

Limitations and Problems of Current Studies in Terrorism: from Fear-mongers towards Global Justice

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“The import is that the greatest fear monger today is the American Empire. It generates massive fear throughout the world with its own military and economic power, and it broadcasts fear within its territories by its alerts against terrorist attacks, secret surveillance, infiltration, and so on” (Skoll, 2007, 125).

Abstract: *Though terrorism is not a new issue new radical changes have been brought post 9/11. At some extent, this event caused parallel effects that lasted up to date. In this respect, terrorism and the process of victimization it generates, leads towards the adoption to policies otherwise would be neglected. At the time periphery accepts the allegory of terrorism forged in North, a secret surveillance discourse cemented the hegemony of few over the whole. South America and Argentina have experienced the whip of terrorism in the past. However, these bloody events are blurred into a new allegory produced discursively by main powers post 9/11. In context of suffering hegemony is efficiently manipulated to control the periphery. This exhibits a new trend in geopolitical issues which merits to be studied in next decades.*

Keywords: terrorism; 9/11; South America; fear.

Cuvinte-cheie: terorism; 9/11; America de Sud; teamă.

Introduction

In the global North, Europe and United States share their concerns for international terrorism. The recent attacks on Paris (2015) can be conjoined to 9/11, Atocha’s massacre (Spain) and London bombings. Though actors are diverse, the same socio cultural background remains. The preventive war against terror initiated by George W. Bush in Middle East was associated to prevent the next blow, in US soil. In order for preemption to be accepted by citizenry, officials instill often a radical message which

announces a next disaster. For the message to impact in audience, two key elements should be taken into consideration. At a first glance, we have to hear from the axiom of urgency, which associates to the idea that unless we make some things in one direction, the worst is coming. Secondly, the idea of an irreversible threat plays a vital role for citizens accept policies otherwise would be neglected. The discourse of preemption is not an exclusive monopoly of state or politicians. Well-recognized scholars may echo on the benefits of preventive attacks, as the case of Keohane and Zeckhauser (2003).

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“Terrorism is the major threat to developed nations, offers dramatically new strategic realities. Threatened retaliation is no longer feasible as the principal mechanism for containing enemies, if those enemies are terrorists. The threatened parties often cannot be found and may possess little in the way of conventional targets to be destroyed” (Keohane and Zeckhauser, 2003, 201-202).

Scholarship often believes that terror can be measured following complex mathematical algorithms, anticipating when and how the next attack will take room. One of the aspects that delineate the legitimacy of state depends on its efficacy or optimization of resources to make people’s lives more secure. Rather, terrorists will seek to cause political instability by the perpetration of attacks with the end of showing state is inefficient to protect public life. Its success lies in the ability to attack more vulnerable agents to produce an extreme sentiment of panic. In recent years the problem of poverty has been posed as a precondition for the recruitment of potential Jihadists. At some extent, those persons who are subject to a much deeper state of frustration are more sensitive to hate, which is rechanneled towards civilian targets. Terrorism for this school would be associated to psychological frustration. Our essay review, rather, goes in another opposite direction. Our thesis is that media plays a vital role configuring an archetype of terror that highlights the allegories of some events ignoring others. Whenever central countries are attacked, the discourse emphasizes on the importance for periphery to embrace the values of attacked society, but at the same time, others victims are covered. The ground-zero reminds the importance for West to combat terrorism in the four corners of this world, while AMIA and Israel’s embassy were relocated in secret spots by Argentina. The formers invest money to make films, the latter are unable to know who perpetrated the bombings. Let’s remind the case of Israel’s embassy or Jew Mutual AMIA in Buenos Aires, two terrorist attacks that woke Argentina from its slumber dream. Let’s remind readers how these

events happened. On March 17 in 1992, a first blow took hit in Buenos Aires when a bombing car at the front of Israel Embassy murdered 29 fatal victims and resulted in 242 Casualties. Almost two years later, a new attack was planned and perpetrated against AMIA, a Jew cultural organization. This event killed 85 civilians and wounded to 300 citizens. Though repudiated and widely condemned by officials, to date, little is known on the responsible cells for these bloody events. With the passing of time, Argentinians felt mistrust in the capacity of state to get the truth. Doubtless, the attacks to World Trade Centre in New York, not only re-signified the ways western countries were seeing terrorism, but also changed the cosmology of Argentina respecting to its own history. Though this essay review does not explore the ebbs and flow of AMIA case, which merits further time and space for a book, it continues the discussion given by Gilbert Achcar who argued that effects of terrorism are different depending on the target. If the attacks are directed against developed nations as US, Germany, France or other central economy, the derived sentiment of panic invades the periphery all. It causes a type of “narcissist commiseration”, which means that peripheral countries need to be joined to center in its suffering, though they were historically relegated. This represents a good opportunity to live as “they, the exemplary center”, being part of “the empire” (Achcar, 2006).

As the previous argument given, 9/11 yesterday and Paris today were portrayed by the media as platform for terrorism, while other similar events as Buenos Aires, Bali, and Cairo were covered in the dust of oblivion. Focusing our thesis on Baudrillard’s studies, it is not-worthy to note that as social construe, terrorism can be semiotically construed. Why was American government strengthened after 9/11 while Atocha forcefully implied the end of other government?. United States has gained further legitimacy in basis on its visual resources, which cemented its hegemony worldwide. As Zizek (2009) has questioned, why the lives of some citizens are worth further than others?, is terrorism enlarging old asymmetries?. These

formulated questions invite readers to reconsider terrorism or placing the current definitions under the lens of scrutiny. This essay review explores not only the limitation of Anglo-centrism to understand terrorism, but also the conceptual limitations of preventive attacks post 9/11.

Reconsidering Terrorism

As if current problems with terrorism were not problems, globalization as well as media coverage connects geographical points in seconds. In west, the audience not only has access to a multimedia platform of information, but also is familiar with distant events in real time. The pervasive role played by globalization and war on terror has been unearthed a cynic dynamic. Whereas early capitalism encourages the liberal market, trade and connection among different-structured economies, central countries impose serious migration barriers to peripheral migrants (Powell, 2010). The current conceptualization of terror or terrorism should be at least revisited. In a seminal work, David Altheide exerts a radical criticism on journalism at time of selecting what news would be included in the magazines. American and British newspapers are prone to cover news related to crime and terrorism as it both issues would be determined by the same factors. At the time, terrorism exhibits a real big threat of America crime is defined as a pathological deviant behavior which can be explained taking the subject as the primary unit of study (Altheide, 2009). This way of covering news entails that terrorists are not humans, or in other terms they have hatred-filled hearts. Doubtless, 9/11 has changed the conception of how terrorism was addressed not only by pundits, but by popular parlance. In this context, two contrasting positions converge. A couple of scholars, many of them linked to state, claims that terrorism still is a great danger for West. Early or later, West and East should mythically encounter in a final fight for the predominance of power in the World. Of course, attacks on World Trade Centered accelerated the times. Preemption not only

serves to keep the order in Western countries, but also helps in eradicating terrorism from Middle East. In doing so, America should head efforts by expanding democracy to autocratic nations (Fukuyama, 1989; Huntington, 1993, 1997; Kristol and Kagan, 1996; Vargas-Llosa, 2002; Rashid, 2002; Kepel, 2002; Keohane and Zeckhauser, 2003; Sunstein, 2005; Pojman, 2006). Unless US occupies its privilege role as main power in the world, terrorists will fulfill the gap left by Soviet Union. Other more radical wave, rather, focuses on the discursive elements of fear forged by capitalism or officials to impose policies otherwise would be not accepted by Workforce. By means of the introduction of an apocalyptic realm, capital owners maximize their profits while unions are vulnerated by State. In contexts of uncertainty, lay people re-elaborate new attachment to the nation-state. At the time, media are formed by global corporations, functional to the elite's interests, terrorism becomes in a cultural entertainment that works as a mechanism of control. In what Baudrillard dubbed, "the spectacle of disasters", acts are punished in the pseudo-reality earlier than they take place (Somnez, 1998; Altheide, 2006, 2009; Sontag, 2002; Holloway and Pelaez, 2002; Zizek, 2009; Bernstein, 2006; Baudrillard, 1995a, 1995b, 2006; Smaw, 2008; Corey, 2009; Veremis, 2009).

In addition, it is interesting to note how existent current manipulation of images potentiates the effects of terrorism to the extent a person who had never been experienced a direct attack can take fright at being a future target. This means that mediated images produced strong links between audience and the perceived events. As Luke Howie (2009) puts it, terrorists and jihadists are considered staunch enemies of democracy, from western life and its liberties, which are considered the best cultural values that humankind has. Placed in that way, so terrorists are demons, or systematic killers whose goals are intended to destroy an entire civilization. Far from being real, this discourse fagocitated by the media and pseudo-experts generate higher levels of anxiety which distorts

probabilities. Not surprisingly, the theory of preventive attack would be a fertile ground in US in times of terror, but it obscures further than it clarifies simply because the sentiment of fear paradoxically rises (Howie, 2009). An excellent reading of preventive attacks and its legal limitations was exposed by Peter Gray (2007). The problem with preventive attacks is previously determined by the lack of dialogue it prompts. The preemption is an ideological discourse used by Totalitarian and Authoritarian regimes to justify their acts (Gray, 2007).

Exploring Terrorism as an Object

In his book entitled *the System of the Objects*, Jean Baudrillard argues that the objects and consumption are inextricably intertwined. His definition sounds a bit controversial in many senses. To clarify this, it is important to denote that objects and human beings are enmeshed with a broader system which is centered on the monopoly of sign. Consuming commodities signals to the configuration of disciplinary discourse to assign meaning to perceived events. As commodities the significance of these events can be fabricated, annulated or exchanged according to the interests of market (Baudrillard, 1995, 224). This paves the ways for embracing *the simulacra of objects*, which is enrooted into the needs of distinction and status. For those who are in, sharing certain values or meaning, other group remains out. To put this in bluntly, distinction reminds that the opposite discrimination is latent. Since objects are more than simple inorganic material, they confer to holders an aura of exemplarity which leads to narcissism. In late-capitalism, the system of production was subject to individual desires, to the extent that commodities are produced and exchanged according to their psychological needs or dependency marketing creates (Baudrillard, 1997, 6). In parallel with Baudrillard, two post-Marxists John Holloway and Eloisa Pelaez agree that *terrorism* and the pejorative connotation around the term, leaves behind the fact that capitalism expanded in view

of its extreme competence among workers. The two world wars showed that states never struggle by enhancing the quality of peoples, but for the monopoly of territory. War-fare among state represents a valid way to avoid the internal conflicts between capital owners and workforce. As a mechanism towards alienation and indoctrination, terrorism serves to status quo in two senses. On one hand, it draws a fictional threat to revitalize those aspects that affect social cohesion. On another, individual demands or claims are undermined by the excuse of a more supreme well-being. Not surprisingly, capitalist nation-state learned the lesson that crises can be accrued or overcame depending on how fear is handled (Holloway and Pelaez, 2002). This raises the question why terror is used as an efficient instrument of deterrence?

To respond this point, K Baral argues convincingly that fear blurs the boundaries between reality and virtuality. By producing an excess of reality, terrorism claims for the importance of rule-respect. The Other demonization is conducive to accept the in-group rules. While nation-states appeal to rational technique to prevent the next attack (ignoring how disastrous the subsequent financial crisis of capitalism may be), terrorists focus on West's corruption claiming for a return to an idyllic time (Baral, 2008).

In this respect, Baudrillard contends the film of S. Spielberg *Minority Report* synthesizes his thesis about the convergence of the future with present. In a time located in the future, human beings can recognize the crimes before they occur and of course neutralize criminals efficiently. The ethic question here lies in how a crime can be punished whenever it had never committed. A similar case follows with September 11 admits Baudrillard. Terrorism is legitimating in advance a set of policies related to the geopolitical control of the World. Fear is paving the pathway towards a broader paranoia product of the multiplication of information and the hegemony of object-sign (Baudrillard, 2006). In terms of Douglas Kellner

"In Baudrillard's view, the 9/11 attacks represented the clash of triumphant globalization

at war with itself and unfolded a fourth world war: the first put an end to European Supremacy and to the era of colonialism; the second put an end to Nazism; and the third to Communism. Each one brought us progressively closer to the single world order of today, which is now nearing its end, everywhere opposed, everywhere grappling with hostile forces. This is a war of fractal complexity, waged worldwide against rebellious singularities that, in the manner of antibodies, mount a resistance in every cell” (Kellner, 2005, 3).

Paul Virilio, in this sense, warns about the dictatorship of virtuality as a new mechanism of generating commitment and exclusion. He agrees that by means of the imposition of stereotypes Mass-Media pressures to the citizenship. There is no possibility to refrain the advance of these corporations neither censoring their influence of people’s behavior. The public opinion is shaped according to economic interests of informational chains. That way, disconnected events in any part of the world are often disseminated and go thru in few minutes to the eyes of viewers declining the human capacity to communicate with others. Distinction between what is or not real is linked to the possibilities of being-there, in the site of the otherness, triggers a much broader process of cooperation and cohesion. Sharing similar rules which are applied on a specific territory, the humans construct a symbolic archetype that we know as social imaginary. Rather, Mass-media and the dictatorship of visibility introduce a new signification to the image wherein the interpretations of images are dangerously standardized. No need to say, this jeopardizes the independence of citizens to comprehend their environment (Virilio, 1996).

Of course, one might consider that politics and fear are inextricably interlinked. Corey Robin stimulates a fertile discussion in the fields of politics and history, tracing how in other times elite appealed to fear to dissuade population their policies were correct and necessary. While the formation of external enemies enhances the internal cohesion, reducing inter-group conflicts, terror is still enrooted in the core of society.

What terrorism opens, Robin adheres, seems to be a new living way that poses West against a dilemma, reducing the fear sacrificing the ideals of democracy or perish in the hands of terrorists. Placing this problem in the way society is bereft between wall and blue sea, is not a good option. By the way, suicide is an acting of expiation where converge the essence of religion and power-will. Whether Western culture stimulate the control over the life and death, it would be not surprising terrorists sacrifice their one life to destroy the symbolic tenets of empire. This is exactly, the spirit of Terrorism Baudrillard pointed out (Genosko, 2006).

US imposes a message where dissimilar issues as narco-traffic, terrorism and local crime converge. As Nashira Chavez (2008) has studied in Ecuador, the problem of migration was fixed on American Agenda just after 9/11. It is clear how US has historically built its bilateral international policies based on the doctrine of manifest destiny, which conferred to Americans the ethic authority not only to determine what is or not wrong, but to expand its exemplary civilization to other non-democratic nations. The external world is given by some sectors of national politics as something instable, uncertain and hostile. Neo-conservatism, a wave originated by the ideal of preemption war during Reagan’s government, migrated sooner to Bush’s presidency to occupy privileged appointments. Per the ideology of this movement, US as the strongest power in the world should intervene if necessary any nation with the end of regulating democracy and peace, even in case of an imminent threat. Of course, this tough policy faced serious problems to overcome Clinton, and Bush father presidency, who were convinced that market and mutual cooperation aid programs will make of the world a safer place not only for everyone. Rather, Neo-conservatism found in the character of George Walker Bush a fertile ground to arrive, but envisaged the opportunity of 9/11 as the platform for US to conduct a preventing war against “terrorism”. Ecuador a little nation of South America not only adheres to American conception of terrorism, but

developed a sentiment of mistrust respecting to Colombia. It is clear how US has historically built its bilateral international policies based on the doctrine of manifest destiny, which conferred to Americans the ethic authority not only to determine what is or not wrong, but to expand its exemplary civilization to other non-democratic nations. The external world is given by some sectors of national politics as something instable, uncertain and hostile. Neo-conservatism, a wave originated by the ideal of preemption war during Reagan's government, migrated sooner to Bush's presidency to occupy privileged appointments. Per the ideology of this movement, US as the strongest power in the world should intervene if necessary any nation with the end of regulating democracy and peace, even in case of an imminent threat. Of course, this tough policy faced serious problems to overcome Clinton, and Bush father presidency, who were convinced that market and mutual cooperation aid programs will make of the world a safer place not only for everyone. Rather, Neo-conservatism found in the character of George Walker Bush a fertile ground to arrive, but envisaged the opportunity of 9/11 as the platform for US to conduct a preventing war against "terrorism". This encouraged in the world a discourse which is conducive to the logic of divide and rule. At time embracing American allegory, peripheral states are unable to dialogue with their neighbors.

Terrorism in South America

In South America, the impacts of terrorism resonate quite differently than North-Hemisphere. This happens because of many reasons, but as N Greenberg envisaged, United States and Argentina have conserved different cosmologies to understand reality, even terrorism. While US, elaborated an all-encompassing narrative around the victims of 9/11, giving even explanations which are associated to religion, Argentina opted for invisibilizing the bombings suffered (Greenberg, 2010). An example that is like a ring to finger

was the case of Spain and Atocha. Teresa Sabada (2008) starts an interesting discussion in this issue commenting on the role played by mass media in reframing news and events according to the interests of politicians. However the efficiency in the framing is not taken for granted. Any process of communication involves two parts, receivers and senders. Both elaborate their own interpretation according to contexts in their earlier cognitive structure. Under the rubric of Framing Theory many Anglo American scholars have previously discussed to what extent mass media influences public opinion. However, little has been done with this approach in the Spanish speaking world. Terrorism seizes upon violence as a way of garnering media attention and is a highly subject for media and its efforts to manage public opinion. The attacks of September 11 shifted not only the form of news coverage but also ironically served to work on behalf of the terrorist goal of perpetuating fear. Sabada argues that "reality" is largely based on what people believe to be real (here she draws on studies of social **behavior** by Chicago School theorist W. I. Thomas). However, what role "reality" plays in the development of such social scientific approaches remains unaddressed. Out of the Chicago School emerged interpretative sociology and a series of associated sub-disciplines: ethno-methodology, phenomenology and Symbolic Interactionism which laid the foundations for the emergence of media framing theory. In this perspective, she argues that the process of framing encompasses three different stages: a) diagnosis, b) forecasting, and c) motivation. In general many unexpected events are censored by officials to protect public opinion and avoid any panic, riots and social disturbances. Sometimes journalists are obliged to remain silent when public security is at stake. At other times the media attempt to enhance social cohesion and the expense of a third party or outsider group. Usually this is carried out to the detriment of ethnic minorities, expatriates or other "out-group" members. From this point of view, solutions or alternative pathways are often proposed following "diagnoses in a second stage

known as “forecasting”. Ultimately, in cases such as 9-11, what Sabada finds is that media produce a kind of synergy which produces citizen participation in a way that promotes the misunderstanding of the Other.

Underpinning these efforts is the widely accepted wisdom that media institutions should, in moments of instability, be practiced with responsibility. Sabada provides the example of the historical reaction of people in Spain after the 1977 assassination of Miguel Angel Blanco (National Deputy of the Popular Party). The Blanco shooting was deployed to reinforce popular solidarity against terrorism. Spaniards across the country were brought together, with the help of the media, to support radical (police and military) solutions to the Basque pro-independence movement.

Yet people in different countries may respond differently to similar events despite a similar handling of the events by the media. Sabada points to the similar coverage but very different popular response, to the attacks of 9-11 and those on the Madrid commuter trains. As it turned out it was much more difficult to create a unified and coherent frame for the attack in Madrid. In America, following 9-11, Washington found it much easier to manipulate media coverage of the event which led to a more singular voice in reply to the event. In Spain, by falling back on the old “blame the Basques” rhetoric backfired as no one really believed they were responsible. It seemed only the desperate act of a government facing an election in a few days and was generally understood as such (Sabada, 2008).

Additionally, the meaning of Terrorism is brilliantly assessed in a work authored by Geoffrey Skoll published in 2007 at *International Journal for the Semeiotics of Law*. The question as to what this term has been changed along with the time is evident. The relation between terrorism and political power converge with Burke’s writings in regards to the advance of French Revolution. The meaning of terror depends on political and economic contexts, societies are lived. From WWII to date, different semiotics connotation of terror surfaced. Professor Skoll goes on to say,

“From the 1960s to the 1990s airplane hijackings, assassinations and kidnapping of diplomats (loosely defined), kidnappings of civilians for ransom, and bombing prompted new national criminal laws and international conventions and treaties. International terrorism became a federal crime in the United States in 1984. Domestic terrorism followed suit in 1996. Attacks on American occupying forces in Lebanon occasioned the 1984 law, and the Oklahoma City bombing gave rise to Antiterrorism and Effective death penalty Act of 1996” (Skoll, 2007, 109).

Though Skoll (2007) agrees with Baudrillard on the belief that events are not necessarily happening as they are later narrated, the message of terrorism is replicated in view of the distortion it suffers. Selecting societies as potential guests, terrorism (like a virus) affects the social scaffolding accelerating the times of depersonalization. Once the society is exhausted, it brings to another host-community. Underpinned in the proposition terrorism exerts violence in a coercive way, its effects are maximized and optimized by the lack or excess of information. What is the convergence of Media and Terrorism?

As above formulated, this question has brought serious concerns to specialists in Occident. Mahmoud Eid (2014) offers an alternative answer which helps understanding the coexistence of publicity and terror. Media offers a fertile ground for terrorism to be mushroomed worldwide because of two main assumptions. The war on terror, post 9/11, attempted to confront with the needs of struggling against an invisible enemy. As a result of this, terrorism engulfed as a part of postmodern politics. The US obsession for terrorism, as well as its tactics in counter-terrorism seems to feed back an unending atmosphere of fear. The struggle against terrorism should embrace ethics as the main flagship. As Mahmoud Eid puts it, we are educated to imagine terrorism is a criminal act while media are a positive phenomenon. Both sides are being helped each other, simply because

the treatment of media facilitates the terrorist to achieve their goals, while the perpetration of attacks gives substantial content and debate to journalism. Understanding terrorism as a try of communicating a violent message, this project exerts a considerable criticism to free-value media. The mediatization of terrorism corresponds with a tactic further beneficial for terrorists than governments. The main thesis in Eid's book is that terrorism and media's swamp is explained by the co-dependency to fabricate "oxygen". Without terror, both parties would be never benefited as now they are. In this vein, Editor writes,

"Meanwhile, in order for both to survive, terrorists seek to garner public attention and the media seek to find top-stories to sell. In a sense, both parties target wide-ranging audiences (although for different purposes); hence, they interact in a highly toxic relationship that involves a process of exchange necessary for their survival. The exchanging process contributes to the survival of each party; acts of terrorism provide media stories that result in more broadcasting airwaves, press texts, and digital data bytes, while the media coverage brings public attention to terrorists—the oxygen necessary for their existent" (Eid, 2014, 24).

In other terms, the question whether media plays a crucial role in disseminating the fear that terrorism engenders, *terroredia* is created by the dialectics of fear and violence. At time media covers explanations on how terrorists plan their attacks, global audiences devote considerable attention in this issue. Paradoxically, this attention paves the ways for "terror-inspiring" messages (p. 25). To my end, although an edited book, which often contains a lot of arguments, chapters and authors, is very hard to follow into one-sided argument, *Exchanging Terrorism Oxygen for Media Airwaves* keeps a coherent view of the issue. Among its strengths, Mahmoud Eid and his colleagues not only situates a neologism *Terroredia* as a key point of discussion in these type of issues, but also it

represents one of the best attempts (I have read) to explain why we are obsessed with terrorism. The codependency brilliantly discussed by Eid reveals coherence with Korstanje's argument respecting to the connection between labor organization and terrorism. In earlier works Korstanje argued that industrial revolution has expanded in Europe first but in US later because of two relevant aspects, extortion and the disciplined violence. While thousand European migrants arrived to US, Capital-owners resisted the claims of unions to confer further rights and benefits to work-force. In an atmosphere of tension, some anarchist newcomers saw the opportunity to instill their ideologies in this new world. The first anarchists not only perpetrated violent attack against politicians and police, but also were labeled as terrorists. Traced, expelled and even imprisoned by State, a wave of anarchists appealed to organize the incipient worker unions, abandoning the violent struggle. As a result of this, unionization not only brought further benefits in the reduction of working hours, leisure practices, tourism, an purchasing power enhancements, but pressed state to allow legally the right to strike. The force of production, workers, and its counter-forces, tourists were inextricably intertwined to terrorism from the outset. This concept was vital to understand how capitalism adopted ideologically the roots of anarchism while terrorism was repressed towards the contours. What beyond the borderland was "terrorist attack", homeland was dubbed as "strike". In the bottom, both shares similar conditions, which are in next described.

At a closer look, strikes and terrorism need from surprise factors to cause a substantial damage in the government or corporations. In this token, both manipulates the "Others" to achieve the own goals. Although the degree of violence is different, no less true is that strikes (like terrorism) keeps insensible to the Other suffering. The disciplinary mechanism of states that repressed terrorism, adopted its own ideology to be part of capitalist ethos (Korstanje and Skoll 2013; Korstanje, 2015; Korstanje, Skoll and Timmermann, 2014). This explains

satisfactorily why global tourists are targeted by international terrorism worldwide. Tourism, even the industries of mobilities seems to be terrorism by other means.

Last but not least, Mike Grimshaw validates the hypothesis that circulation of mass-media production seems to be functional to the Empire's interests to the extent of presenting and repeating the spectacle of terror once and once again. Within 24 hours after 11-09 CNN insisted many times with an image of disaster disconnected with conjuncture wherein it occurs. Alternating old depictions of Lebanon independence with Bin Laden appearances and World Trade Center ruins, the discourse put emphasis on the hate of Middle East to "American way", the style of life, and democracy. Needless to say that an event of this caliber caused a greater emotional impact in the core of American society, the moot point here is that officials did not hesitate to create a new enemy related to the evilness. Under this perspective, Grimshaw argues that postmodernism imposed a *religion of terror* to legitimate the liaison with consumption.

"The Religion of terror is linked to the religion of modernity, the belief in the pluralist secular nation state, the belief in a future that unfolds through rationality and progress- and in particular to a distinct form of western modernity. The failure of the postmodern can now be seen as the failure of extension of tolerance to the intolerant, to those who seek to reject that which enables them to dissent. The recourse of symbolic violence is the challenge of the transgression of the taboo and intolerance" (Grimshaw, 2006, 18).

The Anglo-empire is determined by an efficiently paradigm of terror which not only was conducive to expand the hegemony of market as well as nation-state, introducing the psychological needs of safety as a universal right. Beyond Colombia or Argentina, countries that have experienced terrorism under their skins, 9/11 has installed a new frame to understand terrorism. Acceptance of north-produced values

in South America crystalizes the constructions of narratives of fear, which blurs the realities of these southern countries according to a cultural matrix which is unilaterally imposed. As Achcar puts it, this is what we know as "narcissist commiseration". The current silence respecting to AMIA and Israel's embassy as well as the over-emphasis of 9/11 (2011) or Dark Friday in France (2015) obscures other similar events which happened in the periphery.

Conclusion

We live in a society that commoditizes terror as a currency exchange. 9/11 prompted two derived effects in Western developed nations. On one hand, previous similar events mingled into an all encompassing archetype that places Americans as the main targets of international terrorism. It is interesting to see films as *Hostel* and others else where American Tourists are worth higher than other nationalities. This suggests that terrorism reproduces a hierarchy of victims in which case nationality plays a crucial role as a sign of distinction. Americans not only praise themselves as smarter, stronger or more democratic, they are over-esteemed as outstanding targets of evil-doers. The second effects of 9/11 consisted in converting narcissism into an extreme panic. US and Europe realized not only how their technological bulwarks were employed against civilian targets, but also simple means of transports can be mortal weapons. The periphery, in view of this conjuncture, subordinated their earlier experiences to a new allegory of terrorism, which is associated to Islam. Exactly in this way, Argentineans, despite of suffering two attacks feel terrorism corresponds with Americans. Last but not least, terrorism is posed in one sense as a global threat, so that some developed countries as France, England or US, in a much deeper process of victimization, deploy for their particular policies in contexts that are legally beyond their jurisprudence. The question whether democracy and self-determination doctrine are opposite values has been widely discussed by scholars in

recent decades. Democracy as a cultural project prohibits the intromission of some countries in local politics of others. However, US claimed for the sense of self-determination as the right to rule foreign affairs at their discretion. In that way, terrorism in general and fear in particular justify preventive-led invasions. The process

of victimization allows enthralling the victim in a privilege situation or a condition of power, where suffering and dictatorship converge. The paradox of terrorism lies in the fact that individual liberties are vulnerated in the name of fear by main democratic countries.

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