TERRORISM AND TERROR ORGANIZATIONS IN TURKEY: AN OVERALL EVALUATION**

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Abstract

The main aim of this paper is to explain and discuss the general features of organizations, named legally terror organizations, in Turkey. To achieve this aim, an introduction of the subject, including the historical background of terrorism is given at first. Secondly, a classification of the organizations is made on the ideological ground. Herein, the main goals, strategies adopted, the recruitment process, education and training of the members and supporters, the socio-economic background of the members who were arrested by the security forces, financial sources, types of propaganda and activities of the organizations are explained. Secondary data and semi-structured interview techniques are used to collect the data needed.

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

I. Introduction

The main aim of this paper is to explain and discuss the general features of organizations, labeled legally 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 the other needed data. In addition, the secondary data of the newspapers' 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 because of operational reasons. With these limitations, in so far as possible all efforts were spent to collect the needed data.

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As known, terrorism is a worldwide problem. However, Turkey is one of the countries that have suffered most from it. 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 is called as a terrorist or a hero at the same time by the opposite sides; i.e., One's terrorist is the other's hero (Caglar, 1997, 1998). 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" (Alexander, et all 1979:4; For similar or same definitions of terror and terrorism see also Wilkinson, 1974; Laqueur, 1980; Rapoport and Alexander, 1982; Wardlaw, 1982; White, 1991). In the Turkish case, in order to avoid any confusion, the Turkish legal system is taken into account, and the organizations were labeled as terrorists by the legal act consisted of the subject of this paper. However, it is paid attention that the subjects of this paper –organizations- all have a political goal that they want to achieve through fear, violence, force, coercion and intimidation.

As known, each single country put its security to the first, and state security mostly depends on the goodwill of the people within its border (Alexander, et all 1979:x). However, it is not possible to satisfy completely all citizens of a state in all aspects of life. The limited individual freedom and human rights, a high level of underdevelopment and poverty lead to social and ethnic disturbances. When a proper solution is not found on time, the result is inevitably and mostly terrorism. Many events in the last decade showed 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, a bomb would result with many casualties and mass destruction. For instance, recent terrorist activities in Japan and USA are good examples of such kind of activities. It is extremely difficult to protect people from the negative social, economical, political and psychological effects of terrorism. That's why, to study academically terror and terrorism will help us to understand what goes wrong and the possible dangers in future.

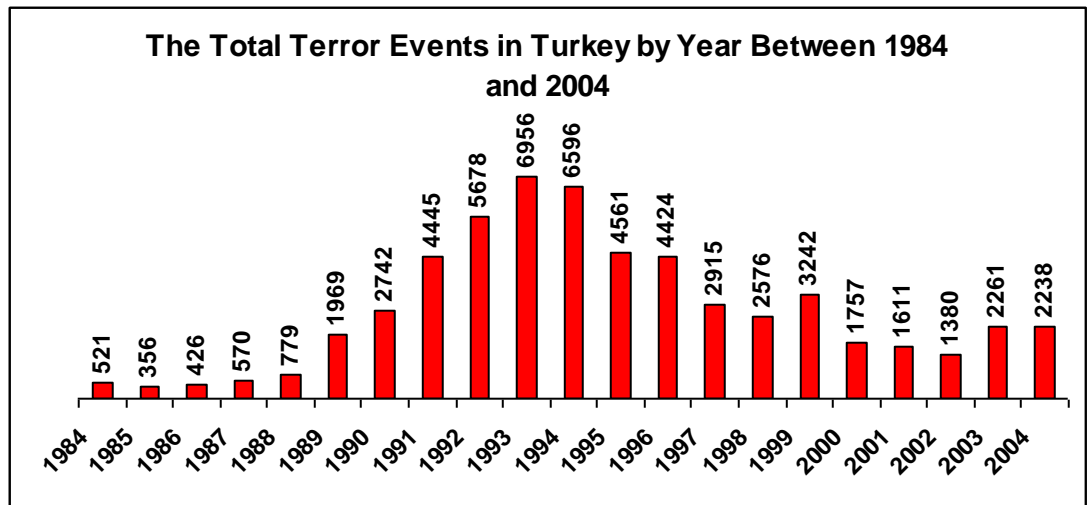**II. The Historical Background of Terrorism in Turkey**

The roots of terrorism in Turkey can be traced back to 1950, in which 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, contents and types. However, a university student (first time in history) was killed during a street demonstration in 1959 by the governmental forces (Turan et.all., 1983:1). As the outcome of this event, the number of strikes and demonstrations steadily increased throughout years, especially in the late 1970s. The innocent 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 of dead and hundreds of wounded behind" (1983:1-2). For example, according to the data obtained, from December 1975 to April 1983 40037 terror events had occurred (Itil, 1984:29-46). 30000 of them were carried out between 1975 and 1980 (Criss, 1995:155). While the number of people killed were 319 in 1977, it has increased to 1095 in 1978, and to 1362 in 1979 (Dilmac, 1997:168). 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 (Criss, 1995:166). In these circumstances, the Military Coup D'etat took over the 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 (Turan et. all., 1983:2). 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 Sirnak, a province in the south-eastern part of Turkey. After that the number of events has steadily increased from 1984 to the present time. The following table gives a clear picture of terrorism and its results in Turkey.

Table 1: The Total Terror Statistics of Turkey Between 1984 and 2004

Years	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
No. of Events	521	356	426	570	779	1969	2742	4445	5678	6956	6596	4561	4424	2915	2576	3242	1757	1611	1380	2261	2238	58003
Killed Militants	33	108	61	106	134	191	417	427	1340	1949	4111	3007	3063	2330	1583	1917	339	174	41	100	135	20666
Wounded Militants	3	3	5	4	8	23	38	74	131	144	153	115	152	47	78	159	246	34	7	16	12	1452
Accused	637	236	200	433	372	2131	7803	5285	9988	14026	12525	10024	11606	9630	11105	16935	15206	11540	9515	6697	4767	160661
Killed Citizens	44	97	87	245	130	212	255	262	912	1549	1086	450	208	183	132	141	96	24	32	76	39	6260
Wounded Citizens	213	59	46	127	101	261	300	580	1155	1834	1857	850	481	440	528	414	101	109	91	804	174	10525
Killed Police	1	6	4	5	6	9	17	56	93	51	42	40	37	16	10	9	12	19	6	8	9	456
Wounded Police	5	19	4	16	16	41	83	182	265	226	228	168	301	124	188	171	121	117	151	142	178	2746
Killed Soldiers	24	65	43	55	42	125	113	228	498	564	793	533	455	269	243	173	25	19	6	18	60	4351
Wounded Soldiers	10	40	45	70	78	199	263	491	952	1111	2034	1200	1092	604	531	571	92	47	40	87	227	9784
Killed Guards	-	-	7	15	8	38	65	46	135	183	263	135	132	158	114	42	2	4	4	3	10	1364
Wounded Guards	-	-	1	14	5	12	67	60	176	287	348	227	215	232	137	72	15	8	8	4	35	1923
Captured Long Range Arms	14727	105	39	83	172	217	777	1165	4159	4109	5416	2981	2592	1626	1734	1704	1822	927	505	234	241	45335
Revolver	30771	221	17	127	213	210	278	533	2064	1843	1371	954	817	334	303	361	733	246	134	84	94	41708
Bomb	1207	204	80	41	116	119	1113	1624	3941	5095	15105	6175	25464	2858	3524	4290	2841	1191	477	404	530	76399
Projectile	223146	8940	1590	5125	2950	4000	39453	402771	545439	556558	874905	357108	669858	134100	149685	177646	189019	55116	46136	22182	54102	4519829

Source: General Directorate of Security, Turkey.

As it is seen in table, terrorist activities have reached to the top in 1993 with the 6956 events. According to the data obtained from the GDS, 58003 terror events have happened across the country between 1984 and 2004. The other data between these dates can be seen in the following figure in detail.

The Total Terror Events in Turkey by Year Between 1984 and 2004

Year	Events
1984	521
1985	356
1986	426
1987	570
1988	779
1989	1969
1990	2742
1991	4445
1992	5678
1993	6956
1994	6596
1995	4561
1996	4424
1997	2915
1998	2576
1999	3242
2000	1757
2001	1611
2002	1380
2003	2261
2004	2238

Source: General Directorate of Security, Ankara/Turkey

The data collected showed that around 100 different kinds of terrorist organizations had and have operated in Turkey from the beginning to present days. The data given in both table and figure show that Turkey is one of the most suffered countries due to terrorist activities in all its history. Now, these organizations will be classified according to their main ideological bases.

III. A Classification of the Organizations

Although organizations show similarity in many aspects, they especially have differences in terms of their main goals and aims. Some of them state that they give a national salvation or an independence war against a given State such as the IRA (Irish Republican Army) and PKK (Kurdish Worker Party). Some others say that they fight to take revenge of the past events such as Armenian organizations, ASALA, JCAG, and ARA, which fight

against Turkey, while others try to dominate their racial, religious, political or socio-cultural views on all of society, such as Ku Klux Klan, Islamic Jihad or Hizboullah.

In terrorism literature, it is possible to find different typologies on terrorism and classifications of terrorist groups (See for details Wilkinson, 1974; Bell, 1975; White, 1991). However, a different classification is made on the terrorist organizations in Turkey, because of their local characteristics, ideology adopted, goals and activities. This classification can be given as follows: (1) Organizations Based on Marxist-Leninist Ideology, (2) Ethnicity Based or Separatist Organizations, (3) Organizations Based on Racist and Extreme Right Ideology, and (4) Organizations Based on Religion. These organizations will be explained and discussed in order in below.

3.1. Organizations Based on Marxist-Leninist Ideology

The appearance of the organizations based on Marxist-Leninist ideology in Turkey, if the Ottoman Empire period is taken into account, goes back to 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 (Caglar, 1998:125). However, they were ineffective, and made their struggle on publishing and propaganda ground. From the end of 1960s and the beginning of 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 near past, until 1984 (Itil, 1984:29-46). 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 (Criss, 1995:168). Although there are small-size differentiations in terms of organizational structure, the main goals of those organizations were/are similar. They believe that the road to revolution goes through preparing the natural conditions for the revolution. That's why, these conditions can be provided by the armed forces. 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, the ways of struggle were different. Some of them were in preference of an ex-Soviet model while others preferred Chinese or ex-Albanian model of socialism[1]. However, after the Military Coup D'etat in

1980, and the collapsing of the Soviet system, relatively smaller organizations in this category had disappeared. According to the latest data obtained, there are 3 different left-wing organizations, which are active and operate in Turkey or abroad against the Turkish Republic.[2]

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 inevitable 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, propaganda must be started; the public should be politicized; and an armed propaganda, revolutionist violence should be put into operation. Besides that, 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 their 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. However, there is a differentiation in terms of struggle style. Some of the left-wing organizations say that Turkey is mostly a rural society, so the revolution should be started from the rural area at first[3]. After success and controlling 'salvation zones –*kurtarilmis bolgeler*' in rural areas, the movement should be directed to town centers. Thus, they organize themselves on the rural areas at first. Others[4], 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.

According to these organizations, being inactive is a great danger for them, because it collapses the organization in a short time. That's why, a continuous activity should be practiced. For example, Mahir Cayan, 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" (Cayan, 1979). The term fight meant the armed struggle.

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 the leading and governing role of this country in the world. In other words, according to these organizations the USA is the head and pioneer of the imperialist block. Besides that the member 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.

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 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 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 send to 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 make an experiment on her/him, on whether s/he is the right person or not. 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.

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 kinds and programmes 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 organizations[5] also utilize rural areas or mountains in Turkey to give such an education and training programme 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. In discipline education, the member is taught to learn how to behave, to obey rules of organization, devotion and dedication to organization; the secrecy, punishments in the case of violation of rules, and so on, shortly 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 to both psychological and physical torture, to make people afraid, and subduing, 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 of gaining experience for organizational activities.

In left-wing organizations, according to the data collected, there are three stages of being a supporter of the organization: Rear, middle and further *(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 adopted the organization and its policy and principles, and ready for organization's operations are called 'further supporters'. The people who are on the further supporter stage

have to work at least for one year in order to be considered as a candidate of membership. To have a post on the administrative level, the member has to prove his/her success in the organization for a long time.

The organizational structures of left-wing organizations are generally in the following forms: In a hierarchical order, Congress or a central committee at the top. Under it, an execution board and a secretariat, at down, regional units, province 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 –*Silahli Devrimci Birlikler*', geared for the high level and sensitive operations. These sub-units are also named 'Red Troops – *Kizil Mufrezeler*' in some other organizations.

3.2. Ethnicity Based or Separatist Organizations

Although it is possible to find such organizational appearances during the history of the Turkish Republic, the armed struggle of these organizations has started in the late 1970s. The number of them was 12 until 1984 (Itil, 1984:29-46). Ethnicity based or separatist organizations are either of Kurdish or of Armenian origin. Armenians aim to take revenge of the Armenians who had been forced to migrate, and 'had been killed' during the late Ottoman period. According to them, Turkey should accept this as a massacre, should apologize, and should pay reparation. Some of them also state that they want to establish the Great Armenia, and a few provinces in the northeast of Turkey, Kars and Ardahan in particular, as their land, and state that this land should be given back to them. All of them had been abroad, mostly in Western countries. For their purposes, they mostly targeted the Turkish diplomats around the world. They killed 42 Turkish diplomats, including 4 ambassadors. In these events, 18 foreign civilians also were killed. The best known of them are ASALA, JCAG, and ARA. Although

ASALA is a Marxist organization, JCAG and ARA are more nationalistic organizations. They were active between 1975 and 1985. After 1985, these organizations mostly stopped their activities against Turkey. Additionally, there is not available data related to their recruitment, education and training programmes.

The Kurdish origin organizations are based on the Kurdish identity and culture. A few of them[6] state that they struggle for greater cultural and national rights, but they do not want to be separated from Turkey. Some others aim to have autonomy or a federal system within Turkey. However, some of them[7] aim to establish an independent Kurdish State in some parts of land of bordering countries, Ex-Soviet Union, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. The size of this land is around 500000 square kilometers. According to the recent data, the number of active Kurdish ethnicity based organizations is 3[8]. These organizations are different in terms of the ideology they adopted. In other words, some of them stated that they are left wing, Marxist, while others are religion based. Some others use both Marxism and religion in ideological ground such as PKK (Kurdish Worker Party). The most powerful and effective one is the PKK. The Turkish State charged the recently caught and imprisoned leader of the PKK, Abdullah Ocalan, with the death of almost 30000 people. He had also led to diplomatic problems between Turkey and Italy, Russia, Germany and Greece a few years ago.

The organizational structures of the Kurdish origin organizations change according to the ideology they adopted. The organizations, which had adopted a Marxist-Leninist ideology, have an organizational structure of the left wing organizations that have already been explained above. They use the same ways of recruiting, financing, education, training, and operations. Others, which are religious, use the organizing style of religion based organizations. The methods they use for recruitment, finance, education, training, and operations are also the same as the religion-based organizations, which will be explained later.

3.3. Organizations Based on Racist and Extreme Right Ideology

These organizations aim to re-organize the social, cultural, economic and political structures of the Turkish State wholly according to their doctrine, which is nationalism and

Pan-Turkism. In terms of their organizational structures, adopted ideology, and kinds and types of operations, they are like fascist organizations. However, these organizations mostly appeared in order to struggle with the Marxist-Leninist organizations and communism in Turkey. From time to time, they use the concepts of 'Pan-Turkism', 'Pan-Turanism', and 'Red Apple Ideal –*Kizil Elma Ulkusu*', which are the key words of the Turkish extreme-right nationalism. By using these concepts, they reject the constitutional citizenship in an indirect way (YOK, 1985:104). Since 1968, they educated and trained especially young people in camps to fight and struggle with communism and communist movements. In theoretical education, they organize in-service trainings, seminars and indoctrinate the supporters. Until the 1980 Military Coup D'etat, some politicians, including the leaders of the Nationalist Action Party and prime minister of the time Mr. Demirel, identified them as the supportive forces of the State. They were also giving a struggle through the media via 15 daily and weekly newspapers and 23 various biweekly and monthly journals (Criss, 1995:158-160). Besides that "they also aim, at last, to unite all the Turks all over the world, and to gather them all together under same flag" (YOK, 1985:101). The religion is also used as the second most important factor alongside of the racial one by these organizations.

They adopt a very centralist and strict hierarchical administrative structure. Their main approach can be summarized as 'one leader one nation'. They also have supporters in various legal associations, trade unions, and among the university students. While trying to reach their aims, they use different ways to jump up barriers. For example, to kill key people from amongst their opponents, to subdue or make people against them afraid, to get revenge on their supporters, and so on (See also Songar, 1984:149). They spent a big effort to establish cadres in the governmental institutions. They believe that they are the saviors of the State and country. By doing this, they state that they are the supportive force of the security forces. "Fighting with communism was also seen by some of them as a necessity for God's sake. Some others evaluated the security forces as inefficient, and put themselves in their place" (1984:149). For example, according to the security forces records, it was clear that 1790 events, including 576 murders, were carried out by the members of these organizations until mid 1980 (YOK, 1985:101). Besides that, these units also carried out attacks on student's dormitories, at raids at universities and political parties' buildings, and did some assassinations before 1980 (See also Criss,1995:160).

The organizational structure of these organizations, according to the data obtained, can be given from the top to the bottom as follows: A leader on the top. High-level administrators mostly work or have posts in legal organizations or institutions, depending directly to the leader. In an order, regional executives, provincial executives, heads of districts, work and education committees, formed groups among workers and students in work places and universities, and in other educational institutions. In addition, there are law desks, education and propaganda's desks, and social activity's desks, which depend on heads of region and districts. There are also organizing desks in which armed operation groups are found (Caglar, 1997:131). However, the data obtained showed that these organizations were active before 1980. Nowadays, there is not any event carried out by these organizations with one recent exception: A few years ago, TIT (Turkish Revenge Brigade), the most known one, made an armed attack on the head of the Human Rights Association in Ankara, Turkey. He was deadly wounded by an armed attack.

3.4. Organizations Based on Religion

Although it is possible to see religion based organizations the world over, they appeared in Turkey mostly after the Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979. They aim to destroy the whole social, political, cultural and economic system of the Turkish Republic, and to establish an Islamic Ser'i (canonical) system instead. They believe in revolution. Sayar divides them into two: 'traditionalists' and 'radicals' (Cited by Dilmac, 1997:171). Although the number of traditionalist organizations is high, they are on the side of a moderate Islam. On the contrary, radicals, mostly being influenced by the Iran Islamic Revolution, prefer a continuous struggle to reach their goals.

The main ground for these organizations is religion. They use the concept of 'ummet' (the Muslims) instead of the term 'millet' (nation). The religion or Holy Book (the Quran) is the only and unique guide to adhere to and it should be made dominant over all aspects of daily life. For example, the Constitution will be the Quran, the flag will be the Kelime-i Tevhid (Word of Unification). The capital of the country will be Istanbul. New Year will start from the 1st day of the month of Muharrem, the first month in the Arabic lunar calendar. The

weekly day of rest will be Friday. The surname system used in Turkey will be abolished. The people will use Islamic clothes. The Arabic characters (script) will be used in writing instead of Latin's, which is presently used in Turkey. The European Union and Common market will be refused; instead the Mecca will be the world common market. Shortly, all Kemalist[9] institutions in the country will be destroyed. By the way, it will not be forgotten that Turkey is a unique country, which is the secular and democratic one, among the all-Islamic countries the world over.

Some of them[10] aim to establish a 'United Islamic State' in a federal form, including all of the Middle East countries. Some others[11] say that the land of such a State is the Islamic countries' land and Minor Asia (Anatolia) in the short term, and the entire world in the long term. According to the data obtained, the thoughts and writings of Shiite intellectuals mostly influence these organizations. Some of them[12], even, believe that Iran is the unique and the only Islamic country. So the system and dominance of this country and her leader should be accepted and obeyed (Dilmac, 1997:190). According to the information taken from the arrested members of these organizations by security forces, Iran provided them with educational and training opportunities. However, this influence has declined because of the recent policies enforced by the Iran's political administration.

The data obtained also show that the most of these organizations are located in the East and Southeast of Turkey. There are 11 different organizations in this group. The most known are Hizboullah, IHO (Islamic Action Organization), IBDA-C (Islamic Front of Great Eastern Raiders) and ICB (The Unification of Islamic Communities), HD (Caliphate State), AFID (Anatolian Federal Islamic State) and Tevhid-Selam (Kudus Ordusu – Jerusalem Army). (See also Dilmac, 1997:192-197; Criss, 1995:165; GYMD, 1990:39). Besides that, the PKK also had a few sub-organizations, which used religion, such as YOWK (Kurdistan Yurtsever Din Yayanlar Birligi-The Unity of Religion Missioners of Kurdistan), YMK (Kurdistan Mollalar Birligi – The Unity of Kurdistan Clergymen) and YDK (Kurdistan Dindarlar Birligi – The Unity of Kurdistan Religious People). There are 4 main organizations, which are currently active and operate in Turkey or abroad against the Turkish Republic[13].

Hizboullah divided into two groups in itself, named as 'Menzil' and 'Ilim', in the beginning of 1993. While the Menzil group rejected the armed struggle in this stage, the Ilim group accepted it, and made its first armed struggle with the PKK. These two groups were in competition with each other. The fight between them has gained intensity especially in 1994, and around 50 people were killed from both sides. However, it is nowadays seen that this struggle has lost its importance.

These organizations classify countries and their political regimes as Darul- Harb (Non-Islamic countries) and Darul-Islam (Islamic countries). They easily violate the religion's rule in non-Islamic countries when they struggle for Islam. Because, they justify their non-Islamic behaviors by stating that Islamic rules are not valid in these countries, and they have to use such a way. Besides that, according to the data obtained, they ask their supporters not to do anything, which would be beneficial to the non-Islamic regime. For example, they say to their supporters that not pay any taxes, as possible. The idea behind this is that the tax will serve the regime they want to demolish.

According to the data gathered, the organizational structure of these organizations can be given as follows: Most of them have a sheikh, an emir or a leader at the top. There is a consultation (Sura-Mesveret) committee under the command of the leader. In order, there is a fatwa committee, regional executives, provincial and town executives. There are different units named medresse, course, dergah (dervish convent) and halka (circle of dervishes) under the power of provincial and regional executives. However, the menzil group has two leaders. One of them is the religious leader, the other is the political leader. Almost all of them adopted an organization style in a subdivision (kol) form. These subdivisions are: (1) The social division (Ictimai kol): This division works to introduce the idea and basic rules of Islam as much as in an understandable way to the general public. (2) Transmitting division (Teblig kolu): It is in charge to introduce the main ideas, thoughts, aims, principles, and activities of the organization in order to get new active supporters among passive supporters. It also collects information and about these people and transmits it to the leadership. (3) The intelligence division (Istihbarat kolu): It receives and collects information, evaluates such information, warn the executive people in the case of an emergency. It also makes some inquiries about the other communities and groups, collects all information as much as

possible, and turns these over to the leadership. (4) Military division (Askeri kol): In addition to the militaristic armed struggle for reaching the goals of the organization, it also robs, burglarizes, undertakes thieving, seizes, and kidnaps in order to raise money for the organization.

Besides that, it is also possible to mention some different sub-units in some organizations. For example, in IBDA-C, few people who adopted the organization goals and have no direct or indirect connection with the organization come together by their free will and establish cells or fronts in their neighboring areas. There is also not any connection between these cells or fronts. The members of each cell read and discuss the writings, messages, and publications of the leader and organization. In these writings, the organization sometimes shows some targets or events to be carried out in an indirect way. One of the cells, nearest to the place indicated, carries out terrorist activity. These kinds of organization are called 'coming into being by itself (*Kendinden Zuhur*)'. If the event carried out is in favor of the organization, the organization declares that their members did it. Otherwise, they reject the event and its responsibility. The organization publishes the event in order to encourage the other cells. This system of organizing makes difficult to catch and arrest the members and supporters of organizations. These local cells are also named as 'operation teams', which carries out the planned and decided events.

Religion based organizations recruit their supporters and members mostly in mosques, from among the religious people. They believe that they should follow three stages for their struggle: Transmitting Stage (Teblig), Community Stage (Cemaat), and Holy War Stage (Jihad). In transmitting stage, they use the following propaganda: "Ataturk[14] is not the national hero. He did the worst to Islam by adopting and putting into practice the secular system. The secular system means atheism (being irreligious), and is not in accordance with Islam. This system divided Muslims into nations. It should be destroyed as soon as possible; Islam should be put into practice with its whole structure instead. The people who adopt this secular system and who do not wage war for Islam will go to hell. If they succeed with their aim at this stage, then they may pass onto the second stage, namely the community stage. Herein, it is aimed to organize the public, and to prepare them for the next stage, which is Jihad. In Jihad, it is time to fight with 'hizbuseytans' (all kinds of barriers on their road to

Islamic system including individuals and institutions), and the armed struggle starts" (Caglar, 1998:137-38). However, according to the data obtained, these organizations are mostly in the first and second stages in Turkey.

IV. Conclusion

If a general comparison is made among all organizations, it is possible to say that the people who join these organizations have almost the similar characteristics in terms of education level, ethnic characteristics, social and economic background, and ideological, psychiatric and psychological approaches (See also Landau, 1979; Ergil, 1980; Sterling, 1981; Songar, 1984; Karacan, 1984; Alkan, 2002). According to the data obtained, the people in leaderships 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 while the percentage of illiterate people in left-wing organizations is 5, this is 20 in the ethnicity based (Kurdish origin) organizations, in PKK in particular, and 2 in the religion based organizations. The percentages of the people having graduated from primary school are 21 in the left wing, 48 in the ethnicity based, and 10 in the religion-based organizations. The people having graduated from secondary school are 13 per cent in the left wing, 22 per cent in the ethnicity based, and 13 per cent in the religion-based organizations. The percentages of high school graduates are 35 for the left wing, 7 for the ethnicity based and 46 for the religion based organizations. The university graduates are 26 per cent in left wing, 3 per cent in ethnicity based, and 29 per cent in the religion-based organizations (See also Comertoglu, 1995: 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 organizations are very strict and hard to their members in the case of their betraying. The left wing organizations judge them in 'People Courts' (Halk Mahkemeleri) and the religion-based organizations use 'Canonical Courts' (Seriat Mahkemeleri), which are formed by themselves according to their ideological backgrounds. Except the Turkish Revolutionist Communist Party (TDKP), a left wing organization, all others (left-wing, extreme right, separatist and religious organizations) execute the dead penalty to their members in the case of betraying. All of them use every kind of mass media to publicize their ideologies, and to get supporters as much as possible. Distributing tapes, using mobile phones, radios, having web sites (not all of them), publishing journals, newspapers, operating TV channels from abroad, writings slogans on walls are among the means used in dissemination of their messages and propaganda. They use mostly the concepts of honor, religion, the holy book, the nation, motherland, freedom, and national salvation in their messages to the public.

Almost all organizations target destroying the legal system and political regime of the Turkish Republic. Except the extreme rightist organizations, all others carry out attacks to security forces' members, buildings and their cars, assassinations to governors, ex-military and security forces' people. The religion-based organizations additionally carry out attacks on restaurants and shops, which sell alcohol. Some of the Kurdish ethnicity, the PKK in particular, and religion based organizations kill government officers including teachers and religion clerks who serve in the Eastern and South-Eastern parts of Turkey. The former puts the government buildings including school buildings, especially in villages, on fire. The reason asserted is to prevent the assimilation of Kurdish children via schooling. Also, the data obtained showed that destroying the economic activities and putting forests on fire, mostly in the Western part of the country, are among the main targets of this organization. The armed or military education and training 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 programmes of all organizations. 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.

The officials stated that 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 in human rights violations. The public suffers from the both sides' activities. Consequently, it can be said that although Turkey has learned how to live with all this chaos, it seems that she will still pay more in the near and coming future, if she does not democratize its political system further. Because, it is not possible to win the battle against terrorism without having full support of the general public. It should not be forgotten that terrorism is a worldwide problem that violates the basic human rights, and a crime against humanity. That's why, all countries should collaborate with each other in order to take it under control.

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NOTES

[1] For example, ex-Soviet model of socialism –DHKP-C (Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Partisi-Cephesi-Revolutionist People Salvation Party-Front), THKO (Turkiye Halk Kurtulus Ordusu – Turkish People Salvation Army); Chinese model –TKP/ML TIKKO (Turkiye Komunist Partisi/Marksist Leninist – Turkish Communist Party/Marxsist/Leninist); and ex-Albanian model –MLKP (Marksist Leninist Komunist Parti – Marxist Leninist Communist Party), HK (Halkin Kurtulusu – Salvation of the People).

[2] These are DHKP-C, TKP/ML TIKKO and MLKP.

[3] For example, TKP/ML TIKKO.

[4] For example, THKO and MLKP.

[5] TIKB (Turkiye Ihtilalci Komunistler Birligi – The Unity of Turkish Revolutionist Communists), DHKP-C and TDP (Turkiye Devrim Partisi – Revolutionist Party of Turkey).

[6] For example, PDK/Bakur (Kurdistan Demokrat Partisi/Bakur – Kurdistan Democrat Party/Bakur).

[7] For example, PKK. However, PKK has recently changed its name as KADEK (Kurdistan Ozgurluk ve Demokrasi Kongresi – Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress) and re-defined its main goals that to struggle on the political ground and to have more identity and cultural rights for the Kurds in Turkey. In 2005, the organisation re-adopted its first name, the PKK, again. It is currently active in terrorist activities especially in the eastern part of Turkey.

[8] These are: PKK-KADEK, PSK (Kurdistan Devrim Partisi – Kurdistan Revolution Party) and PDK/Bakur.

[9] Kemalizm is accepted as the ideological and political thought of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, who is the founder of the Turkish Republic.

[10] For example, AFID (Anadolu Federal Islam Devleti – Anatolian Federal Islamic State).

[11] For example, IBDA-C (Islami Buyuk Dogu Akincilari-Cephe – Islamic Great East Raiders-Front).

[12] For example, Hizboullah and Tevhid-Selam (Kudus Ordusu – Jerusalem Army).

[13] They are: Hizboullah, HD, IBDA-C and Tevhid-Selam (Kudus Ordusu).

[14] The founder of the Turkish Republic.