

THE NEW TERRORISM- THE CORRECT RATIO BETWEEN PREVENTION AND CONSEQUENCE MANAGEMENT

Terrorism, seen as a form of asymmetrical conflict between a group of under-state level individuals and a target state ('state' stands for its fundamental institutions and its leaders) has undergone, just as the war, important changes, throughout history but the essential modifications in the last years of the XIXth century and especially those at the beginning of the XXIth century are so complex and radical that we think that, today, we are facing an altogether different phenomenon; so, we can speak of an end to classical terrorism, the way in which it has been perceived for over 2000 years.

The traditional terrorist act has the purpose of general discouragement. The primary victim of the classical terrorist attempt was less important compared to the general effect it was supposed to have upon a target community or group, to which it was actually addressed. Traditional classical terrorism addressed to a target community, brings about individual victims.

Terror is a natural phenomenon but traditional terrorism has always consciously and efficiently capitalized on it. Traditional terrorism has a coercive characteristic, meant to influence, through manipulation, the will of its secondary victims so that the shock created to people should reach its climax.

In order to keep their credibility untouched, the actors of traditional terrorism materialize their potential threats in a system of episodic violence. From this point of view, terrorism can be perceived as a form of violent strategy, of coercion used in order to limit the others' free choice.

The tactical objective of the promoters of traditional terrorism is the dissemination of fear, anxiety and terror with a view to fulfilling the strategic objective, i.e. reaching the political purposes that motivate the action. Consequently, the immediate objective of traditional terrorists is to create panic and not to destroy its target.

From this perspective, violence is nothing but 'propaganda through facts', with the role of intimidating the targeted group. Today, the new terrorism targets 'over-killing' and not coercion. This transformation process took about 10 years, a short period of time if we refer to terrorism history.

As I mentioned, traditional terrorism goes a long way back in time, as a means of solving medium- intensity conflicts; it has the purpose of psychological intimidation and force use so that laws might be disobeyed.

Since modern weapons and total wars are so costly and destroying, these states, ideologically prone to fight against some nations perceived as enemies, have tried to impose themselves through low intensity conflicts. In this way, they have

attacked their adversaries but have established their boundaries away from the conflict core and military hostility area.

As long as the sponsor- states engaged themselves in such actions, running a minimum risk of being held responsible, they could not turn into the object of the targeted states' attacks.

Under these political, technological and military circumstances, the nationalist groups and the totalitarian states have become active elements in inducing violence and violent threat with the purpose of getting certain economic, political and military advantages through infringing upon international legislation. Many terrorist groups throughout the world have had connections, more or less official, with sponsor states.

At present, the situation is different. Traditional terrorism has evolved, both in quantity and quality towards a form of new terrorism, in its most dangerous shapes; it is also called 'super-terrorism' or 'mega-terrorism'.

New terrorism, typical to the beginning of the XXIth century has, as a main feature the following characteristic: if the authors of the traditional terrorism considered their victims as the main responsibility of the governments which chose to ignore the terrorists' warnings and threats, new-terrorism sees any victim of a potential attempt as a declared enemy of the perpetrators of the politically motivated violence. Thus, in 1988 Osama bin Laden established (in the east of Afghanistan, near Khonst city) 'The International Fight Front against Jews and Crusaders'. A first principle of this front stipulated that it is a religious duty for each Muslim to kill Americans, including civilians, wherever it is possible.

This phenomenon of turning innocent victims into targets of new-terrorist attempts is not a particularity of Jihad supporters. Timothy McVeigh, the American attempter in Oklahoma City (the attempt ended in 168 dead, 1000 injured and damages of tens of thousands of dollars) expressly wished 'to kill as many people as possible'.

At the same time, the new-terrorist organizations do not feel an imperious need for sponsors because they have created self-regulation organizational systems. The logistical support of new-terrorism consists in a wide range of measures and activities carried out as a whole, under cover or uncovered, extremely decentralized and independent of the third sponsor states. This leads to maximizing the loss of human life and to material damage in the camp, since the reticence of the sponsor states to patronize mega-terrorist organizations is no longer relevant for the planners of the super-terrorist actions, who have become logistically independent.

Maybe even more frightening than the view of World Trade Centre in the aftermath of September 11, is, as I have already mentioned, the supposition according to which super-terrorists have gained enormously in the stock market by selling shares to the companies that were to be blown off by the explosions and by previously buying shares from the business entities that were to take over the activity of the firms with hundreds of employers, killed in the September 11 attempt.

Immediately after the shock at World Trade Centre, the American society wondered 'How could that be?'

An official of the U.S. administration declared that one of the favorable reasons of the terrorists' being able to attack World Trade Center and the Pentagon was the fact that 'the perpetrators did not obey any traditional rules' of a terrorist attempt.

That particular terrorist saw things traditionally, as he had been used to do, namely that any terrorist attempt has several distinct stages. In the stage pending the attempt, terrorists choose their target, plan the attempt in detail, establish the risk level of the attempt, the reactions and counter-attacks they expect from the authorities, the way out after the attempt has happened.

After the attack, (in case of hostage taking) or before it (in case of hitting a symbol target), terrorists make up their demands, negotiations take place which may sometimes last for three months (as the case the Japanese ambassador's residence occupation in Lima by the Tupac Amaru group); this period of time is used by the terrorists in order to make their goal known through the media and by the authorities of the target state in order to prepare the counter-terrorist assault.

These used to be the rules of engaging in a terrorist attempt and an overwhelming majority of traditional terrorist attempts followed that scenario. The new terrorism does no longer imply a negotiation stage, neither before the attempt nor during it. Taking responsibility is also unnecessary any longer, since new terrorists do not intend to come to compromise with the targeted state or political regime; they no longer try to coerce population by inducing terror and insecurity. The actors of super-terrorism aim to physically rule out all those who are supposed not to measure up to their ideas, vision or political program.

The hatred manifested by terrorists towards the democratic civilization and towards its values gets a religious significance, in time.

"Destroying the Pharaoh's house", that is destroying the western civilization is, to new terrorists, doing away with 'unfaithful or perverted' civilians, to a great extent.

Omal Abdel Rahman, the mastermind of the first attempt at the World Trade Centre (February 1993) would have liked that the bomb planted at the basement of the 'twins' to bring about the building's crashing over the other skyscraper and thus to lead to the 'death of over 50.000 persons'.

Sayid Nussair, the author of a compendium with the sermons of Rahman and Turabi, wrote about the destruction of the 'twins': 'the attack on the military basis is difficult and does not lead anywhere. Military power is not to be attacked. It would be most effective to blow off the tallest buildings, the touristic objectives; so the attack must be against the most crowded place.'

Sayid Nussair was also a practitioner of terrorism since in 1991 he assassinated the extremist Rabi Meir Kahane. Paradoxically, fanatic acts like this one remind us of the crusade era but new terrorists are already part of the post industrial, electronic and information era, whose mechanisms they understand and use unscrupulously.

The new terrorism disseminates the information rapidly, through electronic media so that attempts become sheer threat messages.

The new terrorists no longer threaten or warn; they think it is enough for them to make their presence felt by producing hecatombs. The attacks are hard to

predict and the retort can be inefficient; the new terrorists do no longer belong to an organization, faction or distinct group. The world of the third millennium face a huge mass of fanatic professionals that act in small cells by suddenly coming up to the surface, after having led a normal life; afterwards they will go back to the usual daily life in the big cities they dream of destroying.

The 'network' organization does not imply hierarchy, command centre or conventional infrastructures. Hundreds of fanatical 'fedayni' are replaced by cells made up of 3-4 activists, computer networks, sophisticated logistics as well as accurate weapons and mass destruction weapons.

Along with MDW, new terrorists use 'net-war', 'the herd of PCs', either isolated or connected to the Internet. New terrorists no longer wear 'Che Guevara' berets or turbans, looking more like teenager 'hackers'. Their fanatic feature is not a visible mark even if it definitely affects their life and threatens the rest of us, to an extent never met before.

New terrorism proves to us how vulnerable we are, how unprepared we were in front of the nontraditional threats we are facing today, probably for a long time from now on.

For these reasons, the contemporary society has to accept that it is seriously threatened and it is necessary for it to go through some stages, both at the state level and at the international organizations one.

The first step is to identify the problem, to accept its existence, to spot the particularities of the new terrorism.

In a nutshell, the qualitative differences between the two forms of terrorism are the following:

Traditional terrorism.

- limited number of collateral victims;
- claiming responsibility;
- terrorism as an means of expression;
- well defined organizations;
- global hierarchy;
- ideological and nationalist motivations;
- traditional violence acts.

New terrorism.

- increasing lethal attacks;
- the planning process is long and detailed for each attack as the results are expected to be spectacular;
- international experts support local operators;
- the net of the nets establishment;
- decreasing the sponsors' importance;
- mass collateral victims;
- unknown authors;
- terrorism as a war;
- amorphous structures;
- autonomous or independent affiliated groups;
- global networks (C4I);
- fundamentalist motivation;
- developed and continuously changing terrorist techniques;
- accepting collateral damage.

Under these circumstances, prevention, retort and management of the circumstances can no longer be separated since they go together.

Undeniably, prevention is the only viable solution since it is always preferred to managing a developing crisis. For these reasons, besides all the classical instruments of prevention and retort which are perfectly valid even in the present context, there must be issued a new strategy of approaching the concepts of crisis prevention and management; it should refer to the following elements:

Classical retort/ prevention

- diplomatic domain;
- economic sanctions;
- under cover operations;
- military interventions;
- special missions of the security forces.

The new strategy

- the lack of the logistic and financial support;
- aggressive policy for visas and deportation;
- expansion of the J.T.T.F. operations (joint terrorism Task Forces);
- international cooperation in the banking field (count freezing and goods confiscation);
- international cooperation in the security field (liaison officers, military attaches and from the special services in the allied countries, information exchange, joint operations, either covered or uncovered)
- improving the security of air, naval and railway traffic in the public locations;
- the establishment of the conflict management systems: ICS (Incident Command System).

As a consequence, the immune system must be constantly upgraded as new terrorism seems to be expanding, it has the initiative; it may surprise the state, regional or international authorities. In the aftermath of September 11 2001, terrorism is no longer a niche threat but a certainty, similar to the cold war which functions on the same principle of total destruction.

Reality stands proof of the fact that media has become a *sine qua non* condition for the terrorist acts, understood as a means of controlling and neutralizing the activity of the people through psychological coercion. Most often, out of lack of publicity, the terrorist acts do not have a result and they cannot function.

AD TERRORISM AS A MEANS OF EXPRESSING NEGATIVE EMOTIONS

The conclusion of the analysis on the terrorist acts at an international level is that the number of the attacks against western countries has increased considerably which should be taken into account by the media in the area. While publicity is the main objective of the terrorists, the communication means have evolved from the stage of live reports to articles in the written press, to radio and last but not least, to television. The latter strengthened the terrorists' propaganda. A crucial role is played by the internet as it is the ideal propaganda instrument for the ideas referring to terrorism (Ganor, 2002). It is well known that terrorists and the supporters of Jihad use media to communicate their operational messages. Anyway, people seem to overlook the other ways of using media by the world net of Jihad. One of the most infamous usages of media is the capitalization of the deceivable sources with a view to create panic among 'the enemies of Allah'. The slightest rumor about the impending Al-Qaeda operation, spread at street corner is meant to disseminate terror among civilians who are uncertain and do not know what to do in order to cope with such a situation. As soon as the threat messages start to appear, as a warning, on the terrorists' sites they are taken over and transmitted; this is a first stage of a new attack series. The fact that many such messages have been made public and transmitted through the media- without the implementation of any attempt- does not seem to be considered. Any rumor that makes the headline is transmitted and analyzed by ad- terrorist experts and it contributes to increasing the terror up to the desired level. None of the warnings referring to the preparation for the future terrorist acts reveals precise information on dates of the attempt, the targets chosen or the way in which they will develop. Media is much too easy to manipulate; its role is to give the public the information that it needs and to which it is entitled. But, through broadcasting announcements, threats as well as declarations of the international organizations, media serves more the interests of the terrorists than those of the public.

Ad terrorism refers to frightening the population through violent acts, spreading terror, fear, dread caused by deliberate actions, through menace or intimidation; its purpose is to draw attention on the terrorists' purposes. Modern terrorism has as a main purpose spreading dread and sapping the trust of the civil population. The provisory purpose is isolating each individual and disintegrating the community; the continuous threats are meant to undermine the feeling of security, upturning daily routine. But the final strategic purpose of the terrorists is to manipulate public opinion so that it may influence the authorities in order to surrender to the claims of the terrorists. The target population become a tool in the terrorists' hands who use it in order to create a political and religious agenda that justifies the terrorist acts.(Shay,2002;Stănescu,2005)

Various studies and research carried out since the '80s until the present have revealed a new side of terrorism oriented towards the media; its major, broad goal is to set in fear in a target group. Due to modern technology, terrorist groups enjoy the possibility of turning media into their own destruction weapons. Further studies

have tried to grasp the negative effects of mediating terrorist actions. There have been done a lot of research on this argued phenomenon.

In the '80s, Barry Collin, a researcher at The Security and Espionage Institute in California, introduced the concept of 'ad-terrorism' in order to define the premeditated politically or religiously motivated attacks of the sub-national groups or of the illegal agents on information, data, computer systems or programs that were used by the media to broadcast terror.(Denning,2005)

Collin also noticed the fact that the present situation is just a part of an extremely important and complex instrument of the terrorists (Marret, 2002; Delcea, 2005).

In another study published in 1997, entitled *The media and terrorism. A reassessment*, Paul Wilkinson proposes to analyze the inter-relationship between terrorism and media, as a result of the 'ad-terrorism' concept. His analysis starts from a general definition of the two notions; then it focuses, in turn, on the aspects concerning the terrorists' objectives, the impact on public opinion as well as the negative emotional reaction of the civil society. At a certain point, the two notions intertwine which comes out of the terrorists' intention to get a legitimate status on the one hand and on the other hand out of the media need to have sensational subjects as they consider terrorism to be an inexhaustible source of news meant to raise the audience. When we face the connection between media and terrorism, we must keep in mind the tendency to understand the terrorist perspective on communication, since terrorism in itself is a psychological weapon that depends on the way in which the threat is transmitted to society. The main elements of violent acts are threatening, wounding, destroying the governments or the target groups in order to coerce them to obey the terrorists' demands.(Stănescu, 2005)

The author also approaches the studies of Michael Wieviorka (1993), contesting the latter's opinion according to which there is no relation between media and terrorism. We cannot deny the major impact of modern technology and communication satellites on increasing terrorist-type publicity. (Delcea, 2005)

As a consequence, researchers Ganor, Ehrlich, Shay (2002) from The international policy institute for counter-terrorism (ICT) lay the foundation of 'ad-terrorism' theory. In doing so, they start from the recent criminal terrorist acts in which media was used in order to mediate violence, shock and terror among people; they intertwine many communication sciences (psychology, sociology and media) in order to form a well-defined concept meant to provide a good explanation for 'ad-terrorism'.

They mention three types of ad-terrorism, as a strategy to intimidate the public:

- ✓ ad- terrorism as a warning means;
- ✓ ad- terrorism as a violence means;
- ✓ ad- terrorism as a victory means.

So for the first time the concept of this type of terrorism has been formed. It is a way to manifest hostility against civilians. The latest researches have left unanswered many essential questions on 'ad-terrorism'.

The purpose of the present material is to study the relationship between the broadcast message of terror (as a sender) and the receiver of the message in order

to see the negative emotions triggered in the subjects submitted to the interaction with the media. This is a study that has not been done so far but has been proposed by many researchers in the field. (Chemark, 2003)

In order to reach its objectives, our study proposes to express some predictions about the impact of mediated terror on civil society.

Concepts

The term “terrorism” comes from the “terror” which stands for physical violence, dread, terror, produced on purpose, through acts of public violence, through the intentional use of some means capable of leading to danger. The characters of terror are violence and threat by violence, the permanent and systematic use of violence, intimidation through aggressiveness and hatred.

In the volume “Political Terrorism” by Schmidt and Youngman (1988) there are quotations of 109 definitions regarding the means of intimidation used by terrorism. These definitions are taken over from different military academies and universities that conduct studies and research on this phenomenon. They are: (Delcea,2004): violence, force (appear in 83%of the definitions); political (in 65%); great fear, terror (in 51%); threat (in 47%); psychological effects and reaction anticipation (in 41,5%); discrepancy between targets and civil victims (in 37,5%); planned, intentional and systematic activity (in 32%); fight methods, strategies, tactics (in 30,5%).

So far, numerous studies have attempted to conceptualize *ad-terrorism* as one of the types of biological, chemical, nuclear, radiological, cyberspace or informational terrorism. The weapon of terrorism is the human being and the means know no limits (Petrescu, 2003). In the table below we present the most recent study, published under the title “Political Power and Ad-terrorism” and written by Angheluş and Vescan (2005), with regard to types of terrorism. According to their statistics, ad-terrorism has the strongest negative effect upon the public.

Type of terrorsim	Statistics
<i>Nationalist terrorism</i>	6,3%
<i>Islamic fundamentalist terrorism</i>	6,8%
<i>Sponsored terrorism</i>	6,1%
<i>Left-wing terrorism</i>	5,9%
<i>Cybernetic terrorism</i>	7,8%
<i>Narcotic terrorism</i>	6,4%
<i>Biologic terrorism</i>	6,7%
<i>Pathologic terrorism</i>	5,9%
<i>Ad-terrorism</i>	17,9%
<i>Revenge terrorism</i>	6%
<i>Infractional terrorism</i>	6,4%
<i>Ethnic terrorism</i>	8,8%
<i>Air-terrorism</i>	9%
Total 13	100%

In Angheluş and Vescan, 2005

As far as ad-terrorism is concerned, numerous studies have been written and published. In order to understand this rather controversial term (Cosnier, 2002), we shall try to conceptually define and delimit it, in order to differentiate the multitude of terminologies.

„Ad” comes from „advertising”, which „is the actual and final product (message) of the process and activity of publicity that, according to the media channel which it is destined to, can be the TV or radio spot, etc.” (Petre & Nicola, 2004, p.23). The „ad” – irrespective of its form – is nothing else but a situation which appears within the large spectrum of external phenomena, and to which individuals have to adapt.

These situations (advertisements) have specific features, among which are the following:

1. Advertisements have the features of an appeal, warning, invitation, etc.
2. The appeal, warning, invitation, etc. „have the purpose to determine a certain reaction on the part of the addressees”. (Tudoran, 2004, p.47).

Therefore, „the ad is not only a commercial discourse, but also a political, social and moral one, always an ideological discourse” (Cathelat, 2005, p.64) and „that which reaches the public is only a more or less explicit slogan, word or logo (e.g. IRA, Al-Qaeda, etc.), a symbol or a flag, which are just as many distinguishing marks. There we can find the core of a message (ad), of an ideology” (Marret, 2002, p.165), „as the terror is directed towards the media, and not the victims, its success is defined in terms of mediatic coverage” (Toma, 2004, p.74), „in order to induce a feeling of fear to the population or a part of the population, as a psychological effect of this way of fighting” (Stănescu, 2001, p.55). „According to this interpretation, the relationship between the media and terrorism is therefore based upon the principle of mutual interest, on the one hand, transgression of the violence taboo, shock of the event, fear, feeling of being threatened and the irrational; on the other hand, the visibility and legitimacy of the show, which is borrowed from the communication channels that are indispensable in a democratic society.” (Garcia-Morrou, 2005, p.82).

In fact, the terrorists would act only with a view to mediatic publicity, even if it is obvious that their actions are planned so that a large number of people learn about them. Depending on dates and places, specific or with symbolic connotations, it rather seems to be a symbiosis (among other types of symbiosis – economic, political, cultural), than an objective method of conveying a violent piece of information (Delcea, 2004; Tétu, 2000; Picard, 1991). In the table below are the names of some researchers who have delineated the meanings of the term „ad-terrorism”, as a result of the studies on the topics of mass media and terrorism.

Term	Delcea (2003, 2004, 2005)	Garcin- Marrou (2001, 2005)	Angheluş and Vescan (2005)	Wilkinson (1997)	Chermark (2003)
<i>Ad-terrorism</i>	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Publicity</i>	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Advertising</i>	+	+	+	+	+

<i>Media coverage of terrorism, violence and fear</i>	*	*	+	+	+
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In Delcea, 2005

The most influential definitions of terrorism draw on psychosocial sciences.

We have selected only a few definitions, intending to illustrate some aspects of this field, regarded either as a violent communication process with “psychological effect” (Buş, 2005) or as a communication activity between the group that conveys the ideological message and the public; they put forth new information which explain the complexity of this terrorist communication act. Thus:

According to the socio-cognitive sciences approach, ad-terrorism is a persuasive communication instance, broadcast by a terrorist group via mass media and addressed to a target audience with a view to changing the public’s attitude in favor of their expectations. (Delcea, 2005, p.60)

Terrorism cannot determine the emergence of fear unless it resorts to a campaign of systematic use of violence. (Buş, 2005, p.197)

Ad-terrorism is a form of mass communication which strongly influences the formation, consolidation and change of people’s attitudes, tastes, opinions and behaviors in order to make a government or target group take action in favor of the terrorists’ proposed objectives. (Angheluş and Vescan, 2005, p.87)

The press is actually free to choose how to treat the information and, more than the terrorists, it is the one which fabricates the image of terrorism. (Toma, 2004, p.75).

Therefore, the most prestigious psychosocial approaches to ad-terrorism abound in studies on the relationship between mass media (symbiosis), as a means of intimidating and arousing negative emotions among the target audience. (Wilkinson, 1977; Martha, Middletonwn & Wesleyan, 1983; Wardlaw, 1989; Wieviorka, 1993; Wilkinson, 1997; Ganor, Ehrich, Shay, 2002; Silver, 2002; Chermak, 2003; Delcea, 2004; Toma, 2004; Odorogea, 2004; Angheluş and Vescan, 2005).

Approaches to ad-terrorism as an effect of activation of negative emotions

Terrorists have begun to use the mass media ever since the 1960s, after they noticed the emotional impact that a large media coverage had upon civil society in 1968, when some terrorists boarded Rome-Tel-Aviv El Al flight and hijacked it, forcing it to land in Algiers and asking that the 1.200 Arabs arrested by the Israeli state should be released. Then have followed the most spectacular instances of terror coverage, shocking the entire world to date. They have proved once again that their media practices reach most of the targets.

Terrorists today are familiar with the most effective methods of rendering people sensitive to certain issues and make use of TV stations and the Internet. In time, they have acquired new broadcasting means through which they can fulfill their objectives. (Delcea, 2005).

Date of the event	Description of the event
1970	Dawson's Field
May 1972	Attempt at the Lod Airport
September 1972	Attempt at the Olympic Games in Munich
June 1976	Hijacking Air France Airbus plane at Entebbe
September 1977	Kidnapping and assassinating Schleryer
June 1985	Hijacking Athens-Rome TWA flight
October 1985	Assassinating Achile Lauro
November 1985	Hijacking Athens-Cairo Egypt Air flight
March 1995	Attempt with biological weapons carried out by members of Aum Shinrikyo group in Tokyo, Japan
April 1995	Attempt in Oklahoma City
December 1996	Taking hostages at Japan's embassy in Lima
September 2001	Hijacking 4 planes in the US
March 2004	Attempt in Atoka rail station in Spain
July 2005	Suicidal attempt in London

Throughout the last decades, the research on the audio-visual message of terror has aroused controversies among the specialists as regards the extent to which it influences the public opinion. In April 2005, the Committee on Culture, Arts and Mass Media of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council (APCE), together with the US State Department, issued a release in which they underlined the following: „The coverage provided by the media could serve the terrorists' interests, whose goal is to convey their message to the public. In addition, it could constitute the motivation behind some terrorist acts.”

The entire world could see atrocious scenes on the tapes made by the terrorists themselves. Today, the mass media are systematically used to convey messages between the responsible political factors and the terrorists, when they will not or cannot engage in direct dialogue.” (Stănescu, 2005, p.299). Among the various approaches, we would like to bring to your attention the behaviorist and cognitivist studies regarding ad-terrorism.

Behaviorism is an influential paradigm regarding the media coverage of terror. The behaviorist perspective operates with concepts such as „stimulus” (the broadcast message of terror) and „response” (behavioral reaction of the mass media consumers). This paradigm also brings up direct learning through careful observation of the broadcast environment and the subject's interactions with it,

suggesting the fact that individuals are mass media consumers (Petre and Nicola, 2004; Delcea, 2004). In fact the fear felt by each of us represents a realistic emotional answer to events that can hurt us (broadcast attempts, hijackings, explosions) and our reaction to fear is to withdraw and isolate it or to be shocked in its presence.

Fear turns into horror when, beyond the danger that is specific to the situation, there appears a very strong feeling of personal vulnerability. Horror can be triggered by current events related to unresolved recent conflicts, broadcast worldwide (Iraq, Afghanistan, etc.), which activate feelings of control loss and disadapative state. The current danger of most terrorist attacks is relatively raised to the highest media level, as compared to the dangers of our daily life, such as accidents, stress-induced heart attacks, diabetes-induced obesity, physical infirmities or death caused by smoking. Terrorists are able to spread irrational terror, chaos, shock and fright in order to evoke their impact. Killing a president, they make everybody feel threatened. Torturing, assassinating, taking hostages and raping a few persons, they make the others feel unsafe. Destroying buildings, airplanes and state establishments (siegeing the school in Beslan, Russia), they make people ask themselves if they are next. The terrorists' ubiquitous weapon is broadcasting extreme fear which turns into strong anxiety, especially when covered by the mass media.

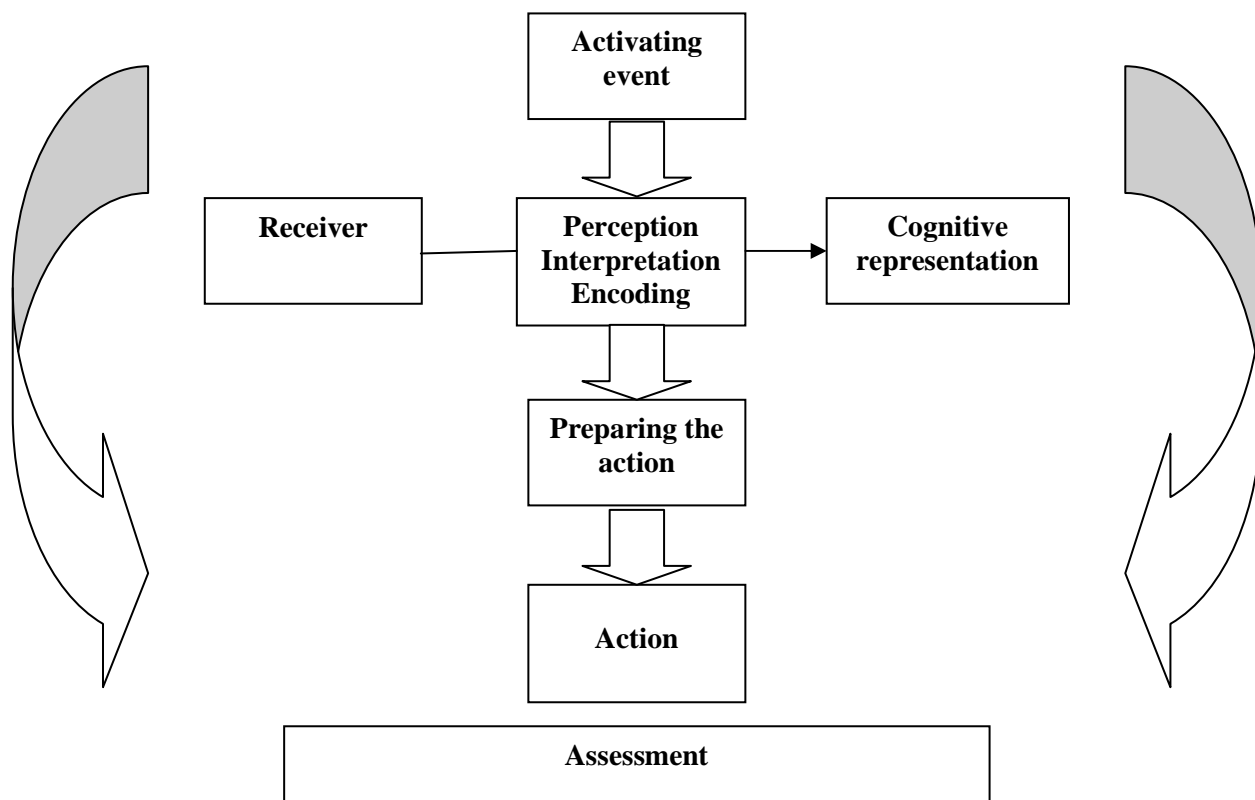
The terrorists are most likely to act by placing suicidal bombs in subways, federal buildings, or placing timed bombs in buses, museums, etc., rather than by poisoning water or food. In a more profound sense, any form of terrorism is related to psychology (Zimbardo, 2005).

The behaviorist approach also states that media-broadcast messages cannot be objective because they are created by the human mind; thus, in a more or less camouflaged form, terrorists' intentions and beliefs are spread among people as „the message broadcast by the mass media is, in fact, a media transfer of knowledge.” (Crişan and Danciu, 2000, p.171). This method examines the mass media from the point of view of social studies which are controlled, emphasizing the measurement of audience rating and the behavioral effects, having the intention to discover patterns that can predict similar behaviors.

Behaviorists believe that the mass media can induce negative emotions to the mass media consumers, on the basis of some studies (Livingstone, 1998) which tries to prove the fact that there exist stimuli which can provoke violent actions such as terrorists attempts (Crişan and Danciu, 2000).

The cognitivist approach emphasizes the way of thinking and motivations of those who broadcast terror, evoking negative emotions. One of the important theories underlined by Albert Bandura (1990) shows that the mental processes (perception, understanding, interpretation, memory, etc.) are mediated by certain mental schemes or hierarchical structures of knowledge organization. These schemes are cognitive structures that include various items of knowledge about terrorism, fear, shock and horror, inoculated by or learned from the mass media, as repetitive stimuli with the purpose of activating negative emotions. As the subject is a mass media consumer, he/she uses various cognitive or perceptual schemes in order to organize his/her knowledge, anticipate events and justify his/her behavior.

Cosnier (2002) emphasizes the importance of the cognitivist approach as compared to the behaviorist one, showing that negative emotions are in close connection with the information. He also underlines the fact that, on the first stage, the inducing event is received, encoded and transposed in a form of mental representation at the human subject. On the second stage, a preparation plan is applied with a view to taking action. On the third stage, the adaptive activation is assessed.



(In Cosnier, 2002)

The above-mentioned defining concepts are adopted by different cognitivist authors (Leventhal, 1984; Lazarus, 1984, etc.).

In fact, our affective responses to negative stimuli are determined by our cognitions and beliefs regarding the attributes of these stimuli (Opre, 2002).

Recent research proves the fact that the affective outputs can be determined by our deductive/learned cognitive processes. For example, Schachter (1964, 1971; Scachter & Singer 1962, in Opre, 2002) claims that emotion does not appear before the subject has inferred the cause of the physiological arousal, and, after that, he/she labels that response as an emotion.

The stimuli with negative emotional connotation are usually much more penetrable because they arouse forceful reactions, such as shocking images, and are thus more easily memorized than arguments set forth.

Negative emotions can also lead to behavioral modifications much faster than logical arguments (Szentagotai & Panaitescu, 1999).

Cosnier (2002) reviews all the studies on negative emotions evoked by the mass media, thus underlining symbiosis as the relationship between terrorism and mass media (Cathelat, 2005).

Thus, the table below constitutes the object of later research on emotions.

Negative emotion	Woodworth and Schlosberg (1964)	Ekman and Friesen (1975)	Izard	Achwartz and Schaver (1987)
<i>Fear</i>	+	+	+	+
<i>Rage</i>	+	+	+	+
<i>Sadness</i>	+	+	+	+
<i>Disgust</i>				
<i>Despise</i>	+	+	+	
<i>Despair</i>	+	+	+	

(Basic negative emotion, in Cosnier, 2002)

Therefore, the cognitive assessment of the meaning or significance of well-being is at the basis of all affects.

The cognitive approach also takes into account learning, which has an important role in changing and maintaining attitudes, emphasizing the mediating role as the relationship between emotion and cognition while the subject is being exposed to messages with emotionally negative connotation (Zimbardo, 2005).

In conclusion, the two approaches are actually complementary due to the multiple negative effect which the terrorist uses in order to render the mass media consumers sensitive and induce negative emotions to them, due to the terrorist's capacity to express negative emotions in the process of media communication (Sherman, 2005).

Theories on the effects of mass communication

The media coverage of terror produces a series of effects at the psycho-individual, psychosocial and socio-cultural levels. They can be differentiated according to several criteria: intensity; areas of manifestation; persistence; the way in which they exert their influence; the target-group or the target-person.

Means of communication	Percentage
TV	98%
Telephone services	94%
Video recorders	82%
Cable TV	67%
Internet	38%

The percentage of American homes with access to various means of communication
(According to the White House Yearbook, 1997-2001)

Starting from these criteria of analysis of the mass negative effects, numerous theories have been drawn up as regards the role, functions and psychosocial mechanisms which they employ (DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, 1999).

Thus, within the paradigm of the „forceful effects” (Cristea, 2000) of the mass media, we notice some significant theoretical models, which our study draws on, regarding symbiosis as a relationship between terrorism and the mass media.

The theory of mass media hegemony. The theory of mass media hegemony, based upon Marxist concepts regarding the dual structure of society (dominant and dominated classes), states the capacity of the mass media to constitute an effective instrument of domination and social control, using cultural-symbolic persuasive means.

The classes in power dominate the society not by means of force, but by using the mass education and information systems for the purpose of imposing a certain system of values, rules, ideologies and behavior models which are convenient to them and ensure their hegemony over social categories. For example, the Red Army Fraction was often named the „group” which symbolized a politically ideological status and a culture different from that of Germany. They enjoyed quite a large media coverage during that period, which made them believe they were a state within a state (Marret, 2002).

The media dependency theory, as a variation of the above concept, states that human subjects become progressively dependent upon mass communication, which provides them with information, comments, interpretations and solutions for the terrorist conflicts and issues today – without a special effort on the part of those who benefit from these services.

Communication means	Percentage	Activity	No. of hours
Internet	0,1%	Watching TV/Video	1,616
Books	3%	Listening to the radio	1,389
TV	46%	Reading press/magazines/books	332
Film/theatre	0,4%	Internet	252
Newspapers	4,6%	Rest	2,920
Video	1,7%	Using the media	2,460
Radio	32%		
Cassettes	9%		
Magazines	2,4%		

The average number of hours/year that a person spends using the mass communication means and the average number of hours/year that a person allocates to various activities.

(According to: The Versiosis, Suhler & Associates Communications Industry Forecast, 1997/2001)

The „magical bullet” theory – it starts from the analysis of the large propagandistic campaigns that resulted in mass movements with profoundly irrational psychological bases. It promotes the idea that the masses can be conditioned through the well-known Pavlovian stimulus-reaction mechanism. The „magic bullet” stimulus comes as a strong psychic shock which is directed towards the deepest emotional and unconscious zones (David, 2004), which permits the total dissolution of the human subjects within a crowd. Thus, they become „psychic slaves”. In its turn, the crowd is manipulated by means of symbols in relation with which there have been built conditioned reflex schemes (repeatedly broadcast threats and the Al-Qaeda slogan, for example).

Therefore, the mass media can act in this case as an actual „magic modeler” (Cristea, 2000) of sensitivity and negative emotion evocation, having the possibility to trigger programmed social behaviors (Mucchielli, 2002).

At the basis of these theories is the thesis according to which symbiosis (regarded as a mutual relationship between the terrorists and the mass media) has strong and durable effects due to the „psychological contamination which affects our behaviors (e.g. disadaptative behaviors); cognitions (erroneous decisions) and emotions (e.g. negative emotions, stress, etc.)” (David, 2004, p.183) and which can be directed towards the deepest zones of the social organism.

In fact, terrorism and mass media are in a complex and obvious relationship. Terrorism needs publicity, and the mass media needs audience. The rule of both parties is to arouse a strong psychological effect, thus each of them accomplishing the task “in which each of them responds in the best and most effective manner to the other’s needs” (Toma, 2004, p.74).

In conclusion, the phenomena of influencing, of evoking negative emotions from the mass media or other means of terror broadcasting are therefore consubstantial with communication as any instance of communication of terror is an attempt to influence. It attempts to convey a meaning, which cannot be achieved without influencing.

The terrorists have noticed this “effect” and apply it as a strategy or an important psychological element, whose purpose is both to deflate the morale of the enemy and to consolidate personal strengths, self-confidence and willingness to fight (Stănescu, 2001). One of the most important theoreticians of terrorism, Liddel Hart (1954), stated that, in almost all the great battles of history, the winner had placed his enemy in a psychological disadvantage before the actual confrontation took place.

No.	Ad-terrorism Type	Target-group	Media source
1.	Intimidation and threat	States who oppose	Mass media
2.	Chaos, shock and terror	Non-combatant population and similar groups	Mass media
3.	Negotiation	States which do not recognize the	Mass media, letters,

		status of terrorist formations	telephone, fax, the Internet
4.	Religious propaganda	The group that opposes	Mass media and religious leaders
5.	Political propaganda	States that oppose territorial and political expansion	Mass media
6.	Victorious announcement	States and groups that suffered suicidal attempts, plane hijacking, assassinations, etc.	Mass media, letters, telephone, fax and the Internet

Types of ad-terrorism (in Delcea, 2004)

Analyzing the results above, we can draw relevant conclusions about the broadcast message of terror, as it represents a form of intimidation and evocation of negative emotions.

So far, the studies (Wilkinson, 1977; Martha, Middletonwn & Wesleyan, 1983; Wardlaw, 1989; Wieviorka, 1993; Wilkinson, 1997; Ganor, Ehrlich, Garcin-Morrou, 2001; Shay, 2002; Silver, 2002; Chermak, 2003; Delcea, 2004; Toma, 2004; Odorogea, 2004; Angheluş and Vescan, 2005) have proved, especially in the Palestinian theories, the impact of negative emotion evocation, which places the receiver of the violent and aggressive information (the media consumer) in an unpleasant situation.

Therefore, on the one hand, “the world is afraid” (Garcin-Morrou, 2005) because of the repeated broadcast of violence and terror, and on the other hand, terrorists acquire a more and more forceful image in the minds of the media consumers as the ones who can strike in any security area, irrespective of the state, government or person.

In fact, the broadcast of terror has a role of intimidation or is essentially a strategy based upon psychological impact (Ariel, 1993). In the official definitions (US State Department, UK, Spain, etc.), concepts such as “influencing an audience”, “inducing the feeling of fear to the population or a part of the population” refer to the effect of activation of negative emotions (Schmid and Jongman, 1988, Delcea, 2005). Silver (2002) noticed, following the longitudinal study performed on 6,000 persons after the 9/11 attempts, that the psychological effects of a major trauma, the activation of negative emotions, shock, terror and fear at the national level as a result of terrorist attacks, do not boil down only to the subjects’ direct experience, but involves, to an equal extent, the same degree of psychic reactions for the media consumers who receive messages of terror.

Adapted by Valentin Preda