

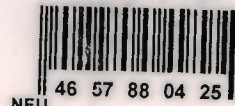


THE SUBJECT OF THE STUDY

International terrorism

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PREFACE

Today, it has been no longer possible to mention about terror organization and terror activity, which take place only in borders of a country, and also connecting with people living only in this country. Apart from this, since 1990, it is possibly said that new terror actions have started, in addition to classical terror organizations and activities. New terrorism has initiated to use biological, nuclear and chemical technological facilities, to get active via communication and computer technology and thus has thought to attain its goals by propagandizing savageness, which it increases day by day.

It has been still faced up big difficulties in defining terrorism although, since 1990, it has been a very serious and important issue having had intensive and prevalent action and affecting all countries negatively from every Point. During our project, 2003 December, after attacks having been arranged against USA on the 11 of September of 2001 when could be described as a turning point of terrorism. Maybe the analytical secrets of new international terrorism issue are hidden in this point. It is clear that terrorism, taking intensive and worldwide formation and aspect every day, does and will affect not only the countries exposing to terrorism but also much more countries, at close range, all over the world, Becoming much smaller from the point of communication. In this point, it is worth noticing that the countries in Our era have been spending more resources of which could be made use to improve welfare and happiness of Human beings in order to struggle against terrorism. In other words, terror and terrorism are the biggest Obstacles which stand against social, cultural and economic improvements for the countries, including our Country, Turkey, facing up terror actions. in this study, our aim is, even in part, to form groundwork to be. Unanimously agreed how to be well perceived when mentioned about international terrorism.

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THE SUMMARY OF STUDY

In new world order formed with the end of 'the cold war', together with basic characteristics not changing, international terrorism attained a new and different aspect. the observation of this study would be, naturally, begun by looking for the answers of how terror, terrorism and international terrorism be defined and of what they are. But, maybe the most critical point of terrorism problems consists of definition issue. Because it has not been unanimously agreed about the definition of terrorism accepted by all countries, including the definition suggested by EU, since the 11 of September of 2001 when the twin towers were attacked in the USA. Whereas a country is regarded as a hero in an edge of border, it is, on the other side, regarded as a traitor in other edge of border, for this reason, struggling against international terrorism has got more difficult. even though some international agreements against terrorism have been made, it is very clear that there are a lot of things which should be fulfilled on this issue.

National and international terrorism can be, as a general rule, sorted out political terrorism, opposite political terrorism, civil terrorism, biological and chemical terrorism, nuclear terror, religious terror, ethnic terror, ideological terror and technological terror, together with categorizing from very different aspect.

Actions carried out by new terrorism by using massively destructive weaponry, technology used to demonstrated terror actions and commit suicidal attacks increasing are the signals of terrorism that has had more threat to human beings since 1990. We assess that sorting out terrorism threatening with its goals, psychology and strategy not only our country and USA, experiencing terror actions in 2001, but also nearly all countries in our world, globalization and thus becoming smaller, and researching how terrorism changes in different situations are more suitable for our study. Yet, it is impossible to see our study is enough to find the conclusions of our study unchangeable. However, after it has been given information about terrorism, its definition, psychology and varieties, it has been thought that handling characteristic changing by categorizing is helpful. According to this, we can see international terrorism, after 'the cold war', changed into different aspect and we have handled this issue under main titles such as organizing, doctrine, ethnic origin, amount of violence, technology,

experience, logic, massively destructive weaponry and commit suicide attacks.

Having more savage and mercilessness, new terrorism converts into a common enemy, which all countries have to cooperate against, from now on. The enemies of countries are not only other countries but international terror organizations more longer... During the 'cold war', there was no security but stability. in early 1990, there was security but not stability. Today, after the 'cold war', there is neither security nor stability as asymmetric threat damaged USA on the 11 of September of 2001.

In the future, we can say that terrorism, as strategic weapon for powerless factions would be outstanding alternative in achieving their aims. In the future, the hope of a world without terrorism is not realistic. Today, countries should be more active and collaborationist so as to eliminate terrorism.

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THE FIRST CHAPTER

THE EXPLANATION OF RESEARCHED ISSUE

1. THE SITUATION OF ISSUE

International terrorism with new aspect has been regarded as one of the biggest threats of the world. It has been thought that it would be helpful to assess the information related to new aspect of international terrorism evaluated as a private and actual subject and interesting all people all over the world, ranging from statement to ordinary individuals, by categorizing and to do research about what can be do to struggle against terrorism. That is why this subject has been selected and this has formed the foundation and ground of the study.

2. THE AIM OF THE STUDY

a. The most important aim of our research is to determine international terrorism has had a new aspect, after the cold war, together with retaining some basic characteristics which it had before 1990's.

b. Other aim is to examine, in detail, by categorizing which the subjects of international terrorism in order to be well understood.

c. To provide being completely understood by giving information about the concepts of terror, terrorism and international terrorism and the aspect of terrorism.

d. To help easily reach international legal arrangements made against terrorism without necessity to do research for today.

e. To assess briefly about legal arrangements related to terror and terrorism in Turkey by backing this study.

f. To present suggestions about what can be do against international terrorism to reader, not under the main title but in lines of writing.

g. To signify by draw attention completely eliminating international terrorism is impossible but it can be diminished the effect of new terrorism, and to signify to be able to achieve this aim it is indispensable that international cooperation should be provided.

3.THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS RESEARCH

This research presents some information about international terrorism to those interesting this subject. And also it would provide being seen and assessed terror actions from different points by individuals. At the same time this research would be a main source for those wanting to reach basic information about the aspect of new terrorism and would lay groundwork for those wanting to intensify by doing deep research.

4. THE EXTENT OF RESEARCH (LIMITATIONS)

No matter how studied on terror, terrorism and international terrorism, it is impossible to carry out these subjects from every point. For this reason, we called, this modest study, international terrorism. It can be examined from a lot of organizations and managements, its situation in national and international law, the points of view of countries for terrorism, how it effects countries, the approach of press for terrorism its effects on economies, its historical advancement and especially its effects on Turkey, which intensively experienced terrorism, for yesterday, today and tomorrow. We handled how new aspect terrorism gained in which matters in order to be well understood this subject after collecting some basic information related to terror and terrorism. We briefly assessed about moral and legal struggle, which Turkey has tried to achieve against terrorism. Moreover, we purely suggested about what can be done against terrorism.

5.THE HYPOTHESISSES OF RESEARCH

Not available

6. THE DEFINITION OF MAIN CONCEPT USED IN RESEARCH

Not available

THE SECOND CHAPTER

THE METHOD OF RESEARCH

1. METHOD

This study is a form of being scanned literature.

2. THE COLLECTING, THE ANALYSING AND THE COMMENTING OF DATUMS

The information forming this study has been taken various sources. It has not been difficult to find information about this subject. A lot of national and international issues has been reached, Internet sites has been utilized and visual press and newspapers been watched in order to take information about international terrorism. The information collected in ten- month-term has been commented by being logically assembled.

THE THIRD CHAPTER

THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF THE RESEARCH

1. THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS MADE USE OF IN THE RESEARCH

The study determined and limited with the title of international terrorism formed the point of view of Turkey for terrorism, national and international law approach and the point of view of human being for terrorism by basing on the foundations of codifying and theorizing in international area.

2. THE RESEARCHES MADE IN DOMESTIC

Turkish documents and Internet sites scanned has been showed in index.

3. THE RESEARCHES MADE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

English documents and internet sites scanned has been showed in index.

THE FORTH CHAPTER

FINDINGS AND COMMENT

1. WHAT ARE TERROR AND TERRORISM

a. General

When a project about terrorism is prepared, first of all, defining terrorism and intensifying on this definition are possibly seen as an indispensable necessity or obligation. However, the definition of terrorism is one of the biggest problems faced up when this subject is examined. If the subject is international terrorism, the most important problem will be definition issue without doubt. Whereas anyone in one side of border is regarded as a hero who fights for freedom due to his/her actions, the same one in the side of border is regarded as a traitor due to the same actions. For this reason, this issue is the biggest obstacle in struggling against terrorism and defining it. If authorities in both sides of border agree with each other about which terrorists, struggling against terrorism won't be an important problem. Just as, such a problem wouldn't be discussed in situations which terrorism cross borders of a country and in this case struggling against terrorism wouldn't differ from struggling against other organizational crimes. However, today, not forgetting is necessary that there are hardly any cases which terrorism doesn't cross borders of a country.

There is not the definition of terrorism accepted by all countries all over the world, or at least countries having big influence on public. Conversely, almost all countries have a different definition of terrorism. A definition accepted by all countries shouldn't be expected in near future. Yet, it is clear that a research without some studies made about definition would be inadequate. For this reason, in my opinion it is necessary to handle some definitions agreed by me, too. After that, the common definition of terrorism made by EU would be given a place in this study.

b. The definition of terror and terrorism

Terror word is originally Latin and means in fear and trembling and causing in fear and trembling. It is expressed as a fear created by a faction in a society in order to disorganize society. Domestic and foreign sources have been seen to define differently, in line with their expertise and incidents, which they observe, examine about the

meaning of terror concept.

Terrorism concept has firstly been positively used by Jacobens in order to define political and social actions during the French Revolution. After that, this concept was given negative meaning as we perceive negatively for today. Today, commonly unanimous view about terror concept is that terrorism is frightening organizational action based on violence in order to create disorder and instability in democratic societies. Terrorism can, with more generally expression, be signified terror conducting consciously, planned and with a political aim. There is a faction or country wanting to achieve its illegally, political and strategic aims by using violence or by threatening using violence. Terrorism is not an aspect being newly faced up. The improvements and incidents, together with expressing different concepts, which could be pondered in this concept, took, in line with scientific and technological improvement, different form and it has taken new form.

In this framework, the definitions about terrorism are probably like the following ones: The first one, terrorism is an planned action and/or a threatening action in order to spread terror. The second one, terrorism is the use of violence in a conscious and planned way and/or threatening with the use of violence through civil and innocent people frightened and/or attacked by a faction or country in order to achieve its political and strategic aims by terrorizing much larger mass. The third one, terrorism is a fundamental method used to draw attention to a political disagreement by making use of massive communication.

In Turkish legal order, terror concept has been defined like the following: Terror is every kind of action made by a person or people belonging to an illegal organization in order to change the principles of republic and political, secular, legal, social and economic order, to disorganize the indivisible unity of country and society, and to endanger the presence of the republic of turkey, to hinder or ruin or to capture the national authority, and to eliminate the basic rights and freedoms and to ruin the internal and external security of country, public order or common health through one of which pressure, violence, fear, threat and intimidation or all of which. By examining this definition, we can say that terror is a complex concept. For this reason, bringing forth a commonly, compensable and acceptable definition is quite difficult.

EU, starting to take notice of the pain and violence of terror, made a shared decision about sanctions against terror actions and terrorists after the suicide attacks on the twin towers in New York on the 11 of September of 2001. According to this, a common characteristic of terror actions is that terror actions are produced in order to weaken or ruin intentionally the political, social, economic and constitutional structures of a country. However, as time passes, it would be understood whether all countries in the world and how it would take a form in the end of the comments on it would approve this definition accepted by EU, having big influence on all over the world.

All of the definitions given a place in our study are commonly accepted by without practicing favoritism but not certainly approved by them. Finally, it is helpful to emphasize that international terrorism with its content and recurrence is terror activities causing to break out worldwide results.

2. TERRORISM IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

a. Is there the definition of terrorism an international law ?

There is no a legal definition of terror and terrorism commonly accepted by all countries as we have said above. All countries have defined terror and terrorism according to their politics and conditions. The causes of no being produced a definition accepted by all countries are the following ones:

- (1) Being included terror crimes in political crimes in a lot of countries
- (2) The intensity of terror's effect on countries
- (3) Being seen as a weapon by some countries to reach their goals (benefits)
- (4) International power balance
- (5) Tolerating terror actions
- (6) Being seen as a leader one who was described as a terror crime before.

b. What do countries legally do against terrorism?

Almost all countries have been taken aim at terrorism because of the fact that its cost is as little as we could say nothing but, in this return, its influence is very big and prevalent. Terror causes all countries to perceive as a serious problem together with its targeting national unity of them. The thing expected all countries to do in contemporary world is their struggle, in line with democratic limitations, against terror.

Democratic nations' having right to struggle against terror has not had even a

discussion. Discussion is that whether terror has struggled against in line with democratic rights, or not. Because providing social order and protecting national unity in democratic societies on which ethnic revival have an influence have become a serious problem and eliminating this problem is impossible with these available legal preparation. For this reason, special arrangements and organizations are required to fight against terrorism. In this occasion, these organizations and arrangements are discussed whether they suit democracy or not.

It is necessary to emphasize that struggling against terrorism and ethnic separatism, accepted or not, has brought international supervision together with itself. Principles and methods related to supervision mentioned about have largely arranged by international law although they have criticized. These are UN Agreement, Universal Report of Human Rights, Europe Contract about protecting Human Rights and Main Freedoms and appendix protocols, International Agreement about individuals and political rights, ESCO, Paris Agreement for a new Europe, 1992 Helsinki Report, 1993 Vianna Human Rights World Conference Declaration, Strategic Concept including to struggling against terrorism through NATO.

Today, as the international Court of Justice (La Haye) expressed in its decision, even the countries not being legally side on international documents about human rights have obligations to obey principles and decisions on these documents and countries accept this situation. On the other side, International Justice Offices have shared in forming international law about human rights violations due to their judgments about human rights violations send to be made a decision to them. All of them determine the limitations of international supervision conducted to struggle against terror and ethnic separatism.

c. International rules related to terrorism

International terrorism takes aim at international peace and security order, human life, internal social dynamics, international peaceful relations, internals affairs, national law, international law and the solution of disagreements in peaceful ways. Solving negatively disagreements in bilateral and mutual affairs among states cause various problems to produce for long years. This threatens the improvement of relations and communication with each other by targeting diplomatic affairs and diplomatic



representatives.

Because of terror actions' having big, violent and deterrent influence on individuals, societies and states and its affecting negatively other societies, common cooperation action has required to eliminate this problem. International organizations such as UN, EU, EUC, and ICOF have put terrorism on their agenda. As a result, terrorism has found a place in international law. Thus, terrorism has been accepted not as a element threatening security of some countries, and violating human rights, but as a element threatening global peace and stability.

To perceive correctly the causes of terrorism and to understand ground dominating international agreements is necessary to determine correctly the form of handling this problem. From this point, it would be helpful to examine the causes of international terrorism in framework of David Singer's theory, called "level of analysis" in international affairs discipline, under the internal and external causes. Personal, social, cultural and administrative changeableness called internal factors are national causes of terrorism; international political aims and environmental conditions of globalization are international causes. Common military facilities in the world, communication improvement, internationally inadequate income distribution, political and economic damages and for this reason, the poor being poorer are effective for both causes. Moreover, national and international terrorism communicate with each other and it is impossible to spread one from the other. The causes of this can be ranged from financial sources to devices used.

Terrorism is studied carefully from the point of its basic view in other approach. According to this, political oppositions and economic troubles are main causes in basis of terror actions. Not providing main necessities needed by people, at least, causes it to be exploited by terrorism. Even if national and international terrorism differ from each other in their behaviors, the causes of their outbreaks connect with one other due to connection with each other. Conversely, in a contrast approach terrorism is evaluated as a pathological aspect, which should be examined in a historical and political process. Terrorism is not a result of bad life conditions but a result of a planned action conducted by certain decision mechanism in line with aim targeted. The common point of two approaches is that terrorism is not an action conducted to achieve a cause but an action conducted to achieve a political aim.

ç. International agreements made against terrorism

In this chapter, we have evaluated that presenting international agreements against terrorism, as a whole would be more helpful.

(1) Agreement against hijacking and kidnapping.

(a) 1963 Tokyo Agreement about crimes committed and other actions in plane.

(b) 1970 La Haye Agreement about capturing illegally plane and eliminating plane.

(c) Agreement of eliminating legal actions against civil aviation (Montreal 1971).

(ç) Protocol of eliminating illegal actions in civil airports (Montreal Agreement 1988).

(2) Agreement of stopping and punishing crimes against those under international protection, including diplomatic posts (NEW YORK 1973).

(3) International agreement against kidnapping (NEW YORK 1979)

(4) Agreement of protecting nuclear substances (Vianna1980)

(5) Agreement of eliminating illegal actions against marine communication security (ROME 1988)

(6) Protocol of eliminating illegal actions against stable platforms security over continental shelf (ROME 1988)

(7) Agreement of marking plastic explosive substances used to look for (MONTREAL 1991)

(8) Europe Agreement about punishing terrorism (STRASBOURG 1977)

(9) UN Agreement about being bilaterally immunity of their borders by countries and being avoided actions and the use of power against the unity and political independence of countries (HELSINKI DOCUMENT 1975) 2. Article.

(10) ESCO Behavioral Principles Guide about being taken measures, needed to prevent and to struggle against terrorism, by all members' countries.

(11) 1950 Europe Human Rights Agreements (With this agreement, being limited human rights and freedoms needed to protect national security, national unity, public security and order.

3. A BRIEF ASSESSMENT RELATED TO LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS AGAINST TERRORISM AND TERROR IN TURKEY

Front condition of an effective connection with the world is internal instability and peace. In the election of the second Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Atatürk was

elected president of assembly (at that time one elected president became president, at the same time, of government because of TGNA Government). Great leader Atatürk said like that, after the election, at rostrum: "we must create an energetic and fresh state. For this reason, the only condition is peace and stability. We will establish a powerful state. We will enable our people to live in a peaceful way. the existing-reasons of government are providing public security. the onset of every work is stability in state and peace in society. There would be ones wanting to disorganize society. The only solution of preventing these is to create a state with its power and organization against these disorganizing society". Thus, Atatürk emphasized the conditions of keeping state alive.

Turkey is one of the countries mostly affected by terrorism throughout world history. it is possible to double 100 billion we spent in last 15 years when we keep economic and cultural side effect in mind. In other words, Turkey had to spend an important part of national income to struggle against terror every year. Moreover, more than our thirty thousands people, civil, soldier and police, died while serving the Turkish state and the mourning of nearly one hundred thousand casualties' mothers diminished, in part, with being caught chief of terror organization, Abdullah Öcalan and with being sentenced capital punishment. More than 65 million people have become more conscious about terrorism and damage caused by terrorism and some arrangements have started to diminish the pain of casualties' families. Nonetheless, every one should fulfill their tasks about terrorism in order to eliminate completely terrorism with big crime.

In this point, Turkish society with its people, organizations and civil social organizations, standing against terrorism as a whole legislated arrangements, in line with Atatürk's statements related to terrorism.

In 12. Article of Turkish constitution: ' everyone has private, immune, unalterable and indispensable rights and freedoms and how can be limited these, in 13. Article of T.C being illegally used these, in 14. Article of T.C not used these rights and freedoms in Turkish constitution in order to endanger the presence of the republic of Turkey and to ruin the indivisible unity of country and people of state and what would be done and how would be punished these violating rights and freedoms and encouraging other people to violate.

In 1.article of 3713 act of struggle against terror; every kind of action attempted by person or people, member or members of illegal organization, in order ruin the indivisible unity of country and people of state and in order to weaken the authority of state is regarded as terror crime; in 7.article of the same act with 3,4 articles including 168, 171, 313, 315 articles of Turkish Punishment Act, there are sanctions related to punishment to punish ones establishing terror organization or arranging terror activities or conducting these or helping members of illegal organizations or propagandizing these.

In 125.article of Turkish Punishment Act, it is emphasized to be punished capital punishment one trying to divide and separate or to cooperate with foreign country to divide the land of state or to endanger the independence of state or to disorganize the unity of state.

Apart from this, there are various arrangements related to terror in 3984 Act of TRT Establishment and Broadcast, 5680 Press Act, 68. Article of T.C, 2820 Political Parties act, 2908 Association Act and 74 and 82 articles Turkish Civil Law.

Necessary measures have taken to prevent terror in Turkish Law. As first, in constitution, then in other law governing Turkish state arrangements related to crimes and in addition to these, Turkish national tradition, custom and usage to help are there.

4. THE CLASSIFICATION OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

There are a lot of kinds of terrorism under main classification. This variety is formed with tools used, aims announced, methods practiced and sources backing these. These are political terrorism, anti-political terrorism, urban terrorism, chemical and biological terrorism, nuclear terrorism, religious terrorism, ethnic terrorism, ideological terrorism and technological terrorism.

a. Political terrorism is named state terror. There is a state in the center of it and using force is the most important means. This terrorism is practiced through censorship, torture, the control of communication immediate raids houses and frequent and unreasonable testimony. If these are not enough, it is practiced through armed-actions. Robespierre during the French Revolution and Lenin in 20.century were equated with state terrorism. Those in political power change in to terrorists and practices are tried to legislate by declaring ones having opposite ideas as anti-regime-sided.

b. Anti-political terrorism is named terror against state. It danger the unity, institutional presence and management of state. Groups targeting to destroy state through terror based on hatred try to revenge state by using violence. Armenian terror is the most suitable model in this terrorism.

c. Civil terrorism can be named urban terrorism. This tries to disorganize stability of democratic societies. This tries to achieve their goals through damaging movable and immovable properties, use of weapon and rocket, bombing, hijacking and kidnapping, capturing, blackmailing and threatening. FKO, PKK, IRA and ETA are the most suitable models in this terrorism.

ç. Chemical and biological terrorism has appeared because of the groups, not part of international system, wanting to have right to comment on this system. Chemical toxins and biological diseases are rather effective methods due to infecting people immediately and having massively destructive capacity. The searches of chemical and biological weapons require financial aid and intelligent power. From this point, generally this terrorism stems from being captured by terrorists weapons produced by states to use during the war, which could be broken out. It is tried to reach goal through threat due to importance of effect created by weapons. The spread risk is accepted as one as one of kinds of the most dangerous terrorism from the point of its effect time and scope of influence.

d. Nuclear terrorism has been created with a new extent to international terrorism produced by changing world balance after the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was seen that terror groups or states using political terror, Iran and Iraq, in political instable places after the end of cold war and the callopse of USSR, captured nuclear weapons not being controlled by countries. Terror threats vary according to the amount and diversity of conventional weapons. The time of effect of nuclear weapons is not long but the extent and the scope of influence of it rather exceptional. The use of it can shift people to disastrous way. For these reasons, nuclear terror is effective. Nuclear terror is thought to be one of kinds of the most effective threats and the most important problem.

e. Religious terror targets to achieve religious and political goals by using terrorism. Separatism is established on a factor based on religious basis and it tries to establish

management system based on religious principles. The use of violence can be taken a dangerous formation until their aims are achieved due to not being perceived out of religion.

f. Ideological terror is a kind of terrorism that is practiced in line with its politically ideological poles and its aims ranging from right to left. Groups acting terror target to make their ideological view dominant over a certain geographical area and then they try to spread their ideas to the world. It is an ethnic and separatist action. Nasist Germany, reviving neo-nasists, rightist Ku Klux Klan in USA and leftists red brigades are outstanding models.

g. Ethnic terror is actions produced by a certain ethnic group threatening the unity of states and the institutional identity of states in order to achieve political aims. It targets to cause minor groups, thanks to terror actions, to put organized actions into motion against state and in the end of this; it tries to attain political demands. this terror resembles terror against state. But ethnic massacre actions were experienced as models in Bosnia and Kosiava were seen.

ğ. Technological terror is the most advanced form of terrorism. Technological improvements have facilitated people's lives as much as terrorists' lives and a new extent of terrorism has broken out. Technological improvements have increased variety of terror means, made them accessible and enabled their cost to cheapen. Technological terrorism consists of improvements in communication, mobile phones, computer and Internet systems. Technological terror is named as cyber-terrorism or modern terrorism. Terrorists can endanger the security of institutions and countries by using computer technology and Internet systems. They evaluate as a datum in preparing terror actions by capturing strategic and confidential information through these systems. Terrorists can come to a halt life by locking computer systems for days or hours.

5. PSYCHOLOGY, AIMS AND STRATEGY OF TERRORISM

Due to terrorism in a lot of area in the world, the whole or a certain area of countries became unmanageable, commerce stopped due to bad economic situation, and societies under solvent effect of terrorism separated different identities and groups. Terrorism is, in short, middle and long term, a functioning strategy that makes a country unstable as it was seen in southern America, Lübnan and Sri Lanka. Terrorism reaches

this aim through psychological destruction it wants to achieve among target mass beyond material and physical losses.

Terrorists prefer the most effective actions and aims. In this preference, action is paid attention to be prevalent and effective in society they target to harm before. Consequently, action's effect is the most important thing rather than itself. Basic criterion is productivity of solvent, deterrent, cowing, insulating and chaotic effect of terror actions upon society. Basic aim in wars is to eliminate enemy. But, murders and other actions in terrorism are means of final aim. In this point, terrorism is a theatrical presentation. Messages are sent to spectator and to the world from stage.

It is not important in terrorism whether victims are innocent or not. There is a three-sided relation. First side is a terrorist. Then there are the innocent or victims as in kidnapping. The reason for these victims are taking ransom or getting their demands accepted by third person or government or state. Thus, three-sided relation is completed. This three-sided tyranny is basic characteristic of terrorism. moreover, this is the first criminological characteristic of terrorism. And this is strictly connected with the second characteristic which target of a committed crime is to deliver a message. As other some crimes, success too terrorism in a bombing action is linked with reaching of message and playing role of targeted mass planned by terrorists rather than success of terrorists.

Violence in terrorism is different from daily, ordinary and immediate violence. To determine these differences, it is emphasized on political violence.

Violence in terrorism is conscious, systematic and directed towards certain aims. Violence is only a means. Aim is to spread fear. Aim in daily, ordinary, immediate violence is to harm target. When aim is reached, violence stops. There is a bilateral relation between ordinary violence and victim. Ordinary violence is practiced to harm victim. But there is no relation with political violence. Terrorists don't possibly know their victim. Political violence is used as a means of transmitting psychological messages to spectator beyond victims.

Terrorism is a means of understanding, which uses violence and accepts this legally in order to achieve political aims. Terrorism attacks people in unexpected times. It doesn't give its victims right to defend themselves. For this reason, it is cruel and

merciless.

Terrorism tries to force people to accept a political understanding and thought system or a life style. For this reason, it is anti-democratic and forcible. It doesn't consider freedom and free thought important due to forcing majority to accept will of minority.

Terrorists and their organizations propagandize justice freedom and superiority of law. Because they can draw attention to their aims only by propagandizing these causes. Honor, life right and other rights and freedoms of people do come to mean nothing rather than concepts to violate if they are necessary in logic of terrorism. Thus, people in terrorism are means of it. People have been changed into material not having personality, historical past, value and identity.

All ideologies, philosophical currents, ethic and religion basically take happiness of human beings and human in their mentality. Human is in centre of all these ideas. Human is not object of process but subject of process. The most valuable, sacred and essential right, life right, can be eliminated in irregular structure of terrorism and human is become a means of terrorism and terrorism targets civilization and moral, humane, political and indispensable values. Terrorism is immoral, for this reason.

Terrorists generally want to isolate people from society and to shift them the sense of loneliness and to put them into motion in order to ruin settled order and to propagandize their aims and causes and to revenge people, institutions and states and thus, finally, try to force governments to bargain with them.

Horror and terror are the most important points of terrorism. Terrorists intend to create horror atmosphere in order to shift people the sense of lethargy, intimidation and loneliness. Created horror and terror cause ordinary people to paralyze and thus, terrorists can have them do whatever they want to be done.

Terror organization spreads their power and causes through propaganda by exaggerating realities. Hence, whereas organizational structure gains moral support, they increase, at the same time, their deterrent and finally they bargain power against official authorities in front of spectator. Terrorists try to show themselves more powerful than they have in reality. They give importance to be publicized in favor of them. Terrorists feel themselves as if they were important people when their actions are

broadcast on TV, the radio and in the paper. Baader meinhof, Japan red army, Red brigades assumed that they were very big groups. But, in fact, they had 5-50 members even in terms when they were most powerful. Their biggest victory was propaganda.

The essential target of propaganda can range from harming international affairs of states to humiliating them in international arena. Moreover, propaganda has a vitally important function from points of finding support and supporters. Because of this, struggle against terrorism is also propaganda war. Another aim conducted by terror actions in the wholeness of terrorism is revenging for their some traumatic incidents and died members of it. Hence, unity in-group and belief are strengthened with bleed. Especially, aim of revenging from point of big organizations may lose its importance due to organization's having support.

Particularly, in 1970's, because of the fact that essential principles related to terrorism were not accepted yet, and captives weren't wanted to be in danger of death, terrorists' demands were fulfilled and a lot of terrorists were released. But, that concession increased terror actions. The sentence, used very often in the past and also today, of "terrorists shouldn't be bargained with" was a result of that incidents.

6. THE ASPECT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AFTER THE COLD WAR

a. General View

The ending of two-poled term (the cold war term) showed its effects on terror and terrorism. Today, it is difficult to mention about terror organization and action breaking out only in borders of a country and connecting with people living only in this country.

It is not even under debate that terrorism have a prevalent and intensive capacity and thus affects not only some countries but also much more countries in the world, globalization and becoming smaller every day.

In this point, it is necessary to pay attention that today's countries have to spend their more resources in order to struggle against terrorism instead of using their resources in order to improve their country and their people's welfare. In other words, terror and terrorism is the biggest obstacle to countries wanting to improve their social, cultural and economic facilities.

After the cold war, international terrorism having had new aspect we would examine

following chapters in our study had a new formation on the 11 of September of 2001.

According to Xavier RAUFER, " Terrorism in 21. century is not only a marginal and regional problem of countries but also an essential security problem. Today terrorism, all over the world, has increasingly become widespread depend on thousands of causes and has been changed into a different form".

According to Michele ZANINI, "in today's world, especially USA, including other countries, hasn't faced up dangers from countries. Instead, small groups and organizations, out of country, endanger other countries. In this situation, today we either take measures to prevent terror or modern world will be in danger and horror in future".

It has been seen that the security perception of countries has seriously changed. The security perception has divided into internal security and international security.

Rights and freedoms were given value and it was not thought to limited them although terrorism was known in some countries in Europe. But, a dangerous atmosphere requiring to be limited rights and freedom in order to provide internal security came into being on account of the fact that terrorism were more important especially on the 11 of September of 2001, after "the cold war".

As for the security perception's international extents, nations have been in a slippery ground from the points of security and stability.

According to some approaches, there was no security in the cold war, but stability. After the cold war, in 1990's, there was security but stability. After the 11 of September of 2001 when could be regarded as a turning point of terrorism there are no both of them.

Especially, new term has resulted from insecurity factors and unstable region and security problem having limited within unstable regions has spread all over the world through international terrorism and thus, this problem has taken its final form.

As seen, it is clear that international terrorism has, after the cold war, changed its aspect together with being more effective and prevalent compared to its form before 1990. This change has become more evident all over the world after the attacks on the 11 of September of 2001. Before this new aspect is examined, it would be helpful to explain what asymmetric threat is.

According to the armed forces common war issues of USA, " asymmetric war is a

war between different forces". Asymmetric war is not a new kind of war. Generally and essentially asymmetric war is that relatively powerful characteristic of a side is directing towards relatively weak characteristic of other side.

Generally in the scope of classical war meaning to struggle against enemy with the same weapons, the presence of a side not struggling against its enemies due to either its facilities or its power constitutes asymmetric threat perception. For this reason, a weak side exhibits asymmetric approach. Asymmetric threat is that any actor reaches an inverse proportioned conclusion compared to its power. A developed country or international organization such as UN is the enemy of this irregular threat preferring to tighten its rival through savage and sly methods. International terrorism is an asymmetric threat.

State should take measures to strengthen available defensive mechanism against international terrorism being felt much more after the attacks on the 11 of September of 2001.

USA's approach related this problem has been expressed by ministry of foreign affairs like this: "Today, together with all countries attending, USA has set about eliminating a global terror net by determining its all aspects. We will win, thanks to our belief of human life and freedom, against those exploiting people's fears and making promise to pain and death".

In the world changing its approach about terrorism and starting to practice methods Turkey has practiced for years, during our study, EU we has given places its definitions about terrorism in our study, has been going on preparing a list consisting of terror organizations.

Now, after the general appreciation, we will examine which fields international terrorism gets active.

b. The new face of terrorism

The new aspect of international terrorism has been shared by a lot of Turkish and foreign specialists, writers and as is due. But, in the scope of our study, it has been seen that the new face of terrorism has not been handled by categorizing in the examined documents. International terrorism changing seriously its aspect has been evaluated with general statements without classification due to reasons such as being introduced

to a new face every day during this term could signify relatively short, 11 years, and not passing more time after the cold war. Maybe, in near future, international common classification is done. But, today, we will examine by categorizing a new aspect of terrorism under the available information's in order to be well understood.

Michele Zanini points out that terrorism according to the cold war term has three different aspects. These are organization, doctrine and strategy and technology. But we will broaden this classification. Thus, international terrorism can be said to shows change in nine aspects.

- 1 Organization,
- 2 Doctrine,
- 3 Ethnic origins,
- 4 The amount of violence in actions,
- 5 Technologies,
- 6 Experiences,
- 7 Logic,
- 8 Massively destructive weapons,
- 9 Commit suicide attacks.

1. Organization

Terrorists having command control mechanism, political, social and economic means and enrolling an illegal organization during the cold war practised terror actions. Both leftists' organizations such as Japan Red army, German Red army faction and Italian red brigade and organizations based on ethnic nationalism such as IRA and ETA were suited with classical terror group. Hierarchical structure in this organizational pattern and leader staff in hierarchical structure are much more effective. It is natural that terrorists in new terrorism are in hierarchical structure. But, organizational model tends to changed the strict hierarchical structure into a modern and logical structure. Leadership understanding based on man in groups has been replaced with more modest and loose decentralization.

Organizational model based on Leninist cell model displays much looser structure. This results from increasing members in illegal organizations. Whereas former groups had fewer members (JRA 20-30, RB 50-70, IRA and ETA 200-400) today EL KAIDE has

5000 activists.

One of the most important results of transformation of terror organization is terrorist' characteristic. Today, although there are dominantly a lot of professional activists in very much illegal organizations the activity and fatalism of terror actions has increased due to amateur activists', used in actions, increasing. Amateur and anti-authority people, together with having organizational membership, can take very much information from books and internet. These can be more murderous compared to professional people due to the fact that it is difficult to determine them.

Because these amateur activists aren't controlled by a central through command authority limitations related to aims and actions and thus, the new organizational model causes more effective and uncontrolled murder groups to constitute.

An important proof of change of organizational model is that organizations form "ad hoc" groups and they get active through these. According to this system, due to the fact that a new organizational group is not necessary before action, methods of intelligence services are not effective and thus any group can't be found by police or intelligence services. These loose and part time terror organization can be affected and controlled by some states and organizations out of governments.

2.Doctrine

One of the new characteristics of international terrorism, after the cold war, is change in ideological locations of organizations. During the 1968's and 1970's although terror organizations were mostly in leftist wings and rightist wings, religion became more important in especially ideological extent of terrorism in 1990's. The centre east originated so-called Islamic actions (so-called because actual Islam is opposite against illegal organizations) and Aum tariqat in Japan are terror organizations based on terror groups were there in 1995.

In 1960's established organizations based on Marxist or fundamental nationalist ideology have survived today but their effects have relatively become in effective.

In 1990's established and relatively loose-structured organizations, as we have said above, based on religion have become active after the cold war.

3.Ethnic Origin

During the cold war, Terrorism was mostly used to harm political policies of a

country and thus, terrorism conducted by some countries was a means of instability. Today, one of the direct reasons of terrorism in new world order's instabilities is that there are seriously concrete troubles within bottom groups like ethnic minorities discriminated by majority. These troubles change increasingly into social actions in order have equal rights and to establish diverse states and thus extreme groups within prevalent action applies for terrorism. In practice, terrorism comes into being like this. In modern countries, extreme nationalist groups such as Bask, Breton and Kebek were motivated by terrorism and also nationalist actions applied frequently for terrorism in colonialism term. After the collapse of the USSR, created situation is rather suitable for terror actions. The fact that ethnic terror groups applied for terrorism could put debates and problems related to international law about national liberation actions, after 1960, on the agenda. It shouldn't be forgotten that the collapse of the USSR intensified ethnic problems but not diminished even if it is thought that the collapse of the USSR and Eastern Bloc eliminated principles and ethnic problems. The foundation of this issue is that problems is based on social realities, and that as these realities ignore, their presences become more effective. This situation enables some countries to attain materials in order that these could practice them external policy. The collapse of Eastern bloc doesn't mean that understanding like these was eliminated. The fact that the USSR used these actions in order to achieve external political aims is correct. But, It shouldn't be forgetter that USSR is not only state thousand these actions and after that there would be states that would use to achieve other aims related to external policy. The most important point is that ethnic problems are presence as social problems becoming independent from states' external policies, and that these can pave the way for terrorism. In other words, new and very destructive terror wave that ethnic actions, especially ethnic separatist actions may cause can come into being. These kinds of action can change into upheaval apart from their destructivity, due to the fact that these can easily find a foundation.

4. The amount of violence in actions

We examined terror organization changed after the cold war. When terrorists selected their targets they fastidiously before 1990's. Mostly when organizations trying not to use very violent actions selected their targets they targeted the most important

symbols of targeted order.

Today, this action form doesn't nearly change but the amount of violence has increased and thus new terrorism's aspect shows itself. Although the number of terror actions decreased in 1990's, the number of terror actions increased. Conducted statistical studies show that as the number of terror actions decreases, the number of killed people increases. In 1991 only 14 of percent actions resulted in death, in 1992 17,5 of percent, in 1996 24 of percent. The most important one of the reasons of this increases is that terror organizations think that there aims and their effects, in the past being reached through less violence, could be reached through more violence today. On the of September of 2001 in New York attacks against twin towers resulted from this thought. During this study, absolute conclusions have not been reached, but we can assume that according to issues 5000 people have been killed or lost until now.

The last extent of this capture, the fact that countries have more supported terrorism and terrorists have needed people support less than in the past are reasons eliminating obstacles in front of terror organizations' violence.

5. Technology

It would be helpful to explain by examining cyber terrorism due to terrorism forming newly with technology after the cold war.

Technological terror produces new terrorist definition. These, perfectly using computer and well-educated, can be named as "white-collared terrorists". Technological terror diminishes the risk of being caught terrorists. Computers are exposed to terror actions. Terrorists endanger the life security of people. For this reasons, it is frightened by dangers created by terrorism in 21 the century. The fact that health systems, finance systems, telecommunication systems and military systems in USA and Western Europe controlled by computers collapse can create a lot of serious and incurable dangers. Moreover, it is not easy at all to determine how attacks be done and where attacks be arranged in cyber terrorism. As a result, computer has changed into a war device and cyber terrorism has become intelligent wars. But cyber terrorism has used computer not only a means of war but also a means of advertising and taking support. Thanks to web systems most of the terrorists organizations have web pages. These web pages are used to propagandize and to refute arguments against them. Terrorist's organization's

taking information about each other is possible due to web pages' being in public over Internet. Information technology and common aims consists of dangerous cooperation's. For all these reasons, it is thought that technological terror (cyber terror) will be the most dangerous threat against world peace and system.

Cyber-terrorism with ideological, political and religious aims planned uses information system by targeting those who use it through fear, force and threat.

Cyber-terrorism has a lot of advantages compared to other terror activities. Firstly, its cost is less and it doesn't need weapon arsenals and logistic support. Three years ago, Pentagon's security specialists said that the whole information infrastructure could be collapsed through computer fewer specialists than thirty and less finance than ten million dollars. Secondly, organization's members can be convinced to arrange attacks without forcing and using power, and moreover, most members aren't needed. Convincing an activists to attack a computer system which may be thousands kilometers far away from him/her is much easier than convincing him/her to attend conventional actions which are rather risky. For the same reason, finding militants is easier. Because militant arranging attacks is far away from place of action, sometimes he/she may not know what he/she does. For these reasons, militant can be found by finding by hiring in order to practice terror. Moreover, it can be said that cyber terrorists offer to arrange actions. A German hacker wanted one million dollar from Saddam huseyin in return of breaking down computer programs used by USA during the gulf war but Saddam rejected. Thirdly, cyber terror actions cover their tracks behind them. Escaping is very easy after actions are fulfilled. Moreover, it doesn't need to be present in place of action and actions can be fulfilled from all over the world. Fourthly, actions can give more messages to more people. More frightening thing is that terrorists can make bigger actions to affect all society than in the past. Such as going off electricity and attacking finance centres.

But the fact that conventional organizations eliminate and cyber terror organizations replace to conventional is difficult. Because, terrorism naturally targets advertising of horror and violence. Cyber maneuvers can't create horror and violence created by bombing, commit suicide actions and troublemaking. For this reason, cyber terror is a partner t of conventional terror tactics. Because terrorist wants to present his action in

order to be able to create more effect. Internet sites can be an effective means in presenting and publicizing this savage. In the future Internet will play more important role in our life and most probably children will be educated over the Internet. For this reason, conventional organizations will want to use cyber world much more.

Exhibiting pictures of killed security forces over the Internet site hacked by terrorists may create more effective image than that security forces are killed. Apart from this, the fact that the communication wires of hospitals and fire departments are cut up or information had by them is changed after the arson action may become more effective than only arson actions. That electricity of any city is cut off or the computers of Istanbul exchange break down for two hours would arouse indignation more than expected.

One characteristic of cyber terrorism is that it doesn't need strictly organizational structure and flexible groups can be used in different times. For this reason, this kind of terror can be used by fundamentally civil social organization from time to time. Religious groups head in these activities. Fundamental groups applying for cyber terror applying for cyber terror may assemble in order to practice any action and then may dissipate may be flexible groups. For example, a group opposition against alcohol may attack the computers of alcohol factories or a group opposition against abortion may attack the computers of a medical center.

Well-known terror organization applying for very effective actions in the world is not an institutional and rooted organization but Usame Bin Laden's group being remembered one person's name. It is not coincidental that Bin Laden's group is in integration with information technology. The fact that this group communicates over the internet, action orders are delivered over the internet, and thanks to these, organization's members are caught and known with difficulty has confirmed cyber cooperation information.

USA as a single superpower, after the cold war, has become unrivaled from the points of economy and military. For this reason, it is possible for countries not cyber competing with USA in economy and military to support cyber terrorism against USA. According to Pentagon's figures, the number of attacks against USA's defense infrastructure has been 23.662 until now. But 413 of them have seemed from intentional, military and political aims. If you are in information war, it is very difficult for you to

understand whether a terror group or a country is against you. States may get cyber terror activities by supporting cyber terror organizations from financial point or by establishing militia forces.

6. Experience

One of the reasons for changing aspects of international terrorism is that being experienced from the incidents in the past. Every new terrorist has become more clever, strict and quick by benefiting from his/her experience in the past.

Today, with increasing communication facilities, terrorists have had characteristics facilitating them to reach every information more quickly, to behave more intelligently. Organization's members produce new action styles by observing former faults. Third generation of German red army faction is a classical example. According to the upper authority, these read court records several times and found out actions' forms and anti-measures.

7. Logic

Terrorism's logical change is a change that was seen in behavioral models of terror organizations after the cold war. Groups organization in line with new order and its logic don't undertake action arranged by them. In the past, terror groups not only have undertaken the actions arranged by them but also praised themselves and told why they had done.

In last years well-known organizations didn't undertake the actions arranged by them. In 1995 in Tokyo underground gas attack, in 1993 in Bombay car bombing Jewish Society Center concluded with 96 death, and finally in 2001 in USA twin towers attack have not been undertaken. But USAME BIN LADEN, afterwards, in December of 2001 undertook last attacks. There are two extents not to be undertaken these actions. Firstly, anyway these actions are broadcast and publicized by media and press all over the world. Secondly, terrorists try to escape from responsibility and especially try to provide countries supporting them with capacity to be able to move.

8. Massively destructive weapons

In 1990's one of the most important fears is that terrorists used massively destructive weapons. Due to countries' controlling massively destructive weapons in the cold war term, international system was relatively more secure. Using massively

destructive weapons is more difficult for countries due to states' having certain responsibilities. However, it was suggested that the probability for terrorists to use these weapons was much more on account of terrorists' not having responsibilities for society and international order.

The fear that terror organizations would use weapons from USSR or other countries was well known until the 11 of September but an important thing. But the fact that thousands of people were targeted in last actions increased fears that massive actions could be practiced.

After the cold war the risk of using massively destructive weapons really increased. Terrorists and supporters would capture biological and chemical weapons either now or in near future. As we enter within third thousands years, the probabilities that racist, nihilist, theocratic fundamental and separatist groups and some tariquats get these weapons in their hand and use them are the biggest threat for world.

In early 21. century, religious-aimed and ethnic-ran cored terrorists groups have gradually replaced political-aimed and out of date terrorists groups in achieving their goals whatever it happens. Unlike political-aimed terrorists, theocratic fanatics don't avoid killing people massively. Because they struggle against dark powers they perceive like this or try to keep so-called mysterious concepts like race alive. Ethnic and religious originate extreme poles are the most dangerous terrorist groups who select weapons causing mass deaths.

Incidents backing statements we have said above have been taken place. The most important one of them was sarin gas attack by Aum Shinri Kyo against Tokyo underground on the 20 of March of 1995. in attack, in total 12 people were killed, 5500 people were poisoned by gas, 2 underground line broke down and were out of order and 26 underground stations were closed. That incident, as a important example, clearly revealed the facilities in attaining and using nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. In this frame, it has been seen that the structure of terrorism has changed into more destructive and eliminating structure.

9. Commit Suicide Attacks

In this chapter, we have detailed examined the commit suicide attacks and twin towers attack, which was the most effective example in USA in 2001 when we studied

on this project. Because suicide attacks we have believed equating with the logic of terrorism in 1990's after the cold war would give us a more comprehensive idea of the aspect of terrorism even there were similar examples before 1990's.

Suicide attacks are terrorist's actions on account of the most indispensable part terror activity. It hadn't been seen systematic and prevalent suicide attacks by the time 1990's. These attacks can be evaluated as anew terror style when we look from this point.

Planned and systematic suicide attacks firstly appearing in Middle East in early 1980's, tended to spread quickly after the cold war, were seen the effective models in Turkey and finally, reached the climax of it with the striking of planes into twin towers in New York on the 11 of September of 2001.

In suicide attacks, determining terrorists is difficult before attack and thus, in spite of strict security measures, blocking these actions is impossible. There are possibilities for terrorists to determine the best time and the most suitable place. Thanks to these advantages, they are three steps in front of security forces. Intelligence is an important problem on account of the fact that groups planning actions, groups giving logistic support and groups practicing actions differ from one another and also terrorist to attack doesn't know when to and where to practice this action.

Suicide attacks is a successful sort of action from the point of reaching selected targets and causing the most possible damage. The most leading reasons for being used by terror organizations as both action threat and threat are that suicide attacks are attractive for media and have high chance for success, low risk of being blocked and high effect for propaganda from the point of being succeeded the aim of terrorism suicide attacks completely have logical foundation. Moreover, suicide activists are evaluated as cheap and energetic controlled rocket from the economic point.

Suicide attacks are practiced in different forms. The most frequently used one by them is that anyone carrying on bombs goes off these bombs. Suicide attacks have been practiced like this since autonomy agreement was signed in Israel in 1993. In attacks, generally civil targets such as bazaars and buses have been preferred. Suicide attacks become widespread after 29 Muslims were killed in a mosque in Hebron in 1994. That attack is known as Hebron massacre. Bombing bomb-loaded vehicles by entering

THE FIFTH CHAPTER

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

The aspect of international terrorism has started to change since the two-poled world system changed into single-poled world system and plural- centered world order just after the cold war. It has been clear for state-backed and mostly remote-controlled and more savage terror wave to start to threaten the world together with the ending of cold war term. The perception of terrorism has started to become sensitive for not only Turkey, suffering from terrorism but also all countries since 2001 when terror attacks against USA were arranged.

Terrorism not limiting violence in actions by combining religious understanding and ethnic origin, more experienced and more technological has signaled not to avoid using massively destructive weapons by focusing on suicide attacks.

In this point, it has been thought that it would be helpful to evaluate about cyber terror and suicide actions in scope of terrorism.

The struggle methods of governments against cyber terror appearing as a new terror style after the cold war would differ from ordinary methods against terror. Moreover, in struggle against cyber terror cooperation with private sector has been obligatory. Because whereas informatics technology has been produced by civil foundations, the importance of centers producing civil information has increased. For example, armed forces have produced 95 percent of communication by benefiting from civil communication. For this reason, that governments and security forces cooperate with civil foundations is necessary.

In the past, public and private foundations were organized in form of perpendicular hierarchy. As information became valuable, upper position was passed and the most valuable and the highest responsibility were found in the most upper position. But information society eliminated this hierarchy and horizontal organizations replaced with this organization. States may have obligations to change their forms of organization in order to struggle against terror. For this reason, that their hierarchical structure and security measures are restored by them may be necessary. It is not enough that only specialists in this subject work hard. In system every servant and worker is important. The carelessness of any worker in system may cause the system to collapse. For this

reason, states should train their servants about cyber terror and should renew the system and education. It is important to make every person conscious of cyber terror and anti-terror and cooperate with civil sector.

It is nearly impossible to block terrorists making decision to attack. People should be protected before they face up terrorism. To be able to provide this, conditions producing unconscious and alienated individuals should be eliminated and life should be made beautiful and peaceful. In other words, people should be given the affection of life. Lifeaffection would be provided in safe, equal and free society. If social conditions cause robots to multiply, conclusion will be not the affection of life but the affection of death.

According to some approaches, there was no security but stability in the cold war term. In 1990's there was security but stability. After the cold war, today, there is no security and stability. To provide the superiority of law and eliminate international terrorism, together with available legal agreements, certain standards and principles in national and international arena should be adopted.

Punishment law having necessary arrangements about terrorism and limiting terrorism in national law should be obligatory. In this point, we can emphasize that Turkey, has struggled against terrorism for years, has necessary information and experience and legal arrangement. In international arrangements, it is important to comply with cooperation and international agreements related to terrorism. States should give an importance to agreements arranging the working of intelligence organizations and they should be able to take legal aid from other states. The concept of international terrorism should be determined and the freedom warrior of a nation shouldn't be the terrorist of other nation. International institutions should stand against international terrorism and findings by all states should be practiced immediately. Institutions to provide the practice of international law like INTERPOL should be improved and strengthened. UN attempted some steps about international terrorism and makes some arrangement. But, practicing law is not task of UN, it is task of governments. The main power to block international terrorism is the will of governments. Even if international law is excellent, it is impossible to block international terrorism unless it is practiced.

In the future, terrorism as a strategic weapon will continue to be attractive

alternative. However powerful, wealthy, democratic and advanced a society is, there would always be some people posing unbearable conditions, tending to be violent and truculent instead of just and free.

It is true for societies to expose to terrorism. In public opinion, the tendencies of increasing importance of terrorism cause terrorists to show themselves more powerful. Thus, creating the phobia of terrorism would harm society.

Terrorists shouldn't be given opportunity of exploiting economic, social and political instabilities.

Violating the democratic principles in struggle against terrorism causes political instability and more serious, long-termed and negative effects. Reacting extensively in struggle against terrorism is as dangerous as not reacting. For this reason, the strategy, tactics and techniques of struggle against terrorism should be harmonious with each other.

In future, the hope of a world without terrorism is not realistic. Experience has showed that terrorists wouldn't live difficulty in finding weapon, money and every sort of support and thus, the importance of international cooperation has increased. Today, states should be more active and more closely in cooperation than it used to.

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