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Social Dynamics of Global Terrorism and Prevention Policies

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Left-Wing Terrorism in Turkey

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Abstract. The main aim of this chapter is to explain and discuss the general features of left-wing terror organizations in Turkey. To achieve this aim, an introduction of the subject, including the historical background of terrorism in Turkey is given at first. Secondly, left-wing organizations are discussed. Herein, the main goals, strategies adopted, the recruitment process, education and training of the members and supporters, the organizational structures, financial sources, types of propaganda and activities of the organizations are explained. Finally, a conclusion includes the socio-economic background of the members who were arrested by the security forces. Secondary data and semi-structured interview techniques are used to collect the data needed.

Keywords. Terror, terrorism, left-wing terror organizations, Turkey

Introduction

The main aim of this paper is to explain and discuss the general features of left-wing organizations, labeled legally as terror organizations, in Turkey. The data of this study were mainly gathered from the General Directorate of Security (GDS) in Turkey. Besides the secondary data, a semi-structured interview, conducted with the senior officers (6 people) of the Anti-Terror Department of the GDS has been used to collect further data. In addition, the secondary data of newspaper archives and other similar sources are also obtained. However, the sensitivity and secrecy of the subject itself created some problems. First, there may be terrorist groups or organizations unknown as of yet by the security forces. Second, especially some current or recent data concerning new organizations were not given to the researcher due to current reconnaissance operations. With these limitations, in so far as possible, all efforts were made to collect the needed data.

As is well known, terrorism is a worldwide problem. However, Turkey is one of the countries that has suffered most from terrorism in recent history.. The concept of terrorism is a relative and double-sided one. The meaning changes according to the point of view. First of all, there is a legal authority on the one hand, and there is an opposition group or organization on the other. Both sides label each other as terrorist. The same person carries the label of terrorist or hero depending on which side is doing the labelling; i.e., one group's terrorist is the other's hero [1, 2]. However, terrorism

can be defined as “the threatened or actual use of force or violence to attain a political goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation” [3, p.4; for similar or same definitions of terror and terrorism see also 4, 5, 6, 7, 8]. In the Turkish case, in order to avoid any confusion, the Turkish legal system is taken into account, and the organizations which are labeled as terrorist by the legal system comprise the subject of this paper. However, it is noted that the subjects of this paper –organizations- all have a political goal that they want to achieve through fear, violence, force, coercion and intimidation.

Every country puts prime importance on security, and a state's security is mostly dependent on the goodwill of the people within its borders [3]. However, it is not possible to satisfy completely all citizens of a state in all aspects of life. Limited individual freedom and human rights and a high level of underdevelopment and poverty lead to social and ethnic disturbances. When a proper solution is not found in time, the result is inevitably social conflict and later, terrorism. Many events in the last decade have shown that terrorists had/have access to biological, chemical and nuclear weapons in addition to the conventional ones. There is always a possibility that the water supply or an underground (metro) can be poisoned, and a bomb would result with many casualties and mass destruction. Recent terrorist activities in Japan and the USA are good examples of such kinds of activities. It is extremely difficult to protect people from the negative social, economic, political and psychological effects of terrorism. For this reason, in order to better understand the sources and possible future dangers of terror and terrorism, academic studies like this one are needed.

1. The Historical Background of Terrorism in Turkey

The roots of terrorism in Turkey can be traced back to 1950, at which time the multiparty system was established. University students and workers carried out sporadic illegal demonstrations from time to time. But these demonstrations cannot be accepted as terrorist activities in terms of their aims, content and type. However, a university student (for the first time in history) was killed during a street demonstration in 1959 by the governmental forces [9, p.1]. As an outcome of this event, the number of strikes and demonstrations steadily increased throughout the years, especially in the late 1970s. The non-violent student's and worker's demonstrations, mostly in metropolitan cities, were replaced by bloody street battles of different groups or organizations all over the country. “... Bank robberies, machine gun raids of buses, restaurants and coffee houses, and bomb explosions in schools, streets and cars were a routine part of daily life. Every day, bomb-throwing, street battles and Mafia-type murders were leaving dozens dead and hundreds wounded” [9, pp.1-2]. For example, according to the data obtained from December 1975 to April 1983, 40037 terror events had occurred [10, pp. 29-46]. 30000 of them were carried out between 1975 and 1980 [11, p.155]. While the number of people killed were 319 in 1977, it increased to 1095 in 1978, and to 1362 in 1979 [12, p.168]. Between 1978 and 1980, 5000 people were killed; 822632 various types of weapons including rifles, revolvers, machine guns, mortars and missiles, and 5454925 various kinds of ammunitions were captured by security forces [11, p.166]. In these circumstances, a military coup d'etat took over power on September 12th, 1980, and the terrorist activities sharply declined. As of the end of March 1983, 12307 people were arrested, 7200 people were convicted and 650 people were under surveillance because of their involvement in terrorist activities [9, p.2]. There was not an extra-ordinary event or situation in terms of terrorism from the

12th of September, 1980 to 15th of August, 1984. On the 15th of August, 1984, the PKK (The Kurdish Worker Party) carried out its first attack on military and governmental institutions in Şırnak, a province in the south-eastern part of Turkey. After that, the number of events has steadily increased from 1984 to the present time.

Terrorist activities reached a peak in 1993 with 6956 events. According to the data obtained from the GDS, 58003 terror events have occurred across the country between 1984 and 2004. The other data between these dates can be seen in the following figure in detail.

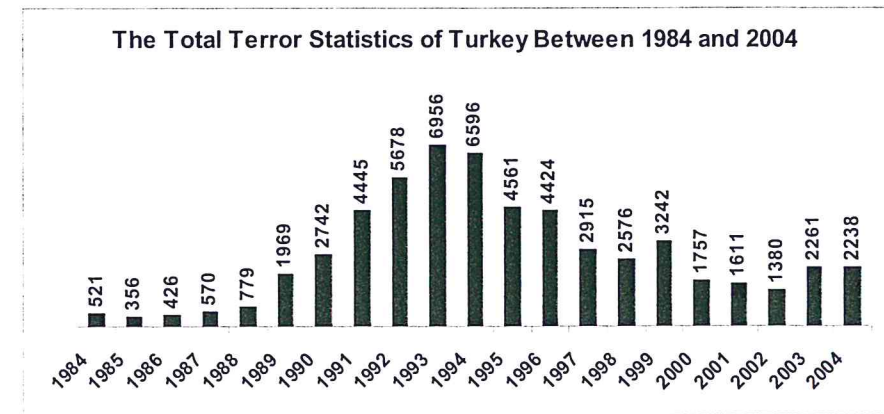


Table 1: The Total Terror Statistics of Turkey between 1984 and 2004. Source: General Directorate of Security, Turkey

The data collected showed that around 100 different kinds of terrorist organizations had and have operated in Turkey from the 1950s to the present day. The data given in the above figure show that Turkey is one of the countries having suffered most from terrorist activities throughout its history.

2. Left-wing Terror Organizations in Turkey

The appearance of the organizations based on Marxist-Leninist ideology in Turkey, if the Ottoman Empire period is taken into account, goes back to the 1820s. The first illegal left-wing organized groups existed on the ground of small-size worker demonstrations and strikes in 1820, 1845, 1872 and in 1908 [2, p.125]. However, they were ineffective, and carried out their struggle in the realm of publishing and propaganda. From the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, the number of such organizations started to increase. It is stated that there were 23 different left-wing organizations, which were active in the recent past, until 1984 [10, pp.29-46]. In addition, 19 various left-wing organizations, which were located in Lebanon, Syria, Greece, Bulgaria, Greek Cyprus, France, Italy, Spain, Austria, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden and Germany, were unearthed in March 1990 [11, p.168].

Although there are small-size differentiations in terms of organizational structure, the main goals of these organizations were/are similar. They believe that the road to revolution comes through preparing the natural conditions for the revolution. That's why these conditions can only be provided by armed force. They mostly accept themselves as the pioneering preparatory forces for the revolution, and reject a legal way of struggle to take over the power. Although all of them stated that they believe in Marxist and Leninist ideology, their methods of struggle were different. Some of them were in preference of an ex-Soviet model while others preferred the Chinese or ex-Albanian model of socialism². However, after the military coup d'état in 1980, and the collapse of the Soviet system, relatively smaller organizations in this category had disappeared. According to the latest data obtained, there are 4 different left-wing organizations, which are active and operate in Turkey or abroad against the Turkish Republic.³

Their final aim is to destroy the present political regime, and to establish a socialist system instead. According to them, if the proletariat is not the ruling power, the state is a repressive apparatus of the dominant class, i.e. the bourgeoisie. Such an authority is very powerful, so it is necessary to develop and establish a strong militaristic organization in order to politicize the public. To prepare "revolutionary vanguard cells", they adopt the following strategy: Firstly, rural and urban guerrillas should be trained and organized. The "revolutionary vanguard cells" would then be derived from them. Then, in order, a psychological war and propaganda must be started; the public should be politicized; and armed propaganda, revolutionist violence should be put into operation. Besides this, the political party of the proletariat should be established, and social, economic and political crises must be created and supported by the party forces. They believe that at the end of such crises, the public will be unhappy with the dominant regime. The party should get benefit from this dissatisfaction, and should create a regular people's army, consisting of villagers and workers. At last, the war against the dominant power will start, then; it will be destroyed and the socialist regime/system will be established instead. However, there is a differentiation between organizations in terms of their style of struggle. Some of the left-wing organizations say that Turkey is mostly a rural society, so the revolution should be started from the rural areas⁴. After success and controlling "salvation zones –*kurtarılmış bölge*" in rural areas, the movement should be directed to town centers. Thus, they organize themselves in the rural areas at first. Others⁵, on the contrary, believe that the revolution should be started from the urban to the rural areas, and they thus organize urban guerrillas at the beginning.

Being inactive is a great danger for any organization, because the militants can easily lose their motivation and beliefs. Such a situation leads to the collapse of the organization in a short time. That's why a continuous activity should be practiced. To be a revolutionist, one has to work at all times for revolution. For example, Mahir

² For example, ex-Soviet model of socialism –DHKP-C (Devrimci Halk Kurtuluş Partisi-Cephesi-Revolutionist People Salvation Party-Front), THKO (Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu – Turkish People Salvation Army); Chinese model –TKP/ML TIKKO (Türkiye Komünist Partisi/Marksist Leninist – Turkish Communist Party/Marksist/Leninist); and ex-Albanian model –MLKP (Marksist Leninist Komünist Parti – Marxist Leninist Communist Party), HK (Halkın Kurtuluşu – Salvation of the People).

³ These are DHKP-C, TKP/ML, TIKKO and MLKP.

⁴ For example, TKP/ML TIKKO.

⁵ For example, THKO and MLKP.

Çayan, who was one of the famous left-wing militant leaders, said, "One cannot be accepted as a revolutionist if s/he does not fight for the revolution" [13].

These organizations mostly choose the citizens and institutions (diplomatic properties and persons) who or which are representatives of allied countries, with the USA being foremost on the list, as the targets of struggle. According to the data gathered, examples for this would be the bombing of USA's Cultural Centres, Turkish-American Friendship Association, Turkish-American Businessmen Association, NATO's and General Motors buildings. Also, assassinating American military personnel and citizens is another kind of target for these organizations. The reason that the USA is chosen as the main target is its leading and governing role in the world. In other words, according to these organizations, the USA is the head and pioneer of the imperialist block. Besides that, the members of Turkish security forces, ex-military and government people, and strategic institutions, especially the security forces buildings are among the targets of the leftist organizations.

3. Recruitment, Education and Training

The organizations based on Marxist-Leninist ideology use the following strategy for recruitment of their members, though some of them have slightly different practices. The first step is ideological indoctrination. This means that the possible candidates, passive supporters, are invited to a meeting where ideological discussions are held. Later, various ideological books are given to these people, who are mostly young, and university students, to be read, and then to be discussed and analyzed with other people in meetings. After a few meetings, if the individual displays progress in terms of the adoption and defense of the ideology, s/he is collaborated with for further learning. The next step is to give the organizational documents, such as introductory books, brochures, and journals, which explain and introduce the organization, to these people. They are under observation at this time. The appropriate candidates are selected from among these passive supporters. In other words, the people who are seen as appropriate are given a status, and then sent out to perform some small size operations such as handing out organizational statements, hanging up posters, and collecting information on various cases. The main aim of this process is to test whether s/he is the right person or not for the organization. The data obtained showed that these organizations recruit their members also from among the unemployed people, the prisoners, the legal cultural institutions' members, and so on.

In left-wing organizations, according to the data collected, there are three stages of being a supporter of the organization: **rear, middle and advanced** (*geri, orta, ileri*). The people who accept the general principles of the organization and at the same time feel close to other similar organizations are called "rear supporters". The people who understand and start to adopt the policy and principles of the organization are named "middle supporters". The people who have fully adopted the organization and its policy and principles, and are ready to participate in the organization's operations are called "advanced supporters". The people who are in the advanced supporter stage have to work at least for one year in order to be considered as a candidate for membership. To have a post on the administrative level, the member has to prove his/her success in the organization for a long time.

Although there are some small differences, the left-wing organizations generally use the following strategy in order to educate and train their members: If the types of

training and programs are taken into account, according to the data gathered, it is possible to make a classification of four: **Political, military, discipline and psychological education and training.** Political and military, in other words armed, education and training, are mostly given abroad, such as in the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon. Some organizations⁶ also utilize rural areas or mountains in Turkey to give such an education and training program to its active supporters and militant cadres. Herein, all kinds of propaganda techniques are used to make the person a strict believer and militant of the organization. The individualistic values are destroyed as much as possible. The person is made to believe that s/he is nothing, if s/he is not a part of the organization. Political education and indoctrination include the content and aim of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the political knowledge regarding the homeland, neighboring and other allied or opposition countries. All organizations are very keen on giving such education and training to their members. The armed or military education and training also includes techniques of assassination, robbery, and sudden attacks, using arms, preparing bombs and Molotov cocktails, and using these, tactics of a guerrilla war, undercover work and intelligence, kidnapping VIP people, misleading the public and the security forces, having first aid and general health knowledge education and training. These are the main subjects of education and training programs of all organizations.

In discipline education, the member is taught to learn how to behave, to obey rules of the organization, devotion and dedication to the organization; the importance of secrecy, punishments in the case of violation of rules, and so on, in short, the things to do and not to do. In psychological education, members learn about their legal rights in the case of arrest, how to influence and direct people, how to mislead security forces, how to resist both psychological and physical torture, how to subdue and make people afraid, and so on. Also, according to the data obtained, these organizations accept an idea that "theory comes through practice". That's why they use their supporters and members on the streets for all kinds of legal and illegal demonstrations and protests, i.e., streets are the ground for gaining experience for organizational activities.

All organizations use every kind of mass media to publicize their ideologies and to get as many supporters as possible. Distributing tapes, using mobile phones, radios, having web sites (not all of them), publishing journals and newspapers mostly from abroad, and writing slogans on walls are among the means used in dissemination of their messages and propaganda. They use mostly the concepts of revolutionist ethic and honor, the people, the motherland, freedom, and national salvation in their messages to the public.

They all raise money, do robberies, burglaries, and publish books, doing legal businesses, and some of them, especially the organizations larger in scale, dealing with drug smuggling in order to gain finances. In sum, all means are valid in reaching the final goals.

4. Organizational Structure

The organizational structures of left-wing organizations generally take the following hierarchical order: a congress or a central committee at the top with an execution board

⁶ TIKB (Türkiye İhtilalcı Komünistler Birliği – The Unity of Turkish Revolutionist Communists), DHKP-C and TDP (Türkiye Devrim Partisi – Revolutionist Party of Turkey).

and a secretariat below this, and on the bottom, regional units, provincial units, town units, and district units. Additionally, there are cell style organized groups or units. Besides that there are some offices, which are responsible for typing, publication, press, fund-raising for the organization, etc. Each sub-unit gives a periodic report about its activities. The central committee evaluates the reports, and gives new direction to the units. Units inform their personnel about new directions and activities. Almost all left-wing organizations prefer to organize themselves in a military manner. They establish regional and group commandership, urban guerrilla units, and rural militia, and ranks such as commander, major, captain etc. In urban guerrilla units, there are some very professional sub-units, called "Armed Revolutionist Units – *Silahlı Devrimci Birlikler*", geared for the high level and sensitive operations. These sub-units are also named "Red Troops – *Kızıl Müfrezeler*" in some other organizations.

Conclusion

It is possible to say that the people who join these organizations have almost the same characteristics in terms of education level, ethnic characteristics, social and economic background, and ideological, psychiatric and psychological approaches (See also; 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19). According to the data obtained, the people in leadership positions are mostly from urban areas, and have a very high level of education in comparison to the supporters or militants. Also the data showed that the percentage of illiterate people in left-wing organizations is 5, the percentage of the people having graduated from primary school is 21, the people having graduated from secondary school is 13, the people having graduated from high school is 35, and the people having university degrees is 26 [See also; 20, pp.141-142].

The data related to the occupational background of the people who had been arrested for the terrorist activities can be given as follows: Unemployed 42.5 per cent, student 12 per cent, worker 14 per cent, public officers 5.5 per cent and independent business people 26 per cent. The percentages of parents' occupations are: worker and public officer 29 per cent, farmer 24 per cent, retired 14 per cent and independent business people 33 per cent. The data also showed that all organizations use people who are under 18 years old. One reason for this is that according to the legal procedure, the people under 18 are not accepted as adults and they get lesser punishment in the case of imprisonment. Another one is that influencing the younger people is much easier.

It is also found that almost all left-wing organizations are very strict and harsh to their members in the case of their betrayal. They judge them in "People Courts" (Halk Mahkemeleri), which are formed according to the ideological structure of the organizations. Except the Turkish Revolutionist Communist Party (TDKP), a left-wing organization, all other left-wing organizations apply the death penalty to their members in the case of betrayal.

All organizations target to destroy the legal system and political regime of the Turkish Republic. All carry out attacks on security forces' members, buildings and their cars, and assassinations of governors, ex-military and members of security forces.

Turkey is a country that has to struggle and win the battle against all these organizations. However, the problem is that it is very difficult to succeed in this, without disturbing the general public. In other words, when any country goes through a struggle with terrorism, there is always a high possibility of human rights violations.

The public suffers from both sides' activities. Consequently, it can be said that although Turkey has learned how to live with all this chaos, it seems that its citizens will still pay more in the near and coming future, if the political system is not democratized further. It should not be forgotten that terrorism is a worldwide problem that violates the basic human rights, and is a crime against humanity. That's why all countries should collaborate with each other in order to bring it under control.

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