisis of meaning. Modernisation not only dismantled traditional forms of communal life but also produced experiences of uncertainty and fluidity of identity (Bauman, 1991, passim). In welfare societies, seemingly free from material deprivation, a lack of answers emerged to questions about the purpose and significance of individual existence.

In this framework, terrorism can be understood as an attempt to overcome existential emptiness through radical identification with the "revolution" – an absolutised idea intended to provide both political and personal orientation. What appeared in the discourse of organisations such as the RAF or the Red Brigades as a "struggle for social liberation" was, at the individual level, also a project of self-creation: constructing identity in opposition to a bureaucratised and routinised world (Bauman, 2000, pp. 159–161).

Left-Wing Terrorism: Political and Existential Dimensions

Analysing left-wing terrorism through the lenses of Habermas and Bauman, one must emphasise its dual character. On the one hand, it was a political project aimed at enforcing structural change through strategies of symbolic and physical violence. On the other hand, it was an existential project, responding to a crisis of meaning, seeking authenticity, and attempting to transcend everyday life dominated by systemic logic.

The terrorists of the 1970s were not merely "political combatants" but participants in a dramatic engagement with their own identity and with a world they perceived as empty and lacking legitimacy. In this context, left-wing

terrorism serves as both a testament to the crisis of modernity and a space at the intersection of political system deficiencies and the existential needs of individuals. Its analysis indicates that revolutionary violence functioned simultaneously as a rebellion against social norms and as an attempt to address questions of life's meaning within conditions of affluence. This duality allows for a deeper understanding of left-wing terrorism as not merely a form of radical politics but also as an existential drama of modernity.

Conclusion

An examination of left-wing terrorism in Europe during the 1970s allows us to conclude that this threat was not merely the product of the political radicalisation of certain student or workers' movements, but emerged from the deeper contradictions inherent in modernity. Interpreted through the lens of modernity theory, the ambivalence of this phenomenon becomes intelligible. Habermas demonstrated that the evolution of the capitalist state engenders a "crisis of legitimacy," wherein political institutions fail to satisfy the emancipatory expectations of citizens (Habermas, 1975, pp. 41–58). Concurrently, the "colonisation of the lifeworld" by administrative and economic systems erodes traditional forms of communication and communal life (Habermas, 1999, pp. 256–260). Within this framework, terrorism may be understood as an attempt to reconstruct "authentic" political engagement, albeit through means that simultaneously undermine the legitimacy of the very cause it sought to advance.

Bauman, by contrast, emphasised the crisis of modernity itself: the processes of modernisation generated not only freedom and prosperity but also pervasive feelings of uncertainty and disorientation (Bauman, 1991, pp. 73–98). From this vantage point, left-wing terrorism and political violence more broadly can be seen as an irrational counter-response to the experience of "liquid modernity," an attempt to confer existential meaning upon political action through inherently self-destructive revolutionary gestures (Bauman, 2006, pp. 115–143).

The analyses suggest that left-wing terrorism in the 1970s should be understood as a hybrid phenomenon: simultaneously embedded in the geopolitical context of the Cold War and reflecting structural tensions within welfare societies. In this light, 1970s left-wing terrorism exemplifies a form of political radicalisation occurring "between revolution and nihilism": poised between a utopian desire to transform reality and the destructive negation of the

existing social order. Viewed in a broader perspective, left-wing terrorism in Western Europe during this period may be regarded as an early harbinger of processes that today manifest in other forms of radicalisation-from religious fundamentalisms to populist movements. Understanding its origins within the context of the crisis of modernity enables a more nuanced comprehension of the dynamics of contemporary social and political crises and invites critical reflection on the limits of liberal democracy's emancipatory potential under conditions of accelerated modernisation.

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„MIĘDZY REWOLUCJĄ A NIHILIZMEM": EUROPEJSKI TERRORYZM LEWICOWY LAT 70. XX WIEKU JAKO KRYZYS NOWOCZESNOŚCI". ANALIZA SOCJOPOLITYCZNYCH ŹRÓDEŁ RADYKALIZACJI W SPOŁECZEŃSTWACH DOBROBYTU

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł analizuje źródła i dynamikę radykalizacji politycznej w powojennej Europie Zachodniej. Autorzy starają się wyjaśnić, w jaki sposób nawet w zamożnych społeczeństwach o stabilnych instytucjach, stałym wzroście gospodarczym i rozwijających się systemach opiekuńczych mogły powstać tak skrajne ugrupowania, jak Brigate Rosse, Rote Armee Fraktion czy Action Directe. Analiza wskazuje na rozczarowanie po ruchu '68, poczucie wykluczenia przez „społeczeństwo konsumpcyjne" oraz zaostrzenie rywalizacji zimnowojennej. Autorzy argumentują, że zwrot ku radykalizmowi wśród studentów i młodej inteligencji był reakcją na rozdźwięk między wznio-

słymi obietnicami emancypacji a codzienną rzeczywistością biurokracji, konformizmu i technokratycznej kontroli nad życiem społecznym. W szerszej perspektywie społeczno-politycznej terroryzm lat 70. był czymś więcej niż tylko zjawiskiem politycznym: odzwierciedlał głębszy kryzys nowoczesności, ujawniając słabnięcie narracji emancypacyjnych oraz przejście od utopijnych ideałów rewolucyjnych ku mroczniejszym, nihilistycznym formom przemocy.

Słowa kluczowe: terroryzm, Europa, skrajna lewica, radykalizacja, zimna wojna, ideologia, rewolucja, dobrobyt, nowoczesność

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Noty biograficzne

Dr hab. Krzysztof Mroczkowski, prof. Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego. Jego badania koncentrują się na najnowszej historii Europy, studiach nad terroryzmem oraz historii politycznej Bliskiego Wschodu. Opublikował liczne prace dotyczące europejskich ruchów radykalnych, przemocy politycznej ze strony państw i aktorów niepaństwowych oraz relacji między ideologią a tożsamością zbiorową w grupach powstańczych.

Dr Arkadiusz Machniak: w latach 1997–2023 funkcjonariusz cywilnych i wojskowych służb specjalnych (UOP, ABW, SKW), od 2023 r. adiunkt w Zakładzie Studiów Nad Wojną, Instytutu Nauk o Polityce Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, zajmuje się badaniami w zakresie zjawiska terroryzmu, konfliktów zbrojnych, polityki obronnej państwa, działalności sił zbrojnych i służb specjalnych.

Biographical notes

Dr hab. Krzysztof Mroczkowski, PhD, Associate Professor, University of Rzeszów, His research focuses on modern European history, terrorism studies, and the political history of the Middle East. He has published extensively on European radical movements, state and non-state political violence, and the interplay between ideology and collective identity in insurgent group.

Dr Arkadiusz Machniak, PhD. From 1997 to 2023, he served as an officer in both civilian and military intelligence and security services (UOP, ABW, SKW). Since 2023, he has been a Lecturer in the Department of War Studies, Institute of Political Science, University of Rzeszów. His research focuses on terrorism, armed conflict, state defence policy, and the activities of armed forces and intelligence services.