

TERRORISM:

**HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, CULTURAL
AND
PSYCHOLOGICAL PREREQUISITES
OF GLOBAL FORECASTING**

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This book is devoted to the study of terrorism and its global dimension. The conclusion is substantiated in detail that terrorism is a social product of the development of society as a whole. To discuss the “sociality” of terrorism, the author relies on the historical experience, economic and social theories of world development, as well as new concepts of psychology, synergetics and cultural anthropology. The concept of the essence, causes and forms of manifestation of modern terrorism, which has become a planetary factor, are presented in this work. The terrorist component of the human person is analyzed. The prospects associated with the development of terrorism in the rapidly changing conditions of globalization are explored.

The book is of interest to scholars, lawyers, experts in the field of combating terrorism, as well as students studying law and sociology.

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INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is one of the global problems of the international community. Its emergence and unprecedented activation to a planetary scale only reflects the objective development of the society itself, which is globalizing and begins to suffocate from the exorbitance of the rhythm and dynamics of life set to itself against the background of the problem of limited resources, ecology, etc.¹

Under present conditions, humanity has faced in its development numerous social, economic, demographic, and first of all — political and geopolitical problems. Scientific and technical progress brought mankind ahead, but not only did not solve current problems, but contributed to the development of new problems. It is sufficient to remember chemical, biological, nuclear weapons, although the latter has not been used since the days of Nagasaki.

Underlying idea of the work is to identify the causes, the essence of terrorism and show the prospects for its development.

It determines some unusual and unconventional structure of the work.

Chapter I is devoted to the consideration of terrorism and its history in the context of the analysis of social and economic formation. This analysis helps to realize the true scale of manifestations of terrorism, its impact on the development of the crisis, covering the current social and economic formation.

The book concludes with a number of opinions and arguments pointing to the crisis and destructiveness of social and economic processes that produce terrorism. The cogency of scientific arguments and facts is determined that they are built on the basis of criminological studies of terrorism — one of the most serious threats to peace and security that most fully reflects all the complexities of international reality.

The study of the sociality of terrorism in the context of globalization has been carried out on the basis of an analysis of geo-economic and social theories, which are reflected in the works of V.F. Antipenko, G. Benda, I. Wallerstein, B. de Jouvenel, A. I. Neklessa, J. Stiglitz, T. Shelling, Samuel P. Huntington, A. Etzioni and other famous scientists.

Feeling optimistic, I hope that this book will contribute to the work of the late Professor V. Antipenko and will receive further support for criminological research on the nature of terrorism as a manifestation of a global social conflict, given the nature of the conflict and international dimension of this crime.

The study confirmed the hypothesis developed by V.F. Antipenko that terrorism is a product of the objective development of the world community, it

¹ Antipenko V.F. (2007) *Teorii mirovogo razvitiya i antiterroristicheskoe pravo. Logika sopryagaemosti*. [Theories of world development and anti-terrorism law. Logic of compatibility]. Kiev. P. 5.

becomes more active as the crisis of the existing world system increases and the responsibility for its emergence, escalation, as well as concrete manifestations should be shared by the whole society². The main message of the presented work is the idea that terrorism is created by society, as if dissolved in it, reflecting all the diversity of its tones and shades. The study of the structure of society is the most important condition for understanding the real causes of terrorism, among which the priority attention should be paid to the violent conflict discussed in the Chapter II of the following work. It is violence that is a key characteristic of terrorism, the manifestation of which can be observed in the framework of social conflict. For the opportunity to see this, we are largely obliged to serious progress in the XIX-XX centuries of fundamental sociological science with a pleiad of its global representatives H. Spencer, M. Weber, E. Durkheim, R. Merton. A rather convincing material has been formed, indicating the social nature of terrorism and, at the same time, the decisive presence of violent conflict in it. Moreover, both the conflict resulting from inequality and the accompanying violence are not accidental, they are necessary phenomena of social and economic life. Research in this direction was carried out on the basis of the fundamental works of K. Boulding, Y. Galtung, G. Zimmel, L. Coser, K. Marks, R. Darendorf. Within the framework of the conflict theoretical model, interesting developments have been carried out on the problems of deviation as a product of the pressure of the ruling groups on the oppressed classes; racial discrimination as a manifestation of internal colonialism, the result of power conflicts between old-timers and displaced persons; social status differences as power differences based on the control of material goods and information³. In this regard, it should not be left unmentioned the enormous impact that the conflicting theoretical model has had on applied sociological research.

Currently, new issues are coming to the fore that do not fit and are not resolved within the framework of the traditional theory of the social position, first of all, we are talking about the processes of globalization, terrorism, and confrontation between the North and the South.

As a result, the assessment of terrorism was defined as a worldwide negative social phenomenon, the content of which reflects the violent conflict between its participants with political goals in the context of the crisis of the existing world system.

² Antipenko V.F. (2007) *Teorii mirovogo razvitiya i antiterroristicheskoe pravo. Logika sopryagaemosti*. [Theories of world development and anti-terrorism law. Logic of compatibility]. Kiev. P. 411.

³ Mezhevnikov A.M. (2003) *Sotsialnye konflikty v transformiruyushchemsya obshchestve*. [Social conflicts in a transforming society]. *Extended abstract of candidate's thesis: 22.00.04. Kazan*. P. 20.

The reasons for the observed ethnic conflicts, the role of social identification, as well as the role of civilization conflict in the genesis of terrorism are also subjected to in-depth analysis in the work. Special attention is paid to the consideration of the terrorist component of the human person. One of the key achievements of classical sociology is the position that the source of any social action is a specific person in all the diversity of his interests, goals, motives and sensations. Developing this provision in relation to crimes related to terrorism, it is not difficult to make sure that a terrorist is a special type of sociopath, which is characterized by the ability to react to certain social problems in the form of acts containing signs of terrorism.

It should be mentioned that the terrorist component in international life is increasing every year. Ignoring moral values and supremacy of law, terrorism poses a serious threat to the international security system, creating the conditions for legal collapse. Terrorism is increasingly succeeding in provoking the international community to act, the legitimacy of which raises serious doubts.

Thus, having come to the problem of the existence of the Universe, the prospects for a global terrorist model, the researcher poses two key questions: what is the impact of terrorism on the model of technical and humanitarian balance? What is the impact of real power on the development of terrorism? Answers to these questions are found in the Chapter III of the monograph, which is built on studies of the problem of the criminal responsibility of the authorities. Power over the centuries has steadily increased its forces, while sowing chaos and conflicts. Namely the power, masking its participation in the result of its activity — terrorism, groundlessly defines it as a social anomaly, a kind of extreme activity of groups cut off from society and falsely demonized by the authorities as the primary source of threats to international security⁴.

And finally, last but not least, over the past 20 years, assessments of terrorism from the standpoint of various sciences have felt the need for a theory of combating terrorism.

Today most people are probably more interested in foreign policy than its theoretical content. It is necessary to agree with the opinion that some elementary theories lying at the intersection of economics, sociology and political science, even jurisprudence and philosophy and, possibly, anthropology, can be useful not only to abstract theorists, but also the people involved in the practice itself. In the present paper, we actively used the best practices of an interdisciplinary industry, described as “conflict theory”, “strategy theory”. The analysis proposed here is also an attempt to fill in the gaps on the way to creating, on the basis of criminological studies of

⁴ Antipenko V.F. (2016) *Teoriya ugolovnoy otvetstvennosti gosudarstv: monografiya*. [The theory of criminal responsibility of States]. (Monography). Odessa: Feniks. pp. 55-56.

terrorism, a consistent theory of combating this phenomenon, in which specific predictions and ways to solve this problem would be based on rigorous scientific conclusions of philosophy, sociology, political science, conflict management, economics and other related sciences.

CHAPTER I TERRORISM AS A SOCIAL GIVEN

1.1. Terrorism within the characteristics of the socio-economic formation. Brief historiographical overview.

The history of mankind shows that violence, including political, has always been an objective factor of the society development, the study of which is interesting in its historical aspect. According to the Prof. A. Nazaretian, in order to “make out history”, it is necessary not only to select the subject and analysis framework adequate to the task, but also to distract from the axiological bindings at first. Then, in a kaleidoscope of countless cycles, rises, catastrophic collapses and shifts of the dominant centers, it is possible to trace a number of reliably recorded macro trends that permeate the history and background of society [1, p. 63].

The first thing that comes to mind is the simplest and most accessible explanation of the observed fact — is an attempt to compare it with one or another formation based on one or another mode of production. The real repeatability in the social movement, therefore, patterns in the development of society, can be traced in the process of studying the socio-economic formation, which expresses a concrete historical type of society as an integrity that functions and develops, according to objective laws. As it is known, the formation is based on a certain mode of production, and its structure includes not only economic, but also all social relations between people communities (for example, between social groups, nations) [2]. Certain researchers argued that the theory of historical materialism was created specifically to reflect the progressive development of society spirally. Moreover, in the social sciences in the late 60s, the one-linear and highly ideological theory of modernization prevailed, according to which all societies go through certain evolutionary growth stages on the way from primitive, static and functionally unseparated traditionalism to modernity, characterized by innovative dynamism, rational scientific management, steady material growth, differentiation into functional spheres of economy, politics and culture.

However, as L.N. Gumiliov rightly argued, in social development there is logic, in the sequence of events there is its own logic. In turn, between the two systems there is a relationship and even feedback, but namely its presence shows that there is not only one reference system, but at least two. That is why, it is often observed that one “culture” lies in two or three formations, and sometimes in one, when analyzing the so-called “transition periods”. Both

reference systems do not contradict each other, but complement one another [4].

Based on this logic, in this Chapter we will try to give a brief overview of the history of terrorism, with regard to not always evolutionary, and sometimes even convulsive transition of one formation into another, taking into account the so-called “transition periods”. Within our research, it is proposed to identify transitional epochs that lead from one formation to another: 1) the transition from the ancient society to the medieval — Hellenism; 2) the transition from the Middle Ages to the New Age — the Renaissance; 3) the transition period from the New time to the Newest is the middle of the XIX century; 4) modern period (recent history) to XX — early XXI century.

It appears that such approach partially explains the direction, the continuity of the course of time and to some extent its excesses as manifestations of terrorism.

The fact of splitting society into fighting with each other classes has long been known. For thousands of years, the existence of classes has been historically necessary, and the class struggle has been the driving force of the historical process. According to the English historian A. Toynbee, war and classes accompany us from the times when the first civilizations rose above the level of primitive human existence, and this was about five to six thousand years ago, and since then these two categories have always been a serious problem. This struggle manifested itself in three main forms: economic, ideological and political. The highest form of class struggle is political struggle. It is a struggle for the possession of state power, the culminating point of which is the social revolution [4].

From historical sources it is known that classes arose in the period of the disintegration of the primitive and the formation of the slave socio-economic formation. During thousands of years, political, social, and economic contradictions between classes were resolved through violent methods. Often force coercion became the leading external, formal side of international communication. Charles Tilly notes an amazing variety of forms of combining coercion and capital: from endlessly varying combinations of concentration of capital, concentration of coercion, to preparation for war and position in the system of states [5]. The political and military history of our civilization represents itself as a continuous chain of events connected with the use of violence and even, according to a number of researchers, of terrorist acts [6, pp. 24-27; 7, pp. 32]. It is difficult to determine at what stage of historical development people began to consciously evaluate the social content of terrorism.

The first extant manifestations of terrorism emerged long before the emergence of the very concept of “terrorism”. The manifestation of terrorism and the origins of its current trends can be found in the Ancient East, in the

Greek and Roman republics. In the times of the Ancient East, Greece and Rome, matrices of future political models were formed, which in our time have received the status of samples. Just as the forms of power were born and developed, this persisted for thousands of years [7, p. 32].

If we talk about political violence, it was applied by the ancient state in relation to both internal and external opponents [7, p. 33]. Once, O. Spengler wrote that the ancient state, although it declared high values, maintained its existence with constant measures of violence, robbing its own and others [8, pp. 202-203]. It was also used as an illegal means to resolve contradictions between political forces and was used by the opposition to achieve its political goals [7, pp. 33]. On the other hand, their opponents with great eagerness could also use violence. They could use violence either as revolutionaries or as people who want to raise the authority of the already existing authorities; in any case, they would not hesitate to use violence in pursuit of great goals. In Athens, at the end of the V century BC, there were people who apparently taught political doctrines⁵ that seemed immoral to their contemporaries, as well as seemingly such democratic nations of our time. In the first book of Plato's Republic, Thrasymachus proves that there is no other justice than the interest of the stronger, that laws are created by governments for their own benefit, and that there are no objective criteria with which one can concur in the struggle for power [8].

According to A. Toynbee, civilizations are born and develop, successfully responding to successive challenges, but they break down and fall apart when they meet a challenge that they are unable to answer. And it is precisely for this reason that Greco-Roman history is of particular interest to us, because Greek civilization broke down in the V century BC, having failed to find a worthy answer to the very challenge that our own civilization faces today. From the point of view of the English historian A. Toynbee, the essence of this challenge consisted of the following events: 1) the creation of city-states along the shores of the Aegean Sea, which brought law and order to the place of social interregnum; 2) the process of population growth in the cradle of a new civilization and its incompatibility with means of existence; 3) the weakening of this press thanks to the colonial expansion throughout the Mediterranean; 4) the termination of the Greek colonial expansion during the VI century BC, partly because of the successful resistance of the victims of expansion, partly due to the political consolidation of the rivals of Greece in the colonization of the western Mediterranean [3].

However, the Greek policies turned out to be dwarfs compared with the more powerful powers — the Macedonian, Syrian and Egyptian monarchies,

⁵ Conflicts as a natural and eternal state of society were also evaluated by representatives of antiquity - Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Cicero and Lucretius. It was in the conditions of the formation of the system of social domination and subordination that their philosophical views were transformed into attempts to analyze the essence of conflicts and violence.

the Carthaginian Empire, and the Roman Confederation, which grew along the shores of the Mediterranean after the expansion of the Greek civilization in the age of Alexander [5]. The Hellenistic empire of Alexander the Great and the Roman Empire, the forerunners of European civilization, went down in history as rare examples of centers of a unipolar world dictating their conditions and not considered, in modern terminology, with the rights and interests of the rest of the world. The imperial consciousness was largely based on the legitimacy of applying to the subjugated unlimited and sophisticated forms of violent behavior. However, during this period political violence, as a method of political and legal activity, did not have an independent status, since it was applied non-systematically and without explicitly stated goals [7, p. 34].

The emergence of the social hierarchy in earlier societies was due to the establishment of privileged elites. Ancient civilizations do not allow us to clearly see the early development at the dawn of the Neolithic revolution, but they give us a clear picture of the early states. All societies had interconnected networks of religious, economic, political, military, and educational elites [9]⁶. On the territory of a certain state, the organization of social classes and their relations with the state had the strongest influence on the strategy of the rulers. This influence took the form of resistance, struggle, all sorts of stable organizations established for the effective elimination and struggle [6].

The examples that stand out from the general context of the understanding of the political struggle are worthy of attention. The first steps towards a conflictological understanding of terrorism are some fragments in the texts of Aristotle, Heraclitus, Democritus, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Epicurus, and Lucretius. However, with a more complete reading, it is clear that they are combined with indications of the inevitability of the confrontation of social forces or the imminent development of political struggle [7, p. 41]. Moreover, the Greek and even the Roman philosophers could not completely free themselves from the racial-class arrogance inherent in the culture of the ancient states. For example, Aristotle believed that society obeys the law of nature: the division of people into those who rule and those who obey, which leads to conflict as the natural state of society. Due to the fact that confrontation in society is inevitable, violence is a necessary element in political activities [9, pp. 592—594]. However, the opinions of Aristotle on this issue are those that were taken in his days. We believe that all human beings, at least according to the theory of ethics, have the same rights and that

⁶ D. North refers to the research of Elman R. Service [Service, Elman. *Origins of the state and civilization: The process of cultural evolution*. New York, 1975], who based on the analysis of the structure of society in the historical aspect, carried out the classification of social groups, identifying family groups (family-camp, family-village), local groups (acephalic) and regional groups (chiefdom, state). The upper limit of the size of various societies is related to the management of violence. Using the terminology of Service, the state “brings peace”.

justice requires equality. Aristotle thought that justice does not include equality, but the correct proportion, which only sometimes is equality [10, p. 394].

According to the historical descriptions of late Rome, signs of the same socio-psychological state are clearly traced, which are called in the special literature the pre-crisis syndrome: the euphoria of omnipotence and impunity; and catastrophophilia — an irrational need for all new victories and demonstrations of power [1, p. 195]. The process of the conquest of one people by another became self-valuable, irrational and growing. During this period, a lot of people were thirsty for “small victorious wars” and the search for moderately resisting enemies. The unrestrained expansion not only accumulated the potential of hatred in the geopolitical environment, but also undermined and dissipated its own forces. In the end, the Greek-Roman civilization fell from the same two diseases — war and class struggle [6, p. 12]. Thucydides summarizes the state of affairs during this period: “The system of governance began to differ in bitterness and turned into terrorism... violence and cruelty were given a special right to respect ...” There is no justice. There are huge slave uprisings... Robberies have become the norm ... Demagogy has become the essence of politics. [12, pp. 81-85].

Achievements of humanitarian thought during this period contributed to the expansion of the scale of social identification: tribal delimitation gave way to confessional, hard dividing people into insiders and outsiders, but free from generic restrictions [6, pp. 193-194].

It should be noted that in the period under study the states were considered the main subjects of political violence, since it was violence that was the main political tool of state administration, which gives grounds to speak only about certain elements of terrorism in political and legal practice, about the process of the emergence of terrorism as an independent phenomenon [6, p. 36]. At the same time, terror, in the modern understanding of this term, served in the ancient world as a background, played a secondary role [13, p. 21].

Thus, the ancient states were familiar with revolts, take-overs, liberation speeches, murders, other violent acts in which certain signs of terrorism were present. However, all of them were deprived of the pivotal sign of this phenomenon — they were not aimed at the realization of the main terrorist goal: the impact on state power through the creation of a climate of fear in society. There were no necessary prerequisites: the presence of large social groups, an appropriate social and ethnic identity, formed intra-and inter-social relations [6, p. 36].

Some researchers find the origins of terrorism in the Bible. In the Old Testament, in the Book of the Jeremiah describes the killing of Godaliah (Gedaliah), the Babylon vicar of Judea, committed in 586 BC, which, according to L.V. Manevich, is the first documented example of political assassination in our history [14, p. 7, 12].

Some scholars argue that for the first time a non-state entity engaged in terrorist activities appears in the depths of the Roman Empire [7, p. 35]⁷.

Within the framework of the established periodization, one should pay attention to the Middle Ages, which the thinkers of the New Age associate with the beginning of the destruction of Rome.

The time of the transition of the ancient society to the Middle Ages was full of real catastrophes, violence and at the same time neurotic fears and feelings of hopelessness, revealed destructive and self-destructive abysses of the human soul [1, p. 202]. Philippe Aries indicates that in the V—IX centuries, Christians lacked the fear of death and the Last Judgment [15]. People believed that after their death a kind of dream awaited them, which will last until the Second Advent, after which almost all the dead, except for the most accursed sinners, will fall into the Kingdom of Heaven. It was not a canonical dogma, but a prevailing frame of mind, which by the end of the millennium began to change markedly. They were afraid not only of the End of the World, but also of the devil, the aliens, the Gentiles, the witches and the sorcerers [1, p. 201]. Thus, fear of death among Christians was dominated by the fear of eternal torment, although the fear of death is a deep-rooted instinct [11, p. 304]. Fear of insulting religious prejudices inhibited the development of scientific thought in many spheres of life.

It was essential to recall that in the Middle Ages the terror of the Inquisition raged in Europe. Against this background, mental epidemics of mass fear were regularly exacerbated in Europe. Fears became increasingly irrational, turning into regular flashes of hysteria and aggression [1, pp. 201-202]. In an evolutionary context, it is striking that the values of knowledge, critical judgment, and personal self-determination have been supplanted by the values of blind faith, God's fear, and submission to the authority of the church. This has affected all aspects of social life [1, p. 197]. In search of psychological compensation in the late Middle Ages, people began to turn to the intellectual insights of prominent thinkers, who for the time being remained on the periphery of spiritual culture. Belief in a better future added light tones to the current worldview [1, p. 202]. Finally, the medieval ideal implied a strong belief that all nations and peoples are part of a great community.

⁷ This is a radical wing of the religious and political sect of the zealots (from ancient Greek – “allegiant”) – Sikarii, who operated in the Roman province of Judea (southern Palestine) in the I century AD. They were irreconcilable fighters against Roman domination. They received their name from the Latin word "sica", which meant one type of short curved dagger, which, in accordance with the ritual, killed the enemy [15, v. 29, pp. 855–856]. Sicarii not only fought the Romans, but also destroyed the representatives of the Jewish nobility, who collaborated with the conquerors. In the same period, about a million Jews were subjected to intimidation, when the Roman troops took Jerusalem. It seems that Sicarii were historical predecessors of modern terrorism. They created certain prerequisites for the further development of various extremist forms of political participation, in practice they tested the methodology, which was later successfully used, including by the terrorists [6, p. 36].

The Renaissance humanism followed the traditions of the late Middle Ages and was the first period of the highest flourishing of the “religious” spirit after the Middle Ages: the ideas of human dignity, the unity of the human race as the basis of universal political and religious unity found its full expression in it [16, p. 194]. These ideas were developed by representatives of the philosophical thought of the Renaissance — N. Machiavelli, T. Hobbes, J.A. Comenius, G. Winstanley, A. Smith, W. Godwin, R. Owen and others. Thanks to their efforts, they managed to separate the problems of the conflict of society from religious determinism, which brought justification by the philosopher and scholastic Thomas Aquinas of the crusades [17, pp. 32-35], the Muslim concept of holy war against “infidels” — jihad, based on the dogmas of the Old Testament, the Jewish concept of “holy war” [18, p. 91]. Highlighting the values associated with humanism and individualism, rational knowledge, entrepreneurial initiative and purposeful reorganization of the imperfect world, responded with a stream of scientific discoveries [16, p. 202].

This period is marked by an unexpectedly powerful increase of successes in the field of science, technology, and technology, which was caused not only by the militarization of society, but also by a series of geographical and natural science discoveries [16, p. 202]. In general, the old scarecrows ceased to frighten people, and they were drunk with new freedom of spirit. Drunkenness could not last long, but at some point it dispelled fear [11, pp. 1282-1283].

Note that the devices created to curb the physical forces of inanimate nature have not changed the human nature, which does not negate the recent extraordinary western progress of technological development. According to A. Toynbee, this progress caused the Western world three completely unforeseen and unprecedented in history — the consequences, the cumulative effect of which again shifted the chariot of history, and it rolled with greater speed than before [4, p. 14]. According to the historian, the western know-how united the whole world in the truest sense of the word, that is, provided the entire habitable and passable surface of the globe with a reliable connection; and it also turned the institutions of war and class affiliation — two innate diseases of civilization — into an incurable disease. This trio of unintentional achievements has placed humanity in front of a truly formidable Challenge [4, pp. 14-15].

There is no need to prove that the whole of European-American is a history of conquest, exploitation, violence and conquest, which led to expansion, which lasted until the XXI century. This is indicated, in particular, by the title of the remarkable book of Charles Tilly “Coercion, Capital, and European States: 990 - 1992”, in which the author traces the evolution of national states in Europe over the millennium, using changes in the initial nature of political and economic institutions and organizations (for example, the distribution of

coercion and capital) to explain the structures of state formation. In the Ch. Tilly model, governments exist to conduct wars, and their behavior is shaped by the desire to mobilize, coordinate, and distribute resources in the best way to win wars [5]. Based on the experience of Europe, people who controlled the means of coercion (army, navy, police, weapons and their equivalents), usually sought to use these means to increase the mass of the population and resources that were in power. When they did not have a rival with the same level of control over the means of coercion, they simply captured; when they ran into resistance — they fought a conflict [5]. Ch. Tilly concludes that behind the changing geography of cities and states in Europe, there was a dynamic of capital and coercion [5].

The apotheosis of the late Middle Ages was the unprecedentedly bloody Thirty Years War (1618—1648), carried out for hegemony in Western Europe [1, p. 202]. This war ended with the creation of the Westphalian system of world order, determined by the provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia concluded in 1648, which for the first time affirmed the principle of the balance of power between two competing centers — France and the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. In fact, this treaty consolidated the position of the bipolar political forces in Europe, abandoning the monopolar world and the creation of a single pan-European Catholic empire, for which the Austro-Spanish Habsburgs fought for one and a half centuries [20, p. 156].

As a result of this “first all-European war”, the Westphalian peace treaty was concluded, which formed the basis of the Westphalian model — a new concept of international law and order, which divided Europe into areas of responsibility of sovereign states. Thus, the regulatory trajectory of political relations was set, which finally took shape by the end of the XVIII and the beginning of the XIX centuries, “when territorial independence, formal equality of states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other recognized states and state consent as the foundation of international legal obligations, became the fundamental principles of the international community” [21, p. 43; 1, pp. 208-209]. On this basis, a balance of political forces in Europe was formed, which made it possible to exclude the hegemony in Europe of any one state formation [20, p. 154-155].

From the point of view of Charles Tilly, the organization of the main social classes and their relations with the state in Europe varied greatly. Options are located in the spectrum of regions with intense coercion (areas with a small number of cities and the predominance of agriculture, where direct coercion played a significant role in production) to regions with intense capital (areas with a multitude of cities and the leading role of commerce, where the main role was played by markets, exchange and market-oriented production). As a result, the organizational forms of states developed along completely different trajectories in different parts of Europe. Gradually, European states from

state-like formations began to transform in one direction: towards the national state [5].

The European states, which were formed in a certain way, then imposed their power on the rest of the world [5]. For the first time, the question of the peaceful coexistence of peoples was transferred from the religious-mystical to the practical plane so that it would not be reduced to their forcible submission to the imperial center [1, p. 209].

The planetary radical conflict safely hid under the cover of the Westphalian civilization model with its international legal framework, and for a century escaped from the mass consciousness. But this did not mean that it did not exist. The Christian-European civilization, enshrined in the Westphalian world, gave rise to the corresponding international law “for their own people”, for the strong. According to this “law”, the peoples who were outside the Christian-European civilization were not considered as equal subjects, but only as an object of annihilation, or, at best, as an object of civilizing influence [21, p. 36].

An important stage in the development of society in the transitional period (from the New to the Newest) was the Industrial Revolution (“industrial breakthrough”) of 1760-1820, which is designated in the literature as a process of drastic changes in the public consciousness, bringing humanity values to the forefront and individualism, rational knowledge, entrepreneurial initiative and purposeful reorganization of the imperfect world [1, p. 206]. In turn, the new ideas gave an additional impetus to political revolutions, designed to bring the estate structure of society into harmony with “space democracy” [1, p. 206].

Starting from the XVIII century, capitalism gradually brought about radical changes: the economic aspect of behavior was moved beyond ethical and other value systems. The authoritarian, obsessive, accumulative character slowly gave way to a market character, in which rational, manipulative thinking prevailed: people with such a character are alienated from their work, from themselves, from other people and from nature. Subsequently, the development of the economy was not determined by the question of what is best for a person, but a question: what is better for the system [16, p. 202]. They tried to veil the severity of this conflict, arguing that everything that contributes to the growth of the system (or an individual corporation) also serves the good of the individual. This concept was also supported by an additional construction, which stated that all the human qualities that the system requires from a person — egoism, selfishness and a passion for accumulation — all are inherent in man from birth [16, pp. 9-11].

In Max Weber’s classic work “The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism”, it is shown how naively the conventional wisdom that the psychological feature of nascent capitalism is “the desire for profit”. Permitted methods of enrichment were very strictly regulated within the framework of a

tribe, clan or class, however, “external morality” allowed outside the collective what was strictly forbidden in the relations between the “brothers” [22, p. 79].

The emphasis on the practical transformation of the world and the benefits of economic success was combined with the ideas of formal equality of individuals, the inalienability of “natural” (inherent in each from birth) rights and their priority over responsibilities, conscious compromise for the sake of universal benefit. The specificity of the capitalist economy, according to Weber, is “in the use of the possibilities of exchange, i.e. peaceful (formal) acquisition” [23, p. 48]. At the same time, the industrial revolution, having unusually multiplied the material effects of human effort, brought with it, as is usually the case, a sense of self-confidence, omnipotence and impunity [1, p. 210]. The Europeans’ belief strengthened in the unlimited superiority of the active Spirit over passive matter, the beautiful Future over the wretched past, and with it — the motive of conquering space, time, nature, and “backward” peoples [1, p. 210]. Note that the notorious division of the world into areas of “external” and “internal” morality, and of people into “ins” and “outs” is a characteristic feature of pre-industrial ideologies.

After two centuries of religious and civil wars, new philosophers-apologists appeared in the historical arena who believed that nothing provokes violence to the same degree as fear, and that fear is generated by ignorance [24, p. 57]. Rational people of the 18th century wanted to cut down the roots of their fear. Their strategy was to attack what they called “dark secrets and grotesque tales”, which spoke under the name of theology, metaphysics and other varieties of hidden dogma and superstition, with which unscrupulous rogues deceived the masses for so long that they enslaved, killed, suppressed and exploited. It would be quite natural to call this attack on darkness and the idea of the sacredness of the absolute power of monarchs “Enlightenment” [24, pp. 57-58]. However, they contributed to the fact that the level of violence in society did not exceed that level until the XX century.

At the end of the XVIII — the first half of the XIX century, the public mood was increasingly inclined to the idea of progress. The flow of newly discovered facts testified in her favor. So, in the second half of the 19th century, the progressive development of nature and society turned from philosophical speculation into a combination of epimical theories [1, p. 54].

According to I.M. Dyakonov [19, p. 10], the first to articulate the idea of “the consistent and endless progress of mankind”, was Marquis Nicolas de Condorcet, an active participant in the Great French Revolution (later executed by his supporters), with which the term “terror” is usually associated. It was at this time that “terror” became an independent, non-translational term. Its current meaning is political violence, which aims to cause fear in society that has really consolidated only in connection with the

French events of the late XVIII century⁸. Although the French Revolution did not receive the epithet “terrorist”, the Jacobin terrorist period in the history of the Great French Revolution, like the anti-Jacobin terror, was nevertheless a separate historical episode [1, pp. 42-43]. The Jacobins themselves and their followers, especially the Russian populists, the Social Revolutionaries, elevated the ideology of terrorism to the level of a revolutionary religion. Already in the course of the Great French Revolution (the end of the XVIII century), the term of “terrorist” began to acquire a negative meaning, becoming synonymous with “criminal” [26].

On this occasion, the French philosopher A. Camus wrote that the Jacobin revolution, which tried to establish the religion of virtue, in order to establish unity on it, would be followed by cynical revolutions, which, whether they are right-wingers or left-wingers, would try to achieve unity of the world in order to finally establish the religion of man. All that was of Gods will henceforth be handed over to Caesar [27]. What is more, contrary to the old notion that the people unanimously welcomed the onset of the long-awaited reforms, the local chronicles of the revolution indicate that the French revolutionaries established power through struggle and often struggle with stubbornly resisting people [5].

At the end of the XVIII century, industrialism and democracy were still in their infancy. The great French Revolution contributed to the disintegration of the Westphalian world system. The Napoleonic Wars ended with the conclusion of the Congress of Vienna 1814-1815. The Act of the creation of the Holy Alliance laid the Vienna system of world order, a feature of which was Eurocentricism, which laid the foundation for countering the spread of the revolution. The Act of the establishment of the Holy Alliance laid the Vienna system of world order, a feature of which was Eurocentricism, which laid the foundation for countering the spread of the revolution. It has spread to new countries in Latin America and the United States, resulting from the revolutionary changes. Gradually, in international law, such notions appeared as the status of neutral states, the limitation of armed violence [20, pp. 156-157].

The Great French Revolution significantly influenced the development of European thought in the XIX century, which sought to continue the revolutionary work, in particular, to renew a specific society, inspired by a clear principle that would not be formal and provide for a harmonious combination of freedom and necessity. Hegelian thought was particularly successful in this. According to Hegel, man is born only from the moment

⁸ A. Toynbee, analyzing this period of history, writes that approximately around 1875 one could think that Europe would manage to achieve balance by organizing into a number of industrial democratic nation-states. However, the expectation of balance and progress on the basis of the national element turned out to be an illusion. The new wine of industrialism and democracy was poured into old bottles and smashed them to smithereens [4, p. 10].

when he realizes himself as the cognizing subject [27]. To assert itself, self-consciousness must distinguish itself from what it is not. Man is a creature that denies in order to asserting its being and its peculiarity. [27]. But in order to be, self-awareness must be satisfied. Therefore, in order to be satiated, self-consciousness acts, and by acting it denies destroying the one with which it is saturated [28, p. 17].

Here, of course, one feels the fundamental nature of Hegelian dialectics, based on which the thinker simply brilliantly showed the essence of the conflict and anticipated its terrorist interpretation. The struggle of these two “interests torn out of harmony” forms a terrorist conflict as a bipolar phenomenon, embodied in the confrontation of two irreconcilable principles, and manifesting itself in active, including terrorist acts, actions incompatible with the development and even existence of the parties that embody these principles when parties to the conflict are represented by active actors [18, p. 90].

It is not surprising that the revolutionaries of the beginning of the XX century extracted their rebellious ideas from this dialectic. Even if revolutionary ideas did not come at all directly from Hegel, then somehow or other they stemmed from the ambiguity of his teachings. It was precisely in Hegel that the revolutionaries of the XX century found a whole arsenal of means by which the formal principles of the past were completely destroyed. As the Hegelian philosophy confronts two dilemmas “to be free or die” and “kill or enslave,” revolutionaries inherited a vision of history without transcendence, a story that boils down to a struggle of will for power [27].

This important idea that any idealism is worthless, if for the sake of it they do not risk life, the young people who became terrorists should have brought, having decided that for the sake of being it is necessary to kill and die, since man and history cannot be created without sacrifice and murder [27]. The entire history of Russian terrorism can be reduced to the struggle of a handful of intellectuals against autocracy in front of the silent people [27]. Through the use of a bomb and a revolver, as well as personal courage, these young men and women who lived in a world of universal denial and nihilism went to the gallows, trying to overcome their contradictions and acquire the missing values. Before them, people died in the name of what they knew, or what they believed in. Now they began to sacrifice themselves for the sake of something unknown, of which only one thing was known: it was necessary to die for it to take place [26]. “They were the epitome of the paradox that united respect for human life in general and contempt for one’s own life, which reached the point of a passion for self-sacrifice,” wrote A. Camus. Their slogan was “I rebel therefore i exist” [27]. According to A. Camus, terrorism is always based on metaphysical rebellion — the rebellion of man against his inheritance and against the whole of creation [27, p. 109], whose influence is

directed to those aspects of the universe that are dissonance, obscuring, breaking of bonds.

Another French philosopher A. Malraux recalled that throughout his life the terrorists had changed a lot: “They are quite consistent, while the terrorists whom I knew were rather close to the Russian nihilists, that is, were, in fact, metaphysicians” [29, p. 451]. But have they changed, or simply, while remaining nihilists, have adapted to the society in which they operate? The revolutionaries of the late XIX and early XX centuries, as well as modern, sought to destroy the existing structure and mind, finding the rationale for rebellious individualism in denial, in the rejection of transcendental values. But in the XIX century, the complete negation of the “individualists” occurred rather at the level of intuition, and was not carefully thought out [24, p. 716]. Russian revolutionaries of the early twentieth century tried to gradually expand the boundaries of denial of those “who wanted to completely renounce the past and forge a human person on a completely different basis,” until terrorism did away with this nihilistic contradiction in a continuous orgy of self-sacrifice and murder [27]. It seems that their attacks were acts of reckless courage and risk, expressing their individuality through an act of self-sacrifice.

“The winner is always right” — this is one of the lessons of history that can be learned from the greatest European philosophical system of the XIX century. Gradually, ideologically justified (at least they tried to imagine that), romanticized and idealized terrorism remained in the XIX century [26], where there was still an opportunity to consider the conflict between the two goals of terror: the extermination of the enemies of the revolution and the creation of tools to carry out revolutionary work [5]. Subsequent generations of revolutionaries will no longer strive for the exchange of lives. In place of these people will be other; inspired by the same all-consuming idea, they nevertheless will find the methods of their predecessors sentimental and refuse to admit that the life of one person is equivalent to the life of another. They will put an abstract idea above human life, even if it is called history, and, having submitted it beforehand, will try to subordinate others to it [27]. Gradually, terrorism as a means of self-sacrifice for the benefit of society in the name of God or the People grew into a method and means of self-affirmation [26].

Thus, scientific materialism and atheism finally crowded out the romanticism of the revolutionaries of the past, under the paradoxical influence of Hegel’s ideas (“to destroy those who destroy an idyll, or to destroy for the sake of creating an idyll”) were connected with a revolutionary thought, which until Hegel never really separated from its moral, evangelical and idealistic roots. At the same time, Hegel’s overcoming of terrorism ends only with its expansion in the XX century.

From the point of view of A. Camus, in the XX century, the kingdom of history begins, and a person identifying himself with his single history, from now on, having changed his true rebellion, will be devoted to nihilistic revolutions, which, denying any morality, desperately seek the unity of the human race in an exhausting series of crimes and wars [27]. However, destructive processes — the natural and inevitable moment of human development, come into conflict with illusions that goes back to humanistic, progressive, enlightened paradigms [64].

Unfortunately, the technologization of the economic process, which greatly facilitated the existence of man, did not entail his moral enlightenment [18, p. 7]. Back in 1893, E. Durkheim expressed regret that the social science lacks an empirical criterion of moral progress. He wrote “It is not proven at all that civilization is a moral thing. To resolve this issue ... one must find a fact suitable for measuring the level of average morality, and then observe how it changes as civilization progresses. Unfortunately, we do not have such unit of measurement” [30, p. 56]. It must be stated that such a universal unit of measurement is hardly found today.

Mankind constantly undermines the sources of its existence and just as constantly finds a way out on the paths of historical progress. A. Etzioni believes that all Western ideologies (including communist) are built on “a combination of optimism and faith in progress with its sense of triumph” [31, p. 72, p. 73]. But in Europe, swept by the expectation of unlimited progress, it was destined to face the gravest trials of the Middle Ages: two world and several civil wars, the horrors of genocide forgotten, Hiroshima, devastating economic and environmental crises [1, p. 49].

The most important for understanding the nature of terrorism and modern society is the change in social character that occurred from the beginning of the capitalist era to the second half of the XX century. In the XX century, three waves of terrorism delineates: associated with the anti-colonial, national liberation movement of the XX century; related to the activities of the “New Left” in the 1970s; associated with globalization [26]. As a separate stage in the development of terrorism, the second half of the XX century should be distinguished. Terrorist activities of this period, most researchers refer to the term “international terrorism” [26].

The cause of civil wars and armed conflicts after 1945 was sometimes a class struggle for power in the state. But more often, the cause of the civil war was the demands of autonomy from some particular religious, language or regional groups, or the requirement of transmission to the control group over the state. This (narrowly understood) nationalism is becoming more and more important in unleashing wars: while the world as a whole was an established picture, mutually intersecting state territories, the power holders from among those, who has not admitted to state power of nationalities saw a chance in wars [71].

In the mid-twentieth century, the military-political crisis dominated, which daily threatened to develop into a nuclear catastrophe and made it possible to feel almost continuous conflicts between two military blocs on regional fronts⁹.

The chronological reference point of the modern expression of the global conflict is commonly believed to be 1989, which is considered to be a turning point, because the crisis of the social system facilitated the spread of information technology throughout the world [18, p. 17].

According to the German sociologist Ralph Dahrendorf [32], it is quite possible that, from a historical point of view, globalization was only an episode, the erroneous path that capitalist society has taken, and the consequences of which will not be long-lasting. The realization that the collapse of national borders, the growing diversity of societies, their interdependence, combined with the globalization of information can be used for destructive purposes, came too late [31, p. 17].

We can surely say that due to the fall of national borders, the state followed by the system of the world order did not change for the better since the economic model of the free (absolute) market developed in the 1990s has prevailed in it that was established in the 1950s and 1960s, in the annals of the Chicago school, and inspired by the ideas of market infallibility from the Nobel laureate in economics, Professor Milton Friedman. The implementation of the underlying concept of free capitalism, bringing down or bleeding the economies of many countries of the “second” and “third” world, slowed down the integral, balanced economic development of the international community, plunged the world into crisis and conflict, giving globalization a negative meaning [33, pp. 36-37]. After the 1960s, a more adequate understanding of the experience of the West revealed the inconsistency of the outlined hypotheses. Regarding the “losers” of globalization, B.S. Erasov notes: Of course, progress is possible only for a few, at the expense of the planetary lower classes. The working classes of the XXI century are likely to be similar to the “dangerous classes” of the XVII — XVIII centuries than to the working classes of the XIX — XX centuries. The progress of the scientific and technological revolution doesn’t really need planetary lows... The population

⁹ Starting from the 70s of the XX century, scientific thought has been painfully concerned with the unprecedented upheavals, the fundamental nature of change in the world bordering on a sense of apocalypticism. In numerous studies from different angles, the most acute global problems are considered, on whose solution the future of mankind depends. Special attention is paid to such negative trends: uncertainty of the prospects for world order against the background of doubts about the existence of progress; reorganization of the world order without sufficient consideration of the interests of many states and nations; the counter-productivity of the world economy, in the depths of which the segment producing increases the so-called negative cost; increasing inequality between poor and rich countries; terrorism; transnational organized crime; demographic imbalance (excessive population growth in poor countries and the aging of the population in developed countries); migration issues; environmental crisis [19, p. 16].

outside these points (developed centers of the North) is objectively doomed by the course of the history of this world [34, pp. 114, 115]. It is clear that the very existence of the third world, and above all the poorest of the poor, such a true two billion people on the side of the 20th century, is incompatible with the values of the civilizational world, civil rights and economic growth [18, p. 54]. It is known from history that the “doomed” internal and external proletariat repeatedly turned out to be the grave-digger of the society that produced it or which stood in its way [35, p. 14]. Examining the stages of political development, Ch. Tilly notes that the trajectories of the formation of European states varied greatly, being functions of the geography of coercion and capital, but the final organizational convergence of European states was due to their rivalry, both in Europe and in the rest of the world. These observations give reason to conclude that the formation of third world states should be completely different and that the changed relationship between coercion and capital provides the key to understanding the nature of this difference [5].

The American sociologist S. Huntington suggested that the increase in violence and instability in the third world in 1950—1960 is associated with modernization (influenced by Western countries), which led to “mobilization of new groups for political activities” and this growth is inevitable. This assumption was completely in line with the basic idea of “modernization”: all countries go through the same stages in their path, following the pattern of the advanced Western countries, and for the formation of a “modern” society have to go through a revolution period. Another American researcher, Ch. Tilly, criticized Huntington’s hypothesis as contradicting to the facts and theoretically weak. First of all, empirical studies of revolutions and uprisings of the 1960s revealed that they arise for a variety of reasons, mostly due to religious conflicts and the outside states’ intervention. Apart from that, Huntington’s assumption that “revolutions occur as a result of government’s opposition to the aspirations of new groups to take part in political activities”, contradicts numerous examples of how governments successfully counteract “new groups” (up to their complete destruction), and no revolutions do not occur. Instead of the unsuccessful hypothesis of S. Huntington, Ch. Tilly proposed his own revolution model, based on the analysis of the centers of power. Whether society is ready for revolution or not depends on how many such centers have been formed. As soon as a second appears in addition to one center, whether it is an invasion of the colonialists or a split of the existing power into factions, the revolution can begin at any moment. All that is needed for this is the sufficient strength of the alternative power center, which arises as a result of the inability of the central government to suppress it at an early stage. One of the factors contributing to the strengthening of the second center, Ch. Tilly considered the need for warfare: wars require money; an increase in taxes is required for their receipt, which causes discontent among

taxpayers and a desire to “re-swear” to someone else. Thus, not modernization, but imbalances in the structure of power and the need to wage wars lead to revolutions [73].

In the end of the XX century, several theories of human development were put forward, as interpretations of global politics after the Cold War.

The first hypothesis is “about the end of history”, proposed by Fukuyama about the universalization of liberal democracy. Supporters of this hypothesis today say about the collapse of historicism, about the process of “de-historisation of the world.” Within this theory, it is assumed that after the fall of totalitarian regimes, liberal democracy and capitalism will win. Accordingly, the victory of liberal democracy marks the end of “historical” conflicts between states that adhere to the same principles of universal equality and rights, and therefore they have no reason to dispute each other’s legitimacy [36]. Subsequently, the scientist clarified that during the triumphal march of liberal democracy, the world will be divided into two parts: historical and post-historical. In the historical world, the nation state will remain the main center of political identification. Conflicts between historical and post-historical states will be possible: a high and even increasing level of violence on ethnic and nationalistic grounds will continue, since these impulses will not exhaust themselves in the post-historical world. Hence, it follows that terrorism and national liberation wars will remain on the agenda. However, major conflicts between the worlds are not foreseen, since this requires large states located within the framework of history, but they leave the historical arena.

The second hypothesis is about a world-wide anarchy (according to the Z. Brzezinski and D.P. Moynihan) that suggests the disappearance of state power, dissipation of states, intensification of tribal, ethnic and religious conflicts; increase in the number of refugees; the spread of terrorism, widespread carnage and ethnic cleansing [18, p. 22]. As well as the statistical center model, this view of impending chaos is close to reality. It quite clearly explains many of the phenomena occurring in the world, but at the same time focuses on significant changes in world politics. However, those concepts that have been deliberately rejected from tradition, from the meaningful, comprehensible logic of the historical process, these concepts in essence proclaim a plurality of the most incredible and unpredictable twists of history; dictate of the event, which constantly threatens to involve humanity in a catastrophe [59].

The third hypothesis put forward by S. Huntington to replace the conflict of nations, comes down to the conflict of civilizations, the content of which will cover cultures. The scientist believes that the most important boundaries separating humanity and the prevailing sources of conflict will be determined by culture. The nation-state will remain the main actor in international affairs, but the most significant conflicts of global politics will unfold between

nations and groups belonging to different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will become the dominant factor in world politics. Fault lines between civilizations are the lines of future fronts [37]. Indeed, the development of world history does not imply the erasure of civilizational and cultural features, but the preservation of this uniqueness. There are many cultures on earth, and each of them can give a unique look to world history [59].

We should take into account that no paradigm can exist forever. Each of them has its own distinctive features and its limitations. Probably, their shortcomings can be eliminated by combining paradigms and postulating that there are simultaneous processes of fragmentation and integration in the world [1, p. 15]. Obviously, there is a more complex model in the world. The story unfolds in accordance with some immanent logic that is not known to us and does not coincide with our ideas. The end of the XX century witnessed the revival of religions, strengthening of religious consciousness, and rise of fundamentalist movements, which increased the difference between religions.

Pierre Hassner, a well-known French politologist, in his analyzes of the modern theories of world development, as well as the evolution of the world taking place at the end of the XX century, concludes that the tendency to change the world order with a decrease in the role of legal institutions and the vulgarization of relations is becoming more distinct. He sees the basic contradiction of the new century as the contradiction between Western civilization and the new type of barbarism that it itself has generated [38, pp. 39-49]. Hence, there is a high probability of coming to such international relations in which anarchy would dominate, leaving the state in the background [38, p. 46; 31, pp. 7-8]. Thus, there is a kind of return in the Middle Ages: transnational and ethnic issues undermines the state achievements, namely, the neutrality of the power that placed citizenship on its territory above the privileges of kinship and religious differences [31, p. 8].

This is in line with the conclusions of the Russian researcher A.I. Neklessa, who claims that the catalyst and internal logic of the outgoing century's trajectory is the exhaustion of the historical space of the New Age, the fatal crisis of its civilization model. The instability, the variability of the social kaleidoscope, paradoxically, becomes the most stable characteristic of modern times. There is an intensive transformation of social institutions, a change in the entire social, cultural environment of a person and in parallel his views on the meaning and purpose of being. A.I. Neklessa writes that in this tendency, an energetic impulse is felt; there is a growing probability of the onset of a certain moment of the truth of civilization, its critical peak experience (especially in the case of large-scale social, financial and economic shocks) [39, p. 34, p. 37], which is accompanied by socio-economic polarization at all levels, dissatisfaction and protestness, which covers ever wider masses [31, p. 8].

This comes into various forms of resistance and protest — from the spontaneity, anarchy and barbarism fixed by P. Hassner to terrorism. And it is not ruled out — a turn of history — assertions on the planet of neo-archaic culture, already now like metastases, in semi-revealed forms permeating the flesh of modern society, in fact, deprived of its own meaningful social perspective [39, pp. 214, 215]. Meanwhile, the formation of this neo-archaic culture is already occurring, in many respects being embodied in the escalation of terrorism, turning it into an ideology of this so-called culture [31, p. 396].

In other words, terrorism as a conflict confrontation between global forces, in which the rejected, marginalized “third world” is trying to restore its status quo and win back part of the “socio-economic space” through terrorist actions from the developed world, turns into a title feature (possibly in the mode of existence) of the emerging world order [18, p. 396]. But such a poorly controlled and unpredictable scale of the world conflict threatens to throw it out of the banks of the imaginable, because: 1) the likelihood of using means of mass destruction increases (statements about the possible use of nuclear weapons are heard today both by the states of the anti-terrorist coalition and by terrorist groups); the goal of the struggle is not to achieve self-determination, but to change the political balance of forces (*rapports de forces*) [40, p. 26]. In other words, it is essentially about fundamental changes in the socio-economic structure [18, p. 410], i.e. with changes in the world order.

The diapason of reading the future of the world is unusually wide, and at the beginning of the XXI century you can see some perspectives unknown to historical gaze. For example, the same terrorist activity, an individual act of destruction, is a steady companion of being in a new world, being basically a perverse manifestation of all the same tendencies of Christian civilization towards decentralization and individual freedom as the underlying phenomenon of civil society. It is a kind of charred skeleton of a heightened civil initiative in a totally unfriendly or aggressive environment and at the same time a completely different mode of civilization, devoid of certain moral boundaries [39, p. 39].

Perhaps, we should look for the origins of terrorism in some other general social, general historical, still poorly known patterns and development cycles of society, any other socio-political system. Since for the struggle for power, for example, and all the evils that it carries for the people, is a universal, ineradicable law. Lawlessness and violence in any sphere of human activity, whatever and no matter how they settled (and a person knows how to do it), are unacceptable; their consequences are tragic for many people, and sometimes for the whole society; they directly or indirectly, but affect the moral climate in society and crime rates [41, p. 7].

1.2. Regulatory function of terrorism

To understand social problems around which terrorism is formed, one has to ask the question: what is the function of terrorism in modern society? Or in other words, what is the impact of terrorism on the society development?

The essence of terrorism stems from an analysis of its functions aimed at destabilizing society. Any social phenomenon (including terrorism) that constantly exists in society and reproduces in society is functionally connected with other facts of social life. As S.U. Dikaev states, to show the functional connections of terrorism is to be able to explain terrorism, and even rationally influence it [42, p. 252].

There are opposing views on the functions of terrorism. One is that terrorism plays a purely destructive (intimidating, dysfunctional) function, the other is about the constructive (regulatory) role of terrorism in society. A true understanding of terrorism, its functions should be based on an understanding of the genesis of social conflict, its functionality.

In Western sociology, there is a tradition of considering conflict in opposition to the phenomenon of consensus. In recent years, the study of conflicts is carried out mainly in the framework of interdisciplinary research.

Among conflict theories corresponding to different meanings of the word “conflict”, the main line of separation lies between those that relate to the conflict as a pathological condition and study its causes and methods of elimination, and those that take the conflict for granted and study the behavior associated with it. Among the latter are those who study the actors in the conflict in all their complexity taking into account the “rational” and “irrational” behavior, conscious and unconscious, motivation and calculations. But there are those who focus on more rational, conscious, complicated types of behavior. This field of study is called a strategy of conflict [43, p. 15].

Considering the need to study such conflicting behavior in this field, there is every reason to understand in more detail the regulatory function of terrorism, which is being strengthened in modern society today. Moreover, the concept of regulativeness in relation to terrorism should be perceived with a certain degree of conditionality, rather as influence, since terrorism is most likely to make the process of world development catastrophic and unpredictable [18, p. 399]. We want to understand how terrorism affects society; understanding of its influence should provide a minimum of data to study the behavior of actors in a terrorist conflict. This makes it possible during the conflict to control the behavior of others or to influence them.

In the case of terrorism, there is a threat of turning it into a self-sufficient way of social interaction, which indicates its functionality [18, p. 105]. The demonstrative nature of the danger, its development into a stable social process indicates the productive function of social conflict, as if signaling to the society about this danger. That is, due to the terrorist conflict, diverse

social groups are becoming more consolidated, asserting their identity [18, p. 97, 112]. It is especially significant that the tendency to absorb and consolidate different social groups with a focus on terrorist methods is a consequence of social polarization, a growing number of people in the XX century, aware of their infringement of the benefits they are entitled to claim [18, pp. 112-113]. The deepening of this process is accompanied by the formation of all new layers and groups that occupy similar positions and are united by common self-knowledge and interests arising on the basis of socio-economic polarization.

Modern society can be quite called a society, an integral part of which is the expression of social tension through terrorism. The processes of division into their own and others continue to accelerate which increases ethnic and religious strives. Political, racial, class, and national passions still turn people against each other.

Even those who firmly believe in the inevitable progress of the human race, in the indispensable progress of humankind towards peace and love, cannot but acknowledge that over the past century, these passions are showing more and more brightly every day, reaching in some fundamentally important relationships in the history of the degree of perfection [44, p. 88].

Today, these passions, J. Benda stated with regret, have attained the generality, uniformity, unity, constancy, predominance over other passions, which is unusual for them, they have acquired a qualitatively different self-consciousness; finally, they are all equipped with an ideological apparatus, in the name of science proclaim the highest meaning of their existence and their historical necessity [44, p. 104]. Moreover, awareness of such opportunities for all is growing, regardless of class affiliation, wealth rate or power. Such an outcome lies in the most essential characteristic of terrorism, which equalizes the power and violent capabilities of the opposing parties [18, p. 98]. Thus, the disappointing balance of developments according to the rules of the theory of functionality, indicating the priorities of conflict dysfunctionality, is obvious [18, p. 98].

The need to understand the characteristics of the functionality of terrorism forces us to turn to the works of well-known theorists in the field of conflict sociology, especially those provisions that seem to be most consistent with modern ideas about terrorism and its functions.

The function of conflict, which consists in establishing and maintaining group identity, is noted in the works of such theorists as: J. Sorel, K. Marx, R. Dahrendorf, L. Coser, and G. Simmel.

Julien Sorel advocating "violence", justifies his position solely in the context of the close relationship between conflict and group cohesion [45, p. 105]. He understood that the working class would be able to preserve its identity only in constant clashes with the middle class. Only in this case will the workers find and realize their class affiliation. He was convinced that the

socialists (to whom he considered himself) must resist the “humanitarian” attempts of the ruling classes to improve the condition of the workers, and this conviction was based on the recognized truth: such measures would lead to a decrease in the level of class conflict and, consequently, to a weakening of class identity [45].

According to Karl Marx, classes arise only through conflict. Objectively, individuals can have the same position in society, but they can realize the commonality of their interests only in conflict and through conflict. “Some individuals form a class only insofar as they have to wage a common struggle against some other class; otherwise, they themselves are opposing each other as competitors” [46, p. 54]. The basis of the theory of social violence developed by K. Marx formed the conclusion that the contradictions of social life caused by existing production relations and unequal opportunities in the sphere of means of production cause a socio-economic conflict.

Max Weber, who owes much to Marx (although his direction of thought is completely independent), defines classes as groups arising on the basis of common economic interests arising from circumstances in the commodity market). However, Weber distinguishes between an objective situation, hostile relations and an expression of hostility in action, in conflict. He argues that “joint actions”, i.e. actions resulting from the feeling of belonging to the same class, are possible only when people are clearly aware of the specifics of their class situation, i.e. antagonism rooted in the difference in life chances [23, p. 180].

R. Dahrendorf, L. Coser, and G. Simmel are deservedly considered as the followers of K. Marx, M. Weber and as the creators of the conceptual foundations of modern conflictology.

The main thesis of the famous work of the German researcher G.Simmel sounds like this: “conflict is a form of social interaction”. In essence, this means that no group is completely harmonious, because in this case it would be devoid of movement and structure. Groups need both harmony and disharmony, both association and dissociation; and conflicts within groups are by no means exclusively destructive factors. Conflict, as well as cooperation, has social functions. A certain level of conflict is not necessarily dysfunctional, but it is an essential component of both the process of the formation of a group and its sustainable existence [47, p. 27-28]. Note that in terms of game theory, the most interesting international conflicts are games with not a constant, but a variable sum: the sum of the benefits of the parties to the conflict has not been established, so winning (“more”) one always means losing (“less”) to another. A common interest is to achieve a mutually beneficial outcome [43, p. 17]. In the framework of the strategy, the common interest is based on the assumption that the “best” choice of each party depends on his expectations regarding the actions of the other party, and that “strategic behavior” is related to influencing someone else’s choices by

influencing the other's expectations as to how his own behavior is related to that other's behavior [43, pp. 17-18].

G. Simmel insists that the conflict is a component of all social relations and performs positive functions, since it leads to the restoration of unity and balance of the group. Since the conflict leads to defusing tensions between the parties, it performs stabilizing functions and becomes an integral part of the relationship [47, pp. 27-28]. G. Simmel shows that conflict behavior always unfolds in a social context and that conflict as a social phenomenon can be understood only within the framework of interaction schemes [18, p. 130].

It should be noted that the ideas of G. Simmel had a significant impact on American sociology and, above all, on the works of L. Coser, the author of the "functions of social conflict". Developing the ideas introduced by Simmel, L. Coser comes to the conclusion that conflicts generated by a conflict of interests contain a deterrent element in themselves, to the extent that the struggle is only a means of achieving the goal; if the desired result can also be achieved by other means, then they also can be used. In such cases, conflict is only one of several possibilities [48, p. 71]. According to L. Coser, conflicts that arise due to dissatisfaction with the specific requirements within the framework of the relationship and the expected benefits of the parties and aimed at the frustrating object can be considered realistic conflicts to the extent that they are means to achieve a certain result. Unrealistic conflicts, on the other hand, although they also involve interaction between two or more individuals, are not generated by the antagonism of the goals of the parties, but by the need of deconfliction at least one of them. In this case, the choice of the opponent is not directly related to the problem on which the dispute is going, nor to the need to achieve a certain result [48, p. 71; p. 49, pp. 542-556]. Considering the conflict as such, and working with its model, in which its parties seek to "win," strategy theory admits the existence of both common and mutually conflicting interests among the parties in the conflict. Indeed, from the fact that in international relations there is a mutual dependence and contradiction, and all the richness of the theory of conflict follows from the conflict [43, pp. 17-18]. As noted above, the basis of terrorism is conflict, which is the opposing interaction of the two parties, which gives reason to consider them as parties to the conflict.

The follower of G. Simmel and L. Coser is deservedly considered the German sociologist R. Darendorf, mentioned many times above, who considers the conflict to be a permanent component of society, actually its condition. The quintessence of the research of R. Darendorf is an indication that the modern social conflict is the antagonism of rights and their protection, politics and economics, civil rights and economic growth. This, in addition, the constant conflict between groups of satisfied and demanding satisfaction, although the emergence in recent times of an extensive majority class has complicated the picture. This, in addition, the constant conflict between

groups of satisfied and demanding satisfaction, although the emergence in recent times of an extensive majority class has complicated the picture [49, p. 5]. The modern conflict is connected with the action of inequality, which limits the fullness of civic participation of people by social, economic and political means [49, pp. 54-55].

“One can argue about,” — he writes, — “whether or not there is a kind of civil war between poor and rich countries. In any case, an attempt to apply the concept of class struggle to the relationship between the first and third world will bring us a short distance. As long as there is no general context, there is no structured conflict, but as long as it does not exist, the existing contradiction does not lead us forward to new shores. Of course, the very existence of the third world, and above all the poorest of the poor, — there were two billion of these people at the end of the century, — is incompatible with the values of the civilized world, civil rights and economic growth. You can throw the idea of poverty in the world out of your head, but the fact still remains a fact, turning the life chances of the rich into something that they shouldn’t be in nature — a privilege. And for this reason, we also need a global civil society [49, p. 69, p. 70].

R. Darendorf closely approaches the problem of global conflict, which is based on such a recognized global injustice.

According to Burton, the starting point of the modern concept of social conflict is K. Lederer’s theory of human needs. This theory offers a completely different angle: social conflict is a consequence of the infringement (or inadequate satisfaction) of the whole set of human needs (or their parts), which constitute the “real human personality” as an active subject of the social process [53, p. 2].

In a global terrorist conflict, opposing actors are involved in the form of planetary social groups, each expressing and actually defending certain political, social and economic interests. With some degree of conditionality, one of such subjects can be defined as a social group expressing the interests of the “third world”, the poor part of the population of the Earth, which has been set by the destructive development of the global economy on the brink of survival. The radical formations that represent (and trying to represent) this megagroup use terrorist acts as a means of influencing the enemy to achieve a common goal — equal access to the opportunities and benefits of civilization [18, p. 107]. For millions of people living below the established standard, violence can increase the level of psychological and spiritual existence; it can raise undeveloped people to the human level. This may take the form of political riots that allow groups to break out of their own apathy [25].

Another subject of the global terrorist conflict is defined in the parameters of the opposite side, that is, the smaller in number of the social mega-group. Attached (also with some degree of conditionality) to the economically developed, so-called civilized countries [18, p. 107]. Not being able, in the

conditions of the crisis of the capitalist system of world order, to eliminate the subject of the conflict through political and economic means, this subject also resorts to the use of force against the enemy, using the power and law enforcement capabilities of the state and international organizations [18, pp. 106-107]. However, the presence of large financial resources, greater physical strength, large military potential, or a large ability to tolerate losses provides a disservice. These qualities are by no means universal advantages in finding a common interest or compromise with the other side; on the contrary, they often even have a negative value [43, p. 37].

Subject matter and object of a global terrorist conflict as well as in an “ordinary” social conflict, is conditioned by the political sphere of society, that is, by power and power relations. Hence, the subject of a global terrorist conflict, that is, the one about which the confrontation of subjects takes place, is resources and control over them, territories, access to technology, and benefits [18, p. 107]. But since the terrorist conflict is increasingly asserting itself as global, it has approached a line beyond which its dominant role can already be defined as a regulator of social processes, and subsequently — their ideological basis [18, p. 97].

Under the powerful intellectual influence of the Club of Rome, experts in energy, ecology and medicine competed in calculating for how many decades there will be enough oil, gas, other natural resources with increasing consumption and an increase in the population of our planet. Scholarly works, newspaper and magazine publications and speeches were filled with various variants of the idea of the “golden billion”, calculations were made proving the need for a tenfold, one hundredfold and even six hundredfold decrease in the population of the Earth [1, p. 9].

What about losses, due to whose losses? At first, it went without saying that it was necessary to urgently reduce the rapidly growing population of the “third world”, since the threat of terrorism emanates primarily from those regions where there is a high population density and high birth rate. These processes are inevitable and their essence lies not only and not so much in the response to terrorism, but in the instinctive response to people exceeding the threshold of population density. At one time, T. Malthus in his famous work “An Essay on the Principle of Population” (1798) for the first time conceptually fixed and mathematically substantiated the problem that the population of the Earth is increasing exponentially, and its food resources are increasing in arithmetic progression and, therefore, the planet waiting for hunger. Over the centuries since then, the number of people has increased significantly, although this problem (before and after it) has been empirically solved for centuries by very cruel methods (wars, famine, conflicts). And almost forty years before Malthus, who formed his law when the realities reflected by him became the property of the past era, Scottish economist Robert Welles published his work “Different Perspectives of Humanity,

Nature and Behavior”. In this work, he warned that the numbers of humanity will double every thirty years. If we trace the dynamics of the demographic surge in a particular area of the Earth and the number of victims in the war that follows this surge, then a correlation is easily discovered - the more people live in the conflict zone, the more active the fighting and the more dead [50]. It is terrorism in the new millennium that will replace the absence of mass wars. And the growing dynamics of victims of terrorist attacks in recent years confirms this thought [51].

If terrorism is considered to be a consequence of depopulation measures (acting at an unconscious level), then in case of an increase in the number of victims of terrorist acts, terrorism may well claim to perform the function of regulating the number of people.

If we take into account the hypocritical concerns about the overpopulation of the Earth periodically popping up in the media, the veiled proposals of “correcting the population of the planet”, then the specter of the universal genocide of the world’s poor population as a peculiar final solution to the demographic issue cannot be excluded [1, p. 10].

However, even ideologically impartial scientists feel the normal human awkwardness from the very question of saving the planet by its selective release from the “human burden”¹⁰.

As a result of the transformations of the last third of the 20th century, a significant part of humanity, that is not part of the world economy, turned into the deprived inhabitants of urban slums, often drawn into the orbit of mafia and organized crime. Along with this, refugee camps are growing everywhere, resulting from environmental disasters, civil wars, armed conflicts, ethnic and religious strife. All this creates an extensive social base for terrorism [18, p. 11]. In fact, in the zones that “falls out” of civilizational evolution, there are positive processes of self-destruction that are hopelessly lagging behind and do not fit into the changing global context of structures. The phenomenology of such phenomena is quite diverse: civil wars, terror, epidemics, deurbanization and the archaization of the economy against the backdrop of famine, poorly motivated wars with neighbors. The result is the same — the deduction from the history of the inadequate, non-transformative societies [51]. Indeed, the potential of the protest masses, caught up in the margins of history, expressed to a significant extent by terrorist acts, is ultimately directed against unjustly divided resources.

However, in parallel with the legal protest of the “third world”, a “different format” of anti-globalist rhetoric and vigorous aggressive practice is also

¹⁰ Out of spite of eco-racite theories were counted to show that the average US citizen consumes 150 times more energy than a resident of Bolivia, Ethiopia or Bangladesh, and during the course of life causes 280 times more damage to nature than Chad or Haiti and etc. Don't you think that in order to save the Earth's resources it would be more expedient to “save” it from the population of developed countries? [1, p. 10].

thriving. A.I. Neklessa convincingly proves it. He is convinced that the fluids emanating from this social abyss feed a new generation of anti-civilizational ideologies and terrorist organizations, provoking with their actions an increase in reprisals and the legalization of a new, rigid format of international relations [39, p. 13]. It is precisely terrorism that is linked to the global confrontation of primarily marginalized forces, especially young people, in order to channel their energy to achieve false goals [18, p. 410].

As a form of expression of social contradictions, terrorism exposed all their depth and extreme crisis of the social structure of modern society in conditions of increasing polarity, which adequately reflects the balance of forces and capabilities [18, p. 432]. With the growth of the asymmetric component in an armed conflict and the involvement of a number of states and intrastate formations that possess it, the space of action of the factor of reciprocity is expanding, which, according to its (factor) internal logic, implies an increase in the regulatory function of terrorism [18, pp. 38-39]. This factor has an impact on world development and the subsequent world order. Terrorist methods adopted by radical forces representing the poor regions of the planet in the struggle for equal development introduced nominal comparability to the balance of forces of the opposing parties and "allowed" the global conflict to take place, which is why it was called "terrorist" [18, pp. 300-306]. As V.F. Antipenko notes, acts of violence used in the process of conflict, on the one hand, make comparable the capabilities of developed countries in the struggle to defend their interests in the process of world development. On the other hand, they create conditions for engaging in this fight almost the entire population of the planet, while at the same time contributing to its further polarization [18, p. 410]. Therefore, terrorism is transformed from a social product into a regulatory factor that determines the formation of a "global underground", within the framework of which it can claim to be a social ideology [18, p. 13, 71-72].

Thus, terrorist methods of influence in the status of the weapon of the poor, as the American sociologist S. Huntington called it at one time, have the prospect of being transformed into a social ideology in a certain geographical space. Virtual space determines the "equality" of terrorism in the public consciousness of large masses of the world's population as a method of action claiming acceptability in the global economy [18, p. 73]. The ideology of terrorism and violence justified in these conditions, forming the foundations of governing society according to the principle of "organized chaos", can claim to be a social paradigm defining the foundations of the world order [18, p. 71].

However, there is an opposite opinion, the essence of which is that terrorism also contains a reconciliation function for countries and peoples who hold different (often polar) positions in the assessments of terrorism.

This may serve as a basis for dialogue and cooperation among states, international organizations, social groups and movements interested in overcoming terrorism.

It is terrorism that, thanks to its unprecedented radicalism and phenomenal cruelty, has attracted the attention of society to the most significant problems of world development and compels one to ponder over the real ways and means of ridding the world system of a catastrophic impasse [18, p. 20, 22]. The problem is not even in reconciliation of interests, but in coordinating the actions of the parties for their mutual benefit in the case of, for example, the need to preserve the habitat. The specificity of the modern environmental threat is that it is predominantly anthropogenic in nature and entails global consequences, opening up broad opportunities for a relatively new social phenomenon — “ecoterrorism” at the level of individuals and groups or environmental aggression at the national-state level [39, p. 314].

In recent years, there has been a noticeable multiplication of areas of human activity and an increase in the number of territories directly affected by criminal and terrorist activities, merging into a single phenomenon of destructive quasi-economics — more than a specific economic sphere, which is already now turning over hundreds of billions of dollars and obeying qualitatively other than legal economics, the fundamental laws (actually causing pecuniary injury, that is, “negative cost”) [18, p. 13]. Therefore, the next, no less important conclusion is an indication of the function of social regulation emanating from the mechanism incorporated in the financial civilization, on the one hand, and terrorism, on the other. Modern terrorism is a product of the world economic system. An assessment of the current state of the global economy gives grounds to assert not only that, against the background of geo-economic processes, an environment is formed for the spread of terrorism, but also that terrorism can mutate before it becomes a condition for the existence of this international environment [18, p. 46].

The confrontation between terrorism and a stable economic system is so common that starting to talk about the incorporation of terrorism into the modern economic system is the same as coughing up at a symphonic music concert [45, p. 111]¹¹.

Another paradoxical, but repeatedly described effect in the literature: the improvement of objective (for example, economic) indicators is accompanied by increasing dissatisfaction. This observation builds a socio-psychological

¹¹ The specifics of the new formula of the world economy can be defined as follows: if up to a certain point, it represented the sum of national economies that were independent entities operating in the global field, now the situation is turning around. A global entity, the “headquarters economy”, is emerging, which, through transnational corporations and banks’ systems, confidently acts on national sites, turning them into a universal object. At the same time, a single type of economic management is being approved; a system of redistribution (through financial and legal technologies) of world resources and income is being formed [31, p. 41].

concept of revolutionary situations, as well as the concept of pre-crisis development [1, p. 61]. However, sociological data show that people's satisfaction with their lives ceases to grow immediately after their income increases to a relatively modest level. However, people are not able to achieve the final satisfaction of their desires. Like Tantalus, they are doomed to eternal torment of dissatisfaction. Like Sisyphus, they must roll a huge boulder endlessly up a steep hill, where the stone can never stay, but by all means roll down, forcing him to start all over again.

Of course, with the development of the economy, society has additional opportunities for active, purposeful impact on the state of the environment, but the understanding of the "catastrophic potential" of these opportunities is growing [39, p. 314]. The global economy that generates and cultivates terrorism projects this phenomenon to the world community for its perception on the "Third World Ghetto", trying to present it as a deviant environment, an area of world risk [18, p. 81]. Terrorism, being the essential component of the global economy, is used by it to unwind the virtual mechanisms for obtaining super-profits, which was made possible by creating a distorted image of terrorism, and is accompanied by the imposition of such a distorted assessment of this phenomenon on society. This indicates the function of social regulation emanating from the mechanism inherent in financial civilization, on the one hand, and terrorism, on the other [18, p. 51]. The latter is developing, turning into a significant international factor of social regulation.

The foregoing does not exhaust the problem of the social regulation of terrorism. There is reason to believe that some countries cultivate terrorism on a controlled scale, since this is one of the most powerful means of manipulating consciousness and "distracting the influence of society from internal problems" [42]. One cannot but agree that terrorism is a very effective tool of obtaining the desired domination over society. The introduction of the illusory fear of terrorism into the mass consciousness is aimed at misleading society, deceiving it about the essence of the events, developing a condescending attitude towards the authorities [42]. It acts as a fundamental factor determining human behavior and, accordingly, is used for political purposes as a tool for managing society. Modern terrorism acts as an important tool: prosecuting modern wars; economic weakening of the contender; elective technologies; social cohesion; organization and disorganization of the public political institutions of the state; upholding the geopolitical interests of states. The listed functions of terrorism cause its transformation into an even more multidimensional, complex and socially dangerous phenomenon, into a serious global problem, the solution of which requires the systematic efforts of the entire world community.

The destructive society that already exists and grows "suitable" for these functions, "producing its very specific statehood, as well as politics,

economics, ideology, culture, and exporting this permanent neo-revolution to the outside world, gradually creates a real threat to the existing civilizational context and forms the basis of the global alternatives to constructive evolution schemes of human society” [52, p. 54].

The development of such a society does not promise peace in the future. A series of independent calculations showed that global evolution enters a mode of acceleration that is unprecedented in its steepness, which should reach the mathematical limit (“singular point”) around the middle of the XXI century [39, p. 35].

Thus the obvious question that arises: what’s coming next? The emergence of a new type of society or the inclusion of some mechanism to ensure its conservation at the peak of the complexity achieved? But this is only part of the questions and, moreover, not the most important. In its dubious basis, the formulation of the question looks like for the simple reason that society (in the sense of the global community) cannot fight with itself. It was within the framework of the objective development of society that terrorism arose and developed. One can even say that terrorism is in demand with today’s content of the development of society [18, p. 20].

We will face outbreaks of violence as long as people lack meaningful experiences. Every person needs a sense of significance, and if society cannot give it to a person, or at least provide an opportunity to become meaningful, this feeling will be achieved in destructive ways. Therefore, according to R. May, we have to find the ways in which people can achieve significance and recognition so that destructive violence becomes unnecessary [25].

In the theory of social conflict, social collisions are considered as functional and dysfunctional. Functional conflicts favor stable social development and lead to the use of various productive innovations. Dysfunctional conflicts threaten the integrity of the whole society; can lead to violence, war, and human casualties. Neglect of the study of social conflict, more specifically, the neglect of the study of its functions as opposed to dysfunctions, in the global economy has become stable objective process [18, p. 97]. Despite the fact that the developed part of society makes great efforts to isolate itself from the terrorist threat, establishing powerful political, legal and organizational-economic redoubts on the path of terrorism to its main goal — the existing world order, terrorism continues its destructive effect. Here, as noted above, the factor of the uncontrollability of the catastrophic socio-economic processes (for all), which are rapidly gaining momentum, comes into force. An understanding of this fateful mechanism comes to the elite, undermining the foundations of the existing world order as a whole, without any exceptions to it, but, due to certain circumstances, it is difficult for her to come to terms with it. However, as we have said above, despite the obvious negative tendencies accompanying the global terrorist conflict, the elite are no longer

able to act differently, confirming the crisis of the capitalist world system [18, p. 97].

We come to the bold idea: A bold idea suggests itself: what if human wars are just beginning? Such a thought naturally comes to mind when you think about this invented relatively recent and now brought to the incredible efficiency of terrorism as an instrument for the cultivation of political passions, the influence of which people feel every day.

The best that might be hoped for is that consistently realizing its constructive function, the terrorist conflict by its escalation inexorably predetermines unifying tendency in relation to it and the subsequent actions of the opposing parties [18, p. 97].

1.3. Terrorism and the formation of a global society (cultural aspect)

It is absolutely obvious that before anyone who undertakes to seriously analyze global world problems, including terrorism, questions arise so multifaceted that unambiguous answers are simply impossible. Over the past half century, the topic of terrorism, global society, conflict, and questions about whether the humanity has a future has become the most popular topic of scientific and would-be scientific discussions.

History knows many examples when civilizations formed, flourished, degraded and destroyed. The abundance of historical concepts, various kinds of “scenarios”, foreshadowing the emergence of “new civilizations”, are animated by the fruitful idea of the multi-optional social development [59]. At the same time, the crisis of any “local civilization” is experienced by its carriers as a cosmic event [64].

In 1920, Oswald Spengler’s famous work “The Decline of the West” (“Untergang des Abendlandes”) was published, in which the author interprets the phases of the development of “Western civilization”. According to the theory of Spengler, civilizations arose, developed, declined in exact accordance with a certain stable schedule, like a multitude of closed civilization cycles. Proclaimed by Spengler thesis “Humanity is a zoological concept, or else it is an empty word” expresses absolute freedom from a single story [8, p. 151]. This, in turn, means the transformation of freedom into adventurism, and free acts make it infinitely diverse and completely unpredictable.

One of the pillars of the “civilizational approach”, the English historian A. Toynbee, presented world history as an agglomerate of isolated civilizations. As a representative of the civilization paradigm, Toynbee considers civilization as a unit of the historical process, but refuses to look at it as an organic integrity, which makes Spengler. In Toynbee’s theory, signs are revealed that are common to all civilizations — a tendency toward growth, spatial expansion, pressure on other civilizations, to the assimilation of other societies, to variations and mutations that have a unique creative character

[59]. Since civilizations are flourishing and decaying, giving life to new civilizations that are at a higher level, it is possible that a purposeful process is unfolding, a divine plan, according to which knowledge gained through the suffering caused by the downfalls of civilizations as a result becomes the highest means of progress [4]. Mankind as a whole constantly undermines the sources of its existence and just as constantly and consistently finds a way out on the paths to raising the level of organization, in other words, on the paths of historical progress [64].

However, later the idea of progress, — E. Fromm wrote in 1964, is called a children's illusion, instead of it "realism" is preached — a new word for the final loss of faith in a person [56, p. 12]. The logical conclusion of the all-embracing realism professed by present-day humanity is the organized mutual murder of nations and classes. We can assume another logical result: on the contrary, their reconciliation [44, p. 209].

It should be noted that the Marxist school of social studies remained an impregnable stronghold of "social progress", the influence of which after World War II expanded considerably [1, p. 52]. Socialists believed that the only way to salvation is to move forward and create a new society that could free people from alienation, subjection to the machine and dehumanization. Continuing to cling to hope for a better future, humanity closes its eyes to the fact that it has turned into worshippers of the goddess of destruction [1, p. 52].

In the middle of the last century, the distinguished Russian-American sociologist P.A. Sorokin wrote: "The wave of death, atrocities and ignorance that swept the world in, as it was thought, civilized XX century, completely contradicted all the "sweet" theories of progressive human evolution from ignorance to science and wisdom, from the beastlike state to the nobility of morals, from barbarism to civilization, from "theological" to "positive" stage of development of society, from tyranny to freedom, from poverty and disease to unlimited prosperity and health, from deformity to beauty, from man, the worst of animals, to superman-demigod" [57, p. 16; 1, pp. 51 — 52].

The starting point of the unity of earthly civilization should determine the greatness of the human person. The French philosopher Henri Bergson concludes his research on this subject as follows: "People continue to assert that Man is an insignificant grain of sand on the face of the earth, and the Earth is a grain of sand in the expanses of the Universe. However, the Man, even if we take only his bodily hypostasis, is not content with the space allotted to him, but being endowed with consciousness, is the abode of the entire Universe [58; p. 22].

A. Toynbee in turn, reveals the inextricable connection between the development of society and the development of personality, where the level of development of the second can be characterized by the level of development of the first, and the personality acts as an active creative initiative that actually influences the course of the historical process [59].

From the concept of the unity of the world and the society personifying it, it follows that the world society can produce its own conflict only in its integrity. And in this sense, it acts as an apothetical (but by no means conditional) subject of global (common) conflict, that is, one that threatens its existence. The fragmented or segmental nature of such a conflict cannot exist, although its mechanism is the interaction of the most diverse forces [60, p. 27]. It is global conflict, its growing degree helps to realize the unity of the earth [60, p. 27]. It is not by chance that Karl Jaspers, sought to introduce into the minds of Europeans the idea of the unity of the world. It was the Greeks who laid the foundation of the Western world, and made it so that it exists, since it constantly looks to the East. It is in demarcation with it, understanding it and moving away from it, adopting certain features from it and processing them, fighting with it¹² and in this struggle the power gradually passes from one side to another [60, p. 89].

Terrorism is also generally characterized by the confrontation between two main forces within the same social integrity — the international community. The process of this confrontation and, of course, its consequences pose a threat to the international community itself [59, p. 44-45].

The danger for humanity (and reason to talk about the global crisis) will arise only when the zones of destruction, the civilizational “downfall” of entire regions and the disintegration of social organisms will grow in their volumes above a certain critical level, in terms of the global whole [64].

In the light of A. Etzioni’s conclusions, the global terrorist conflict reflects the resistance of the East to revolutionary civilized models of the West, which have compromised themselves by the “prospect” of the crisis and possible subsequent collapse. According to the theory of the famous American sociologist Erich Fromm, this response pattern of the East can be assessed as secondary (retaliatory) aggression [62, p. 256].

Thus, it is not the assertion of superiority, the victory or the defeat of one of these sides that is put at the forefront. The challenge is to preserve the international community itself [60, p. 31]. Therefore, first of all, it is necessary to eliminate the true factors and conditions that determine the subject and content of this confrontation.

When discussing the topic of combating terrorism, there is often an opinion that one of its reasons is the rejection of traditional societies, especially those based on Islam, the value systems of the West, the culture of postmodern, etc.

¹² Apparently, not without reason, scientists believe that in the world of Islam now begins the “Axial Age”. For the Islamic civilization, which arose almost seven hundred years later, the Christian nation, now, if we follow the European chronological scale, the XV century comes. (Actually, the XVI century or even the XVII century - considering the mutual influence of supercultures and the general acceleration of historical development). In Europe, the same period formed the Renaissance. The epoch of the Renaissance made European civilization extrovert and led to expansion, which lasted until the XXI century [59].

Indeed, the conditions of social inequality are a favorable environment for the emergence of fundamentalism in the East, which is in many ways an extreme reaction to the “revolutionary changes” imposed by the West. However, this is not entirely correct understanding of the situation.

Centuries ago, and even like today, the ancestors of Europeans found a scapegoat in Islam. In the XVI century, Islam caused the same hysteria in the hearts of Western Europeans that communism caused in the XX century, and mainly for the same reasons. Like communism, Islam is an anti-Western movement, although at the same time it is a heretical version of the Western faith; as well as communism, it honed the spirit, against which a material weapon is powerless. “Axial Age” apparently, in the Islamic world is now starting. This is a period of passionarity, a period of awareness of oneself as a new universal community, different from others, a period of “teenage”, that is, greedy and impetuous, and world exploration [59].

The level of severity of the conflict between Islam and Christianity throughout the entire time is influenced by demographic growth and recession, economic development, technological change and the intensity of religious beliefs [37, p. 330].

Nowadays, traditionalism, fundamentalism, and terrorism are in demand as a reaction to the growing social injustice. With these radical means of reciprocal struggle, their initiators link the ability to resist the creeping enslavement of peoples, inhabiting the so-called space of the “world periphery” [31, p. 48]. Its results are already manifested in the growing disequilibrium of the world, despite assurances that the world economy is a “global economic zone of free competition”. Terrorism in this sense, as an extremely cruel and extreme method of influence, indicates the extreme and cruelty that the development of the global economy results [31, p. 48].

According to S. Huntington, modern conflicts between the West and Islam focus less on the territory, but rather on broader, inter-civilization problems, such as arms proliferation, human rights and democracy, oil control, migration, the so-called Islamic terrorism and Western intervention [37, p. 333]. Islam is viewed by the West as a source of proliferation of nuclear weapons, terrorism and, in Europe — unwanted migrants. First of all, we are talking about global instability, caused, on the one hand, by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the threat of their use, and, on the other, by uncontrolled actions of the governments of a number of countries that violate the rights of citizens. One should also note the problems associated with organized international crime, human trafficking, illegal use of intellectual property, and cybercrime [31, p. 171].

S. Huntington predicted that as long as Islam remains Islam (which it will remain) and the West remains the West (which is doubtful), this fundamental conflict between the two great civilizations and the peculiarities of each way of life will continue, defining the relationship of these civilizations in the

future to the same extent as it defined them during the past fourteen centuries [37, p. 332].

Today's fear of the West over Islam is the fear, above all, of a cultural nature. Thus, the causes of the renewed conflict between Islam and the West lie in the fundamental issues of power and culture [37, p. 332]. It is fair to assume that a large part of the population, representing mainly the "third world", for the reasons described above, does not find any use in the society constructed according to Western ideas, and therefore does not feel itself bound by its rules [31, pp. 172-173]. One of the reasons for the attacks on globalization is that it is a process that undermines national values. These conflicts are very real and to some extent inevitable. Economic growth, including the one initiated by the globalization, will result in urbanization that undermines traditional societies. Unfortunately, those responsible for managing globalization, praising its positive results, too often demonstrate an underestimation of its negative sides, as well as a threat to cultural identity and a system of value orientations [68, p. 1194].

As long as globalization proceeds as it does now, it will be tantamount to depriving the population of developing countries of their civil rights. It is not surprising that it encounters resistance, especially from those who lose their rights [68, p. 1194].

It is one thing when a qualitatively different is somewhere beyond the limits of one's own horizons; with another beyond the horizon, traditional consciousness is reconciled easily. It is quite another thing when another invades the inner world, which always gives rise to a conflict, which is assigned the status of a cosmic event [64].

In the modern world, with its previously unheard of mobility and information, with its destructive gap in the levels and quality of life of various countries and peoples, terrorism is ineradicable. It will constantly feed on the hatred and envy of poor and unsettled national and social groups to those who own all imaginable and unimaginable life benefits, exude contentment and look at the world with completely different eyes, which arrogantly dictate their will to others and grossly interfere in other people's affairs [69, p. 71]. Terrorism, paradoxically, is conquering new millions of supporters who, in such a confrontation, see an opportunity to end global inequality emanating from the capitalist system of the world economy. Terrorism is actually threatening to introduce human society into a new coordinate system based on asymmetry. It is necessary to take into account the enormous human potential of terrorism, which is capable of capturing such a significant, increasing in number mass of people, open (due to the emerging global socio-economic situation) to its perception. The development of the world community in these conditions is difficult to imagine [31, p. 425].

Since social development (following the logic of the survival of its main part) objectively "receives" those directions and ways of existence that are

shaped by relevant social expectations, this development in its history “tried” many options, including those that in principle associated with armed violence. In the socio-political aspect, it is, for example, socialism, convergence, social transformation, integration, etc.

But the emergence (and what is important, demand) in the depths of society of such an extremely dangerous way of its social processes, such as terrorism, is undoubtedly caused by the fact that society is facing a real threat to its existence in general [18, p. 31].

From our point of view, the approach to terrorism seems to be progressive as a social result of the life activity of the entire world community, which in a crisis of the world system poses a threat to the civilized existence of all states, peoples, social groups and individuals¹³. Therefore, there is no doubt that the search for ways to eliminate the terrorist threat and the causes generating it should be based on the awareness of all actors of international relations and the world community of responsibility for the emergence and spread of terrorism as a social phenomenon [18, p. 42].

The updated images in which terrorism appears indicate the amazing transformativeness of this phenomenon and more and more persistently leads to simple thought that we do not notice (or pretend that we do not notice, or do not want to notice) the main thing — terrorism is not just a social anomaly, it is a consistent component of the content of society’s life that has been naturalized, dissolved in it, making its essential characteristic. Hence the opposition of society and terrorism is groundless [18, p. 24].

The best way to neutralize the threat of terrorism is the restructuring of society, which implies the creation of a comprehensive mechanism capable of preventing the emergence of conditions and possibilities of a terrorist threat. It is well known that “global power” cannot be strengthened without at least partially implementing the idea of a universal community, the formation of which will be facilitated by an objective assessment of terrorism as a social result of the activities of the entire international community, which in a crisis of the world system poses a threat to all mankind. A positive result is not possible unless other forms of statehood replace the national state. The only and real thing that can be done is to avert the enormous power of the nation-states from taking up the war to strengthening justice, personal security and democracy [5]. Perhaps the most important feature of modern order is the transformation from a society based on elites to a society based on masses of citizens. This transformation also combines the belief in equality and open access to markets, the institutionalization of the rule of law and massive political participation [70; 71].

¹³ The position according to which the destructiveness of modern society generates violence, including terrorism is common to many authors. Explanations of terrorism as a product of deep deformation of social development can be found in the works of V.I. Maksimenko, A.I. Neklessa, V.F. Antipenko and other scientists.

E. Fromm points out that creating a new society and a new person is possible only if the old motivation for profit and the conquest of power is replaced by a new one, namely — to be, to give and to understand; if the market character is replaced by a productive, loving character, and the cybernetic religion is replaced by a new radical humanistic spirit [16].

Some consolation is the fact that, thanks to a number of recent events, such a community has ceased to be just a beautiful dream. It is extremely necessary, because humanity is full of common interests and problems that need to be addressed together. Moreover, the prospect of forming a common interest does exist. The realities of modernity, the growing tendency to interdependence of all elements not only within a separate society, but also the world community leads to the understanding that with an objective lack of a balance of interests, as vital for conflict actors, it is still possible to distinguish the planetary principle at the intersection of their interests [18, p. 109]. Such, obviously, is the preservation of humanity and its environment. It is these values that are intended to predetermine the need for an international legal mechanism capable of ensuring the escalation of a global terrorist conflict from an antagonistic state into an agonistic one, and therefore become the basis for its settlement and resolution [18, p. 109].

It is necessary to agree with opinion that the elimination of the threat of terrorism should be associated with resolving the crisis of the existing world system and the formation of a new system of the world. This logic is consistent with the concept of stability and development proposed by A. Etzioni. “The emerging global architecture,” he writes, “should assume the function of guaranteeing the satisfaction of the basic needs of all people, not because of a certain socialist equality concept, but because of the fundamental moral value of the human person [31, p. 260]. Mankind shall stand united, first of all, for the eradication of poverty and stagnation, in which its significant part is located.

The key provisions of the conflict theory allow us to conclude that the development of a crisis-based society in the context of escalating terrorism should prompt society to compromise and search for new peacekeeping tools that should influence the development of society.

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CHAPTER II

UNIVERSAL CHARACTER OF TERRORISM

2.1. Violence as the basis of terrorism

All societies are confronted with the problem of violence. Regardless of how genetically predisposed people are to violence, the possibility of using violence by some individuals is a major problem for any group. None of the societies have solved the problem by eliminating violence; at best, violence can be contained or tried to control it.

Violence can manifest itself in different dimensions. Violence can be expressed in physical actions or the threat of their commission. In another dimension, violence may be the action of one person or the action of

organized groups. Most authors characterize violence as the use of various forms of coercion in order to acquire or preserve economic and political domination, to gain certain preferences. In everyday use, the thesis is often heard that violence is the midwife of history. Aggression and violence are justly linked in social consciousness. In point of fact, violence as a means of coercion is, to one extent to another, inherent in any society. Attempts to formulate its single definition face a discouraging fact: the content of this concept changes very rapidly with an increase in the sensitivity of citizens to the quality of social relations. Jean-Paul Sartre at one time argued that violence is the creation of personality. It is the organization of their forces in order to prove its strength, in order to assert the value of their personality. It means to stake everything on one roll of the dice, the commission of everything, the statement of everything. When a person or a group of people are denied for a certain time what he feels is his legal right, when he is constantly burdened with a sense of powerlessness that destroys the remnants of self-esteem — violence is a predictable result. However, violence unites all possible elements of personality, except rationality. The physical element that occupies a large place in violence is a symbol of the totality of human involvement [1].

In a historical retrospect, the comparative calculations of scientists of the bloodshed coefficient do not give grounds for a conclusion on the reduction of the level of violence [2, p. 117]. It follows thence that the level of violence in ancient societies does not exceed the level of violence in modern society¹⁴.

Other studies indicate that “during historical development real violence is increasingly being replaced by symbolic violence” [5, p. 530; 6]. In parallel with violence, the threshold of sensitivity to violence, as well as to death in general, to one's own and to someone else's pain, decreases. The very concepts of violence, even murders, have grown to the previously unthinkable

¹⁴ However, using recently developed forensic techniques for inferring the existence of human-induced violence from skeletal evidence, Steckel and Wallis show that the rate of human induced violence in a sample of New World individuals declined as the size of the population increased. The evidence from skeletal remains suggests that, as the scale of society's increased, human-induced violence declined [3; 4].

meanings...¹⁵ The terrorist attacks, in which dozens of people are dying, are acutely experienced by hundreds of millions on distant continents and, once on TV and personal computer screens, serve as a pretext for statements about the “monstrous increase in cruelty in the modern world”.

Occupying an important place in the political history of mankind, from ancient times to the present day, violence is considered by political players as one of the main, albeit extreme, but inevitable, not very desirable theoretically, but practical enough, means of achieving their goals [10; 11].

A study of the history of the formation of European states shows that as the world is more and more inclined toward war, violence between individuals (outside the public sphere) is generally shrinking [9].

The main problem of our study is the use of organized violence by terrorist groups and organizations. With the consistent growth of the destructive power of technology and demographic density, terrorist attacks are now facilitated not only instrumentally, but also psychologically — in particular, by increasing the necessary and sufficient distance for this, minimizing physical effort, the possibility of simultaneously hitting the mass of people, etc [2; p. 100-101].

In the plane of psychology, the activities associated with the use of violence, is different originality. First of all, its originality is high emotional tension, determined by a considerable share of risk. On the one hand, the subjects of violence are usually guided by strong emotions and feelings, reaching the violent degree of their manifestation: anger, rage, hatred, despair. On the other hand, the consequences of violence cause a corresponding emotional reaction in his victims: the humiliation of dignity, pain, grief, humiliation, a thirst for revenge [10; p. 26]. Apparently, an explosion of rage clarifies the psychological attitude, promoting greater honesty. Therefore, most people feel better after expressing their anger [1].

From the point of view of R. May, violence is a symptom whose roots lie in the impotence characteristic of both the individual and the groups. A disease can manifest itself as a lack of self-worth, injustice — an individual's conviction that he is not fully human, and he has no place to stick in this

¹⁵ Man fully inherited the natural aggressiveness of animal ancestors. Special experiments that have long been included in psychological anthologies [7; 8] demonstrate how repressed aggression impulses can be released in their respective role contexts. At the same time, for centuries, the increasing demographic density reinforced the frustration factor, thickening the natural background of aggressiveness, which was superimposed on the development of slaughter technologies that increased the effect of physical effort and thereby reduced the threshold of motivation necessary and sufficient for mass reprisals within the community [2; p. 103]. Now, when aviation, tanks, missiles, nuclear weapons appeared, the losses in the wars of the XX century are incomparably higher than anything that mankind had known before. As a result, the total loss in battle for the year soared to the skies: from 9400 in the sixteenth to 290000 in the XX century [9]. At the same time, the remoteness of potential victims, the possible absence of physical, visual and auditory contact facilitated the transfer of aggression to external communities [2; p. 103].

world. In its simplest and typical form, violence is a breakthrough locked passion [1]. Violence is a flash of desire to destroy what is interpreted as an obstacle to self-esteem, movement and growth. In violence there is a pleasure that takes the individual from himself and pushes him to something deeper and stronger than what he had previously experienced. The individual “I” imperceptibly turns into “we”, “my” becomes “our” [1].

The most productive and important criterion in measuring violence is the number of its participants, i.e. the type of subject of violence — mass (group, collective) or individual. The second basic criterion is the degree of organization of violence. This typology is the most applicable to the extreme forms of violence, which are terrorist acts [10; 12].

Systematic, brutal, extreme violence, prolonged terror can create an atmosphere of universal fear, which paralyzes the will and ability to resist, causes a kind of transformation of consciousness. Psychologists note that exactly in the periodicity of violence a certain psychological mechanism of terror lies: due to the regular use of violence by terrorists, a state of citizens' confidence is formed that violence can be applied at any time to any of them. This causes a massive threat to stability and security, due to which horror quickly spreads [10, p. 27].

In the system of terrorist violence, it is conditionally possible to distinguish the following links: 1) the conflicting party (initiator of the crime); 2) perpetrator of a terrorism act; 3) object of a criminal influence; 4) way of influence on the object of criminal infringement; 5) the consequences of a criminal act; 6) publicity of a criminal act through the media; 7) achieving the effect of fear; 8) making claims to the addressee; 9) addressee reaction [13, p. 258].

It is well known that the causes of violence are rooted in the inferiority and contradictions of social life, above all, in the unequal position of groups and individuals in the system of society related to the distribution of social benefits. In other words, the main cause of violence is social inequality.

From the standpoint of dialectics, modern social conflict is a conflict between groups that are satisfied and require satisfaction. This is in addition to the constant antagonism of rights and their security, politics and economics, civil rights and economic growth. The beginning of the world's disintegrating society and the global conflict aggravating therein is that the border of this conflict exactly coincides with the border between the society possessing high technologies and, accordingly, civilizational benefits and the majority of the population of the planet where these technologies are inaccessible [14, p. 76].

It should be noted that the social (stratifying) structure of society, involving stratification and hierarchical organization of its various strata, varies in different countries, as the main divide between different social groups shifts upwards more and more persistently, separating from the traditional the middle class and approaching the upper class border [15].

The gradual stratification of society exacerbates the problem of social inequality, aggravating poverty. It is obvious that the key problem that casts doubt on the positive prospects of social development is the growing inequality in the distribution of material goods. Economists rightly pointed to the inequality in material income and living conditions between developed and developing countries: for example, from 1800 to 1995, the gap in GDP per capita has increased in 50-60 times [16].

V.F. Antipenko in his studies notes that that the socioeconomic polarization caused by globalization forms a protest social psychology, in the depths of which an acceptable perception of terrorism is born as a means of meeting social expectations [14, p. 385]. This polarization determines the asymmetry in the means of struggle, the meaning of which is the phenomenon of achieving concurrence of levels of confrontation with a striking discrepancy between the parties' military and economical potentials and the absence of a proportional relationship between the high destructive potential of the terrorist method of action and the relatively insignificant material base on which it relies [14, p. 432]. It seems that it was precisely the actions of the world community that gave rise to asymmetry in the means of the response struggle for the restoration of that primary symmetry [14, p. 79].

The phenomenon of this fact points to the extreme crisis of society. The emergence and functioning of terrorism absolutely adequately reflects the balance of forces and opportunities that has developed in the world community in conditions of increasing polarity. It would be appropriate to note that as the polarity increases, we should expect an increase in the cruelty and scale of the terrorist acts, taking into account the growing demand for appropriate methods of counteraction from the so-called anti-systemic forces, which are the victim of the deconstruction in the world community [14, pp. 432-433].

The abovementioned is just another witness to the fact that humanity is developing in conditions of constant conflict. The way of protest, reflecting such a high degree of social despair, is terrorism, with the help of which radicalized passionate groups representing the underprivileged masses try to draw attention to their problems (which turned out to be common) [14, pp. 414-415]. At the same time, the development of this process can lead to unpredictable results: both the continuation of the current confrontation between the poor and the rich, and the closure of various social communities with further polarization within each of them is predicted [14, pp. 242-243].

Thus, the world system formed in the 21st century is marked by the transfer of confrontation between the poor and the rich from the national-state level to the global one [14, c. 413-414]. Therefore, if "one of the significant factors behind many terrorist acts, no matter how false or real reasons they are motivated, is the scale of the gap between wealth and poverty in the world, increasing significantly with each decade" [17, p. 69], then the question

naturally arises: from whom the threat comes and to whom it is addressed. It is necessary to agree with the opinion that it was provoked and created by society itself, mostly, by its contradictory and conflict-forming development [14, p. 25]¹⁶.

A society, especially disorganized, creates a lot of conditions for the emergence of new or exacerbation of previously existing contradictions in society. Often on these contradictions legal subjects of public life “make” big politics. They use objectively arisen or deliberately created contradictions in society to solve their personal, corporate (and sometimes government) political tasks. These contradictions do not have speedy resolution or just reasonable resolution, and for a long time disturb personal and collective consciousness. In cases where terrorism is a means of resolving age-old conflicts, the personal and collective unconscious force individuals or groups to unite to protect the general interest. Thus, society creates the conditions for the emergence of terrorism, namely: an artificial mass, formed on the basis of natural social needs — the need to eliminate the threat and establish social justice [13, p. 245]. In this regard, the idea has not lost its appeal: the more public order rests on beliefs and less on violence, the closer humanity is to a just society.

The fact remains that an imbalance in the system of society leads to an increase in violence, up to riots, uprisings and revolutions. It is usually caused by the main processes: a sharp decline in the social status of certain groups or interrupted social mobility. Any group strives to improve its status in order to expand the amount of benefits enjoyed. The decline in status leads to a gap between claims and real achievements, to growth of negative moods, which is reflected in the growth of “protest” violence [15, p. 16]. Meanwhile, social changes that upset the balance in the social system cause discontent and resistance of certain groups who, within this form of power relations, cannot find other ways of expressing and protecting their interests, except violent ones. Violence is the only way for the oppressed to not only throw off the yoke of power, but also to create some kind of unity in their midst [1].

It should be noted that violence is an important category and also plays a central role in a social order. In popular work of B. Weingast, D. North, J. Wallis “Violence and Social Orders”, violence is considered within the framework of the concept of institutions and organizations. According to this concept, institutions set rules that directly curb violence, changing the costs of violent behavior, primarily by setting penalties for using violence. If it is necessary that a formal rule — an institution — restrained violence, especially violence among individuals who do not know each other personally, there

¹⁶ Researches in this direction were carried out on the basis of the fundamental works of world famous conflict experts: G. Zimmel, L. Coser, R. Darendorf, V.N. Kudryavtseva, M.M. Lebedevoy, N.V. Grishinoy, B.V. Kovalenko, A.I. Pirogova, O.A. Ryzhova and etc.

must be a certain organization within which a number of officials ensure compliance with the rules in an impersonal manner. In other words, formal institutions control violence only if there is an organization capable of ensuring impersonal adherence to the rules [4].

For a long time, violence and its arbitrariness were taken for granted. Among political theorists, the prevailing view was that power rests on violence, and violence is an expression of power. However, studies of power show that power and violence are not the same thing. The difference between these two entities is indicated by H. Arendt, who argues that the success of the use of violence depends on whether the one applying it already has any power. When "activists" have the tacit support of the majority, the violence works; when the majority is opposed, the one who applied the violence will be immediately destroyed by counter-violence. That is why revolutions and revolts are rarely successful; on the contrary, only by acquiring power can violence be successfully applied [18, pp. 49-50]. H. Arendt affirms, not without reason, that power is never an individual's affiliation; it belongs to the group and only exists as long as this group is kept together. Violence is only an instrument, "power", "aggressiveness", which may belong to an individual, but does not guarantee him a place of power [19]. However, if there were no struggle for power and privileges, associated with anything not considered violence, humiliation and exploitation of one another, material need and unemployment, wars and enslavement weak by the strong, racism, nationalism and chauvinism, bigotry, lies and hypocrisy, cruelty, envy and malice of some people in relation to others, there would be no crime [20].

Perhaps most acutely, crime responds to political situations associated with the struggle for power of various political groups with the official authorities or, on the contrary, with the desire of the official authorities to stop the activities of the groups threatening it (parties, movements, etc.). Mankind rarely saw in its history peaceful transfers of power from one hand to another. There are few cases where the dominant group part with its power voluntarily and freely, usually clings to power with all its might [20]. Modern history is full of examples of how people are treated like animals, gradually leading them to become animals [1]. What is today called the parliamentary transition of power from some candidates for power to others is, firstly, inherent only in the modern period of human development, and secondly, it is still not conflict-free, usually due to prolonged political instability in society (state), which is used by political or just criminal fraternities and elements. Those who fights for power throws slogans into the crowd, often inflaming passions, which (slogans) themselves may contain signs of a crime (calls for violent actions, insults and slander against leaders in power of functioning power structures, etc.). Inflammatory slogans are sometimes accompanied by extremist actions and terrorist actions. Inflammatory slogans are sometimes accompanied by extremist and terrorist actions [20, p. 219]. This is the work of extreme right-

wingers or extreme left movers of the crowd in any country. It is a stimulation of powerlessness and frustration felt by people, largely in favor of the speaker [1].

All this creates an atmosphere in which people, seeing how “politics is done”, what a certain political situation leads to, transfer these methods to social and interpersonal relations. All this creates an atmosphere in which people, seeing how “politics is done”, what a certain political situation leads to, transfer these methods to social and interpersonal relations. Thus, political situations that entail human sacrifices and sharp conflicts of a criminal nature give rise to a different kind of crime, one that, it seems, exists “only” as crime with interpersonal relationships [20]. This relationship is not easy to prove, but with in-depth study, it appears as a reality. This process is facilitated by the crisis of the value-normative system, as well as the peculiarities of the implementation of political violence in society and in interstate relations [10, p. 26]. Terrorism violence, no matter what purpose it pursues, no matter where it descends, cannot be justified. Among other things, it is impossible to justify large-scale terrorism (and sometimes terror), carried out by strong nations [13, p. 237], which scientists and politicians are trying not to notice.

In other words, the logical result of contradictions in state and interstate relations, the increasing polarization of forces standing and plunging into conflict, is the system of relations of violence encompassing humanity as a whole, in which terrorism is becoming increasingly important [14, p. 386]. The phenomenon of this fact indicates the extreme crisis of society within the existing world system. In this system, the traditional mechanisms for regulating cyclical changes have come apart, and from this the main trends of the world system themselves put it in a position far from balance. Reflecting the extreme degree of crisis of the society, terrorism signals the society about it, makes it possible to see the metastasis, which erodes the social body of the world society, and, importantly, forces it, firstly, to act ahead of the oncoming catastrophic scenario, and secondly, to recognize the severity of the consequences of world system crisis for all [14, pp. 97, 436-437].

If we want to reduce violence, we must influence it at the level of an adequate problem. Most mitigation recommendations seem good, but not deep enough. Ideally, as R. May writes, we need to find such ways of separating and redistributing power and authorities, so that any person in any sphere of activity in our bureaucratic society could feel that they are also considered with him, that he is significant for his comrades, but not thrown into a landfill of indifference as an unnecessary impersonal mannequin [1].

Modern technology has set an urgent task for humanity to eliminate physical violence from social practice and the life of society. However, the former deterrence mechanisms (religions, ideologies) become counterproductive, i.e. fraught with the boomerang effect — a catastrophic increase in entropy. We will discuss this in the next chapter.

2.2. Global determinants of terrorism

2.2.1. The role of social identification in the genesis of terrorism

At the end of the last century, mutually contrasting versions of postmodernism and national (or religious) fundamentalism were formed.

When describing sociopolitical or “civilizational” cycles, scientists managed to trace how the masses covered by “passionary” ideology — the new religious, national, racial or class enlightenment — demonstrated a surge of expansionist aspirations. At the next stages, the motivational energy gradually faded away, which often led to the dissolution of the community (party, class, ethnic, confessional group) [2, p. 240]. It was also recorded that an outbreak of aggression in many cases was provoked by an internal imbalance of society, turning into disastrous consequences, and a motivationally saturated idea — such as Christianity, Islam, communism, and countless others — could encompass ethnic groups, classes, classes, age or other communities, overcoming national and state borders [2, p. 240].

At the end of the last century, the American sociologist S. Huntington made a rather unnerving forecast: in the near future, society will finally be divided on religious grounds into several “civilizations” hostile to each other, the wars between which will constitute the content of world processes. However, no independent data is known, which suggests a decrease in the level of aggressiveness of people as a long-term historical vector. In the modern world, group identification, which has sidelined regular confrontation, extends to communities of tens and hundreds of thousands of people [21]. At the same time, the philosophies that rejected group confrontation were pushed to the periphery of spiritual culture as excessive diversity. In different historical epochs and in different cultural regions, their role temporarily increased, but each time they could not compete with the new ideologies of group disengagement. Already in the second half of the XX century, the extremely exposed threat of a global catastrophe demanded interstate and interclass coalitions free from confrontation, the formation of which saved civilization. But with the end of the Cold War, the concept of “universal values” and the concept of “environmental safety” began to become overgrown with ideological accents, turning in some cases as an instrument of economic, political and military pressure [2, pp. 350-351]. As a protest against Westernization and militarization, “civilizational” theories flourished, under the shadow of which all forms of fundamentalism are reanimated. Since until recently, ideologies, as well as wars, remained necessary factors of historical existence and development, so the religious teachings that provided the ideological motivation for intergroup enmity became in demand [2, pp. 350-351].

From the standpoint of materialism, any social community is formed, consolidated, reformed, disintegrated or dissolved. This is a process of

constant movement. On the basis of class analysis, I. Wallerstein formulated his famous concept of the evolution of the world system. He came to the conclusion that the power of any particular analysis is the identification of the stage on which specific classes (or ethno-nations) are based: whether a given community is forming, long-standing or declining social class. From this point of view, communities (classes) are formed — for conducting social bargaining in the short term and for seizing power in the long term — and then disintegrating because of their success [22, p. 40]¹⁷.

In the context of our research, it is important to find the answer to the following questions: what motivates people to unite in groups to commit terrorism acts? What could be the intentions (or gains) of a social group when making one or another identification?

Terrorism is not a problem that is associated with any particular ethnic or religious group¹⁸ [13, p. 446], since each person identifies himself with a particular human group. Among the properties of the human personality is susceptibility to group influence (imitation) and narcissism. Among the properties of the human personality is susceptibility to group influence (imitation) and narcissism. It should be admitted that any public gathering shows a tendency to create a psychological mass, to unite people outside their own will in accordance with the laws of imitation and mimism. But the masses of this kind are not based on internal attachments, and therefore they do not exist for long and disintegrate on their own [13, p. 254]. According to the psychoanalysts (C. Jung, Z. Freud), there are masses primitive, divided and highly organized, existing for a very short time and existing for a very long time, natural and artificial. The morphology of the masses is still largely unstudied and not studied properly, so a simple gathering of people is not yet a mass until there are emotional attachments in it - between leaders and the masses and between the individuals that make up the mass. Certain forms of group illegal activity (for example, terrorism) require a headman (leader) [13, p. 254].

The problem of pluralistic analysis and research of interest groups mainly lies in the fact that the structure of the electorate and the activity of groups are considered exogenous. In contrast, interest groups that show activity relative to a problem are endogenous. If a group seeks to get too much, then other groups, usually inactive on this issue, are likely to pay attention and become

¹⁷ Wallerstein states that all nations, nationalities, nations, ethnic groups describe variants of the same phenomenon, which can be called “ethno-nations” [22, p. 40]. Ethno-nations are phenomena of worlds-economies, and much of the grandiose confusion that surrounds specific cases of analyzing their functioning can be attributed to the simple fact that they were analyzed as if they existed within the nations-states of this world-economy and not in microeconomics in general. This approach turns into a real Procrustean bed. [22, p. 44].

¹⁸ There is only one explanation to the fact that world society cannot reach a common opinion on this issue – the unwillingness of states to lose an ideal in every respect tool for solving an unlimited number of tasks [13, p. 446],

so active that they can potentially change the alignment of political forces and, consequently, the result. The use of an endogenous pluralist approach in exploring the influence of groups shows that groups in democracies in most cases have incentives to temper their demands [4].

People are often rallied by a specific interest, the infringement of which endangers the existence of the population itself, and upholding which is a necessary condition for its self-preservation, preservation of its originality or even existence. Any threats to these interests that are significant to the population are stored in its collective memory, in a sense, they turn into spiritual experience, which, if the threat repeats, becomes a factor that unites people into large groups to protect biological and socio-biological interests [2, p. 216]. As American scientists R. Baron and D. Richardson write, "People with similar hereditary information show the same peculiarities in behavior that can be considered hereditary" [11, p. 227].

In case of conflict on ethnic grounds, any victorious authority (ethnicity, denomination) must clearly realize that the continuation of the policy of suppression makes it impossible to healthily identify the defeated with the winner [23, p. 201]. Identification is an indispensable condition for overcoming hatred for the superior force transmitted from generation to generation [24, p. 188].

E. Fromm believed that the term "identification" should be used with great caution, because in some cases it would be more correct to speak of imitation or submission.

The identification or the mental matrix "they — we", historically evolved along with the whole spiritual culture: scientists proved that at critical stages in the history, the improvement of cultural regulators, which ensured the restoration of techno-humanitarian balance, expanded group identification [2, p. 348]. In this matrix, the only method for suppressing a specific war is the transfer of aggression to a common enemy; this technique is widely used by religious authorities [2, p. 348]. Nothing qualitatively new here has been invented as compared with primitive methods: the elders strengthen their power by encouraging tribal conflicts and thus redirecting youth aggression. When any ideology (religious or quasi-religious) covered vast territories with its influence, it dismembered into hostile heresies and sects with an equally vicious mutual hatred [2, p. 351]. It is no coincidence that sociologists, as early as the XIX century, recorded a positive relationship between the religiosity of the population and the prevalence of social violence [25, p. 80-94]. The paradox, consisting in the fact that small differences provoke more intense hostility than fundamental differences, is well known to psychologists and sociologists [26], who noted that a truly religious person (not biased "political moderator") cannot remain tolerant of rival truth: an "alien" god, a prophet or an "alien" revelation causes uterine aggression [27-29]. This transformed expression of the atavistic; inherited from the primitive ancestors

of hatred of the twin — a competitor for an ecological niche — is traced with all clarity both in religious and in quasi-religious ideologies. Therefore, clashes between followers of kinship doctrines are characterized by particular ferocity, civil wars are more cruel than international wars, and the triumph of armed riots and revolutions in one country or another with surprising regularity turned recent comrades into mortal enemies [2, p. 348, 351-352]¹⁹. However, the main reason is not in religious hatred, but in the functioning of the “one’s own — alien’s” identification system and the need for unification through opposing oneself to another group. Large groups as active social actors united by common interests have always been created and maintained by supporters of extreme sentiment. Religions were created by fanatics, established and spread by fire and sword and supported by interfaith conflicts [2, p. 348]. The formation of nations in the XVIII — XX centuries were initiated by confrontational-minded intellectuals (“nationalists”), selflessly introducing “national identity” into the masses, and the transformation of the proletariat from “class for others” to “class for themselves” (according to the Marx’s statement) was the merit of trade-union extremists, actively incited the mood of class antagonism among the people [2, p. 348].

At the same time, over millennia, religion and war played a huge role in the preservation and development of society. The war was a spinner, from whose hands has came the tangle of European national states, and their internal structure was formed as a result of preparation for war [9]. Religion remained a non-entropic mechanism allowing streamlining social violence and, to the extent possible, preventing its chaotic forms. But, according to the law of techno-humanitarian balance known from historical sociology, the development of combat and production technologies requires the improvement of means of cultural regulation, without which the social system loses its stability [2, p. 117].

It should be noted that ideologies and wars respond not only to the needs of society, but also to the deep-seated functional needs of a person, than their reproduction is no less determined [2, p. 355]. Psychologists who study the possibility of eliminating violence from the life of society [1; 27; 32] write that many spiritual needs are most easily met in a religious or quasi-religious context, especially when exacerbating intergroup conflicts. Affiliation (belonging to a group) and a sense of security, empathy and self-sacrifice, overcoming, thirsting for service and meaning of life often push masses of

¹⁹ A.P. Nazaterian draws attention to the fact that religious (and quasi-religious - national, class) ideologies have always served as a mechanism for uniting people into large groups by opposing other people. Therefore, their constant companion remained a real or potential war. Historically popular were such exercises that justified hostility towards strangers. Holy books are full of direct indications of type: “Whoever is not with me is against me”; “I did not come to bring peace, but a sword”; “And when you meet those who disbelieve [in battlefield], so strikethem over the necks”, etc. [30; 31, pp. 24-30].

people into the arms of the most aggressive ideologues and politicians. The unconscious desire for acute ambivalent experiences excited in the atmosphere of armed conflict is so deeply woven into the emotional fabric that all types of substitute activity created by culture (art, rituals, sports), until now could only temporarily inhibit its actualization. Sooner or later, the desire for passions “not for fun” increases, and people are looking for ways to “rationalize” them [2, p. 355]. This is one of the dramatic collisions of our era. Humanitarian balancing of rapidly developing technologies urgently requires the liberation of the mind from religious and ideological fetters — for otherwise its carrier is doomed — but without such fetters a person feels uncomfortable. We have to assume that in the foreseeable future, either the human mind will outgrow the inertia of the ideological worldview, or the explosive mixture of the mystical impulse with the deadly rationality of modern weapons will explode the building of civilization [2, p. 357]. In order to neutralize illegal group activity in the form of terrorism, dialogue and elimination of social contradictions, and, accordingly, social grounds for manifestations of terrorism, are preferable.

If states really want to get rid of all sorts of manifestations of terrorism, then their first task should be to overcome the interstate division of peoples into “one of their own” and “alien”. In multinational states with national-territorial entities, state national selectivity should be replaced by law and equity, before which everyone is equal. This is the main condition of the world, as well as the internal and external security of such a state [13, p. 237].

2.2.2. The role of civilisation conflict in terrorism determination

With new phase of global policy, the intellectuals heaped versions of its future form on the society instantaneously: the end of history, a throwback to traditional rivalry between nation-states, their further decline under the influence of various tendencies. In 90-ties, S. Huntington bewildered the public with his statement that in the nearest future the world would have finally become fractured along confessional lines into several “civilizations” inimical to one another, which warfare would precondition the essence of global processes. He predicted that in a newly emerging world the clash of civilizations would become a dominant factor of the world policy, with fault lines between the civilizations being like their battle lines. The scientist ascertained that nation-state would remain a key player in foreign affairs; however, the most significant global policy conflicts would evolve between the nations and groups affiliated to different civilizations. The clash of civilization would become the dominant factor of the world policy. The fault lines between the civilizations would be, in fact, the following battle lines [21, p. 1]. However, to be sure, the author clarified his views later. At the same time, it was implied that even a hundred years from then the world would remain divided into countries and nations, races and concessions, while

physical and other human needs would remain identical to those of that time [2, p. 31].

In this regard, in the mid XX century, the French Philosopher J. Benda wrote: “consciously as never before, is each nation now clustering together and playing off against other nations in terms of language, art, literature, philosophy, in all its civilization and “culture” [33, p. 97]. In our view, such estimation of absolute priority given to animosity is somewhat simplified. Some American and European scientists have joined such oversimplified interpretation of the global relations of cold war, which has enabled them to make a convenient civilian conversion: a transition from “the dead communism experts” to “the Islamic terrorism experts”, with well-known and already established intellectual categories preserved. A new play with a somewhat changed scenario has been performed: yesterday it was the totalitarian regime against democracy, whereas nowadays — it is Islamofascism versus democracy. Driven by the hopes for triumphal victory, the global clash with Islam has easily replaced the clash with communism [34, p. 267].

Meanwhile, the political niche, emptied due to the breakdown of the international revolutionary (including communist one) movement, which was more or less manageable, has undergone rapid filling in with “specialized types” [2, p. 228].

Nevertheless, the historical and civilizational aspects of the issue call for a thorough study in terms of “... that relatively minor differences between cultures can evoke fierce mental excitement of the souls of the sons of any civilization if these souls are exposed to mental radiation influenced by any other civilization from our own family” [35].

By the early II millennium C.E., the Arabic philosophy had had the patterns of humanistic worldview, and, then, therefrom, the ideas of the European revival took shape. However, as long as Islam was losing its leading positions, and the committed thereto peoples were left at the periphery of the European (Christian, and, first of all, Protestant) world, the collective psychological complexes were enhancing the aggressive element. By the end of XX century, the multipliable sects and organizations marked by hyper-militant attitudes had transformed the Islam ideology into a dangerous source of political terror [2, p. 354]. As the researchers of the Islam religion note, Quran, like other scriptures, comprises “choices for all intents and purposes. If you want peace, you will find the verse calling for peace. If you strive for war, — you will also find the aggressive ones” [37, p. 430].

The famous American sociologist A. Etzioni states that the totalitarian religions, namely, the extreme version of Islam (particularly, Wahhabism) have become the major social project exported by the East, over the last years. The civil order established by them extremely violent and subordinated everything leaving no place for autonomy. The foundationalism is actively

expanding. It aims at imposing other nations its radical civil order model and, in the long run, implanting it all over the world [38, p. 39].

E. Todd, in his turn, notes that the “Islamic integrism” was encoded in everyday conversational speech with the notion of terrorism which many strive to consider as such having global scales [39, p. 55-56].

It should be noted, when terrorism issues are discussed, one may encounter the opinion that the traditional societies’, namely those based on Islam, intolerance to the European system of values and Post-Modernism culture, etc. is one of the causes thereof. We consider it to be not exactly a correct vision of the situation.

The viewpoint according to which the present-day disturbances and confrontations emerged on the global stage due to the clash of the more developed and less developed parts of the world community under new conditions of the global universe, to which such parts of the world have approached significantly differently at military-political and social levels, seems more substantiated. Along with this, it has happened so that the open global universe has become, in fact, an adversary to the low developed countries in the scope in which it has become an alliance partner to the developed countries, since the latter find new opportunities for their geopolitical, geo-economic, and cultural expansion in weakening of former sovereignties. The starting point for the world social medium disintegration and escalation of the global conflict presupposes that the borderline of the conflict just right coincides with the borderline between the social medium possessing high technologies and, respectively, civilizational benefits (it is predominantly the western Christian social medium) and the major part of the planet to whom these benefits and technologies are not available [14, p. 76].

Many, nevertheless, will ask a fair question: has not the significantly minimal quality of life increased, namely due to technologies, at least in those countries which either have remarkably succeeded in it or possess rich natural resources? One can note *cum grano salis* that the rapidly growing quality of life embracing such a large percentage of population would hardly stop evoking envy and jealousy of more expanded riches belonging to the privileged minority. No matter how high the level of material life is, this will not free a human soul from demanding of social justice; and unequal distribution of resources in this world between the privileged minority and the disadvantaged majority has turned from inevitable evil into intolerable injustice specifically as a result of the latest technical achievements of the West [35]. That is why the constantly growing inequality in distribution of material benefits, excommunication of entire nations from technological innovations and even of a mere access to baseline consumer goods basket remains the most persistent problem of contemporary world [14, p. 171].

The conditions of social inequality are the conducive environment for emergence of national fundamentalism, which is predominantly an utmost

response to the “revolutionary changes” imposed by the West. People lose support given them by cultural relations only. There appear images from memory originating from the very depths of history, the memories about traditions, about the lost warmth of mutual relations. National heritage and absolute doctrinal beliefs are getting interesting again [14, p. 172].

Today, it is the time to admit, darkly, — R. Dahrendorf writes, — “The contemporary world in many ways is a rather uncomfortable place opening new chances and at the same time breaking old ties which are nevertheless difficult to live without. Everything related to estate and decaying disappears, and everything sacred gets dishonored. However, I am far from stating that there exists only one single cause evoking emergence of nationalism, fundamentalism, and other false deities. I state only that many have a common aspect which directly relates to present-day social conflict around civil status and life chances” [40, p. 207].

The optimists thinking in line with the famous American sociologist A. Etzioni, — whose theory of a just world enthronement is based on eliminating confrontation as part of global synthesis of norms and values and shaping general culture, — have to confess this either [38, p. 268]. Specifically, A. Etzioni points out at that Western world must give up on strengthening its sole role of a leader of the global social progress. All Western ideologies were based, in A. Etzioni’s opinion, on combination of optimism and belief in progress and social technologies with a sensation of triumph”, whereas “Eastern worldviews — despite all differences between them — are usually based on combination of pessimism, and in some cases even fatalism, with a long-term sensation of history” [38, p. 72].

Therefore, by no means accidentally, all radical changes that have taken place over the last two centuries were originating across the West. “The doctrine of human rights and democracy theory were generated by the West, where for over centuries, the philosophers and politicians had been focusing specifically on the rights of an individual but not on his or her obligations [38, p. 56-60], and therefore, the East, where there community values have always been dominating, may not accept it adequately”. In light of the conclusions made by A. Etzioni, the global conflict reflects the resistance of the East to the revolutionary civilized models of the West, which have discredited with “the potential crisis and possible further collapse” [14, p. 171].

It should be noted, the uncompromising attitude to confrontation between the civilizations of “the third world” and the Western Christendom, enhanced therewith by the general element of the social-class intrastate contradictions is growing by virtue of increasing cumulative influence of this factor. This is noted, above all, by the representatives of the philosophical and sociological scientific school focused on developing and elaborating the well-known G. Simmel’s “conflicts of culture and life” [41, p. 383].

Western society, according to the German philosopher of the twentieth century T. Lessing, leads of a life starting to complete exhaustion, because in it people's relationships are permeated with envy, hypocrisy, the desire for repression and violence [42, p. 483]. And, all this takes on institutionalized forms, since fully corresponds to the nature that generates all these phenomena of the society. For the purpose of correcting the existing situation, T. Lesing does not consider even the religious foundation of Western culture suitable, since he is convinced that both capitalism and all its vices are a product of the Christian worldview [42, p. 71].

Back in 1973, D. North (in collaboration with R. Thomas) published the book "To Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History", in which he proposed his own solution to the riddle of the "European miracle". Dozens of books have been written on this subject (starting with the banal and obviously wrong "due to the plunder of the colonies"). However, D. North was the first known economist who dared to abandon the usual "growth arises from technical progress" and openly announced: the reasons for economic growth are changes in political institutions [19].

Another well-known American economist, W. Rostow, in his work, "Step of Economic Growth", expressed an idea, the meaning of which is that we are witnessing a large-scale historical change in Western societies, in which old social relations (based on property), power structures (concentrated on narrow elites) and a culture based on the principles of economy and deferred satisfaction are subject to rapid erosion.

Such things as the collapse of the colonial system, the formation of a multipolar world, the explosive growth of the economies of the countries of Southeast Asia, the migration from the former colonies and the countries of the "third world", the modernization of the means of mass communication, with irrefutable authenticity to present to the European man first of all epy fact of civilizational models, secondly, the illusiveness of the idea of the universality of Western civilization as a model for all of humanity, thirdly, the illusiveness of understanding about the movement of humanity in the direction which predestined of the West [44]. You can talk about the "crisis of identity" of the civilization of the West, which is experienced by its carriers as a cosmic event [44].

Nonetheless, not everything does seem so tragically. An English historian, A.Toynbee, sees the possibility to rescue "the Western Christendom civilization" in "getting side by side in the spirit of" by joining the universe religion based on ecumenical ideas. The scientist thinks that, down new centuries and generations, the united world will gradually find their way to the balance between various components of its cultures, and the Western component will over time take its modest place on which it may account in line with its true value as compared other cultures, which the Western expansion have brought both to their mutual contact and the contact with

itself. As far as the layer of the most diverse cultures embraces the homogeneous human nature, it may be assumed that the inanition generated by “knock out” is murderous in its destructive force, and it is it, which leads to killing each time [35].

At the same time, it is difficult to imagine the nations who try not to make a show off their differences from others; at the best, the peoples take care of that only for concentration interhuman hatred in the “territory” of class conflicts [33]. Not surprisingly, the question now arises of whether human experience of the past does not show the destructiveness to continue the policy of mutual extirpation of the nations by ethnic agitation. Answering to this question, a French philosopher, J. Benda thinks the assumption of that humanity will once ground arms and again, as two centuries ago, and opt for the benefit rising above themselves, having been surfeited with “sacred egoism” of the nations dooming them for mutual destruction, of low probability[33]. Such a world, following the French scientist’s opinion, is possible only in the distant future, after the war has caused much more evil to the worlds than ever before. It is justifiably ascertained that the elite have their own reason for keeping nationalism and fear of the war. These feelings evoke the nation’s continuous military spirit, — the readiness to put up with hierarchy, fulfill commands, obey, — i.e. those qualities desired to be seen by those who want him or her to continue being of their service. In fact, the elite of society are far from always wanting for amenity to be stopped if they can preserve their status and power over people at that price [33].

The affiliation (group affiliation) and the feeling of being protected, empathy and selfsacrifice, overcoming, yearning for service and meaning of life often push heaps of people into welcoming embrace of the most aggressive ideologists and politicians. The unconscious aspiration for experiencing overwrought ambivalent angst promoted in the atmosphere of an armed conflict is so deeply intertwined into emotional substance that all the types of substituting activity created by culture (art, rituals, and sports) could have only temporarily made them slow in their manifestation until now. Eventually, the craving for martyrdoms “not for fun” gets stronger, and people are seeking the ways to make them “rationalized” [2, p. 355]. In this is there one of the most dramatic collisions of our epoch. Today, as in the past, the irrational lust for small victorious wars have overtaken the elite and large heaps of population [2, p. 227]. Everything speaks for that over the latest time the mass sentiments have made a shift towards military solutions, meaning that all power victories become inherently valued, and heaps of people, driven by the irrational want for small victorious wars, “are glad to be fooled” [2, p. 227].

During understanding of the modern man his identity, only when he loses it, but experiences inconvenience and helplessness when he finds it, — whom

will be surprised that he craves ecstasy, even one that can give violence and war [1]?

Following many authors, we will repeat that the world is possible only if a person does not begin to believe his happiness in the possession of the blessings, "which to belonging to all" and accepts the abstract principle that elevates him above egoism; in other words, the world can be found only through the perfecting of human morality, what have been talking about for a long time of scholars and philosophers have long said.

2.3. The terrorist component of the human personality

The problem of the identity of a terrorist is among the leading and at the same time the most complex problems of international criminology. In this subsection, we will try to concentrate on the identity of the terrorist, since, as is known, it is the individual who is the carrier of the causes of the crime, the main and most important link in the whole mechanism of criminal behavior.

Depending on the socio-historical conditions, the requirements of social practice and the level of development of science, the question was posed differently: what is the identity of the criminal, if there is any at all? What is its specificity, what is its role in the commission of a crime, how to influence it in order to prevent more crimes.

In modern conditions, interest in the human component of a terrorist's identity has increased significantly. The concept of individuality acquires a relatively independent meaning among the tasks of a comprehensive study of the identity of a terrorist [45, pp. 90-91]. On the one hand, the social character of the personality allows us to consider it as a member of society, social groups or other communities, as a carrier of socially typical traits. On the other hand, the main element of terrorism is a man himself, with his own characteristics, with his unrepeatableness, his passions, difficulties, only his life lived, no matter how unrighteous it is. Here a difficult problem appears: about the essence and place of man as an integral part of nature and, at the same time, as a special being endowed with the ability to think that in different philosophical systems is understood quite ambiguously.

It is important to study terrorists themselves in all difficulties taking into account their rational and irrational behavior, conscious and unconscious motivations and intentions. The study of conscious, rational and complex conflict behavior, the main task of which is success, is similar to the search for the rules of "correct" behavior in the sense of achieving winning in rivalry, whose members are trying to "win". We should remind that by considering the conflict as such and working with its model, in which its participants seek to "win," strategy theory allows conflict participants to have both common and mutually contradictory interests [46, p. 16]. The actions of terrorists are not always thought out, cool, sometimes impulsive in practice. At the same time, we believe that in creating a systematic theory, the assumption of

rational behavior will be more productive. If the behavior was really thoughtful, it would be easier to develop a sound and relevant theory. Considering theoretical constructions only as a starting point, in order to come closer to reality in the future, we must be able to defend ourselves from the worst results of tendentious theorizing [46, p. 29]. It is quite obvious that terrorists are not easily distributed on a linear scale — at one end of which is absolute rationality, and at the other — complete irrationality²⁰.

Terrorists, like any other category of criminals, are so diverse in many characteristics that it is impossible to adjust them to a common denominator; therefore it is very difficult to define the concept of “terrorist identity”. In this regard, researchers have abandoned the search for certain universals, since terrorism “is born and matures in long social and personal processes. And there is no typical terrorist either” [47, p. 116].

The nature of terrorism in general, as well as the meaning of individual terrorist acts, are determined not only by today's socio-political, national and other realities and contradictions: it is rooted in the depths of human history, in the most ancient, even primitive times, in pre-religious and religious ideas, it is determined by world outlook man, his attitude to society and himself, his eternal and fruitless search for protection and justice [48, p. 238].

Initially, researchers of terrorism observed the indisputable fact that terrorist crimes were mostly committed by people, with a highly expressed individuality, a large initiative, a sustainable belief system, with what can be called an outlook, that anxiety, an unconscious feeling of illusiveness and fragility of their existence, fear of non-existence are fundamental personality traits and qualitatively distinguish the criminal from the non-criminal. It is these features that are most often called the main and immediate cause of any criminal behavior. In other words, a person commits a crime because his ideas of himself, his place in the world, his self-perception, self-worth, his biological and social being acceptable for him have not collapsed. We will not deny that poverty, unemployment, hunger, social inequality and powerlessness have always been a source of crime. All these phenomena still characterize the contradictions and vices of social being [20].

According to V. Vityuk, terrorism relies on the eternal properties of human nature, which dominate in psychology and determine the mentality of a very large group of people, but to some extent inherent in many people, if not all. The willingness to violence in general and to terrorist violence in particular, rooted in the organically inherent human tendency to aggressiveness and

²⁰ Irrationality may imply a disordered and contradictory value system, poor calculation, inability to receive a message, or inability to communicate effectively. It may imply random and unsystematic influences in decision making and their transmission, and sometimes irrationality reflects the collective nature of the decision by a group of people whose value systems do not match and whose organizational decisions and communication systems do not allow them to act as a single entity [46, p. 30].

destructive instincts. These qualities with different strength are expressed in different people and to some extent due to the existing legal and moral norms, upbringing, and culture. But it is not to the same extent, and not equally efficiently. Persons of that mental structure, which are characterized by the primacy of emotions over the mind, immediate active reactions to reality over its comprehension, prejudice of assessments, low threshold of tolerance and the lack of proper self-control, rather easily and naturally coexist with ideas of violence. The same applies to persons of a quite rationalistic mindset who are distinguished by inflated self-esteem, a thirst for self-affirmation, lust for power, contempt for people, or political fanaticism [49, p. 53]. The identity of a terrorist is characterized by unstable self-esteem, which has to be confirmed by new terrorist actions. It is precisely the instability of self-esteem that constitutes the most important factor in extreme behavior, which gives grounds for concluding that a terrorist is practically not amenable to rational dissuasion. He practically has no fear and repentance for committed at all [50, p. 144].

Some scientists believe the existence of a terrorist type of person is credible fact [48, p. 235; 49, p. 53]. Despite all the skepticism about the possibility of defining an “extremist personality type”, V. V. Vityuk and S. A. Efirov argue that terrorists are characterized by extreme intolerance towards dissent and fanaticism generated by maximalist idealistic utopianism, hatred of the existing system or heightened sense of rejection. They are characterized by firm belief in the possession of absolute, sole and final truth, faith in the missionary activities, in the highest and unique — mission in the name of salvation or the happiness of humanity [49, p. 53].

From the point of view of Yu. M. Antonian, the perception of oneself as “the best of the best” — the most just, the most courageous, the most significant, etc. — is nothing like narcissism. Its manifestations in the form of narcissism, assertions of its exclusivity and special rights of its national, religious or class group and its representatives, about their own outstanding abilities, etc., can be found in most terrorist associations [48, p. 240].

E. Fromm, exploring narcissism in the causal complex of human destructiveness, the manifestation of which is terrorism, defines this phenomenon “as an emotional state in which a person really shows interest only in his own person, his body, his needs, his thoughts, his feelings, his property, etc., at the same time, everything else that is not a part of himself and is not the object of his aspirations is for him not filled with life reality, color, taste, gravity, but is perceived at the level of mind.” The measure of narcissism determines in humans a double scale of perception. He perceives the world as he is the centre of everything and the rest of the world emotionally has neither smell nor color; therefore, such narcissus persons reveal a weak ability to objectivity and serious miscalculations in evaluations [51, p. 175].

Belief in the named mission can be “dark”, purely emotional, and can be based on “rational”, ideological postulates, but its presence distinguishes a true extremist from “fellow travelers” and peoples who, for whatever reason happened to be in groups. They can be either rogue, shady people, ignorant and narrow-minded people who have fallen under someone’s influence.

Yu. M. Antonian singled out a very important personal feature of a terrorist, the meaning of which comes down to the fact that a terrorist is in direct contact with death, which, on the one hand, affects his psyche, actions and events in which he is included, and on the other hand, his personal specificity is such that he tends to it. The terrorist begins to correspond to it, destroys the last obstacles separating it, he allows it to directly influence him. Once approached death, such a person begins to gain experience, which is either recognized and becomes the basis of internal development, or is not recognized and at the level of personal meaning determines behavior, including through the need to again and again experience a shiver of contact with that which is beyond the edge [48, p. 237-238].

In all probability, similar psychological effects are characteristic of early Christians, who besieged the residence of the Roman governor, demanding that they be torn to pieces by hungry lions, and modern suicide bombers, who explode the “Shaheed belt” in anticipation of blissful life in paradise [52]. It alleviates suffering, giving them even the opposite valence, and the thought of their own guilt, deserved punishment [53; 54].

Terrorism is a product of destructive forces in society and persons, reflects the cult of violence and in every possible way contributes to its strengthening and spreading, devaluing human life [48, p. 239]. In the culture of societies, from where the ranks of terrorists are replenished, their death is considered as a heroic and noble sacrifice, martyrdom, and almost always draws praise and support, which are projected onto the family and the whole terrorist kind, surrounded by care and respect. This does not mean that families encourage suicide bombers or do not have feelings of grief, but the families and the terrorists themselves know that, along with grief and pain of loss, there will be victim acceptance, understanding, praise and even pride. Such a death is considered not suicide, but martyrdom, in which a particular person merges forever with the history of a society or a nation, with its past, present, and future [55, p. 89].

Other primary qualities of a terrorist’s personality are worthy of attention, among which they distinguish: 1) dedication to their work and commitment to their organization; 2) readiness to make sacrifices; 3) degree of discipline; 4) secrecy; 5) submission; 6) collectivism — the ability to maintain good relations with all members of your group [55, p. 89, 10, p. 124, 162].

Violence is largely a physical event, but it occurs in a psychological context. From a psychological point of view, integrity and concentration on the terrorist activities, their group and organization are the main properties of a

terrorist's personality [10, p. 244]. From the position of integrity may be understood manifestations of his individuality, internal closure and interconnectedness of the primary properties of a person, his internal structure. However, these properties turn out to be only "fixed moments" of continuous personality throwing along a special psychological sinusoid with the widest range (from the demonstrated absolute belief in one's rightness to its internal denial or, at least, rather frequent doubts). Thus, from the point of view of psychology, the identity of a terrorist is a permanent, continuous psychological movement [10, p. 126].

Some psychologists point out that the most common emotional state of a terrorist is his constant alertness. The phenomenon of caution is manifested in constant readiness to repel the threat of attack, an increased level of wakefulness and a focus on the slightest changes in all, above all physical, environmental parameters, severe hyperesthesia. Even outwardly noticeable constant suspicion of a terrorist is manifested in the continuous division of all others into "one of their own" and "alien". Naturally, the "alien" is a priori identified with the abhorrent and outlying "image of the enemy" (reaction of hostile distrust) [10, p. 143].

It is alleged that on the social plane, a terrorist gives the impression of a person who is completely devoid of internal prohibitions. He can seek to satisfy his desires, give orders, express anger, and protect himself [10, p. 124]. The terrorist incorrectly assesses the attitude to his actions and his results on the part of society, primarily with social and moral norms [10, p. 122-123]. Moral principles governing relations between people, due to the specified features and the lack of purposeful education, are not perceived by terrorists [45, p. 98]. The distorted idea of the moral or social significance of the events that are associated with the planned act is generated either by the peculiarities of the current situation, its intensity, conflict, or personality traits (low intellectual level, weak self-control, overestimation of personal properties, painful sensibility, excessive self-confidence, etc.). As a result, the situation is not assessed as it should be evaluated from an objective point of view [56, p. 62].

At the same time, as mentioned above, the social character of a terrorist's personality makes it possible to consider him as a member of society of certain social groups, as a carrier of social traits, since modern terrorism, in one way or another, is a group phenomenon.

From the point of view of psychology, the presence of a group standing behind a terrorist, organization, even if not real, but virtual, is almost obligatory for those who claim to be carry out effective terrorist activities. For such a person, as D. Olshansky fairly notes, the whole world is locked in his group, his organization, and the goals of his activity. Therefore, naturally, such integrity and personal integrity limits it, first of all, imposing severe restrictions on the person's individuality and the freedom of his choice [10,

p. 125]. To discuss terrorist activities, the phenomenon of risk shifting is widely known in social psychology, which consists in the greater riskiness of a group decision in comparison with the sum of individual decisions [10, p. 159]. At the same time, a strong need for group affiliation gives special strength to group dynamics [48, p. 50].

For a terrorist, a group often represents the only vital niche in which they find recognition and support, and therefore, the harder the external resistance to them is, the more stable the group can be. The powerful “we” of a terrorist formation reacts in the same way to the repressive actions of the state and society, i.e. in the face of a common enemy, intra-group contradictions weaken and interpersonal cohesion increases. Since most of the terrorists are psychologically alienated people, refusal to participate in group activities is tantamount to them losing the meaning of existence and self-perception [48, p. 50]. In this connection, it is interesting to note Jourdan J. Paust that the terrorists are resorted to by marginal, alienated individuals with a strong need to join like-minded people with a similar outlook, according to which “we are against them, because they are the cause of our troubles” [57].

However, without taking into account the mentality, psychological state, ethical attitudes that determine the willingness of people to use any unrestricted means to achieve their political goals, it is impossible to get a holistic and complete picture of the system prerequisites and the mechanism of the terrorism formation [24]. Negative social influences that can lead to the formation of the antisocially-oriented person, primarily the moral and psychological characteristics of a person, determine his life-active properties of individual being [45, p. 91]. According to Yu. M. Antonian, terrorism is a way to transcendence, in which normal conditions and dimensions are lost and new unusual ones are acquired. Therefore, many terrorists can be called people without borders. Without regret, they say goodbye to the usual ideals and moral values, which without hesitation are called illusions, and create a new dichotomous field in which only two teams fight — supporters and opponents of aggression [48, p. 51].

The literature cited above suggests the possibility of identifying characteristic worldview components and prerequisites inherent to people committing acts of terrorism: a shift in the sense of time — the past is included in the present; blurring the lines between reality and fantasy; some naivety combined with the blurriness of moral constraints; mixing the boundaries of good and evil, in some cases, the presence of apocalyptic spirit and fantasies in combination with the ideas of messianism; sadomasochistic position — self-pity and his fellow tribesmen, combined with hatred of a real or mythological opponent and readiness for self-sacrifice; identification with the aggressor, that is, the presence of ideas like: “if I am an aggressor, I will not become an object of aggression”; limited ability to understand and accept the arguments of those who think differently; a certain loss of rationality,

especially in the field of ideas about accessible and inaccessible goals [25, p.8].

The term “anomie” is used in several senses. First, anomie means the state of a society in which its members has lost the meaning of social norms, due to which the probability of their self-destructive behavior is rather high. Secondly, anomia means the absence of samples, gold standards for comparing oneself with other people, allowing one to assess one’s position and choose patterns of behavior, which puts an individual in an uncertain position, depriving identification with a social group. Thirdly, anomie means a discrepancy, a gap between universal goals and expectations approved in a given socio-political system, and socially acceptable, sanctioned means of achieving them, which encourages illegal ways of achieving these goals [58, pp. 587-588; 45, pp. 180-181]. In modern social science, the introduction of this concept is attributed to E. Durkheim, who spoke of anomie, describing the cessation of social norms as a result of political and economic crises. Is it any wonder in this connection that in a society in which researchers considered property stratification, inequality, the presence of lumpen, etc., to be normal, crime was also recognized as “normal” — just a social disease.

According to R. Merton, anomia is a “collapse of the cultural structure” that occurs when people, due to their social status, are not able to follow the values of their societies. In other words, a situation in which a certain person shows insufficient respect for the basic social norms of a given social system or seeks to see in these norms a certain loss of their commitment to themselves [59; 60, p. 88]. It is understandable that researchers developed their ideas in a society that exists within a nation state. However, due to globalization and the internationalization of social life, their theoretical conclusions have become quite understandable correlation with the world society. R. Merton argued that the emphasis on national power does not fit well with the unsatisfied organization of legitimate ones, i.e. internationally accepted means of achieving this goal. Let’s not forget about that stage of development of science, when theological theories dominated. They had a lot of useful things, but they were idealistic. Currently, a large part of the population, of so-called “third world”, does not find any use for itself in a society constructed according to Western ideas, and therefore does not feel itself bound by its rules [14, p. 172-173]. Hence, there is an absolutely explosive two-way character of modern anomy. This is expressed in the fact that the so-called “marginal” component of anomia is complemented by an anomy that emanates from a developed part of the world community (“anomy of an elite”) [14, p. 173].

From the point of view of anomia, a terrorist is a very special type of criminal. The conclusions of E. Durkheim are quite comparable to him: “Contrary to the widespread perception, such a criminal is not among the strongly asocial, parasitic elements, is not a foreign body that cannot be

assimilated into the social organism; it is a common element of social life” [58, p. 86-89; 61, pp. 311-312].

In accordance with the principle of social naturalism, sociopathy of the individual is the inconsistency of the will and consciousness of person with the natural laws of social life. This inconsistency leads to a state of arbitrariness, and consciousness into the state of illusions, creating the so-called “complex of arbitrariness and illusions.” It is this complex that makes the individual a “sociopathic person.” This complex is a common “embryon” for all manifestations of social pathology, one of which is crime. Therefore, it would be a methodological mistake to look for any specific “criminogenic” properties of a person that are the “embryon” of only crime. It also follows from this that, prior to the commission of a crime, there are no “criminogenic” properties, but there are “sociopathic” properties that, under certain conditions, can manifest themselves in the form of a crime [62, p. 35]. According to A.N. Kostenko, everyone who commits crimes has a complex of arbitrariness and illusions, however not everyone who has a similar complex commits crimes. In the light of the understanding of this concept, the complex of arbitrariness and illusions we should bear in mind the following: 1) not all having a complex of arbitrariness and illusions, i.e. sociopathic personalities commit crimes — people can manifest this complex in other types of social pathology, never having committed a crime in their life, if conditions do not come for the manifestation of this complex; 2) the crime may not only be the manifestation of a complex of arbitrariness and illusions, that is, the person’s sociopathy, but also the manifestation of the excess of a person who is in a state of sociopathy [62, pp. 35-36]. Based on the foregoing, a terrorist is a special type of sociopath, which is characterized by the ability to respond to certain social problems in the form of acts that contain signs of terrorism.

The danger of anomia, in the words of R. Darendorff, is “tyranny of diversity”. In the emerging world conditions, these “faces of tyranny” are most likely transformed into terrorism, which, ahead of any usurpers, develops into a function of social organization and fills the legislative gaps, calling to eliminate anomical symptoms. To be certain of that it is enough to look at the statistics and generalizations that characterize the escalation of violent conflicts on the planet having, as a rule, a terrorist basis [40, p. 175]. The total anomie that arises from such a “critical mass” is the basis for serious social fluctuations. The spread of anomie in society, especially in such an all-encompassing form, is, of course, bad [40, pp. 174]. However, the negative trends accompanying the emergence of anomie help assess the state of society.

The current state of humanity, unfortunately, does not inspire optimism. Stepping far forward in technical spheres, humanity took many steps back in the spiritual realm (or rather, it did not take any steps, but remained at the level of the mid XX century). In the current trends and pace of automation and

other technical support of life on the ground in the near future, the gap between technical and spiritual development will remain irreversible. There is a high probability that unpredictable people will get access to the maintenance of high-tech processes (including the descendants of those who have suffered a great deal from the state), which creates the danger of using the highest achievements of human thought to destroy humanity [13, pp. 280]. This circumstance gives some criminologists (V.V. Lunicev, D.A. Shestakov) reason to assume that humanity is going to complete its existence, i.e. it is led to the death.

2.4. The planetary nature of terrorism

Terrorism is a serious threat to the security of individual states and the world community as a whole. Terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, in its scale and intensity, in its inhumanity and cruelty has become one of the most urgent and biggest challenges of global importance. Any manifestations of terrorism entail massive human sacrifices, destroy all spiritual, material, cultural values that cannot be recreated for centuries [64, p. 653-654]. Unfortunately, it is becoming more widespread on a global scale, manifesting itself both in regions of traditional international conflicts (for example, the Middle East) and in developed and prosperous countries.

An international group of experts under the auspices of the Institute for Economics and Peace of the University of Sydney (Australia) has developed the Global Terrorism Index, which measures the level of terrorist activity within a country by four main indicators: 1) total number of terrorist incidents; 2) total number of fatalities caused by terrorism; 3) total number of injuries caused by terrorism; 4) the approximate level of total property damage from terrorist incidents [65]. In addition, the compilation of the Index analyzes a number of other factors that may be indirectly related to terrorist activity.

According to a 2017 study, Iraq ranks first in this ranking, followed by Afghanistan, Nigeria and Syria. The top ten are closed by Turkey, Libya, and Egypt.

In 2016, the results of the Global Terrorism Index study covering 163 countries (99.7% of the population) recorded a similar picture. The best situation was observed in Oceania, USA, Algeria. At the same time, the level of terrorist activity in France, Turkey, Kuwait and Tunisia has significantly increased. The worst situation was recorded in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Syria.

Thus, over the past decade, terrorism has been recorded both in European countries and in countries of Asia, Africa, and the Far East [66].

Researchers point out that terrorism moves from a single crime scene (a place of terrorism act) to encompassing entire places, cities, regions [67, p. 216]. However, you can find some patterns of its manifestation, taking into

account the economic dimension. For instance, in the EU, countries with the highest GDP have an intensity level of terrorism that exceeds the average — high and the highest, and the countries with the highest GDP per capita — moderate, low, and minimal. At this time, terrorism is spreading to all regions of the world. There are more than 50 regions in the world, in which certain political groups use terrorist acts as a means of power struggle: the hotspots of terrorism occupy a total of 12.7 million km (8.5% of the land area), which concentrates more than 4% of the world's population (approximately 220 million people) [67, p. 35].

Annually hundreds of international terrorism acts are committed in the world, and the sorrowful account of their victims amounts to thousands of killed and maimed people.

In terms of geography, the spread of terrorism have no boundaries. Terrorism in one form or another manifests itself everywhere, where at some point there is an aggravation of contradictions in the sociopolitical sphere, a breakdown of social order begins, instability appears, a decline in morals, the triumph of cynicism and crime. This contributes to the fragmentation of the planet. Jean-Francois Gairo writes about it: “The XX century was a year of separatism and fragmentation of a planet”. The disappearance of about a dozen of great colonial empires such as French, English, German, and Spanish caused an accelerated fragmentation of the planet. This fragmentation, which provokes the disintegration of states, benefits transnational or multinational corporations. The global social-economic area is divided into subjects of hegemony (Multinational corporations or states that generate them) and its objects (mainly the second and third world) [34, p. 383]. The statement of this fact is aligned with our work: in other words, it can be stated that fragmentation of the planet creates a geopolitical vacuum that only strengthens the influence of large terrorist organizations [34, p. 58]. One may ask a fair question: will this vacuum be filled with the activities of international terrorist organizations?

The growing anxiety in the world is based on a multi-layered contradiction between the subjects and objects of the world geopolitical, geo-economic and spiritual hegemony. The unconditional monopoly of the first on the most modern mechanisms and institutions of violence and political hegemony, as well as on the mechanisms of hegemony in the field of spiritual production, produces corporate-bureaucratic regimes of countries of the third and second worlds focused on nationalism, fundamentalism as irrational means of solving the problems of their backwardness and dependent type of capitalism [68, p. 19-20].

Exclusion of the entire societies from the process of global modernization increases the risk of ethno-national conflicts, terrorism, armed clashes [69, p. 47]. This can be seen on the example of Iraq, Afghanistan, Indonesia and

other major hotspots of terrorist activity, which is confirmed by the outlined study results on the geography of the terrorism spread.

Nowadays, a global drama is being played out on the planet, in which the role of terrorism, it must be admitted, is quite noticeable. But it is a social phenomenon not to be demonized. Its emergence and unprecedented activation up to the scale of planetary only reflects the objective (but far from positive) development of earthly society, which, again, largely due to objective reasons, globalizes and begins to suffocate due to the exorbitancy of the rhythm and dynamics of life given to itself. In fact, there was its formation in the incarnation of a planetary threat [14, p. 5].

However, the problem of terrorism is closely interrelated with most of the global problems of modern international relations. It can be considered as one of the most pressing global problems of our days. In these conditions, the global problem of international terrorism, in our opinion, cannot be considered only as an independent phenomenon. The problem of terrorism has many common features characteristic of other human difficulties, such as the global scale of manifestation; great sharpness; negative dynamism, when the negative impact on human activity is increasing; the need for an urgent solution, etc. It began to turn into an important part of a more general military-political global problem related to the fundamental issues of war and peace, on the solution of which the further existence of human civilization depends [70].

Thus, the global scale of terrorism has common roots with other human difficulties and most of current global problems: politics, social relations, religion, and ecology [48, p. 266].

It is more and more often spoken on various international platforms. Based on the findings of the UN Spread of Terrorism Study, the increase in the effectiveness and destructive power of terrorism, as well as the expansion of its operational capabilities, achieved through international coordination of terrorist groups, are particularly alarming because of the vulnerability of many states to carefully organized terrorist acts.

The alarming tendency of spreading the geography of terrorism actualizes the problem of fighting this phenomenon for most countries, since the efforts of one great power (or a group of highly developed powers) are not enough to fight it. Overcoming terrorism as an aggravating global problem requires the collective efforts of the majority of states and peoples on our planet, as well as the entire world community [64, pp. 653-654].

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CHAPTER III

PROSPECTS FOR THE GLOBAL TERRORIST MODEL OF THE UNIVERSE EXISTENCE

3.1. The impact of terrorism on the model of technical and humanitarian balance

It has long been known that technical progress contributes to success in war, and the uncontrolled development of technology, the growth of technological power enhances the feeling of omnipotence and impunity, creates the illusion of the infinity of resources for extensive growth, the thirst for “small victorious wars” [1].

The hypothesis of a techno-humanitarian balance was put forward by A. Nazaretian in his work “Educational potential of synergy: a hypothesis of techno-humanitarian balance”. In accordance with this hypothesis, throughout the history of mankind, a regular relationship was observed between three variables: technological potential, quality of cultural and psychological regulation, and the internal stability of society: the higher the power of industrial and combat technologies, the more sophisticated means of deterring aggression are necessary for the preservation of society [2]. With the growth of the destructive force of weapons and demographic density, the percentage of victims of violence in the long-term retrospective population did not increase, but decreased; that was due to the regular dropout of societies with decompensated aggressiveness [2].

As a result, society is increasingly dependent on fluctuations in mass sentiments, decisions of authoritative religious and political leaders, etc., and thus reduces its internal resilience (pre-crisis syndrome), increases social violence and terrorism.

It is argued that this resilience is restored, if the increased instrumental power is compensated by the improvement of cultural and psychological regulators, provided that it is adapted to new technologies; otherwise, society undermines the geopolitical foundations of its existence [3].

In this regard, historians note that civilizations often died shortly after blossoming, if their extensive development outstripped the growth of internal diversity. It bears reminding that at the core of the concept of culture, set forth in O. Spengler’s book “The Decline of the West”, which is still widely discussed today, lies the assimilation (analogy) of culture to a living organism: just as living organisms go through certain stages, they are born,

live, flourish, grow decrepit and die, the culture blooms not forever, it loses its flaming optimism. Other external and internal factors (if they occurred) most often only completed the self-destructive activity of the social organism, like viruses or cancer cells in the biological organism. Therefore, planetary civilizations, unable to cope with accelerating technological progress, died under the rubble of their own power and, thus, disengaged from the evolutionary process. The very existence of a “Homo sapiens” is possible only in a state of dynamic equilibrium. In other words, constant imbalance (either within the social and cultural whole or in the “human-nature” system) and the equally constant restoration of balance through the progressive complication of the socio-cultural organism [4]. When the accumulated imbalances are not removed within a sustainable quality, a series of disasters occur in which a number of societies are “knocked out” of the history. And only the death of societies that have exhausted the possibilities for further development becomes a mobilizing factor, reinforcing productive mutations and ensuring the transition to the next level. In this regard, disasters are disastrous for those societies that are not able to survive them, but are productive for mankind as a whole [4].

Arnold J. Toynbee was perplexed about the fact that there were facts of an inverse relationship between the development of not only military, but also purely production technologies, on the one hand, and social well-being, on the other [5, pp. 231, 335]. At the same time, A. Toynbee did not rule out the possibility that the excessive development of western technological know-how could cut short the story in half a word. It should be appreciated by the fact that for more than half a century, despite a series of acute political contradictions, it was possible to avoid another world war and generally refrain from using the most destructive weapons available to governments of the leading states of the world. The practice of military localization of global contradictions in the XX century has saved humanity from a planetary catastrophe, but its continuation in the twenty-first century is suicidal. The widespread growth of education in parallel with the strengthening of national frustrations and political terrorism — the clan spot of civilization at the turn of the centuries — makes the persisting inertia of violent conflicts all the more threatening. There are qualitatively new technologies of mutual destruction (nuclear mini-charges, nanotechnologies, genetic engineering, and robotics) on the agenda, which are cheaper and more affordable [6]. They can be easily used for terrorist purposes. A. Nazaretian rightly notes that “science-based” political terrorism, equipped with increasingly sophisticated “dual-use” technologies, is becoming the same cruel means of educating humanity as the atomic bomb served in the XX century. In the worst scenario, it is likely to become a gravedigger of a planetary civilization, but in the optimal scenario it will serve as a shock tool for sobering [7, p. 19]. The newest means of mass destruction, slipping out of control of states and sane governments, become

the property of informal terrorist groups, once fostered by the secret services of competing military blocs, and then began to pop up like mushrooms after a spring rain. Together with the boundary between technologies for various purposes, the boundary between the states of war and peace is blurred, which is also characteristic of primitive society [7, p. 328]. Today, for self-destruction of planetary civilization, there is no need for a total thermonuclear war that could have been avoided half a century ago. In the measurable future, multifunctional technologies may become available to computer “geeks” who have mastered a huge information technology potential, but not burdened with political responsibility and have not learned to systematically predict the consequences of their actions [7, p. 328].

But other things are also matters. In order to bring social violence under control, prevent its chaos (“He who is not with Me is against Me”), soften its forms, means developed by traditional cultures, religions and ideologies are hardly adequate. In this regard, it becomes obvious that, in the long term, the development of instrumental intelligence will contribute to the eradication of terrorism, the consistent spread of critical thinking, non-confrontational solidarity (“we” without “they”), the development of moral values, and, ultimately, effective international education that responds to accelerating development of society [6]. In turn, this implies, under the optimal scenario, the inevitable extinction of macrogroup — ethnic, national, class, confessional — cultures and ideologies, that are always built according to the logical scheme “they — we”. After all, in the end, all acts of terrorism are committed to achieve a political, self-serving or religious goal. Ultimately, all terrorist acts are committed to achieve a political, self-serving or religious goal.

The real danger to world civilization is that technologies applicable to semi-underground terrorism for religious and other reasons are developing unpredictably, and society does not have time to provide adequate cultural, psychological and technological means of control [6]. Consequently, the task of survival of the earthly civilization, the development of an optimal model of countering terrorism rests on the success of the cultural and psychological adaptation of humanity to the rapidly growing technical capabilities. The key question of our era is whether humankind will have time to outgrow the infantile mythological thinking and reach psychological maturity before the slide into the abyss of self-destruction becomes irreversible [7, p. 24].

It should be noted that human history is filled with large and small disasters. Human nature and the nature of the Universe have not changed [4].

Undoubtedly, terrorism is the factor that directly affects the model of techno-humanitarian balance, the violation of which undermines the geopolitical foundations of the existence of society. Consequently, a test for the further viability of the civilization of our Earth in the XXI century will contain, among others, the question of whether it will be possible to build a planetary system free from wars and terrorism.

3.2. The criminality of power and the terror of globalization

Considering the fact that intimidation by terrorists is addressed primarily to power as a factor determining social processes, the phenomenon of power is subject to research, its criminality, the mechanisms of its influence on society, as well as the mechanisms of transformation of its behavior, the power-willed origins of these processes [8, p. 53].

To answer these questions, we must first understand — what was the first: power or society? A chicken or an egg?

The theory of the primacy of power in relation to society is outlined in the well-known work of B. de Jouvenel “Power: the natural history of its growth”, in which the French scientist argues that it is the government that is primary in relation to the state; it, as the embodiment of the ruler’s will, forms it, and later determines the content. This thesis is proved by history itself: “broad communities were created only through the subordination of dissimilar groups to the same power, to the same commandment [9, p. 150]. Being a prime cause in relation to society and “possessing an indisputable birthright”, the power does not simply “reflect the interests”, it creates new relations, it constructs a social world, modifying the social space [9, pp. 155-156]. Power is firmly woven into the fabric of the social existence of humanity. The classical question of power is that it is a set of political institutions, through the functioning of which, some social groups are able to impose their will on others and act in accordance with the so-called common (public, nation-wide) interests [10, p. 273]. However, power is always driven by command, which has always remained its essence throughout the ages. This is evidenced by the following brief excursion into history.

It is known that antiquity bowed to the government and the state. For example, in Athens at the end of the V century BC, there were people who apparently taught political doctrines that seemed immoral to their contemporaries, as well as seemingly such democratic for nations of our time. In the first book of Plato’s “State”, it is proved that there is no other justice than the interest of the stronger, that laws are created by governments for their own benefit and that there are no objective criteria with which one can conform to the struggle for power. According to Plato (in “Gorgias”), the law of nature is the law of the stronger, but for convenience, people established institutions and moral precepts that would restrain the strong. Such doctrines are more widespread in our time than in antiquity [11, p. 289].

The Christian Middle Ages clearly realized the essence of power and a secular state. During the Middle Ages, in practice, so restless and boisterous, in the field of thought, passion for the rule of law and the most rigorous theory of political power prevailed. The era of the Renaissance contributed to the birth of liberalism, individualism, fundamental changes in the people’s minds [11, p. 299].

I think it is quite possible to agree with the explanation of the government and the state by a social contract, the necessity of which arose due to the need to protect society from abuse of power. J.-J. Rousseau clearly understood that people of power form an organism that “must have a separate Me”, that “there is a will” in the organism and that it is aimed at appropriating sovereignty to itself: “the more these efforts, the more degraded the state system”; and since there is no other will of the government corps, which, while resisting the will of the state, would have to weigh it up, then sooner or later it should happen that the state ultimately oppresses the sovereign (people) and breaks the public contract. Therein lies the vice of the political organism, inherent in it from its very birth, and leading it unrestrainedly to destruction, just as old age and death destroy, in the end, the human body [12, p. 274].

It should be remembered that democracy was formed under increasing pressure on power by the masses (with their increasing degree of world outlook), and therefore it can be considered a product of the struggle of the masses with power. Power throughout its existence was forced to wriggle out and imitate in search of suitable camouflage, that is, the state, the entity as an instrument of the ruling class. In other words, the power entrusted the state with the optimal practice of organizing the life of society, or rather, the state’s ability to legitimize the function of representative content of the people’s power. The implication is that the main task of the power is to ensure their legitimacy, that is, to ensure the right and opportunity to act in their actions on behalf of the people, or to create the appearance of such legitimacy. Therefore, an important tool in the system of exercising power functions, no matter what they are based on, is the ideological framing of power, its ideological argumentation and justification, ensuring the legitimacy of power institutions [13, p. 37]. Although many still sincerely believe in human equality and theoretical democracy, the imagination of modern people is deeply shocked by the examples of today’s social organization, which in its essence is not democratic, marked by socio-economic polarization both at the national and international levels. Most of the economic, political and other interests of the state are conditioned by the respective interests and motives of specific individuals empowered through the phenomenon of a bureaucratic management mechanism that creates the illusion of reflecting the will of the people of a given state [14, p. 305]. The points of concentration of power cannot be understood only by reducing them to the expression of the forces and interests behind them. The government itself becomes a means of organizing interests, as it initiates social actions [14, p. 152]. In fact, the government has entered into public life as an instrument of power, and in accordance with a convincing argument B. de Jouvenel, is primal in relation to the size of the community. The power has always given priority to its ruling elites [9, p. 150].

Most researchers believe that the state is a single actor with a monopoly on violence, whose behavior can be studied. Visibility of the priority of serving the society, the cause of organizing its life can be called an important function of self-preservation of the state (government), fostered over thousands of years: from the power of the leader to royal power, in which the public function of the state was explained by divine patronage embodied in the royal person, and from it further, to the conditions of modern democracy, which reliably hide from public attention the phenomenon of identity of the state and the powerful financial elites with which it (the state) faithfully and invariably serves [8, pp. 7-8]. According to V.F. Antipenko, “the criminal depravity of the symbiosis of a person and the state consists in the fact that individuals or consolidated corporate groups of such individuals, adapting the state to endlessly raising the rate of profit in their stupid greed, finally, inform him of some kind of criminal self sufficiency. The market moloch of this self-sufficiency, mimicking lawfulness, and often, disregarding the rule of law, in turn devours the souls of people, their morality, thus involves in its criminal mechanism” [8, p. 66]. The ruling elites unceremoniously use the state to their advantage. These elites are unstable, they are not responsible to anyone, and they are not imbued with public interests. The algorithm of their actions is determined by the desire to extract the maximum material profit. This is also served by the process called “the treason of the intellectuals by J. Benda, whose political passions can be reduced to two main aspirations: 1) the desire of a group of people to obtain (or retain) some kind of temporary benefit: territories, material well-being, political power with the temporary benefits it delivers; 2) the inherent to the group of people desire to feel special, different from other people. In other words, they boil down to two aspirations, one of which is aimed at satisfying material interest, and the other at satisfying pride. These two aspirations are present in different political passions in different correlations. Additionally, these two aspirations based on interest and based on pride seem to be far from the same passionarity coefficient and, as was said above, stronger of the two is not the one due to interest [15].

A. Toynbee in the middle of the XX century stated a gradual deterioration in the composition of the ruling elite; in his opinion, it turns into a closed caste. A “dominant minority” comes to the scene of history, relying no longer on talent, but on the material instruments of power, primarily on the strength of weapons. Under these conditions, awareness of the injustice of the social system grows and a “split in the spirit” occurs [5, p. 250].

As V.F. Antipenko rightly points out, the elites degenerate and degrade, they lose that aristocratic essence that historically provided them with a leading role in society. Moved by the erosion of moral and spiritual decline, writes V.F. Antipenko, the elites undermine in public opinion the authority of the state, which they personified in the past. Touched by the erosion of moral and spiritual decline, as V.F. Antipenko writes, the elites undermine in public

opinion the authority of the state, which they personified in the past. As a result, firstly, it leads to the degradation of public morality, secondly, the state turns into an open lobbyist for the interests of these very elites in the sphere of providing resources, favorable investment placement, ensuring favorable conditions for crisis policy, etc., and thirdly, powerful mechanisms of total control over society are being adopted by the states, which are formed on the basis of information and communication technologies [8, pp. 8-9].

The reality is that the formation of global power and its progressive assertion is ensured by forceful support, which, in relation to the pale nature of international society, has taken the form of a terrorist conflict [14, pp. 109]. Some scholars consider the specialization in the field of violence as a consequence of the very structure of institutions, organizations and beliefs of a growing society to be the starting point in thinking about political power. To understand the control of violence, they propose starting with a group of powerful individuals, held back by a set of independent agreements that increase the level of specialization within the coalition, allowing some members to specialize in violence, others on economic activity, and a third on political activity [16].

The international criminological study of terrorism has made it possible to uncover a key function, the meaning of which is to create the appearance of its legitimacy by the government against the background of its production or, at least, its participation in the production of this international crime [8, p. 55]. The trick is that the government, being one of the “authors” of the terrorist conflict, presents itself in public opinion as a benefactor, a defender against terrorism. Meanwhile, it was the power that, in modern society, created a situation of extreme socio-economic polarization, both at the interpersonal, intergroup level, and in interstate relations, which resulted in the protest sentiments of the great human masses. It is precisely the power, hiding behind the intentions of democratization of traditional societies, which disintegrate them for the convenience of control, creating centers of tension and bloody conflicts everywhere [8, p. 55].

It is therefore not surprising that the power, disguising its involvement in the result of its activity — the terrorism, unreasonably defines its origin as a social anomaly, a kind of extremist activity of radical groups that are divorced from society, which, by the way, is extremely demonized as a primary source of threats to international security [8, p. 55-56]. In this legal and policy equilibrium, it is the power that is actively engaged in a false striving to consolidate society in the face of the global threat of terrorism, hiding behind the biased interpretation of the nature of this international crime, to mobilize the world community to fight it [8, pp. 55-56].

The situation is complicated by the fact that, firstly, the parties opposing a terrorist conflict often make claims against each other in the format of inter-civilization relations. Secondly, states (and individuals representing them) to

whom terrorist acts are addressed seek to hide their involvement in creating the causes and conditions conducive to the commission of terrorist acts.

As part of the formation of a global power system, terrorist groups are used as a kind of tool to influence the international community, which in today's practice is accompanied, unfortunately, by baseless attempts to present the actions of terrorists as the content of the global struggle of the "third world" [17, p. 154]. Hence, the erroneous attitude to terrorism as a phenomenon impending on society from outside, emanating from some terrorist networks that are fundamentally hostile to the system of civilizations and divorced from society [17, p. 148].

However, on a global scale, there is indeed a tendency of the central government apparatus to lose power due to the transfer of this to sub-state, regional, provincial, and local political entities. Many countries, including the nations of the developed world, have regional movements that require significant autonomy or separation. State authorities have largely lost the ability to control the flow of money flowing into and out of their countries, and they face increasing difficulties in controlling the flow of ideas, technologies, goods and people. In short, state borders have become as transparent as possible. All these changes has led to the fact that many have witnessed the gradual withering away of a solid state — the "billiard ball", generally recognized as the norm since the days of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 [14, p. 97], and the emergence of a complex, diverse and multi-level international order, which strongly resembles a medieval one [14, pp. 36-37]. The weakening of states and the emergence of "bankrupt countries" suggests an idea of global anarchy as a model for governing society. The main ideas of this paradigm are: disappearance of state power; disintegration of states; increased tribal, ethnic, and religious conflicts [18, p. 38]; the emergence of international criminal mafia structures; an increase in the number of refugees to tens of millions; the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction; the spread of terrorism, mass slaughter and ethnic cleansing. This picture of global chaos was convincingly described and summarized in the names of two sensational works published in 1993: "Out of control" by Zbigniew Brzezinski and "Pandaemonium" by Daniel Patrick Moynihan [19-20]. In developing countries, changes in inequality are linked to international rules of the game, which are not subject to individual countries [21]. From the standpoint of the international political economy, where the main issue is the relationship between the state and the market, the power over societies and economies is transferred from states to transnational corporations, firms and banks, which have "confiscated" government functions and in general undermined its monopoly on violence. As a result of the narrowing of the possibilities of state intervention in the sphere of international financial relations, the overall potential for international conflict increases. To this must

be added the increase in asymmetry between states regarding their ability to manage their societies and economies [14, p. 103].

In the context of globalization, when the gap between the enormous growth of the means of power, technologies of managing people and weakening social control over their use is growing, the criminality of power increases, the barriers of greed of those in power are almost eliminated, it acts more and more assertively. This is accompanied by the cynical compulsion of the state to covert and undisguised expropriatory actions, in which armed conflict as an enabling environment and means of achieving the goal, is actively used. Militant, more precisely, militarized arrogance in international affairs is becoming the signature characteristic of the elite [17, pp. 95-96]. Despite the obviousness of negative trends accompanying the global terrorist conflict, the elite are no longer able to act in other way, confirming the crisis of the existing world order [17, p. 97]. The founder of the structural understanding of international power Susan Strange paid attention: conflict zones and conflict situations are formed not so much from the fact that power functions “hang”, not being transferred from the state to other actors of international relations. They arise when there is a force capable of hindering global power, personified by the ruling class of a developed states group [22, p. 68; 14, p. 103]. Thus, power in the international space gives rise to conflict potential, which has its own particular nature, history, its own development dynamics, the counterproductiveness of which in the current world system acquired material characteristics and emerged through a systemic crisis [14, pp. 101-102].

Therefore, in parallel to the open and latent processes of managing a global society, a competing regulatory mechanism for managing world processes is being formed, which is based on a terrorist ideology and tactics of actions. The last makes radical changes in the existence in society of the concept of the right of force, the characteristics of power, domination and other concepts that define the structure and content of social life in the world. At some historical moment, these ideas about the capabilities of states and social groups, always determined by their level of development and military power, turned upside down thanks to the “asymmetric logic” of terrorist acts, which are firmly embedded in the realities of international life [17, p. 103]. The logic of compensatoriness here leads to the distribution of asymmetric means of warfare (accumulation of state resources for the manufacture of mass paralysis means, the promotion of terrorism, the use of cyber means, etc.).

The demonstrative nature of the danger of these elements of regulativity growing into a stable social process (beyond which the shadow of world anomie is guessed) once again points to the productive function of social conflict, as if signaling this danger to society [17, p. 103]. The potential of this function will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.3. The development of the constructive function of terrorism

As we have already mentioned earlier, the conditions for the development of terrorism demonstratively revealed faults in the theory of functionalism, which explains terrorism as an anomalous, negative phenomenon.

Within the framework of the problem area of the study of terrorism as a type of social conflict, scientists often turn to the theoretical legacy of conflict science. In the Chapter I, we have already talked about the conflict of functions. Productivity, in understanding the origin of terrorism and its determination, is achieved by applying two main approaches inherent in modern conflictology: conflict theories and theories of functionality (sometimes called the “conflict” and “equilibrium” model). The social, political and economic processes revealed in the structure of terrorism, which constitute its essence, do not exhaust the choice of research of the functionality of terrorism.

In this chapter we try to answer the following questions: 1) Is terrorism always dysfunctional? 2) What constructive influence does terrorism have on the development of society? 3) Is there a prospect of countering terrorism in the study of the functionality of terrorism that is not associated with the effective use of force, but with the use of force potential?

The reasons for not always the scientifically justified insistence of supporters of evaluating the conflict as a fundamentally destructive phenomenon, their desire to find “ways of agreement” and mutual adaptation by reducing the conflict, Lewis A. Coser tried to figure it out [23, p. 96]. In his work “The functions of social conflict”, he substantiated the positive role of conflict in ensuring the order and stability of the social system. In the opinion of L. Coser, the more conflicts there are in society, the more social groups it consists of, and therefore it is more difficult to create a united front dividing society into two antagonistic camps. This, in turn, contributes to the stabilization of all social relations [23, p. 101]. Consequently, conflict is not always dysfunctional in relation to the system in which it arises; often the conflict is necessary for its preservation [22].

Describing the functionality of the conflict, L. Coser points out that before a social conflict arises, before a hostile attitude becomes an action, a less privileged group must realize that it is actually deprived of something. She must come to the conclusion that she is deprived of the privileges that she is entitled to claim. Changes in the degree of agreement with the existing distribution of power, wealth and status are closely related to changes in the selection of reference groups in changing social situations. It is important to note that when the social structure is no longer considered legitimate, individuals holding similar social positions, thanks to the conflict, are united in groups with common self-awareness and interests. Legitimacy is the most important intermediate variable, without which it is impossible to predict

whether resentment generated by an unequal distribution of rights and privileges will result in a real conflict [23, p. 57]. Understanding this issue seems to us very important, since the social structure, now called the global community with its destructive economy, is increasingly losing the features of legitimacy.

Of course, not any conflict and far from all social conflicts perform positive functions, but it is necessary to identify those social conflicts and social conditions in which social conflict helps recovery rather than the decay of society or its components [17, p. 98; 22].

It is believed that the relevance of the conclusions made by L. Coser more than fifty years ago did not decrease at all, but, on the contrary, increased in the context of the global community and its apparent crisis. This social tension is increasingly defined by terrorism as one of the manifestations of social conflict [17, p. 96]. Under the conditions of globalization of society, terrorism, with its extreme methods of action, signals, as it were a critical situation in which society is increasingly drawn in [17, pp. 96-97]. In this it is difficult to dispute the manifestation of the productivity of the conflict. Foreign terrorism, being an international crime, claims the realization of aspirations to reorganize the world order on the basis of actual equality; therefore, it acquires the characteristics of a social force opposing the criminogenic factors of globalization and draws attention to them as a dangerous antisocial world process. This is the element of constructiveness that is associated with a deterrent effect on the crisis development of events. It is the elucidation of the constructiveness of this function of terrorism, which any social conflict contains, indicates the effectiveness and originality of the scientific tools of conflictological knowledge of terrorism, and an understanding of the constructive component of terrorism significantly enriches the idea of the social content of terrorism. It is the clarification of the constructiveness of this function of terrorism, which any social conflict contains, that indicates the effectiveness and originality of the scientific toolkit of conflictological knowledge of terrorism, and an understanding of the constructive component of terrorism substantially enriches the idea of the social content of terrorism [17, p. 242].

When conflict cannot be resolved with the dominant constructive component of social relationships, for example, through international cooperation, according to the logic of its social functionality, extreme radical means of resolving it (rebellion, war, terrorism) are included as such a component [17, p. 105]. In the case of terrorism, there is a threat of turning it into a self-sufficient way of social interaction. However, the demonstrative nature of the catastrophic nature of this threat is intended to create conditions for the unification of the opposing parts in search of consensus. Thus, the “positive” and “negative” factors interact in a terrorist conflict, creating the basis for new social formations and connections. Such a dynamic structure of

a terrorist conflict is a fundamental evidence of its functionality [17, p. 105]. One can only hope that, consistently realizing its constructive function, the terrorist conflict by its escalation inexorably predetermines the unifying tendency towards it and the subsequent actions of the opposing parts [17, p. 97] with regard to their common interests. In a global terrorist conflict there is the possibility of the formation and dominance of the aggregate public interest. The current realities, the growing trend toward the interdependence of all elements not only within a separate society, but also the world community lead to the understanding that with an objective lack of a balance of interests, evaluated by the subjects of the conflict as vital, it is still possible to single out a planetary beginning at the intersection of their interests. Such, obviously, is the preservation of humanity and its environment. It is these values that are intended to predetermine the need for an international legal mechanism capable of ensuring the escalation of a global terrorist conflict from an antagonistic state into an agonistic one, and therefore become the basis for its settlement and resolution [17, p. 109, 243].

The game theory helps to clarify the common interest of the conflicting parties.

A game is a process in which two or more parties take part in the struggle for the realization of their interests [24]. Most often, the methods of game theory are used in economics, more rarely in other social sciences — sociology, politology, psychology, ethics, and jurisprudence. For the first time, mathematical aspects and applications of the theory were outlined in the book by J. von Neumann and O. Morgenstern “Theory of Games and Economic Behavior” (1944). In 1949, John Nash defended his doctoral dissertation on game theory, for which forty-five years later he received the Nobel Prize in Economics (“for the fundamental analysis of equilibrium in the theory of non-cooperative games”). J. Nash has developed methods of analysis, in which all participants either win or suffer defeat. These situations are called “Nash equilibrium”, or “non-cooperative equilibrium,” in a situation the parties use the optimal strategy, which leads to the creation of a stable equilibrium. J. Nash shows that strategies are more profitable when everyone tries his best for himself, doing better for others [24].

A great contribution to the game theory was the work of T. Schelling “Strategy of conflict” (1960), for which he received the Nobel Prize in economics in 2005 (shared with R. Aumann). T. Schelling selected the subject of his work non-antagonistic conflict situations, when the interests of the parties, although contradictory, are not exactly opposite and require some kind of cooperation. Such situations include, for example, military activities, arms control negotiations, the policy of mutual threats, etc. [25]. Within the framework of game theory, conflict can be combined with the common interest of the opposing sides.

Such a theory takes conflict as a given, but at the same time admits the existence of a common interest among opponents; it allows for a “logical”, value-maximizing mode of behavior and relies on the assumption that the “best” choice of each participant depends on his expectations regarding the actions of the other participant, and that the “strategic behavior” is associated with influencing someone else’s choices by influencing the expectations of others as to how their own behavior is related to the behavior of that other [25, p. 27].

These strategies coincide with conflict management tactics and principles of conflict analysis in conflict management. From our point of view, the theory of games can be used to study conflicts of a terrorist nature. Pointing out the catastrophic potential of the struggle and the high degree of consolidation of one of the opposition in the terrorist conflict of the parties, terrorist activities contribute to the mutual rapprochement of their positions in an effort to constructively resolve the fundamental problems underlying the conflict.

Thus, the values of the Western way of life or the liberal (democratic) values, the values of Islam, which can be expressed in the extreme forms of traditionalism and fundamentalism, are the basis of social interests that influence the causes of the global terrorist conflict. Here, as a reference point to a consensus may, for example, be the social value of the middle strata, which consists in the realization that it is impossible to enrich themselves with the help of any kind of mechanical government or revolutionary measures. The essence of his spiritual foundations: economic well-being is organically dependent on hard work, energy, enterprise and education [26, p. 222].

In essence, one of the advantages of the theory of “rational” strategic decisions, using the concept of rationality in an explicit form, in situations of a combination of conflict and common interest is that pointing to the strategic foundations of a paradoxical tactic, it also indicates how robust and rational some tactics practiced by weak and unprepared people [25, pp. 27-28]. The actions of terrorists (the weak side of the conflict) can not always be called rational, although their expectations are associated with a certain “rationality” of the government or the other side of the conflict, for example, repression, a harsh reaction to the terrorist attack, its coverage in the media. The explicit theory of “rational” decisions and the strategic consequences of such decisions clearly show that consistently and clearly rational decisions and motivations are not at all a universal advantage in conflict situations. In certain types of conflict situations, many attributes of rationality act as a strategic disadvantage [25, p. 29-30].

The authors of this theory have noticed that the rationality of the adversary correlates with the effectiveness of the threat and that mad people often cannot be controlled with the help of threats. The effectiveness of the threat may depend on the alternatives available to a potential enemy, who, so that he does not react like a lion in a trap, must be left some acceptable way out. This

leads to the not unreasonable conclusion that in a situation where the enemy decides to neglect the threat of massive retaliation, it only encourages him to launch an attack with a massive strike; this leaves him less room for maneuver and forces him to choose between extremes [25, p. 30-32]. In the second half of the XX century, world war was avoided due to the policy of containment through arms control. The theory of “rational” decisions has fully justified itself by considering ways to improve mutual deterrence. Using the example of studying the possibility of a nuclear conflict, it became clear that the threat of mass destruction can retain the enemy only if it involves an implicit promise not to strike if he makes concessions. Of course, this was facilitated by the fact that the parties, possessing nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, did not destroy each other thanks to the culture of people who have dramatic experience of disasters and developed adequate regulators [6; 7, pp. 115-116].

We have said earlier that terrorism is not limited to the activities of terrorist groups and organizations divorced from society. The subject of the conflict, resorting to the use of terrorist acts, aims to obtain equal access to the resources and benefits of civilization, and, consequently, the achievement of political and economic independence, territorial integrity, etc. [17, p. 110]. At the same time, for the party representing the industrial world, the goals pursued during the global terrorist conflict are to ensure conditions for economic development and, consequently, to maintain control over resources, dominate the financial market, eradicate terrorist methods of action, etc. [17, p. 110]. As we have already mentioned, a planetary beginning in the intersection of the interests of both parties, obviously, is the preservation of humanity and its environment.

According to the Nobel laureate in Economics Robert Aumann, wars, strikes and conflicts in general are not irrational. All the same game theory helps prevent or smooth them out. Abstract peacemaking can lead to directly opposite results [27]. Before dealing with specific conflicts, it is necessary to find out their causes, because as long as these causes persist, conflicts will inevitably arise.

R. Aumann believes that the most important reason for wars is ignorance of what the opposing party demands [27]. Competing countries know only their own negotiating positions. Each party knows only the price and measure of compromise, which it is ready to go before it starts the war. But no one knows to what extent the other party values its goals. This is only a matter of inaccurate estimated pricing. The critical moment is when negotiations come to a point where both parties say “no”. If both parties are confident that the price of the opposite party is low, they will try to extract from the situation the next advantages and concessions in their favor. And this can be a completely rational reason for war [27].

In his Nobel speech entitled “War and Peace” R. Aumann proposed to consider long-term military conflicts (for example, the Arab-Israeli wars) as

repetitive games: he argued that in such games compromise policy gives rise to hopes for new concessions and objectively leads to new wars. From here they made a pragmatic conclusion that, they need a more effective arms race to prevent them, which creates a credible threat of war [25]. Thus, in accordance with the concept of R. Aumann, if you want peace, you must demonstratively prepare for war. In the presence of a clear aggressor, the pacifist aspirations of the second participant of the conflict are more likely to lead to war than his readiness for opening confrontation.

Perhaps a well-developed and improved theory of strategy (game theory) could shed light on the possibility of resolving contemporary terrorist conflicts with the help of some of its techniques. A theory that makes rationality a pronounced postulate can not only change this postulate and study its meaning, but also deprive it of some mystical halo [25, pp. 30-31]. In a point of fact, the paradoxical role of “rationality” in such conflict situations is another argument in favor of the need to study the functionality of terrorism.

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CONCLUSION

Current mainstreaming of the issue of terrorism is the result of the evolution of the civilization of humanity itself, which has passed through wars, riots, inquisitions and revolutions. Today, terrorism has become firmly established in the status of a new global threat that has replaced thermonuclear war and resource shortages²¹. At the same time, blurring of lines between the states of war and peace, as well as between military and non-military technologies, creates new threats, for cultural and psychological grinding in which less and less time is allotted. Therefore, the danger of self-destruction of civilization is connected with the difficulty of control over the development and use of high technologies, which attract the growing attention of both military ministries and terrorist groups. Therefore, the danger of self-destruction of civilization is connected with the difficulty of control over the development and use of high technologies, which attract the growing attention of both military ministries and terrorist groups. In such a situation, in order to avoid self-destruction as a

²¹ Dikaev S.U. (2006). *Terror, terrorizm i prestupleniya terroristicheskogo kharaktera (kriminologicheskoe i ugovovno-pravovoe issledovanie)*. [Terror, terrorism and crimes of a terrorist nature (criminological and criminal law research)]. Saint Petersburg: R. Aslanov “Legal press centre”. P. 445.

result of the use of its own achievements, humanity naturally returned to terrorism, to this oldest and well-tried means of selective (in comparison with modern war) influence on political opponents²².

The studies of terrorism reveal the transformation of armed conflict, the content of which, firstly, testifies to the presence of a common explosive potential of aggressiveness, formed around a fundamental social conflict as a result of dissatisfaction of a significant part of society with the world order system. Secondly, the fragmentation of armed conflict is accompanied by the unwinding of the terrorist version of violence, with increasing efforts to distort its content, suggesting reproject the progressive feelings of the masses from real geopolitical, socio-economic and other international problems onto the sinister figure of a terrorist²³.

We have deviated from the problem of defining terrorism, in part because it is a very difficult task. The complex nature of terrorism implies a whole host of its dimensions. The world is constantly changing, and our ideas about the role of terrorism in it are also subject to change due to new trends and changes. In addition, in general, the nature of terrorism has been sufficiently studied. The work was carried out within the framework of a separate scientific area of criminological science — international criminology of terrorism. The main goal of the work is to substantiate the social basis of terrorism as an objective product of the crisis development of society.

A distinctive feature of the current development of society is that it is accompanied by the escalation of terrorism, the destructive potential and the all-embracing nature of the world system crisis does not give up hope to evade its impact on anyone, including the elite part of society, which has the levers of managing resources and technologies, has priority in the field of shaping ideology, politics and other life-determining spheres.

Modern terrorism contributes to the dynamics of the crisis a high degree of heat, exacerbates its severity and constitutes a threat to the whole society. At the same time, we are not the first to call for such an interpretation, the literature on terrorism is constantly updated with new and exciting works. However, our approach contains a number of innovations, and one of the most important can be formulated as follows: terrorism is an essential part of the functioning of the modern social order. Terrorism arose within the framework of the objective development of society, and is its essential characteristic. It is organically interwoven into the social body of modern society, embedded in the mechanisms driving world development. The evaluation of the state and prospects for the development of national states and the world community as a whole, partly outlined in the book, give every reason to assert that the

²² Same reference as above. P. 445.

²³ Antipenko V.F. (2014) *Konfliktologiya v mezhdunarodnom antiterroristicheskom pravotvorchestve: monogr.* [Conflictology in international antiterrorism lawmaking]. (*Monography*). Odessa: Feniks. P. 65.

neutralization of the causes of terrorism is associated with fundamental changes in the socio-economic structure, and the elimination of the terrorist threat should be linked to resolving the crisis of the existing world system and the formation of a new world order system²⁴. As Charles Tilly rightly asserted, the only and real thing that can be done is to avert the enormous power of the nation-states from taking up the war — to strengthening justice, personal security and democracy.

Terrorism is not only dysfunctional, it is able to find internal resources to perform the reforming and constructive function.

The inability to understand exactly how the connection between political, economic, social and religious privileges contributes to the maintenance of terrorism is the main obstacle to the development of science and the strategy to combat terrorism. It also follows that an adequate theory applied to terrorism should recognize and explain the close connection of politics, economics, law, psychology and religion.

The study of terrorism as a special kind of conflict fits perfectly into the theory of the strategic behavior of participants who have partially coinciding and partially conflicting interests. Considering terrorism as a conflict in which its participants seek to “win” (“winning” in a conflict does not have a strictly adversarial meaning), strategy theory admits a “logical”, value-maximizing mode of behavior and relies on the assumption that the “best” choice of each participant depends on his expectations regarding the actions of the other participant, and also that “strategic behavior” is related to the influence on another’s choice by influencing the expectations of another on how his own behavior is related to the behavior of that other. Being embodied in a global terrorist conflict, participants who want to win, terrorism by its nature predetermines the impossibility of winning one of the parties to the conflict. Current realities, the growing tendency for interdependence of all elements not only within a separate society, but also of the entire world community leads to the understanding that in the absence of a balance of interests, assessed as vital by the subjects of a terrorist conflict, it is possible to distinguish the planetary principle at the intersection of their interests. Obviously, it is the preservation of humanity and its environment. It is this strategic task that is intended to predetermine the need for an international legal mechanism capable of ensuring the development of a global terrorist conflict from an antagonistic state into an agonistic one, and therefore become the basis for its regulation and resolution.

A well-developed theory of conflict with some modifications can be used in the analysis of such regulation. But in the area of counter-terrorism strategy,

²⁴ Antipenko V.F. (2007) *Teorii mirovogo razvitiya i antiterroristicheskoe pravo. Logika sopryagaemosti*. [Theories of world development and anti-terrorism law. Logic of compatibility]. Kiev. P. 433.

the hopes which were sold by game theory have not yet come true. Game theory was extremely helpful in formulating problems and explaining concepts, but it achieved the greatest success in other areas (the arms race, deterrence). Nevertheless, in terrorism, the sense of deterrence, which is a typical strategic concept, includes deterrence not only of terrorists, but also of elite that aggravates conflicts on a global scale, the essence of which is manifested: non-equitable economic and informational exchanges; ignoring fundamental principles and norms of international law²⁵. The key points of the conflict theory allow us to conclude that the development of a crisis-based society in the context of escalating terrorism should prompt society to compromise and search for new peacekeeping tools that should influence the development of society.

The international legal system of combating terrorism should fully utilize the capabilities of the institutions and organizations that underlie the social order of any democratic state, thanks to which violence has become much more controlled.

Attention to complex developments at the interfaces of economics, philosophy, sociology, political science and jurisprudence should open up the possibility of serious research into the very origins of terrorism.

The book systematizes evidence that the evolution of terrorism constitutes a series of systemic changes related to the development and transformation of nation states, ensuring the transition of societies that are still in a situation of limited access²⁶, and that global perspectives, to a large extent, boil down to three options: a general collapse, the preservation of a global terrorist conflict, a way out of it, meaning a compromise between both parties to the conflict. It remains to hope that the prime movers of the civilization follow the choice that seems more preferable to society.

²⁵ Antipenko V.F. (2014) *Konfliktologiya v mezhdunarodnom antiterroristicheskom pravotvorchestve: monogr. [Conflictology in international antiterrorism lawmaking]. (Monography). Odessa: Feniks. P. 392.*

²⁶ The idea that Western institutions can not simply be transplanted to developing countries is not new. What is new is the explanation of why the very dynamics of natural states prevents open access institutions, or rebuilds them for yourself. D. North, J. Wallis, B. Weingast. (2011). *Nasilie i sotsialnye poryadki. [Violence and Social Orders]. Moscow: Gaidar Institute. P. 248.*

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