



TERROR AND TERRORISM: A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL EVALUATION

TERÖR VE TERÖRİZM: ÇOK BOYUTLU BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

Dr. Orhan ERDEM

Police Training High School/Malatya
orhanerdem49@gmail.com

Dr. Habib Özdemir

Hakkari Police Directorate
habibozdemir@hotmail.com

Öz

Bu çalışma ile terör, terörizm ve terörist kavramları, terörizmin oluşum, gelişim ve eylem aşamaları teori ve pratik uzmanlığı ile değerlendirilmiştir.

Bu çalışma, uygulama ve teorinin sentezi ile hazırlanmıştır. Literatür taraması ile elde edilen verilerle uygulama ve gözlemin katkıları neticesinde varılan sonuç, terör ve terörizmin önlenmesine yönelik önerilerle bitirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Terör, Terörizm, Terör Örgütü, Terörist.

Abstract

In this study, terror, terrorism and terrorist concepts, especially the beginning, middle and attack phases of terrorism have been evaluated with the theory and practical understanding way of a specialist.

This study has been prepared with the harmony of theory and practice. The data that was received from literature was used with the data received from practical understanding and observation and all those ended with the recommendations on how to overcome terrorism.

Key Words: Terror, Terrorism, Terrorist Organization, Terrorist.

1. INTRODUCTION: TERMS AND CONCEPTUAL OUTLINE

This study mainly aims the following objectives:

- To figure out the definition of terrorism of the international areas,
- To express the causes of terrorism,
- To express the goals of terrorist organizations,
- To define the characteristics of terrorist acts,
- To identify the phases of terrorist organizations' modus operandi, and
- To point out the ways of controlling terrorism.

The researchers applied unattended observations technique and literature review to collect data for the aforementioned objectives.

The subject, terrorism, is sensitive and important since it is a multi-disciplinary issue and a global wide problem. It is required to assess the subject from different angles by applying several fields. Therefore, the researchers emphasized the subject's sociological, psychological, and legal dimensions and applied respective disciplines.

According to the literature review, the authors determined that the terrorism phenomenon generally had evaluated from a single field's perspective. This fact may prevent to identify different perspectives of terrorism. This study, however, evaluates the terrorism phenomenon by applying the fields of sociology, psychology, and law.

The current era is renowned as psychological war era by some of the social scientists. It is because of the advanced private and public communication technologies which can successfully manipulate people's minds and knowledge. As a consequence, the classical war changed into the cold war in the recent decades. The cold war not only utilizes manipulation of the people's minds and knowledge but also terrorism as a strategy and a tactic. It is still an uncontrollable and widespread enemy of the humanity (Ünsal, 1996: 8).

Terrorist organizations generally have ability to adapt itself according to almost every walk of the life. This dynamic characteristic makes terrorist organizations survive in changing socio-economic and cultural conditions. Hence, it is not possible to eradicate terrorism totally. Terrorist organizations sometimes increase the level of violence to exert their influence over authorities and people. On the other hand, they sometimes decrease their violent behaviors, or declare cease-fires. These are not aimless strategies and tactics but a planned progress towards their goals and objectives.

While there is not any common definition of terror and terrorism, it would be so ambitious to think about having successful results at counterterrorism. We can still say that it can be a workable solution to terrorism related problems that is building a free society where people can share their opinions without any obstruct and where social projects can adequately support individuals. To this end, society's leaders and authorities should shoulder important responsibilities to build a democratic society.

There is no common definition of terror and terrorism at international level; it is because of different criteria of different parties. For example, a terrorist can be a terrorist according to a party whereas another party can declare the same terrorist as a freedom fighter.

Kurt (1998: 14) states that the terrorism phenomenon was used the first time after the French Revolution. Terror is an act which can be a behavior or opinion that can terrorize people and intimidate them to be submissive to a terror organization's demands, and policies. There is a nuance between terror and terrorism according to Taylor (1988: 3) that terror depicts a long lasting fear whereas terrorism is a political process that exerts suppression over authorities and people to change current administrative system by continuously utilizing organized illegal terror acts.

Şahin (1994, 19-20) gives a detailed definition of terrorism. According to Şahin (1994: 19-20), terrorism;

- Does not obey the rules and authorities until achievement of terror organization's goals and objectives,
- Develops specific ideologies parallel to certain political objectives to influence people,
- Aims to use power against people to make them noncompliant to authorities,
- Utilizes excessive weaponry, unacceptable war strategies and tactics that do not consider dignity, human lives, innocent people's material or spiritual loss,
- Is different from usual political crimes, and
- Methodically, and systematically employs kidnapping, intimidating, destroying, and murdering activities.

The Turkish Anti-Terrorism Law (no: 3713, date: 12/04/1991), article 1 defines the terror as following:

Terror is all sorts of actions initiated by a person(s) of an organization to change constitutional features of republic, political, legal, social, secular, and economical systems, to destroy the unity between the state and the nation, to jeopardize the existence of the Turkish State and Republic, to enfeeble, to strike down, or to capture the state authority, to eradicate fundamental rights and freedoms, to destroy the state's interior and foreign security, public order, or public health.

Although the Turkish Anti-Terrorism Law describes terror acts, as a matter of fact article 1 emphasizes terrorism. It is because terrorism generally is a concept that produces political goals oriented violent behaviors against a government(s). The lack of a common definition of terror and terrorism among nations make war on terrorism unsuccessful. Therefore, international organizations occasionally strive to determine what terrorism and terror acts are.

2. TERROR ACCORDING TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

There are several international initiatives that tackle with terror and terrorism to find out solutions. This section presents the understandings and the approaches of United Nations, NATO, and European Union Council against terrorism.

2.1. United Nations

Maintaining international peace and security is the main purpose of the UN. The first article of Charter of the United Nations emphasizes that it is the major purpose "to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: take effective collective measures for the

prevention and removal of threats to the peace” (Charter of the United Nations, article 1). The organization mostly promotes friendly relations among parties, international cooperations between countries, and harmonized actions of the nations toward social, cultural, economic, and political problems.

The principle of Charter of the UN, the article 2, par. 4, ensures that all member countries have to “refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state” (Charter of the United Nations, article 2, par. 4). We can refer the abovementioned purpose and principle that the UN does not support any direct or indirect act that endangers any country’s territorial integrity or political independence; differently stated any terrorist act and terrorist organization is not supported by the UN.

In addition to the major purpose and principle of the UN against terrorism, there are some other regulations of the UN countries. For example,

- Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents,
- International Convention against the Taking of Hostages,
- International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings,
- International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism,
- International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism.
- Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft,
- Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, and
- Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation.

2.2. NATO

NATO countries highlighted in the entrance of the NATO treaty their desire to live in peace with all people, and all governments and to cooperate with each member country to defeat any terrorist attack to any member country (Kıran, 1962: 14).

After the 1991, NATO increased its sensitivity for terrorism and implemented a series of measures. In this regard, NATO insistently condemns all kinds of international terrorism regardless of source, reason, and goal. In this way, NATO clarified that any terrorist activity cannot be justifiable.

2.3. Council of the European Union

The Council of the European Union is founded;

- To develop cooperation among the member states,
- To create unified behaviors, and
- To protect fundamental human rights and freedoms (Soysal, 1991: 330).

The Council in the “Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms” emphasizes the importance of protection of fundamental rights and freedoms with the article# 17, which is as followed;

Article 17 – Prohibition of abuse of rights

Nothing in this Convention may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein or at their limitation to a greater extent than is provided for in the Convention.

In addition to the abovementioned regulation, the Council, in 1977, with the “European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism”, initiated to remove the reasons of terrorist activities. Article# 1 clearly states that the following offences shall not be “regarded as a political offence or as an offence connected with a political offence or as an offence inspired by political motives”:

- Hijacking aircraft
- Endangering civil aviation
- Assailing internationally protected people, including diplomatic agents,
- Kidnapping, taking of a hostage, or serious unlawful detention of liberty, and
- Using explosives that endanger persons.

The Council of the European Union guaranteed that the abovementioned activities and their perpetrators, or their accomplices cannot be called as political crime and political criminals; besides, no country protects the designated criminals.

The Council, in 1999, advised the member countries that not only the attacks to human beings but also to properties are called as terrorist actions. In addition to violent behaviors to human beings and properties, separatist demands, fundamental ideological ideas, and fanaticism are also accepted as terrorist activities.

All the initiatives are to create a safer and reliable society around the Europe. The European Union’s strategic commitment, in this regard, points out the Council’s objective which is, “To combat terrorism globally while respecting human rights, and make Europe safer, allowing its citizens to live in an area of freedom, security and justice.”

3. THE REASONS OF TERRORISM

Every society may have displeased people. However, it is crucial to minimize their number for a sustainable communal life. To this end, a state has to provide social and economic opportunities adequately to all citizens. As pointed out by Poloma (1993: 315), when authorities use state powers in beneficial and persuasive ways, the displeased people do not threaten social equilibrium. On the other hand, when a society produces displeased people due to unsatisfactory social and economic conditions, domestic, or international terrorist groups, or rival states do not hesitate to abuse terrorism instrument to reach at their goals and objectives, or to force the country to be submissive to their demands.

There is a higher possibility that terrorism is supported by other countries rather than home country origin groups. On the other hand, it is necessary to keep in mind that terrorism cannot arouse other than on an abusive interior environment. Thus, we, first, have to figure out every socioeconomically disadvantageous situation in a society. This is important since weakened social justice gives important signal for future violent behaviors that threaten public order and security. In this regard, we have to consider not only domestic factors but also international factors that may facilitate terrorist organizations (Özfatura, 1991: 6). Interior

problems become worse when social terms are unclear which escalates social disagreements and divides people into camps. Differently stated, the clash on social terms creates a chaotic social terms terminology. Consequently, there would be more closed and prejudiced communities which solve their problems with their own methods, and disrespect to other individuals' opinions.

From a wide perspective, we need to assess every single terrorist's mentality that would help us to understand how a terrorist interprets and responds certain situations, to analyze environmental conditions where a terrorist grown up, to determine motives which drive a terrorist to violent behaviors, and finally to categorize common characteristics that help us to understand terrorism problem in a better way and to find effective solutions to control terrorism. Anti-terrorism specialists have to approach terrorism related problems sensitively since terrorist actions cause vital problems to modern society, to social control regulations, to social and economic systems, and to sustainability of societies.

Geopolitic and geostrategic importance of a country results rival countries interest into domestic discrepancies and displeased groups, and terrorists organizations (İlhan, 1993: 3). The higher the amount of domestic socio-economic problems, the stronger rival countries against the home country that may make target country more submissive to her rivals' demands. In this regard, Kaynak (2006: 73) indicates that a terrorist rather than being opponent to administrative system is a puppet of international rival countries. He furtherly states that a major tactic of contestations among the countries is to use terrorism to attain their goals and objectives (Kaynak, 2006: 73). Several countries suffered from terrorism experienced this fact.

As an individual member of a society, a terrorist can carry out violent attacks against his/her society and state for his/her nation's own good. It is a critical task to identify the reasons that motive people to attack human beings and properties for a terrorist organization. In this regard, we propose that terrorism is related with a society's social, economic, and cultural characteristics.

3.1. Social Reasons

Terrorists generally come from poor communities. A high number of poor and helpless people points out that social welfare distribution system is not just. In due course, these people become conscious about their opinion of the unjust welfare distribution system and it afterwards becomes a concrete reality of their social life (Merton, 1967: 195). Therefore, recruitment process for a terrorist organization is more successful at poor and underdeveloped communities than wealthy places.

In a displeased person generating community, it is a common belief that poverty is caused by the state's wrong policies. A terrorist organization generally utilizes a propaganda that indicates state should take the major responsibility of every problem in a society. Successful propagandas criticizing the state can create segregated districts, or freed regions, where people do not like the state, in particular its social and security agencies.

People migrated from the freed regions to cities realize living conditions are hard and challenging. This fact usually causes maladapted people who cannot meet their desires. The unhappy people mostly become a potential resource to a terrorist organization. It is more likely to see the following propaganda at the abovementioned places: "*The state deliberately*

does not provide adequate employment opportunities; for this reason, you have financial problems. Let us fight against the state!”

As a response to that propaganda, the state generally proposes people the following strategies: *“Eradicate terrorism! Do not support it! Establish social peace! If you can succeed, entrepreneurs come to your regions; besides, the state is going to help you with its economic resources.”*

People between opposite propaganda only want a work opportunity to survive. In fact, the state should keep itself close to its people and should show compassionate behaviors to them. To maintain public order and security is a principal task of the state. If people become victims of a terror organization’s threats and ideological propaganda, the state is the major responsible of this problem.

3.2. Cultural Reasons

Terror organizations abuse cultural diversity to create social classes and later to abuse them to create conflicts among the social classes. This is an important tactic for terror organizations. Bozdağ (1999: 186), in this respect, indicates that to force people of the modern Turkey after 19th century to adopt Western Culture yielded several unpeaceful and resistant individuals. This controversial situation can be well understood when it is reminded that cultural cores and values can maintain social control mechanisms that regulate social relations for a well balanced society.

Cultural policies developed and implemented by the authorities may not be well suited to all citizens. Diverse cultures may resist the state run cultural policies to protect their own cultures. According to Erkal (1972: 180), cultural diversity stems from unique geographic conditions, old customs and behaviors, education levels and social structures. Therefore, people, especially substantially bonded to their culture, can create opposition groups against the state’s cultural policies. With this regard, Kongar (1972: 429) points out the unhappy people from rulers’ cultural programs can utilize violent responses.

3.3. Religious Reasons

People have different religious perspectives and religious practices in the life. Although the religious differentially may seem as a richness of a nation, some radical groups may escalate their sensitivity that may result harsh attitudes toward other religious communities. Besides, the latest researches on the religiously motivated terrorism find that major religions, such as Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, do not allow terrorist actions, and they ban any troublemaking behaviors among human beings; nevertheless, the radical groups generally do not recognize these facts (Yılmaz, 1992: 20).

Freedom of religious life is an essential right of a person. Any religious demand without disobedient and violent behaviors against authorities and other individuals is a usual right and a freedom of a citizen in a democratic country. Nevertheless, terror organizations abuse some religious life regulations, in particular in secular countries. They generally argue that the state has no religious sensitivity. The state policies erode moral values in the society. It is a common method of terror organizations to abuse people’s sensitivity, especially about ethnicity, culture, and religion (Balçı, 1992: 90).

3.4. Economic Reasons

Terror organizations generally recruit people from poor and unemployed social groups, particularly from rural areas. Differently stated, terror organizations abuse poor financial situations of people to agitate them against the authorities. They blame the state as it discriminates people based on ethnicity and social status; as a consequence, the state does not care discriminated people and does not provide adequate job opportunities to them. In other words, from the viewpoints of terror organizations, the problem is the regime which supports certain social classes while disregarding poor and politically weak communities.

A state may not become successful at war on terrorism when there are people troubled with economic system. Therefore, it may be a practical solution to minimize financial problems and to establish a just social welfare distribution system in the country. By achieving this, the state can be more powerful at war on terrorism. A widely consented economic system is more likely to prevent terror organizations from to manipulate people and to recruit them. However, better financial conditions should be coupled with a well education programs that can help people be more conscious against terrorism.

By and large, counter terrorism security forces are the first and major instrument to deliver terrorists from a terror organization. In this critical task, counter terrorism officers produce their own policies and implement them through their professional capacity. However, it is not their task, in particular to make policies to prevent recruitment of terrorists, to regain terrorists, and to socialize them. It seems that researchers have to take responsibility in this matter to discover effective and efficient solutions to persuade terrorists to be a part of the social life and to cooperate with authorities to solve problems. In sum, it is not possible to win terrorists by employing harsh anti-propaganda techniques.

4. THE GOALS OF TERROR ORGANIZATIONS

It is the long term goal of terror organizations to strike down the current regime and to establish a new political system according to certain ideologies. On the other hand, the short term goals are to intimidate and to scare people, to make people obey terror organizations' decisions, to manipulate people toward terror organizations' objectives, to organize people against the authorities, to recruit people, to focus people's attention to their demands, to make the state weak and unstable, and to destroy targeted regime and political government.

Terror organizations have two major goals. First, they destroy the state's authority and make the state weak in the eye of public. Terror organizations then charge the state for the authority crisis and blame administrators for being inefficacy at their work; moreover, terror organizations call people rebellion against the clumsy government (Ünsal, 1996: 9). In short, people's decreased respect to the state is one of the objectives of terrorism that would drive the state being oppressive against its own citizens. Consequently, terrorism would create a society where public life has no peace but fear and panic. This situation would make people less confident to the authorities.

Terror organizations strive to exploit every activity to decry governmental policies. It is not important how massive the activity is; but, how it can be influential that will make a terror organization's hand stronger in forcing the state to accept its demands. Therefore, terrorist organizations actively organize legal and illegal social and cultural events to keep their ideologies fresh and dynamic (Brown, 1992: 13). All these efforts are for second major

goal which is to tear down current regime and establish a new government which is shaped and ruled through terror organization's ideologies.

5. FEATURES OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

Terrorism's consequences are evaluated by psychological impacts over people and political outcomes at governmental regulations rather than damages at private and public properties and casualties. As emphasized at the previous section, terror organizations mainly struggle to catch people's attention to their demands and their ideologies through creating a terrorizing environment. With this regard, we characterize terrorism as followed:

- Terrorism produce ravages of environment,
- It employs tyrannic methods,
- Terrorist actions exert imponderable power over targets,
- Terrorism does not accept impartiality; everybody should be at friendly party or adversarial party, and
- Psychological results are more important than physical results.

These features point out terrorism as the most effective way to accomplish its goals.

- Terrorism is a successful method approved by previous practices,
- Terrorism is a just revenge method, and
- Terrorism is the only method to end unfair policies.

An individual mostly prefer terrorism to fight against enormously powerful enemy. Terrorism is the only philosophy to make the state improve public life. A terrorist mostly believes that he/she is an altruistic fighter of his/her people. The value of a terrorist, however, is not considered well by his/her own people since they are not aware of his/her efforts to improve his/her people's rights. Throughout years, people would be conscious of the issue's importance and they would be a part of terrorist organization's strategies and tactics. In this process, terrorists should lead people to reach at the terrorist organization's goals and to improve people's socio-economic and cultural conditions.

6. THE STAGES OF A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION

There are four major stages of a terrorist organization to accomplish its goals. According to Aydın (1992: 163) the four stages are as followed: (1) preparation stage, (2) organization stage, (3) action stage, and (4) civil war stage.

6.1. Preparation Stage

In the first stage, a terror organization explores target society's weak and strong characteristics. Accordingly, they develop strategies and tactics to tear down the society. Besides, the terror organization seeks other organizations and individuals that would support its ideologies and its fight against the state. This stage is distinguished with its nonviolent actions, and democratic arguments. Differently stated, there is no illegal behavior at the preparation stage.

Administrative malfunctions, unfair social and economic regulations are generally brought forward to public agenda through different means, such as meetings, demonstrations,

strikes, and labor unionist activities. The terror organization at this stage presents its propaganda to target communities to gain their support and to create sympathizers.

6.2. Organization Stage

After the first stage, the terror organization collects information about public opinions and people. Accordingly, it organizes people and controls them with its leaders. The leaders subsequently teach people the terror organizations' ideologies. This stage is managed by higher council of the terror organization since it is crucial to continuity.

The ideological education of the terror organization keeps sympathizers' motivated and ready to future tasks. In the meantime, the terror organization maintains communication between legal and illegal supporter agencies. It is a must-have tactic to take possession of governmental positions with the sympathizers. By achieving this, the terror organization eventually controls administrative system.

The organization stage prepares suitable environment to start illegal individual and collective initiatives. Meetings, boycotts, occupations of certain places, posters, illegal declarations, publications and cell activities along with small scale terrorizing activities are prominent at this stage.

6.3. Action Stage

At this stage, terror organizations make operational plans to intimidate people and carry out them with trained terrorists. Terror organizations cooperate with legal and illegal agencies at this process to be more successful in enfeebling the state authority and in isolating the state from people. Provocative tactics are frequently used to force governmental security agencies to use excessive force against people. Hereby, the state will be unlawful while terror organization will be victim.

The terror organization at the action stage aims to show the state inadequate to people. In this way, the society will alienate the state and become submissive to the terror organization. As a matter of fact, this is a desirable situation for the terror organization to move to the last stage. At the action stage, the terror organization's militants intensively carry out bombings, murdering of critical persons, sabotages of crucial facilities, such as health system, communication infrastructures, and electricity dissemination centers, robberies, and raids to residential areas.

6.4. Civil War Stage

This is price collecting time for terror organizations. It is the major goal to capture the administrative system at the last stage. Terror organizations call certain cities or districts as conquered places where terror organizations have some bases to manage their revolutions.

At the civil war stage, terror organizations have clashes with government's security forces. They carry out deadly attacks to increase casualties. Foreign countries and transnational umbrella terror organizations provide financial support and war equipment to local terror organizations. When terror organizations become successful at their fight against the state, the revolution will be completed. The current state will be stroke down and terror organizations will found their state and their own regime.

Some terror organizations can have different goals that may differ in accord to influential communities that control decision making mechanism. However, terror organizations after all follow certain ideologies in developing war strategies and tactics to get rid of suppressive and unfair administrative system and to found better regime to make people happy and hopeful.

7. HOW CAN WE CONTROL TERRORISM?

It is hard to control terrorism completely. According to Tezcan (1995: 175), terrorist actions, and attacks are stopped when terrorist organization acquires its goals in other words when reasons of its existence. Therefore, it is a rational way to strive to eliminate motivations that drive people terrorism (Ünsal, 1996: 11). In particular, for a successful anti-terrorism policy, it is crucial to determine countries and transnational terrorist organizations that support and manipulate local terrorist groups (Altuğ, 1995: 145). However, this is a complicated issue that needs cooperation among countries and international organizations.

Since control mechanism of terrorism is not simple, it is difficult task to fight terrorism, terrorists, and terror motivating factors. It is clear that the simplest and the most effective solution to terrorism is to make appropriate state policies which can be adopted prevalently by people. It is more likely that an environment where people are unhappy and hopeless produces terrorists and terrorism. People have to have opportunity to express their opinions, and social, cultural, and economic needs through themselves, or political system.

There is (are) opposition party (ies) in every society. This fact mostly can contribute nations for progress, or for controlling ruling party (ies). Unless the opposition groups and parties are violent, they are useful that would explore better social, cultural, and economic systems.

8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Terrorism is a multifaceted phenomenon that requires changeable solutions to address different matters. Old methods, such as suppression of people, do not work to solve terrorism related problems. The modern world is capable of finding new ways to handle terrorism through scientific methods to create strategies and tactics in fighting terrorism. Governments have to apply academic institutions when developing new policies to restrain terrorism.

Throughout the study, we presented several strategies to remove terrorism related problems. Finally, we sum up the abovementioned strategies and tactics to eliminate terrorism from a society as followed:

- To detect legal agencies and its subsidiary entities who support terrorism,
- To provide equal and appropriate education opportunities to everybody,
- To make impartial investment programs according to local needs rather partisan support,
- To subsidy companies which would invest at underdeveloped regions,
- To modernize unjust welfare distribution system to improve the state's status in the eye of people,
- To response attempts that propose cultural diversity as ethnical diversity by scientific research (Armağan, 1992: 59).

- To make bipartisan strategies and to apply them effectively in universities in cooperation with academics,
- To use communication facilities to inform people about wrong propaganda of terror organizations,
- To inform students about terrorism related issues by specialists,
- To punish every state employees who damage the state's prestige,
- To end corruption and nepotism that would spoil social justice,
- To instruct state employees, especially in communicating people to handle terrorism related problems,
- To appoint professionally adequate state employees rather than incompetent employees at regions suffered from terrorism; unhappy and incompetent state employees would misbehave people,
- To end governmental luxury expenditures that would make people criticize state officials and make people hate the state,
- Not to build private social life opportunities for state employees and to encourage state employees to be a part of public life, and
- To end detailed bureaucratic procedures that would squander people's time and money.

We propose that the state has important role in causing terrorism and in solving terrorism related problems. In this regard, it is crucial to define the state's role clearly and to execute certain tasks attentively. The state, in this process, has not to hesitate to examine its wrong policies and to revise them in accord to people's needs and demands through scientific methods and democratic ways. When the state can deal with problems in this way, terrorism can stop gradually in the society.

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