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INTERNATIONAL TERROR AND COUNTRIES THAT FEED TERRORISM
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Abstract
Terror, as a concept, means “to scare, to daunt” and threaten in Turkish. But this scaring, daunting and threatening express a fear situation and a violence state that are both big scaled in intensity and surround the individual’s or individuals’ psychological structures all of a sudden. Although it is a commonly used term at the present, terror doesn’t have a common definition that is agreed upon. Many definitions were made about the subject, but there isn’t a common concept, which is agreed upon, in the international arena. The fact that one person who has been declared as a terrorist by one side is declared as a freedom fighter by the other side is the reason behind this.

Terror, as a definition, is the act of using force or threatening to make people adopt certain thoughts and behaviors by daunting and intimidating them. One of the most important properties of terror is that, it chooses its targets randomly. Determining the victim without making a differentiation causes spreading of fear. If there isn’t a special reason to target someone, then no one will be safe. The potential target can do nothing to protect himself. Because the terrorist judges by his own rules and makes his move in a place and time, which he chooses. And this exposes that political terror acts cannot be estimated beforehand and they are arbitrary. The other properties of terror, which are valid for all of its types, are cruelness, destructiveness and immorality.

Key words: ASALA Terror Organisation, International Terror, The Daunt Politics.

1. INTRODUCTION
As individual and mass communication tools have developed, psychological war strategies and tactics have also developed at the same level, and became a branch of science and art. So, the communication age, which we live in, is also described as “psychological wars age”. With the changes in the world’s balance and as a result of differentiations in international relations, conventional wars are replaced by cold war methods. Psychological war type, which has emerged as a necessity of cold war, and this war’s main element, low intensity conflicts have brought the concept of terror along with themselves. Terrorism, an element of psychological war, generally emerges as a result of the activation of revolutionary ideas and actions, which either exists or formed artificially, for a particular purpose. Terrorism changes with the developing and changing world conditions, and increases its effect and power each passing day with its newly acquired opportunities and abilities that result from developing technology. Although steps towards democracy decrease terror in quantity, in democratic environments, effectiveness of terrorist acts increase especially as a result of mass communication tools. Terror activities, which result from social-economic conditions of society and deficiency in the existing structure, goes under the control of some powers after a time or artificially build upon problems that are prone to exploitation by some groups. In this study, activity areas of Terror and
Terrorist countries are examined in International and regional scales, in different dimensions. Starting with what terror is, the countries that support terror are dealt with and terror’s objective and tools are researched. As a result, when we were saying that terror was keeping up with the global age, we have seen that the modern age terror was not just made up of psychological war and psychological threats and this was proved by the September 11th incident.

When we analyze the right, left, and divisive terror organizations that are active in our country, we see that they initiate their foundation, organization, and member gathering phases with books, newspapers and journals and continue till armed activities. As we all know, there are some elements that keep terrorist organizations alive. These are; ideology, inner and outer support, money and members. But to found an organization, there must be an ideology before everything else. This can be a communist, fascist, ethnic or a fundamental ideology. Because of this, the terror organizations active in our country start their activities by books, newspapers, and journals to improve their ideologies and find supporters for their organizations. As a result of conflicts in this respect, a terror organization’s inner and outer support can be cut off, its money resources and members can be eliminated, but it must not be considered as removed, before it is finished in ideological sense.

2. TERROR CONCEPT

Individual means of communication and mass media have developed in parallel with psychological war strategies and tactics, and these have become a branch of art and science in very complicated levels. Therefore the era of communication in which we live is called as “the era of psychological wars” also.120

As a result of changing world balances and differentiations in international relations; shooting-wars have given place to the methods of cold war. The type of psychological war arising as a requirement of the cold war and the low indensity conflicts which are the indispensable element of this war have brought about the terror concept. Terrorism which is an element of psychological war generally comes out as a result of carrying out revolutionary ideas and activities which are existing or enabled to form artificially for a specific purpose. Terrorism changes in parallel with developing and changing world conditions, and becomes more effective and powerful day by day with new opportunities and capabilities gained by technology. Steps taken by in the field of democratisation decreases the proportion of terror. On the other hand in democratic environments the effectiveness of terrorist actions increases especially by the effects of mass media. Terrorist actions arising from the socio-economic conditions of the society and the absence of existing structure passes into the control of some forces after a while or some environments use terrorist actions artificially on the problems that may be misused.

Terrorist actions billow periodically nowadays, lose its significance in time and gain speed again later. It is observed that these terms in which terror accelerates have a close relationship with international political relations, political and social problems in regional and country level. When it is evaluated correctly and logically terrorist organisations are both condemned to marginalisation in time and they cannot reach their objectives as they propound. Though; as long as the instability and fault in societies enables averse people to come out, and some forces and states use terror as a mean and an element to

restrain in order to reach their objectives; terrorism will continue its existence. It is inevitable that there are small groups in societies which are created by averse people. However; as long as the political system keeps its balance and power, this situation is not accepted as very fearful. The groups using terror are unlimited in using their initiatives about the time of the action and choosing the target as a requirement of action tactics and secret action proceeded by them. Therefore this situation brings them an advantage. The difficulty of arresting the perpetrators or that terrorist actions carried out without cause and effect relation are prevented by receiving information before increases the effect of terror.\footnote{Arguilla, J. and D. Ronfeldt. 2001. Networks and Netwars. Santa Monica, CA: Rand.}

Moreover since terrorists do not have many ethic or humanistic obstacle limiting them during their actions, they have a psychological superiority An essential point that should be taken into consideration in understanding the terrorism is that there is a common tendency of relating it only to external factors and taking the easy way out. Terror cannot live in the places where there are not any existing or abusable situation. Hence if there is terror in a place commonly, then it should be accepted that something is going wrong there and this should be found. That the social structure is weakening or having indications about it are important from the point of the danger which terror has. The more a body is healty, the more it will be robust and will imunize against the microbes. In this sense relating it only with the external factors and ignoring the internal dynamics are just deceiving ourselves. If we think about the contrast while interpreting terror taking only the internal dynamics into consideration and not to take any notice of external dynamics are also another mistake. The approaches such as external powers, foreign extremists, enemy countries, which are mentioned very often in our country, causes negative effects on the society and creates a thought about that the external extremists are more powerful than they are. The events attributed to the external powers under these circumstances that seriously threaten the internal peace makes the public opinion expect to develop a more effective attitude towards external powers. If such an approach is not put forward by the state, then cogency and the sense of confidence about the authority weakens and people starts to think that the state is weak and helpless.

Since terrorists are our people, the target of them is our people and the activity area of them is inside our border; the solution will be seeked inside the same territories As it is mentioned above it should not be concluded that the external effect ought to be ignore. Trying to ascribe different meanings to the concepts and detaining people to come together in order to solve the existing problems contribute to terror environment by dealing with the topics and the concepts which are problematic or suitable for being a problem. In order to solve the problems which force people to group, firstly the problematic concepts should be clarified. If it cannot be agreed even on the concept, each group starts to seek a solution in their own ideological structure; therefore the approaches conflicting with each other appear. It is truly difficult to come up with solutions to the problems on which it can not even be reached a common ground regarding the concepts, and to form a certain social union. Incomprehensibility must be eliminated in terms of providing social peace and expressing each idea under the rules of democracy. In order to do that the leaders and the intellectuals of the society should undertake important tasks. The responsibilities of the people orienting the society gain importance in this point. That the people get stuck in their own ideas by being away from objective and scientific, and avoid from giving chance to the others or afraid of this situation are the most important factors which causes these results. Incomprehensibility appears as a result of not respecting an idea of somebody and having a prejudice against the ideas put forward by another person.
2. 1. The Objective of Terrorist Actions

The objectives of the terrorist organisations may differ depending on the the countries in which they sustain their activities and the centers directing them.

Within the framework of common approaches, we can say that the objective of terrorism is destroying the aimed regime and system by using violence, and establishing a new government instead towards their own ideology. This approach is mentioned clearly in the judicial trials of terrorist incidents. Terrorist organisations claims that by eliminating the government and the governors that they accepted as unjust and suppression, they aims a happier and fairer life style. In achieving their goal they consider themselves as unappreciated nameless warriors and devoted volunteers of the society whose rights are defended by them. It is claimed that since the public is unconscious, they cannot understand the favours done for them and because of that it is impossible for the public to join this activity; but in time the people is going to be conscious and join the activity. It is defended that until this time the minority, conscious masses should sustain the fight on behalf of the public and lead the fight. Why do some people take the risk of death and embark on an tough adventure such as armed violence by bearing every difficulty and poverty in order to achieve their goal? The main reason of this lays on the power inequity among their enemies that they fight with, and themselves. Since the aimed system cannot changed by choosing normal ways, armed struggle is seen as the only remedy and so they try to eliminate the power inequity through terrorist actions.

The objective of terror in public opinion, however, is overthrowing the aimed political regime. Therefore it should have some objectives in short term also. The interlocking short term objectives of terrorism could be summarised as follows. Firstly wearing down the aimed regime and political power, and affecting existing authority. Announcing their purposes to domestic and foreign public opinion and taking attention to their purposes. Eliminating negative sensibility against their purpose by weakening the morale of resistance of the society through terror, and making the masses obey. Providing followers and the support of mass in the society where they have partial power and authority. The main objectives of the activities of the terrorist organisations are wearing down the political power in the eyes of the public and weakening the moral authority of the government. By doing this, the authority depression will be put forward as a proof of the incapability of the governors and so the masses will be urged to rebel against the existing government. Shortly; the first objective of the political terror in short term is terminating central power and detering the public opinion.

When it is taken into consideration that terrorism is used as a mean by some forces in order to gain some political and economic benefits, the purpose is very different. In such occasions the objective of terrorism is helping to form specific environment in the aimed country and the society in order to profit. Since providing terror environment in the countries having a strategic importance such as Turkey is a must for some states and forces to benefit, the objective of terrorism is only carrying out this environment. Hence; terror is used as a political struggling mean to weaken and destabilise another country by a country.

Especially when the subject is handled from the point of economy it is clearly seen that another objective of terror is preventing countries to use their resources in beneficial fields economically. The cost of fighting with terror is very high and the countries having limited resources use the money which should be spent for the development and the economy of the country in order to fight with
terror. The economic objectives are among the activity strategies of terrorist organisations and they lay the foundation of increasing the reaction of the public by blocking the existing regime through the activities in this field and therefore they accelerate the public to have revolutionary conscious. All these approaches clarify this subject. Sometimes we come up with terror in the way of destroying the peace and the integrity of the country by confronting the factors which are claimed to have different ethnic structure but live on the same territories and share the same destiny. The abusement of the ethnic structure provides resources for terror in time. When the ethnic structure, formed artificially or naturally, provides resources for terror, the reactions appearing in the society in time against this factor are expressed slowly. The social sensivity appearing after the consequence of terror activities leads to an unconscious reaction without distinction in the society against the factor providing resources for terror. Therefore a possible internal conflict starts to signal.

We have been met that breaking unity and solidarity and order of society is another apparent aim of terrorism by means of putting the groups have different cultural backgrounds and philosophies face to face in the society and make them fight each other by using terror as a means. It can be considered that configuration of alawi-sunni, secularism-anti secularism and demanding to push these groups for fighting each other occurs as a result in parallel with this purpose. In violence actions of terrorism directed to the masses without considering target it is aimed to give anxiety to the public for their lives by destroying their sense of trust. By this way it is aimed to create a big abyss between society and state and make the masses lose their sensitivity for terrorism. In a country that has been exposed to terrorism everyday in increasing and decreasing rates, public begin to show their reactions to terror and terrorist organization in different ways. This reaction sometimes can lead to completely non-reactivity, and also sometimes it can lead people to violence actions against events in consequence of organization composing terror.

Terrorists try to create appropriate reactions relevant to their goals. For terrorists, important thing is not reaction but the effect as a result of reaction. For this reason in most of the terror actions, relationship between terrorist and his/her victims is abstract. Terrorist behaves to his/her victim in an indifferent way. In most of the events the victim’s personality is not important, the important thing is having a representative characteristic. This state is an important point to show immorality of terrorism. Terrorist organizations seek for propaganda (advertisement) to announce their voice to public opinion. They attend every kind of action that will revive their organizational activities and contribute to make their thoughts and themselves alive. In our country supporting some people’ funeral, pretending as if advocating unjustly treated people for a variety reasons by terrorist organizations are all attempts to become popular over these people and events. When it is looked from this point of view, terrorist organizations seek for abusing every kind of event that is going to serve their goals. Here it is concluded: in terrorist attempt the important case is not size of the operation, but size of created or will be created repercussion. The ones who perform terrorist actions want their actions to be effective a repercussive and to create a higher voice, to be heard, to be echoed, to affect the whole society and hit them wholly. They aim these results while acting. Terrorists know more than anyone that the act done to a common place or person will not have the same effect done to an important organization or an esteemed person. They select the target according to this criteria. When news is broadcasted on televisions and started to make censure statements one after the other that means action achieved its goal.

In an action that is performed by Irish Republican Army (IRA), a bomb, exploded in a bus in England on 18 February 1996, caused death of 1 person and injury of 7 people. Terrorists know that death and killing events in East and Southeast Regions do not affect society as in other places. Therefore, from time to time they take their actions to places containing important organizations and cities having esteemed people, so that they can have expected effect easily.124

Terrorism is evaluated with psychological effects and political results it caused rather than size of damage and death people. Thus terrorists managed to attract attention on them and their matter and absolutely create fear and horror atmosphere. In this context qualities of terrorism can be listed like this: terrorists try to reach their goals by means of creating desperation and disaster atmosphere. If the psychological results of a violence action are measurelessly more effective than physical results, terrorist gain a quality. Terrorism is a kind of despotism that is specifically unknown in advance. Here the person cannot do anything to escape from annihilation in terrorist hands who act according to terrorism’s certain rules. Terrorists do not recognize war rule and law, do not make any separation between combatant and ……, because according to terrorists you cannot be neutral you are either on their side or against them. Terrorism contains guns, brutal and barbarous methods. Terrorism has been shown fair and right by terrorists because of the reasons below:

Terrorism, also existed in past, is the best and only way for success,

Terrorism fulfils fair revenge in a way that an eye for an eye a tooth for a tooth,

Terrorism is the lesser of two evils, in other words lesser worse of the worst one, because if we do not adopt terrorism we face with worse conditions.

2.2. EU and Terror

Radical changes in political and economic field have turned terrorism fact into a common deal for all countries today. But, even though some precautions had been taken by European countries to struggle with this day by day increasing treat, because of powerful guns they have, tactics they change according to conditions and cooperation between some terrorist groups and mafias type organizations terrorism danger became a gradually growing quality instead of a decreasing one.

When we studied on terrorist organizations, the common features of all them comes out in the way that becoming popular in the way that international violence, telling to outer world, finding a legal fundamental to themselves by using and abusing extant thought system, leaning against democracy shield, organizations and rules as they know no one do something about their hidden violence actions, providing continuity of their actions, being organized, destroying or rebutting the system, being occupied to illegal organized crimes to supply support for their actions.125 In the 17th clause of European Charter signed in the scope of Council of Europe concerning protecting human rights and main liberty was indicated that “freedom of destroying freedoms cannot be accepted”. Terror was defined in European Commission of Human Rights and Council of State examining and concluding claim of agreement decision infringement, on decision by the United Nations General Assembly, as destructive actions aiming destroying human rights and fundamental freedom of others. Again within the scope of Council of Europe in 1997 it was signed European agreement for preventing terror. In this


agreement for the purpose of removing problems caused by increasing terror crimes it was made some arrangements. In first part of agreement that is thought important for today, was accept that “abduction, taking someone hostage, crimes threatening illegal freedom” and crimes like “bomb as long as it is harmful for people’ life, hand grenade, rocket, automatic, firearm, using parcel or letter bomb” cannot be assumed as political crime, crime connected with political crime or committed crime caused politics, it was adjudged that extradition request giving the impression of aimed at investigating or punishing the person committed a crime like this due to his/her race, religion, nationality and political beliefs might not be covered.

In second part of agreement that is thought important for today, it is stated that part not getting back the criminal has to actuate their own authorized office to investigate the event because of superfluity of delay. Besides, within the body of Council of European in 1957 an agreement was signed about extradition. The side of having importance of this agreement for today is political criminals cannot be got back, they cannot be got back to the countries that their legislation contains death penalty but in a condition of giving guarantee that death penalty will not be executed extradition is possible. Also in Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Helsinki Result Document it is adjusted that participant countries

For example it is known that Germany, Italy and Holland came up against limited terror actions and took some precautions to struggle with terrorist organizations. However, especially in recent years the countries that have mostly come up against terrorism are France, England and Spain. France,

There are two factors affecting the arising and continuation of the north Ireland conflict. First of these factors is the ethnical differences, and the second is religion/denomination differences.

The problem first arose of ethnic and nationalist origin as a rebellion against colonial/imperial initiatives, which was later transformed into one of religion/denomination origin because bringing up the problem in this context would benefit the mostly Protestant England. In this day the problem is one of Catholic – Protestant origin. While the Catholics, who are a minority in Northern Ireland, wish to unite with south Ireland Republic, the Protestants who are a majority prefer to stay dependant to United Kingdom.

With the signing of the settlement in 10 April 1998, which foresees the gradual unification of north Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, and the results of the referendum held where the majority of the islands population voted for the settlement, it is plausible to say that the notion of north Ireland belonging to England/being an inseparable part of England has lost its meaning/ value today.126

England has taken safety, legal, economic, social, political, administrational, and international measures in fighting terrorism.

Spain has been victim of ethnical terrorism, based on the thesis that the Basques’ language, culture and origin are different from the general texture that dominates Spain. The church and the clergy have a great impact in the development of the Basque problem. Spain has had to face violent actions due to the acts of a separatist terror organization, Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA), who demands Basque independence. Spain has preferred to lead the fight against terrorism together with democratization and has taken safety, legal, economic, social, political, administrational, and

international measures like England. Achieving Basque independence hasn’t eliminated terror organization ETA. The organization is fighting the independent Basque administration.

2.3 EU and Anti-terror structuring

EU anti-terror operation leaders founded the counter-terror cooperation group in 1980. The meetings are held once in two years. During these meetings, service chiefs of member countries, assess the current terror acts, and the measures taken to fight them. In addition to these, discussions are held about the problems facing the information exchange and interrogation steps during police activities. European committee against drugs was founded in 01 December 1989, and 1 year after its foundation in December the council was given the task of handling the Rome European council approved ‘Fighting against drugs 1. action plan’

This fight against drugs plan is also the first action program approach including the effects of drugs on society health, fight against smuggling, and international terrorism, which was started on a national and social level. Among other important measures, this plan stipulates the formation of ‘European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction’ (EMCDDA) In November 1993 with the validation of the Maastricht treaty, this committee has been transformed into Drugs Coordinators Group for coordinating the union’s positions in international meetings.

The name of the treaty is thus because the representatives of the 12 countries forming the European Union (then the European Committee), Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Spain, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal and England, came together on 7 February 1992 in Maastricht to form the treaty. The Maastricht Treaty was signed to strengthen the member countries’ economies, to achieve economic unity, to form a union of economic and monetary unity with one steady currency, to end the separation of the Europe continent and form one European Nations Union. The aim is to strengthen the cooperation between the nations, depending on democracy, human rights, basic freedom, and constitutional state, in respect to history, culture and tradition. There is an aspiration to strengthen the democratic qualities and functional efficiency, for the countries’ institutions to be able to perform their individual roles more efficiently under a single institutional frame. There is a wish to improve the nations’ economical and social development through integration of the domestic market and preserve the environments entirety, to put into action a series of practical politics which will provide parallel improvements in economic unification and other fields.127

The aim is to guarantee the nations’ safety and security and ease of unrestricted circulation through putting into effect politics that will provide a common citizenship, formation of a defense mechanism and European identity that will ensure peace in Europe and the world, to take joint actions regarding foreign policy and safety politics, putting in to effect politics in legal and domestic policies with respect to the treaty. With this treaty the European Union forms a democracy club in every sense. There are surely duties for the police force in this club. The cooperation in legal and domestic fields will be in the following subjects;

Fugitive policy,
Crossing of the Union’s borders
Migration policy (for third world country citizens)
Fighting drug addiction,

Fighting contraband,
Fighting terrorism,
Cooperation in civil law,
Cooperation in criminal law,
Cooperation in customs.

An information exchange program is aimed to be achieved among the Union in police cooperation, customs policies cooperation and within Europol and other fields in fighting and preventing terrorism, illegal drug trafficking, and other international crimes.

3. MIDDLE-EAST AND TERROR

Terrorist organizations from middle-east, and the terrorist-supporter governments are at the centre of USA's anti-terrorist policy. Because, most of the terrorist acts that aims to damage USA and USA's profits has been coordinated by these organizations and their supporters. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports, although the number of terrorist attacks occurred in the year 1994(321) is %25 less than the 1993 (431), terrorist acts in the middle east has increased significantly. Besides that, five of the seven countries that supports the terrorism according to the USA's list is from Middle-East. These countries are: Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya and Republic of Sudan. Other two countries are Cuba and North Korea. When the bombing of world trade center has occurred in New York in the year 1993, it has proven that Middle-East Terror organizations has the capacity and talent to damage USA in its borders. Also Lebanon based Hizbullah's acts in 1992 March and the bombings of Jewish and Israel targets in Buenos Aires in 1994 July has proven that these organizations can take action in any point of the Western World.128

Terrorism in Middle-East is performed by terror organizations and governments. All of these organizations has different aims, targets and ideologies. For example, while some of the Islamic organizations try to sabotage Arabia - Israel peace process, some of them puts their main attention to break the secular managerial system. Recently, radical Islamic terrorist organizations are the main focus of the press. But in the 1960's and 1970's most of the terrorist organizations carries a left-sided and nationalist spirit. Some left-inclined groups in Palestine are sharing the opposition with their Islamic allies who is against the peace with Israel, and some of them are fighting for a new ethnic based government or to knock down the rejimes in force at the moment.

Just like the organizations they support, five countries included in the USA's list of terrorist-supporter countries has different targets and different degrees of involving in the terrorist act. According to the Prime Ministry Report that has been mentioned before, Iran is the most dangerous country that supports terrorist acts, while Sudan helps those organizations with only accommodation and education. Although, both countries are using terrorism to spread radical Islamic ideology. In opposition to those two countries, it is observed that Syria which is being conducted by a seculer, nationalist and a totalitarian system; is using terrorist groups as a tool for pressure in peace negotiations and local problems with Israel. Iraq is using terrorism to attack the people and organizations who is presenting the embargo that is applied to himself due to the occupation of Kuwait. Terrorist organizations are usually in a situation of difference in opinion with the countries they live in, and they refuse to be

protected by those governments. Government support provided to these organizations is actually a very small amount. Because sometimes these organizations put the governments in a very difficult situations with their attacks, which causes them to be thrown away from the country or putting a distance in relationships with other governments. But the focus point should be the governments who provides general protection, guns, supplies, great amounts of money, and passage from the borders freely. Governments who has that type of relationships with terrorist organizations can easily direct those organizations through the direction they want. Administration and the congress try to create new strategies for those countries they keep under surveillance, who doesn't need to hide their supports for terrorism.

Middle East Countries who Supports Terrorism:

(a) Iran,
(b) Iraq,
(c) Republic of Sudan
(d) Libya
(e) Syria

USA administration and congress, spent big amount of time and paid large amount of attention to convince the terrorist - supporter countries to take their support back. Administration and congress agree that financial and safe areas, logistic support and guns, that is provided by independent countries plays a very important role for the organization's international actions. Those countries usually use their own secret agents to take place in terrorist acts, and sometimes they join the the act without any covering. And in some cases, they don't involve in the act, but they use the subcontractor groups.

You can visit the site below to reach original reports that analyse the aims and acts, of the five countries who has been announced as terrorist-supporter by USA Prime Ministry.

a. Iran

According to the USA Prime Ministry's year 1994 reports, Iran is takes the first place inside the terrorist-supporter countries. Report discusses the terrorist groups supported by Iran, Iran government's aims and the ways Iran help the organizations. It is also remarked that Iran directly takes place in the terrorist attacks organized for the contrary Iran citizens who lives abroad.

One of the primary targets of Iran is the leader squad of Freedom Fighters Organization and Persian, Kurdish leaders. Most of the journalist agree that Iran uses his diplomatic relationships and embassies to plan, hide, apply the terrorist attack and to observe the contrary motion against the regime. Another subject which concerns the American foreign policy is, Iran helps organizations that trys to harm Arab - Israel peace process, and to create regimes based on Islamic principles in the areas controlled by Lebanon, North Africa and Palestine; by providing financial support, guns, training and education. According to the Prime Ministry Report, Iran is mostly in contact with Hizbullah, Hamas, Palestine Islamic Cihad and a non-Islamic organization called FGHCO. On the other side, some observers claim that Iran is going to do some activity against the peace process, but the subject is being overrated in the public opinion.129

Hizbullah Operation 1998

These observers believe that Iran has a limited role with helping the Islamic fight against the regime in Egypt and Algeria, and the subject is being overrated by the governments of the states. USA and his European allies are deeply interested with the death penalty given to Salman Rushtu. Iran insists that Salman Rushtu has insulted Islam in his book "Verses of Devil" and the penalty given in the year 1989 by Humeyni cannot be abrogated. According to Persian authorities the death penalty can only be taken back by the person that decides at the penalty. In that situation Humeyni is dead, so the penalty cannot be taken away. After USA's decision of commercial embargo in 6th of May 1995, Persian authorities - which also include Ali Aekber Nateg Nouri- stated that they are not going to send execution forces to the Europe to kill Rushtu. This statement is a sign that Persian side wants cooperation and a handshake. Although Iran declined to give an signed declaration about this issue in a meeting in 22 June 1995. A special organization connected with the regime still declares that the reward of 2 million dollars will be given to the person who manages to kill Rushtu.

Many observers witness the voices rises against terorism and Islamic Revolution removal. Iran president stated that Iran has to stop this adventure and pull its relationships with its neighboors and other forcing countries into a normal level. In the meeting with Cnn news departmant in 2 july 1995, Rafsancani defines under which circumstances Iran is going to fix its relationships with the Usa many times. Some authorities from the religious, military and security areas insists that keeping the Revolution as pure as it is and, removal of revolution is the only way to keep the core of the regime. It is confusing USA authorities' mind that most of the people who is a part of the government structures responsible from removal of revolution such as, information and security ministry, revoulition guards; has a victorian perspective. It is uncertain what can Rafsancani can achieve in that sort of a situation.In the year 1983, after the bombing attack to USA naval forces in Lebanon Iran declared that he is determined to continue in those type of terrorist attacks. After that, in 19 January 1984 Iran has been added to the list of terrosit-supportor countries. USA blocked 22.4 million dollar worth assets belongs to Iran, that blocked amount was mostly a part of the embassy assets. These assets don't include the delivery of military supplies that has been paid but couldn't be delivered because of the fall of Shah. That issue is still being discussed in the Lahey Justice Court. Because the delivery of these supplies has became absolute with the pre-Islamic term Stand by agreements.

b. Iraq

In the terrorism report of 1994, which was made by American Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is written that after Iraq's occupation over Kuwait, Iraq now aims to regain its strength although there is an United Nations Embargo over them. Opposite of Iran, Iraq supports terrorist groups instead of spreading an ideology, their aim is more likely whether to prevent the embargo or to take revenge from countries which support the embargo. Iraq tried to take revenge from George Bush who is the leader of the successful war coalition by setting an assassination, which was not successful.

It is assumed that Iraq had organised 16 attacks to Journalists and people who are there to be responsible for peace. Besides, it is also reported that Iraqi government had offered a money award for the people who might attack United Nations workers and the officers who are working for peace. Furthermore, Iraq secret service has started resending secret service spies abroad in order for them to chase the people who are against the regime.

It is known that Iraq is the responsible for the assassination of one of the opponent leading leader and as well as for the attacks to Ayetullah Ebu Kasim Musavi Khoi, who is one of the religious leaders of Iraq Site community, and his family members as well. (Lebanon stopped having relationships with Iraq after those attacks).
Iraq provides secure places to the organization of Ebu Nidal, the organization of Ebu Abbas, which is a sub group of PKK and some Palestinian groups that are not Islamic and are being against of Arab-Israel peace process. The bomb maker terrorist Ebu Ibrahim also resides in Iraq. However, it is beneficial to specify that preventing the peace process is not the initial aim of Iraq.

Iraqi officers, where Saddam is also included in them, report that they will say yes to the agreements, which are accepted by Palestine Liberation Organization. In addition to this, it is known that Saddam generally has good relations with Arafat. Although both Iraqi and Israeli environment refuse so, there are frequent reports for these two countries that they have been organizing meetings between each other since 1993.  

Iraq keeps supporting the organization of People’s Mojahedin and its military component National Liberation Army in order to use them for opposing the Iranian regime. National Liberation Army has bases in Iraq (to a place where is close to Iran). Iraq has a way of behaving to these groups: They prevent the activities of People’s Mojahedin up to some extend. When the organization has good relations with Iraq, Iraq stops preventing their facilities whereas if they have got good relations with Tahrain then they again increase their control over the group. Iraq is troubled for having cash because of the embargo and for this reason it is not clear until which extend they can support People’s Mojahedin organization. However, Iraq obviously has been providing much support to National Liberation Army with military equipments that they had gained while fighting with Iran as well as with from their own stocks. Iraq was firstly shown as one of the terrorist countries in the first list in the world from 29th of September 1979. In March of 1982, it was the only time, which was taken out from the list.

It was again placed in the list on 13th of September 1990 after the reports regarding Iraq’s plans about organising terrorist attacks to the allied countries that were set up because of the occupation of Kuwait.

c. Sudan

Many observers believe that Sudan partly supports terrorism; others also consider that it is working as a subcontractor for Iran. The report that was held on 1994 by American Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it did not show that Sudan was in activities of supporting terrorist facilities or supporting any of terrorist facilities. It was explained in the report that Sudan allocate its country as a passageway in order Iran to provide military equipments for Iran’s extremist religious groups as well as tolerating its lands as a meeting point for these groups of Iran.  

In Sudan, it is known that government has revolution guards and militants, who came to the country from abroad for training, that they are being used to fight with rebellion organizations from South Sudan.

Iran navies’ ships can use Sudan’s ports for loading and discharging the planes of Iran airforce; also can use Sudan’s airports very easily. Sudan welcomes the organization of Ebu Nidal, Hamas, Palatenian Islamist Cihad and some Islamic groups of Egypt. Sudan government evaluates these groups as legal fighters for their freedom and they do not see any reason to exile them out of the country. Sudan government was not keen to investigate Sudan American Embassy’s claims of terrorist

trainings in Merkhiyat Popular Defence Camp that is in NorthWest of Hartum. However, somehow Ilyich Ramirez Sanchez who is the terrorist of the century was given back to France by Sudan Government in 1994. American claims regarding Sudan’s support to terrorism might had played a big role in order for Sudan to take this decision.

The activities of Hasan-El-Turabi who is one of the leading religious leader of Sudan, make difficult to give a correct explanation to Sudan’s terrorist activities. Mr. Turabi sees himself as the leader of the Sunni people who are living inside of and out of Sudan and also afraid of Iran’s Islamic regime to overshadow his strength. Turabi hosts conferences for Islamic religious people coming from abroad or inside of Sudan. These conferences give the image of Turabi’s aim to expand his Islamic revolution ideas. At the same time, the same person has a position of a dealer between extremist Islamic groups and leftist groups as it is shown in the example of Hamas and Palestine Liberation Army. If Egypt government’s officers claims to Mr. Husnu Mubarek of Sudan’s relation with the failed terrorist attack 26th of June 1995 which was held in Etiopia, where the claims correct then Sudan’s indirect support to terrorism can be partly dismissed. Although Egyptian groups take responsibility of that attack, Sudan’s role of sheltering the members of those groups or helping those groups to get inside of Etiopia is not being cleared yet. Sudan is the last country who was added to the list which shows countries support terrorism; it was taken into the list at 12 August 1993. In USA, there is an investment of 30 million Dollars where most of them belong to Sudan but until now, these investments have not been stopped or blocked yet.

d. Libya

Libya supports terrorism in order to sabotage the interests of western countries in the area. After named as the organizer of the bomb attacks to the plane with flying number 103 which belongs to PANAM airlines and the plane with flying number 772 which on the other hand belongs to UTA airlines, Libya has been faced with International embargos and America’s airforce attacks. Due the consequences of those bombings, for the last 2-3 years, the country now tries to present itself that it has positive policies against terrorism.

United Nations Security Council asked Libya to send back two secret service officers (Abd at Basit Ali al-Meghrahi and Al Amin Khalifah) who participated in bombing activities, also asked countries in the world to prohibit flights in and out of Libya, forbid selling guns to Libya, prevent Libya to use and rise its estates, as well as asking countries to stop selling equipments that can be utilized in petrol industry. Libya’s suggestions for a deal are far away of accomplishing the requirements of those decisions. However, it also true that Libya has been moving away from having close relationships with terrorists activities and environment. The need for decreasing the pressure derived from International environment, and the wishes of not facing with more economical embargos that were happened after the consequences plane bombing activities, might be affective for the change of this attitude.

Muammer Kaddafi’s, who is the president of Libya, attitudes, still show terrorism as a tool for him to use for the external relations. Kaddafi demanded people who are against Israel-Arab peace process, to use every kind of way in order to prevent this process. He again commented on an event of putting bombs inside of a bus in Tel Aviv at 19th March 1994 as it was an heroic action.

There are some signs that Kaddafi sees his own regime as a target for the countries and the radical Islamic groups that support terrorism, more than being an allied with those groups. Kaddafi cooperated with Algeria, Egypt, and Tunusia in order to partly obstruct the activities of extremist Islamic groups in North Africa. For investigating Libya’s attitude, it can be clarified that it is closer to the Palestenian nationalists groups who have the tendency of being leftist. These groups likewise are closer with Libya
more than being closer with radical Islamic groups in terms of their ideology. Libya provides secure areas and some help to Ebu Nidal, FBHCO, FBHC, FBDC and some fractions of KFC. Although it is no related with peace process, it is reported that Libya is responsible for the loss of Mansur Kikhia who was one of the leading names of regime opponent. Libya was shown inside the firsts in the terrorism list on 29th December 1979. Around 1.025 billion dollars asset of Libya in America was blocked by America. These assets are mostly formed by bank accounts.

e. Syria

According to the government of the USA, Syria is the only country in the Middle East that have the possibility to be excluded from the list of the governments supporting the terrorism. Syria takes place actively in the negotiations for peace and according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, since 1986, they do not take part directly in planning or implementing process of the terrorist attacks. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also appreciate Syria because of their role undertaken to decrease the disagreements in the South Lebanon between Israel and Hizbollah. Apparently, Syria have understood that it is in vain to insist on resisting the process to bring peace to the Middle East. 132

Syria hope a Palestinian leader who is close to them takes place of Arafat. Many observers assume that in case of an agreement with Israel, the government of the USA have promised apparently or indirectly to exclude Syria from the list of the terrorist governments. Any time asked, the USA governors refuse the existence of such a relationship between the USA and Syria and in this respect, they only prefer to state that Syria should give up to accept the terrorist groups with open arms.

Even though Syrian Government state that they carry all the pre-conditions to be excluded from the list of terrorist governments, it is apparent that they will use the terrorist groups within their borderlines and under their control as a ‘trump’ against Israel at the time of the negotiations for peace. Ten radical Palestinian organizations forming the coalition against peace are in Damascus. Syria give privileges to the terrorist groups deployed in Lebanon within their borderlines and under their control. Among these groups, there are Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Cihad, Abu Nidal, and the Japanese Red Army. Besides, PKK train in the valley of Bekaa; and their leader lived for a long time in Syria. On one side, Syria so-called try to prevent the attempts against Hizbollah to sabotage the process for peace; however, on the other side, they close their eyes to Iran for dispatching of equipment by using the Damascus airport. Some of the members of the Assembly mentioned about this issue and defended for the idea that Syria should be included in the list of the terrorist governments.

Syria concerning their government system is a secular country and like Lebanon, they also take side in supporting the nationalist and leftist Palestinian organizations. The reason behind Syria’s efforts to improve their relationships with religious fundamentalist and radical Islamins can be associated with that related groups are closely concern of Israel, moreover they are against Arafat, and Syria desire to keep their cooperation going with Iran against Israel. The Syrian governors think that the anti-peace groups resist against Israel’s occupation in the South Lebanon and already occupied Palestine, so according to the laws of Syria, they do not commit a crime and they will not be deported. The Syrian governors claim that these groups will disappear if a total agreement is made with Israel. Syria was first included in the list of the terrorist government in 1979. Syria own in total of nearly $602 million of assets. These accounts are neither blocked nor freezeed.


1 For a country, it is, to be excluded from the list, is decided after the detailed investigations done by The House of Representatives, The Committee of International Relations, The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and The Senate Trade Commission. Benjamin Girman, a member of The House of Representatives, the senator Jesse Helms, and the senator Alfonso D'Amato who are still in charge of the administration of these commissions are known with their hard-line attitudes in the policies against the Syrian government.

4. ARMENIA AND TERRORISM

The attitudes of Armenians who lived for 9-10 centuries as the upper-rich class of the society and together with Turks under rest and peace changed by the Ayastefanos Treaty signed on March 3rd, 1878 and Berlin Treaty signed on July 13rd, 1878 after the debacle of the Ottoman government in wartimes between the Ottomans and Russia. After these treaties, the Armenian Government became organized immediately and by the provocations of Russia and some of the European countries they headed towards establishing a fully independent Armenia. Russia as its national policy for long years in the Caucasus requires that will be in charge as a satellite between Turkey and Azerbaijan in the Caucasus. For this reason, by a decree dated on December 30th, 1917, Lenin, the Bolshevik leader of Russia, gave authorization to Stepan Şalımyan, an ethnic Armenian who was assigned to the Caucasus as a commissar on December 18th, 1917, to establish an Armenian state under the control of Russia in the East and South Caucasus occupied by Russia. On April 27th, 1920, after the impact of the Bolshevik control, in the South Caucasus and Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republics, Nahcivan Autonomous Province and Karabağ Autonomous District were established and so Armenia had a state whose borderlines were drawn on paper. On August, 1990 after the Soviet Union started to collapse, Armenians whose appetite for nationalism and diffusion was whet and provoked started to attack their neighbor countries to make their dreams come true on establishing a fully independent Armenia.

4.1. ‘ASALA’ A Terrorist Organization

In 1915, during the I. World War times, Armenians who stabbed Turks in the back were subjected to forced migration by the Deportation Law. Armenians claimed that in the course of this forced migration, 1.5 million Armenians were killed and since then under the name of so-called Armenian genocide they have been involved in any activity against Turkey. With this excuse, Armenians dreaming to establish a fully independent Armenia demand from Turkey a compensation, acceptance of the so-called genocide, and land. For this purpose, between the years of 1937-1986, they made organized terrorist attacks against our national agencies and representatives abroad and organizations within Turkey and wanted their demands be indulged.


In recent years, Armenians who understood that they cannot get what they want by the terrorist attacks, by 1986 they decided to force Turkey in the diplomatic platform and help in any way to the separatist terrorist group PKK that aim to subvert our country so they can have a share from our land. It was determined that Armenia give support to the terrorist group PKK both in logistics and supplying militants especially in the sites close to our borders, permit PKK to camp within their borderlines, and the ethnic Armenian military officers involve in the upper levels of the terrorist group PKK. ‘Individual Armenian terrorism’ that started on January 27th, 1973 in the city of Santa Barbara in the USA by the assassination of our Los Angeles Consul General Mehmet BAYDAR and Consul Bahadır DEMİR by an old woman called Gurgen (Karekin) Yanikan, have been followed by ‘Organized Armenian Terrorism’ since 1975 and Armenian terrorist attacks against our national representatives, organizations and embassies gained a sudden intensity and showed increase. 110 different kinds of the attacks were made in 38 cities of 21 countries. Out of 110, 39 of the attacks were armed and 70 of them were with a bomb, and one was as occupation. As a result of these attacks, 42 Turkish diplomats and 4 foreign citizens died; 15 Turkish citizens and 66 foreign citizens were injured. If we look at the attacks in years, it is seen that there is a big increase in Armenian terrorist attacks since 1979. Armenian terrorist groups lasted their active terrorist actions by 1986 and they brought the issue to the international platforms. Besides, they continued to give support in logistics and supplying militants to the terrorist group PKK in the Southeastern Anatolia.

4.2. Lebanon and the Activities of the Armenians in Other Countries and Their Organizations

In the meetings that were held on January 6-9th, 1993 in two different churches by the participation of Lebanon’s Armenian Orthodox Archbishop, the representatives of Armenian Party, 150 younger people, here are the points stated; for now Armenia will stay calm in the policies against Turkey; Armenian society is getting stronger and economically more powerful; the so-called Armenian genocide is known in the world more by the propagandas made; an Armenian government was established and their fathers revenge will be taken; Armenian land is getting bigger day after day; notably the USA and then the other western countries recognize that Armenia is right in Karabağ war; they will make use of this war and there will be more younger people to join the army to war in Karabağ; the civil war in Turkey (pointing as the war against the terrorist group PKK) will continue; the Turkish economy will come to the zero point; the citizens will revolt against the government; Turkey will be divided; a Kurdish administration will be formed in Turkey; Armenians should keep good relationships with Kurds and Kurds should be supported in their efforts; the today’s lands of Turkey will be tomorrow’s lands of Armenia.

Meanwhile, it is known that at the beginning of January, 1993, the big portion of the money raised during the last quarter of 1992 was sent to the Armenian parties and organizations in Lebanon and the other countries and the food products purchased by the rest of the money and the arms provided from Greek or by favor of Greek were shipped by airway to the young Armenian soldiers in Karabağ. 136

4.3. "ASALA-EKIEGO" Secret Army of Armenia for Independence

The center of the organization: Beirut/Lebanon

Date of establishment: January 20th, 1975

Political opinion: Supporter of the Hınçak Party, in "Marksisit-Leninist” direction

Group Leader: Bedros HAVANASSIAN

Their nicknames: Mihran MİHRANİAN, Agop HAGOPİAN

ASALA, which has proclaimed itself by the bomb attack to WCC (World Council of Churches) in Beirut in January 20th, 1975, acknowledges itself as a part of International Revolutionary Movement; counts Turkey and its allies as deadly-enemies and defend the idea that Armenian feud can only be solved by armed struggle. It is also known that the militants of the organization which is believed to be in relation to pro-Soviet Hınçak Party have been cooperating with Palestine Liberation Organizations (PLO) and members of the organization are trained by HABBAS FEDAYIN. Members have stated that they are in cooperation with the international terror organization Japan Red Army, Italian Red Brigade, EDKB-C, Kurdistan Workers Party, Irish Republican Army and Marxist-Leninist Turkish organizations and they state that they are an indivisible part of the international revolutionary movement. Its aim:

To realize the confession of so-called Armenian genocide which is claimed to take place in Turkey in 1915 by the Turkish Government.

To enforce Turkey to pay compensation as a result of this so-called genocide.

To realize the return of the land within our Eastern and South-Eastern Anatolia regions which they claim been occupied by Turkey, to their so-called legal holders, namely the Armenian, and for this purpose: To establish an independent Armenian state on this land and to convert this land into a republic attached to the Armenian Republic.[137]

ASALA’s Connections to International Organizations

Armenian, Kurdish, Hatay, Istanbul and Cyprus matters have been highlighted in the official letter signed by Armenian Republic Organization and posted to all representative offices attached to United Nations. This attitude makes it definite that Armenian terror organizations are supported and encouraged by certain deep designs to start a large scale struggle against Turkey by distributing declarations under various names, in which they support and point out Greece’s Megola Idea for Istanbul, Syria’s aim to own Hatay region and cooperation with Cyprus Greeks under the cloak of Cyprus matter. In 8 april 1980, ASALA-PKK(Partiye Karkere Kürdistan) held a joint press conference in Beirut and stated that they decided to cooperate against Turkey. The leader of ASALA terrorist organization Agop AGOPYAN said: “these two communities have been trying to realize the same goal. We are struggling for the indepence of our countries: Armenian and Kurdistan. Our goal is to maintain our war in cooperation with both kurdish and Turkish brothers.” in his speech with press members after the declaration.

This explanation clearly shows that the group has been cooperating with not only the Kurdish organizations but also leftist groups rustling in Turkey. They have also mentioned Armenian and Kurdish unhill struggles in the mutual PKK – ASALA announcements distributed in the dates followed emphasizing the idea that the Soviet State has opened up new frontiers to repressed nations.

4.4. PKK Activities in Armenian Republic

Changing their tactics after the ‘80s as they encountered adverse reactions from the world. Now, it was time for PKK to carry on the mission. Their first terrorist act started at Eruh and Semdimli in 1984

while the ASALA-Armenian terror receded to the background. Some of the tangible proofs of the ties between Armenians and PKK are the following:138

The terrorist organisation PKK announced the period from 21 to 28 April 1980 as the “Red Week” and started to organise meetings on April 24 as the anniversary of the so called Armenian genocide.

The PKK and ASALA terror organisations held a joint press conference on 8 April 1980 at the City of Sidon in Lebanon where they issued a declaration. Since this drew a considerable reaction, they decided that their relations should be on a clandestine basis. The responsibility of the attacks against the Turkish Consulate General in Strasbourg on 9 November 1980 and the Turkish Airline office in Rome on 19 November 1980 were undertaken by the ASALA and PKK.

Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the separatist terror organisation, was elected to the honorary membership of the Armenian Authors’ Association for “his contributions to the idea of “Greater Armenia”.

A Kurdistan Committee was established within the Armenian National Movement like in many European countries.

On 4 June 1993, a meeting was held at the headquarters of PKK terrorist organisation at Western Beirut with the participation of representatives from the Armenian Hinchak Party, ASALA and PKK.

4.5. PKK-ASALA Relations

The Armenian terrorism first started at international basis in 1973 and began to gain impetus after the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation with attacks or terrorist nature against Turks and Turkish representations abroad with sabotages and outright assaults.

Upon resurrection of the Kurdish terrorist movement that began to show itself in a variety of legal political entities from ’70s onward, the Armenian terror organisation ASALA ceded its place in 1984 to the PKK that killed without distinction of Turk or Kurd in a bloodthirsty manner under the guidance of Abdullah Öcalan.

Yet in prior to that date, of the co-operation between terrorist organisations ASALA and PKK was known manifesting in the training of ASALA militants at PKK’s trannie camps, the joint operations and declarations by them both and training support provided at the PKK camps by Armenian experts, not to mention the organic ties between the terrorist organisation PKK and Armenian Tashnak Sutyun Party.

The common goal of the co-operation between the terrorist organisations PKK and ASALA is to establish States in Turkey’s Southeastern and Eastern under the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Since, however, an overview of the areas on which both organisations had schemes, it may be deduced that one of these organisations acts as the other’s mercenaries. An examination of the discovered documents revealed that the militants of ASALA and PKK terrorist organisations underwent training at the Bekaa and Zeli camps.139

It is a fact that the newspapers Reya Taze and Bota Redaksiyon have been published in Cyrillic alphabet under the control of terrorist group PKK and made propaganda in favor of it. These newspapers are published by members of PKK coming from Turkey and Europea.

5. CONCLUSION

In this study, Terror and Terrorist countries’ international and regional fields of different scale activities and operations have been investigated. The state sponsors of terrorism have been discussed one by one and goals of terrorism, resources and facilities manipulated by it have been studied starting with the description of terror. As a consequence, we have understood that terror has kept pace with the global world and the September 11 attack also made it clear that modern way of terror means much more than just psychological warfare or threats.

When the rightest, leftist and separatist terrorist organizations operating in our country are analysed, it is clearly seen that their formation, organizational and developmental phases starts with mass media such as books, newspapers and magazines and even takes the form of armed struggle. It is evident that there are supportive components of terrorist organizations. These are: ideology, sponsors at home and abroad, funding and staff. However the primary component to form an organization is ideology. That’s why, the terrorist organizations operating in our country start their mission with books, newspapers and magazines to develop their ideology and find supporters.

Regarding all these, as a result of struggle against terrorism, the support at home and abroad can be suppressed and financial resources, militants and supporters can be destroyed. yet it should be remembered that it is impossible to totally eliminate an organization as long as its ideological components are still available.

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