TERRORISM AND TERRORIST IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

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Abstract: Analyzing the evolution of the notion of "terrorist action" historically we find it often identified with the idea of national, social, political, ethnic, religious "justice". It is quite difficult to tell where the "terrorist" action starts and where it ends. Looking retrospectively on the twentieth century, we notice that the terrorist act has different manifestations: if in the first seven decades the objectives of these attacks are concrete and expressed punctually, and the attainment of these goals is identified with the physical suppression of a symbolic personality, since the 1980s, the terrorist attack no longer only seeks to eliminate a supposed obstacle, but wants the spread of mass terror and panic to create pressure on leaders, forcing them to make decisions that would otherwise not never be accepted. The most serious aspect is the identification of terrorist action with the struggle for respecting the human rights and freedoms that transform the terrorist into a martyr.
On August 23, 1981, a terrorist action took place: Operation Bus, which involved hostage-taking, force intervention by the authorities, lack of any communication and negotiation between state power bodies and terrorists. A silent operation. The national newspapers "Scânteia", "Scânteia Tineretului", etc., did not address this issue. The national TV and radio station did not comment and did not comment on the incident. In the Socialist Republic of Romania there could not have been a terrorist attack generated by dissatisfaction.
The assailants, three ordinary students without higher education, wanted, regardless of methods and consequences, to flee from Socialist Romania. The communist educational and propagandist system had failed in what he had intended: to cede the "new man" loyal to the regime. The attitude of the authorities transformed the three, but heroes, though the hostages' lives, simple, commuter, were not of value to either terrorists or authorities. Everything has been hatched, the terrorists have been liquidated, and the victims of the assassination have been buried. Nobody knew and did not know anything until the collapse of the communist regime.

Keywords: terror, propaganda, indoctrination, citizens' rights and freedoms, "new man"

Terrorism is a particularly complex phenomenon, with deep historical roots and, at the same time, with a major impact on contemporary society. Perhaps the simplest definition of terrorism would be "purpose and method". It is quite difficult to say where the terrorist "action" begins and where it ends, and from this point of view the definition of terrorism depends on the one who judges the phenomenon: "one who seems to be terrorist, for another he can represent a fighter for freedom ".

If we analyze historically the evolution of "terrorist action", we often find it identified with the idea of "justice", of "virtue": social, political, national. For example, Robespierre, in the context of the bourgeois revolution in France, claims that "If the basis of the popular government, in peacetime is virtue, the basis of the popular government during the revolution is terror and virtue; the virtue without which terror is murderous, the terror without which virtue is powerless. Terror means only justice: prompt, severe and inflexible; therefore it is an emanation of virtue "(" On Political Ethics ", February 5, 1794).

Later, Carlo Pisacane, pioneer of the concept of "propaganda of the deed," wrote in the Political Testament (1857) that "ideas come from facts and not the other way round", justifying the usefulness of violence in the context of revolutionary movements. Errico Malatesta, describing "propaganda of the deed" as "violent common insurrection that was meant to ignite the imminent revolution", nevertheless ruled against terrorism and physical violence, ideas

expressed in the article published in 1921 " The Revolutionary Haste "(Umanita Nova, number 125, 6 September 1921).[1]

Two Dutch researchers at the University of Leiden, Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman, drew 109 definitions of "terrorism," from academics to civil servants, and analyzed them to find their main components; the result was: violence is included in 83.5% of the definitions, 65% political goals, fear and terror in 51%, arbitrary and randomly chosen targets in 21%, victimization of civilians, noncombatants, neutral persons and external elements 17, 5%.[2]

Paul Pillar argues that political and ideological motivations are a prerequisite for terrorism "terrorist concerns are macro-concerns about how to change social or political organization on a large scale."[3]

For Paul Wilkinson, the causes of political violence "are generally the same as those of terrorism: ethnic, religious and ideological conflicts, poverty, modernist pressures, political inequalities, the absence of peaceful channels of communication, the traditions of violence, the weakness, the incompetence and the erosion of trust, a political regime, the deep disagreements between the political elites of a state. "[4]

At the same time, the non-state actor, on the international stage, should not be ignored in making global decisions: NGOs[5], multinational and transnational corporations[6] with their own goals and interests. "Substantial changes that have occurred in the post-industrial society have made the state no longer the only actor to provide the citizen with security, welfare and other services related to the civilization of the 21st century."[7]

Analyzing the beginning of the 21st century, we notice that the terrorist act has different manifestations compared to the previous century: if in the twentieth century the objectives of this attack are concrete and expressed almost punctual, and the attainment of these objectives is identified with the physical elimination of a symbolic personality: the Archduke of Austria, Franz Ferdinand, assassinated on June 28, 1914; the assassination on 29 December 1933 of Romanian Prime Minister I.G.Duca by members of the Iron Guard, a similar fate on September 21, 1939, and Armand Călinescu, a victim of the same terrorist organization; Spanish Prime Minister Carrero Blanca, killed by a commando E.T.A. on December 20, 1973; Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro, assassinated on May 9, 1978 by the Red Brigades.

The perception of the identity of the terrorist has changed over time: initially, the terrorist came from poor, marginalized, and society-free clusters, although, considering part of the attacks in the first four decades of the 20th century, many members of extremist groups among the middle social categories, military cadres and students, then in the last decades of the century, in the context of globalization, of permanent population migration, with different cultural identities, he is part of the middle class, even rich, of some communities emigrated to the West, and having higher education that allows him for perfect social integration, "the Salafis mujahedines come from relatively wealthy families and have received a higher education than their country of origin and Western education."[8]

Even communist Romania, based on the educational concept of the "new man," loyal to the regime faces August 23, 1981, which should have been a day of praise for socialist construction, the authorities will face an unprecedented terrorist attack, surnamed "Operation

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[1] Randall D. Law, *Istoria terorismului: De la asirieni la jihadişti,* Bucureşti, Editura Corint Books, 2017, p.140.

[2] Gerard Chaliand, Arnaud Blin, *Istoria terorismului: Din Antichitate până la Daesh*, Iaşi, Polirom, 2018, p.24.

[3] Cristian Barna, *Sfârşitul terorismului şi noua (dez)ordine mondială,* Bucureşti, Editura Top Form, 2009, p.16.

[4] *Ibidem*, pp. 16-17.

[5] Andrada Nimu, Cristian Pîrvulescu, Arpad Tudor, *Societate civilă, democraţie şi construcţie instituţională. Transparenţă şi participare publică în România contemporană,* Iaşi, Editura Polirom, p. 49.

[6] Eric Hobsbawm, *Globalizare, democraţie şi terorism,* Bucureşti, Editura Cartier, 2016, p.36.

[7] Constantin Hlihor, Ecaterina Hlihor, *Comunicarea în conflictele internaţionale. Secolul XX şi începutul secolului XXI,* Bucureşti, Editura Comunicare.ro, 2010, p.15.

[8] Ali Laidi, *Efectul de bumerang. Cum a determinat globalizarea apariţia terorismului,* Hause of Guides, Bucuresti, 2007, p.17.

Bus". Three young people aged 32, 29 and 23, some recidivists, and the last ex-student, expelled from Timisoara School of Medicine, took hostages, near Timisoara, 40 commuters, on a bus circulated on Haţeg-Oraştie route. The purpose of the attack was very clear: fleeing from Romania: "Let no one move. The bus leaves for Rome. " Unfortunately, the lives of those taking hostages were of no value either to terrorists or to authorities intervening forcefully, being incapable of managing the event properly.[9]The national newspapers "Scânteia", "Scânteia Tineretului", etc., did not address this issue. The national TV and radio station did not comment and did not comment on the incident. In the Socialist Republic of Romania there could not have been a terrorist attack generated by dissatisfaction.

The terrorist does not have a certain age, a certain religion, some ethnic conscience, a certain degree of education, but it matters the degree of indoctrination, identification with the promoted cause of the person involved. Gavrilo Princip, was 19 years old at the time of the assassination, and when asked if he was guilty of murder, he replied: "I'm not a murderer, because I've eliminated a villain. I think I did a good deed. "[10]

Duca's killers, "Nicadories," all young intellectuals, deeply indoctrinated, shouted at the time of the arrest: "The traitor was punished. Death, only death for traitors! ".[11]

In the case of Armand Calinescu, the assassins, "The Avengers," after the assassination, entered the building of the Romanian Broadcasting Society, one of the assailants making public the event: "Calinescu was punished. Armand Calinescu was executed. We did our duty. Captain's death was avenged! "[12]

Since the 1980s, and especially since 2001, the terrorist attack no longer pursues tangible objectives, but wishes to spread the mass terror, in this context, specialists in the field identifying a new type of terrorism that is expressed in quantity, aiming to create pressure at the level of leaders, in order to dictate their decision-making which, under normal circumstances, would never be adopted. This kind of terrorism interferes with the collective mentality, the mass media having a considerable contribution to spreading the insecurity and disbelief of civil society towards the governors.

After September 11, 2001, Europe and America are perceived as partners by terrorists. This vision derives, to a great extent, also from the political-military alliance existing between the two territorial spaces, and thus there is no real demarcation between the American "imperialism" invoked by terrorists and the interests of the states of the Old Continent.

Speaking about US-European collaboration, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton underlined in his political speech that "America can not solve the most pressing problems on its own, and the world can not solve them without America."[13]

Romania, as a NATO member since 2004, and the European Union since 2007, is directly involved in the promotion of an anti-terrorist policy, the establishment of political-military structures capable of supporting the logistical and military fight against terrorism, the development of a legislative[14] framework appropriate to actions anti-terrorist acts without infringing the rights and liberties mentioned in the Constitution of the Romanian State, as well as in the texts of international conventions and protocols signed by the representatives of the Romanian state, for example: *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms[15], Additional Protocol to the Convention on Defense human rights and fundamental*

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[9]https://jurnalul.antena3.ro/special-jurnal/atentatul-de la-23 august-66681.html

[10]https://istoriiregasite.wordpress.com/2013/03/29/mana-neagra/ (accesat 8 ianuarie 2018).

[11] Lilly Marcou, *Regele trădat. Carol al II-lea al României*, Editura Corint, Bucureşti, 2003, pp. 197-198.

[12]*Ibidem*, p.249.

[13] Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Viitorul puterii*, Iaşi, Editura Polirom, 2012, p.9.

[14] Legea 535 din 25 noiembrie 2004 privind prevenirea şi combaterea terorismului disponibilă pe www.legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocument/57494 (accesat în data de 5 septembrie 2018).

[15] Adoptată la Roma la 4 noiembrie 1950. A intrat în vigoare la 3 septembrie 1953. Convenţia a fost amendată prin Protocolul nr .11, intrat în vigoare la 1 noiembrie 1998. România a ratificat Convenţia și Protocoalele sale adiţionale prin Legea nr. 30 din 18 mai 1994, publicată în Monitorul Oficial al României nr. 135 din 31 mai 1994, Protocolul

freedoms,[16] *Protocol No. 12 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*[17].

Although Romania has not yet faced terrorist attacks with human victims, defense issues in the event of aggression should not be neglected.[18]

In this context, a series of questions are asked: Is the notion of terrorist action officially defined, normative? Have the authorities in Romania prepared an appropriate legislative framework to legitimize Romania's political and military actions in the fight against terrorism? Does the political-military structures needed to prevent and combat terrorism? Does Romania's perception of terrorism correspond to the perception of its allies? Is there a culture and education at society level regarding political, social, ethnic, religious attitudes to avoid terrorist violence? Is the Romanian society sufficiently stable at the level of superstructure and infrastructure to avoid carrying out terrorist actions on its territory?

Studying the terrorist phenomenon is not a novelty, as intolerance, racism, ethnocentrism, lack of dialogue, economic discrepancies, colonialism, etc. were permanent sources for terrorist manifestations, no matter what they used to be, during the history of mankind.

The contemporary world, characterized by dynamism, calls for a constant updating of the information. Terrorist actions continue to accentuate public opinion and justify political-military interventions in various regions of the world. In the specialized works, the perceptions of terrorism are different, and the ways of combating it are different.

As states scientist Jeremy Shapiro from Brookings Institute says, "The United States and Europe are looking at the war on terrorism in different ways: the Americans consider it their main national security issue and see it as a series of military and intelligence operations , while Europeans doubt that this is a war and is based on law enforcement actions. "

The United States "has accused five countries of supporting international terrorism since 2006, North Korea, Iran, Syria, Sudan and Cuba, and has banned US companies from doing business in those countries. The authors note that this kind of unilateral sanctions have a limited effect, given that Cuba can do business with Canada and Iran with Russia. "

Guy Milliere points out that, following the September 11, 2001 attacks, "a new facet of extremism has emerged: Islamist terrorism."

Romania in its political, diplomatic and military approaches to combating terrorism must take these orientations and points of view into consideration. An example of an attempt at reconciliation was the International Symposium "The Legal Regime of Monotheistic Religions in the European Union", held on July 3, 2008 at the Center for Religious Studies and Research and Juridico-Canonical of the three major monotheistic, mosaic, Christian and Islamic religions , from "Ovidius" University of Constanta.

As the Muslim cult mufti in Romania, Yusuf Murat, in the "Thought for tolerance", "at the beginning of the 21st century, Muslims in Romania are the ones who support dialogue, respect for religious values, and want to promote this also in the European community. The European Union must take note of the way in which the community is organized, of their contribution to the economic and social progress of Romania alongside the majority population."[19]

As terrorist groups develop new capabilities and attack strategies and solutions to each type of threat become different. In the event of war, the struggles are subject to "classical norms,

nr. 11 a fost ratificat prin Legea nr. 79 din 6 iulie 1995, publicată în Monitorul Oficial al României, Partea I, nr. 147 din 13 iulie 1995

[16]Adoptat la Paris la 20 martie 1952. A intrat în vigoare la 18 mai 1954. România a ratificat Protocolul nr. 1 prin Legea nr. 30 din 18 mai 1994, publicată în Monitorul Oficial al României, Partea I, nr. 35 din 31 mai 1994.

[17]Semnat de 26 de state printre care şi România.

[18]Petre Duţu, *Rolul forţelor armate în lupta împotriva terorismului,* Bucureşti, Editura Universităţii Naţionale de Apărare „Carol I", 2010.

[19]Anghel Andreescu, Nicolae Radu, *Jihadul islamic de la „înfrângerea terorii" şi „războiul sfânt" la „speranţa libertăţii,* Bucureşti, Editura Rao, 2015, p.12.

while in the case of the terrorist attack, there is no clear delimitation between civil and military targets." For example, cyber war is one of the most dangerous terrorist actions.

According to an expert in terrorism, the crucial place of radicalization "is neither Pakistan, nor Yemen, nor Afghanistan, (...) but the solitary experience of a virtual community: ummah from the Web"[20] and at the beginning of 2006 the Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld said of the global war on terror that "in this war, some decisive battles will not be given in the mountains of Afghanistan, either in the streets of Iraq or in the conference rooms in New York, London, Cairo and elsewhere ".

Compared to radio stations, televisions and newspapers, often state-controlled, by state-nation governments, the Internet creates unlimited email, personal internet, blogg, or Twitter web pages through social networking sites such as Facebook, Istagram or Linkedin.

A number of transnational corporations have enormous budgets, competent human resources, and control coding, so their power is often much higher than many governments. For example, in 2009, Microsoft, Apple and Google had annual profits of 58, 35 and $ 22 billion respectively and more than 150,000 employees in total. At the same time, Amazon, Google, Microsoft and many other companies are competing for the development of cloud computing technology and have "server farms". A 2009 Natinal Research Council report in the US concluded that "current policies and the current legal framework on the guidance and regulation of the US appeal to cyber attack are inadequately elaborated and very uncertain."[21]

In 2000, the UN General Assembly passed a series of resolutions condemning internet crime and drawing attention to defense measures that governments can take. The effort of governments and in-country organizations to peacefully resolve any kind of confrontation can be supported by the work of NGOs most often considered to be "collective consciousness."

Historian Michael Howard explains why world peace can not be built by inventing or reforming institutions: "... the establishment of a global peace order depends on the creation of a world community ... The world order can not simply be created by building some institutions and international organizations that do not naturally derive from the cultural predisposition and historical experience of their members. Their creation and functioning presupposes at least the existence of a transnational elite that not only shares the same cultural norms but can also make them acceptable within their own societies ... "[22]

In the Radiography of Terrorism, Vasile Simileanu notes that UN experts at present have failed to define and legally enforce terrorist actions, limiting themselves to a general characterization of the terrorist phenomenon, considered as a phenomenon that appeals to the "illegal manifestation of violence or the threat of using violence against persons or material goods in order to achieve political or social objectives, generally pursuing intimidation or forcing a government, individuals or groups to change their behavior or policies. "[23]

The well-known analyst Francis Fukuyama believes that "besides the economic causes and frustrations of a world with deep dysfunctions, we are witnessing the birth of a society lacking common values in postmodernism"[24], a context that can justify terrorist actions.

At present, communication at the international level is becoming more important, given that international discussions are not only about states but also non-state organizations that have their own interests.

International organizations are tangible, concrete structures with specific functions and missions. In the last two decades, these institutions have become more and more numerous, and

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[20]Joseph S. Nye Jr., *op.cit*.,p.159.

[21]*Ibidem*, pp.156-157.

[22] Colin S. Gray, *Războiul, pacea şi relaţiile internaţionale. O introducere în istoria strategică,* Iaşi, Editura Polirom, 2010, p.317.

[23] Vasile Simileanu, *Radiografia terorismului,* Bucureşti, Editura Top Form, 2008, p.166.

[24] Constantin Hlihor, Ecaterina Hlihor, *op.cit.*, p.202.

in the conditions of globalization, they play an increasingly important role in international relations.

"In a world of geopolitics, the order established and proclaimed by the Western countries as universal has come to a point of turning. The remedies they promote are globally understood, but there is no consensus on their application; concepts such as democracy, human rights and international law have so many interpretations that conflicting parties often invoke war crimes against each other. "[25]

In the 21st century, for all states, the problem is that there are more and more elements that can not be predicted and controlled by the most powerful states.

In this context, Ambassador J. Cofer Black, in March 2003, appreciated before the US Senate's International Relations Committee that "diplomacy is the instrument by which the general good is built and international co-operation is strengthened", while diplomacy The US has an extensive counter-terrorism coordination program that includes not less than 56 states around the world.[26]

US Senate Foreign Policy Committee Chairman Richard G. Lugar underlined that the US can not win the war on terror alone. Political theorist Hannah Arendt said that "power between people occurs when they act together."[27] In conclusion, a state can exert global power by engaging in alliances with other states, acting together with them, and not acting for them, in pursuit of a common goal.

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[25] Henry Kissinger, *op.cit.*, p. 293.
[26] Constantin Hlihor, Ecaterina Hlihor, *op.cit.*, p. 203.
[27] Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Viitorul puterii,* Iaşi, Editura Polirom, 2012, p. 34.

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