

**CONCEPTUALIZING THE DEFINITION OF TERRORISM IN LIGHT OF THE
DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELDS OF ACADEMICS, HISTORY AND
LEGISLATION**

A Master's Thesis

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CONCEPTUALIZING THE DEFINITION OF TERRORISM IN LIGHT OF THE
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LEGISLATION

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ABSTRACT

CONCEPTUALIZING THE DEFINITION OF TERRORISM IN LIGHT OF THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELDS OF ACADEMICS, HISTORY AND LEGISLATION

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The basic question to be answered in this thesis is: Is there a way to reach a consensus about a generally accepted definition of terrorism by using the perspectives of history and legitimacy in the World Community? The solution to the problem about the definition of terrorism is an important question because of the sensitivities displayed by the nations of different regions and their different perceptions of terror. The questions about the nature of the terrorists, their motivation, their aims and the methods they use to achieve these aims are still being debated world-wide. On the other hand, terrorists also have the ability and possibility to reach the same sources regarding history and legitimacy; therefore it may be thought that, they have a variety of options about learning how to become more deadly without taking all the population of the target community to the opposite side.

To fight terrorism effectively, what is needed first is to know who the enemy is. In this thesis, the answer to this question is carefully analyzed and a solution is offered. Brief information about the background of terror events in history and jurisprudence concerning national and international community is added to help understand the subject. Instead of putting up a certain and complete definition that may lead to many misunderstandings and a danger of constriction of the concept, the preconditions to make an efficient definition of terror is explained. This is important because there are certain difficulties in discriminating terrorists from other types of criminals, especially guerilla fighters and organized criminals. In this thesis, the purpose of the guerilla activities and their methods, also the differences and common points of these two are analyzed and explained. As an accessory, the statistics of terror events between 1973-2003 are included in the thesis.

Key Words: Terrorism, Terrorists, Guerilla Warfare, Terror History, Legitimacy and Terror, Organized Crime, State Terrorism.

ÖZET

AKADEMİK, TARİHSEL VE HUKUKSAL GELİŞMELERİN IŞIĞINDA TERÖRİZM TANIMLARININ İRDELENMESİ

Sözübir, Ufuk

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Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Ergun ÖZBUDUN

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Bu tezde cevaplandırılmak istenen temel soru şudur: Tarihsel ve hukuksal bir bakış açısı kullanılarak; Dünya toplumlarının üzerinde uzlaşabileceği bir terör tanımına ulaşmanın herhangi bir yolu var mıdır? Farklı bölgelerde yaşayan milletlerin terör olgusuna bakışındaki farklılıklar ve çeşitli hassasiyetlerinden dolayı, terörün tanımlanması probleminin çözümü, önemli bir sorun olarak karşımızda durmaktadır. Dünyada teröristlerin yapısı, güdülleri, amaçları, bu amaçlara ulaşabilmek için kullandığı yollar halen tartışma konusudur. Diğer taraftan, teröristler de artık tarihsel ve hukuksal kaynaklara ulaşabilmek için gerekli imkan ve kabiliyete sahiptirler; bu sebepten onların da halkı karşılarına almadan, daha ölümcül bir hale gelmeyi öğrenebilmeleri için birçok seçenekleri olduğu düşünülebilir.

Terörle etkili olarak savaşabilmek için, öncelikle düşmanın kim olduğunu belirlemek gerekmektedir. Bu tezde, bu soru işlenmiş ve bir çözüm yolu ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır. Konunun anlaşılmasına yardımcı olmak için, tarihteki terör olaylarının

perde arkası ve ulusal ve uluslararası toplumu ilgilendiren terör yasaları hakkında kısaca bilgiler verilmiştir. Bu yapılırken, konunun yanlış anlaşılmasına ve tehlikeli bir şekilde daraltılmasına yol açabilecek kesin ve tam bir terör tanımından kaçınılmış, bunun yerine yeterli bir terör tanımı yapabilmek için gerekli olan önkoşullar açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu, teröristleri organize suç örgütleri mensuplarından ve gerilla savaşçılarından ayırabilmek için önemlidir. Bu tezde, gerilla faaliyetlerinin amaçları ve metodları, ayrıca teröristlerle ortak noktaları ve farklılıkları analiz edilmiş ve açıklanmıştır. Ayrıca, yardımcı bir bölüm olarak, 1973-2003 arasında dünyada gerçekleşen terör olayları hakkındaki istatistiki bilgiler de bu teze dahil edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Terörizm, Teröristler, Gerilla Savaşı, Terörün Tarihi Gelişimi, Hukuk ve Terör, Organize Suç, Devlet Terörü

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INTRODUCTION

In the World community, to a large extent, the most common and accepted cliché about terrorism is the famous saying: “One’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter.” This renders the recognition and differentiation of terrorist activities harder, although it is frequently used for the events taking place in today’s world. The phrase above also makes it difficult to come to an agreement on defining any other common decision that helps ease the conflict about the basis of a solution, which can be accepted by the international community.

Terrorism is a difficult concept to understand with the perspectives of the people, who are involved in committing terrorist acts. It is also quite an intricate business to answer the questions about them; consequently, the motives of terrorists should be elaborated in order to analyze the nature of terrorist activities and propose counter solutions to them. Some of these questions to be raised are: “Why do some people put their life at risk, run into difficulties, suffer from many hardships and even face poverty on the way to reach what they want through terrorism?”, “Why do terrorists aim at civilians and innocent people in their struggle?”, “Is terrorizing others an effective tool to reach a goal?”

Although terrorism doesn’t have a commonly agreed definition, there are some prerequisites for an action to be accepted as a terrorist act. However, in the world community, these prerequisites are also subject to debate. The ambiguity about these prerequisites is such that even killing of innocents for the sake of a political aim or

giving material harm to people in the name of some idealized concepts such as freedom, human rights and democracy may not be adequate for the international community to classify the violent acts as terrorism.

In fact, it should be the responsibility of academicians to bring about a satisfactory and objective definition of terrorism with a view to guide the politicians in this issue. To clarify, this conceptualization is usually a pure theoretical issue that should be analyzed within certain research parameters. However, in dealing with terrorism, guerilla warfare or organized crime, the implications of defining the terms tend to transcend the boundaries of theoretical discussions.¹ So, the lack of consensus in the definition also makes it difficult to fight against the defined event. The best example to demonstrate this difficulty is the conference held in Madrid on 10th March 2005 about the call for all nations to suggest a global strategy in combating terrorism. There is a fact about terrorism that can easily be accepted by every government, society and individual in that, terrorism is usually a means or instrument, chosen because of the specific circumstances, to attain some political, religious, or ideological goal. (Stillman, 2003:81) This point of view can be taken as a basis in the attempts to reach a proper definition.

This problem in defining terrorism enables the society to expand the meaning of this word. Therefore, many actions or crimes can be put into the category of terrorism although there is no relationship between them in motives, aims and methods. For example, in Turkey, in recent years, there emerged some new “terrorisms” that have no relationship with the terminology used in defining “terrorism”. Traffic terror, familial terror, purse-snatching terror are some of the examples of this meaning confusion. Also after many publications in the media, the term “traffic monster” is slowly beginning to

¹ Boaz Ganor. *Terrorism: No Prohibition Without Definition*. Can be found online at <http://www.ict.org.il/>

evolve into “traffic terrorist”. This indicates another problem in the community concerning the formation of perspectives about the people, who commit “real” terrorism. These new identifications also show that the problem of not finding a common solution to “terror” and “terrorism” in the international community began to influence the individuals, who can sometimes be a victim of the terrorist actions. Terrorism is one of the worst crimes against humanity and it should be analyzed without transgressing the boundaries of other crimes. If a person committing a crime in traffic were identified as a terrorist in the society, this would clash the basic rule in the law “punishment should be balanced with the crime”.

In this thesis, some basis, which can help reach a proper conclusion in the subject of “defining terrorism” will be sought out and clarified. In addition, definition of the concept of terrorism, history of terrorism and the demarcation line between terrorism and guerilla warfare and organized crime will be analyzed with a view to come up with a proper solution to this problem.

There are three main chapters covered in the thesis. In Chapter one, the attempts to define terrorism in legislation and academic arena will be summarized. In many countries around the world, special laws against terrorism have been a constant feature of political and legal life. This situation also helps the societies in the world reach a consensus, in particular, regarding legitimacy.

In the first part of the chapter, the words of “terror” and “terrorism” is analyzed with their past and present meanings. In this part, the evolution of the term “terrorism” over time and according to changing conditions is also analyzed.

In the second part of the first chapter, there is an introduction including the definitions and general information about the subjects such as violence, fear, political and other aspects of terrorism.

In the third part of the chapter, emphasis is made on to the laws in the international and national arena. This part starts with the elements of definition according to the system in laws; the objective element, the subjective element and the number of the perpetrators. After these classifications, international and national laws regarding terrorism are discussed with examples from the Sixth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly's Draft Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism, and Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism for the international part; the Texas Penal Code, United Kingdom Anti Terrorism Act, 2000, Italian Anti-Terrorist legislation for the national part.

The third part of the chapter is mainly concerned with the definitions put forward by different academicians and terror experts. The attempt to cover all the necessary components that must be placed in a definition is clearly perceivable in these definitions; however, there are still a lot of incomplete ideas and preconceptions in this area. Therefore, this part also carefully analyzed, categorized and compared other definitions with regard to sufficiency and quality. The classifications in this part are simple (basic) definitions, definitions that emphasize violence, political ends and fear of terrorism; the illegality of terrorism with violence, a political, ideologous or religious goal; and definitions that include the use of violence, the production of fear and other elements.

In the second chapter of the thesis, the historical background of terrorism and some important terror events, which are commonly recognized, are analyzed in a chronological order.

The history of terror events is important because the lessons derived from the past are equally taken by terror organizations. If similar terror events that happened in the past aren't analyzed well enough, there is a high probability that people, who ignore the past events, will be confronted with the same destiny. So, it can be asserted that without gathering information about terrorism from the past events, there would be difficulty in taking action against it.

In this chapter, after a short introduction that emphasizes the sources and importance of historical events, the problem of terrorism in the Roman Empire caused by the Jewish extremists *sicarii* is discussed. After giving information about these religious zealots, *Thugs* and the *Thuggee* cult in India is covered in part. And after that, Hasan Ben Sabbah and the *Fedayeen* are examined. It is important to note here that, these three early terrorist organizations all appealed to religion and used it as their motive.

After the French Revolution in 1789, the concept of "state terror" began to evolve with the dictatorship of Jacobins under Robespierre. Chapter two also discusses events under the category of "state terrorism" with the examples of Hitler, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung. Moreover, some of the separatist activities both in the Ottoman Empire and later in the Turkish Republic are also discussed.

At the end of the chapter, there is a special part dedicated to the September 11 terrorist attacks to the Twin Towers in New York and train bombings in Spain to draw attention to the new kind of terrorism that requires no support from the population by declaring an aim or ideology. The new terrorism is now hitting the World's most important cities without any chance to prevent it from happening. Because of the amount of sources that claim different opinions, the information provided is limited to the objective data about the amount of civilian losses and property damage.

The third chapter is mainly concerned with differences between terrorism and other kinds of crimes. The first part of the chapter is dedicated to the guerilla warfare, its similarities and differences with terrorism. Furthermore, there is a special part that includes how terrorism legalizes itself and becomes guerilla warfare. It should be mentioned that because the aims, methods, and outcomes of terrorism and guerillas seem so identical that, in many cases, it becomes rather difficult to differentiate them from each other. “One’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter” cliché is mainly related to the unknown boundaries between guerilla warfare and terrorism.

In the second part of the chapter, another complicated point in defining terrorism and terrorist is analyzed. In this part, the difference between terrorism and organized crime is examined in order to prevent confusion about definitions. Because terrorist organizations often use organized crime to secure support, there cause some problems in determining which actions are the outcome of organized crime and which activities are of terrorism. Because, although some criminal activities seem partly like organized crime as methods and aims, the outcome may serve as a tool for terrorism.

The third part is devoted to the most important issue on terrorism. In the previous chapters, it is mentioned many times that there is no mutually recognized definition including all the necessary prerequisites of a terror event, clarifying its distinct features from other sorts of crimes. This part deals with the necessary basis that have to be accepted by the countries which are combating terrorism, to reach a proper definition. In other words, if we have to reach a single definition accepted by the whole world in combating terrorism, we must be agreed on certain terms that become the foundation of our efforts in bringing about a generally accepted definition of terror events.

The last part of the chapter includes a statistical analysis of terror events between 1973 and 2003. There is a definition of terrorism made by the State Department of the United States, and this statistical information is based on this definition. This part is a valuable data source about recent terror events committed throughout the world and completes the necessary ingredients of this thesis.

CHAPTER 1

CURRENT DEFINITIONS OF TERRORISM IN LEGAL ACTS AND LITERATURE

1.1. The Meaning of the Words “Terror” and “Terrorism”

The concept of “terror” and “terrorism” is a significant problem facing the world without any question. Today, terrorism is becoming an extensive form of violence that shows no respect for ethnicity, social strata, and geographical location or for particular characteristics in demography such as sex, age, or occupation. To properly define a concept such as terrorism that includes so many threats to a great portion of the World population, it is first necessary to become familiar with the meaning of it as a word, along with the background and history of the words “terror” and “terrorism”.

In the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (1989:1328), as a word, “terror” indicates a “very great fear” and “the threat of violence, or violent acts, especially when it is used for political agendas.” Additionally, in the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary* (2001:1760), this definition includes: “something that makes you very frightened.” In *Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary*, there is one more definition related to the “political aspect” of terror. “Violence (as bombing) committed by groups in order to intimidate a

population or government into granting their demands.”² This definition shows the political evolution of this word over time. And “terrorism” indicates the use of terror or unpredictable violence against a government, public, or individuals to obtain a certain or ambiguous political objective. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1995:651-652) Since the late nineteenth century, the meanings of these words have indicated only a slight difference. However, the change is significant.

In the 1890 edition of *Webster’s International Dictionary* (1890:2324), the word “terror” is indicated as “Extreme fear, fear that agitates body and mind, violent dread, fright.” In the dictionary, “that which excites dread; a cause of extreme fear” is listed as a second meaning. But in the contemporary *Webster’s New Twentieth Century Dictionary* (1983:2512), in addition to these meanings, we must note: “a period characterized by political executions, as during the French revolution.” and “a program of terrorism of a party, group, etc. resorting to this” are included as the meanings of this word. These dictionary definitions show that as a word, “terror” and “terrorism” do not carry meanings that give the option to be used interchangeably, but they both include negative connotations. In history, the meaning of this word of French origin, shifted from positive to negative over time.

The roots of the word “terror” comes from the Latin origin “*terrere*”, “to frighten”, but it also has relationship with the Greek word “*trein*”, “to be afraid” (Herbst, 2003:163). However, the usage of this word is related to the French word *L’terreur*. The basic mechanism of terror can be taken from an old Chinese proverb:” Kill one, frighten ten thousand” (*International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997:11). Also there is one

² Merriam-Webster dictionary online. Can be found at: <http://www.m-w.com/cgi-bin/dictionary?book=Dictionary&va=terrorism&x=5&y=18>

Turkish proverb to identify the effects of terror: "One killed person creates many frightened people."

1.2. Current Attempts to Define Terrorism:

Terror and terrorism, as a concept experienced a significant transformation both in meaning and content. This change can be traced in history by following the ways of *Narodnaya Volya* and nineteenth century anarchists. They both accepted themselves as terrorists and felt no inhibition using similar words when describing themselves; also they frankly advertised their tactics to be terrorism. (Hoffman, 1998:28-29) However, in the contemporary World, terrorism is accepted in its negative meanings and there are no organizations left in the World who accept the word terrorism as manifest. The *Lehi* (The Hebrew acronym for *Lohamei Herut Yisrael*, the freedom fighters for Israel, more popularly known simply as the Stern Gang after their founder and first leader Abraham Stern (Hoffman, 1998:29)), the Jewish terrorist organization in the 1940 s is thought to be the last terrorist group actually to describe itself as such. However, even *Lehi*, while it may be far more candid than its latter-day counterparts, depicted its name as "Freedom Fighters for Israel", not "Terrorist Fighters for Israel". In 1946, this organization blew up the King David hotel in Jerusalem, killing 28 British officials (and 63 others). A year later, the *Irgun* kidnapped two British sergeants after British forces captured three *Irgun* members. *Irgun* hanged these two soldiers after the British executed three *Irgun* members. Less than a year later, the British left Palestine. (Maxwell, 2003:16)

Terrorism actors make a single brief definition of terrorism concept extremely difficult because they engage in terrorism for a variety of purposes such as ideologies,

thoughts and motivations. Terrorists have a set of motivations and thoughts about the current status of the state that is to be terrorized, moral conditions of the citizens that may be potential victims of the terrorists, general and specific beliefs about the status of the world and emotional motivations to create a terror event and act on these thoughts while realizing terror events. It can be considered that the most important of these indicators is the strength of emotions. To participate in a terror event, a terrorist should have a strong emotional background about several conditions about the system.

To define terrorism there are several concepts that need to be included in the implication of the word. Although Schmid (1988) tried to list the elements and the proportion of these elements to define terrorism properly after examining more than 100 different definitions, he didn't believe that these elements contain all the necessary conditions to reach a proper definition.

Table 1: Frequencies of definitional elements in the 109 definitions of "Terrorism"³

Element	Frequency (%)
Violence, Force	83.5
Political	65
Fear, Terror Emphasized	51
Threat	47
(Psychological) effects and (anticipated) reactions	41.5
Victim-Target Differentiation	37.5
Purposive, Planned, Systematic, Organized Action	32
Method of Combat, Strategy, Tactic	30.5

³ Alex P. Schmid, Albert J. Jongman. et al. *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature*. New Brunswick, Transaction Books; 1988 Amsterdam New Holland Publishing Company; quoted in Adrian Guelke; *The Age of Terrorism and the International Political System*. London, Taurus Academic Studies 1995; pp: 18-19

Extranormality, in Breach of Accepted Rules, without Humanitarian Constraints	30
Coercion, Extortion, Induction of Compliance	28
Publicity Aspect	21.5
Arbitrariness; Impersonal, Random Character; Indiscrimination	21
Civilians, Non-Combatants, Neutrals, Outsiders as Victims	17.5
Intimidation	17
Innocence of the Victims Emphasized	15.5
Group, Movement, Organization as Perpetrator	14
Symbolic Aspect, Demonstration to Others	13.5
Incalculability, Unpredictability, Unexpectedness of Occurrence of Violence	9
Clandestine, Covert Nature	9
Repetitiveness; Serial or Campaign Character of Violence	7
Criminal	6
Demands Made on Third Parties	4

1.2.1. Attempts to Define Terrorism in National and International Law:

The ambiguity of the concept of terrorism divided the legislation systems of the World into two. Two questions arose about the legal approaches to this case. Should terrorism be defined as a legal concept or, is it preferable to define the criminal acts that take part in the actions taken by terrorist organizations separately and avoid a clear definition of the word “terrorism”? Do we really need a definition to discriminate terror events from the other crimes? In the international arena and in some national constitutions, we can clearly track the difficulty in defining the concept for quite some time. But with the immense pressure of transnational terrorism especially after

September 11, the thought of defining crimes that form terrorism without defining the concept as a whole has reached its limits. Therefore, at the international level, negotiations on the conclusion of a Draft Comprehensive Convention against international terrorism are still going on, and a number of countries have adopted definitions of terrorism or added precision to already existing concepts. (Eaton, 2004:73).⁴

1.2.1.1. Elements of Definition

1.2.1.1.a: The Objective Element:

Generally speaking, in laws, terrorism requires an objective element like a crime of a certain scale or damage to property, and a subjective element like the motivation or intention of the perpetrators. As an objective element, it could be said that, use of serious violence against persons as means of terrorist activities is commonly accepted; in legislations, there was a consensus on this idea as a sufficient criterion. On the other hand, it is still under debate whether damage to properties or governmental areas are accepted as part of terrorist action or not.⁵ UK Terrorism Act accepted a broad concept including many definitions made by academicians, and crimes committed by the organizations accepted as terrorists. After the events of September 11, a similar

⁴ The measures taken by the Council of Europe after September 11 may be a suitable example with the immediate steps taken by this organization after that date. On 12 September 2001, the Committee of Ministers adopted a Declaration on the fight against international terrorism, condemning the terrorist attacks committed in the USA; on 21 September 2001, the Ministers' Deputies adopted a decision to launch CoE actions in the fight against terrorism; on 8 November 2001, the Committee of Ministers defined the added values which the council of Europe should give to resolute international action against terrorism.

⁵ Usually older definitions tend to see violence against human beings as a condition in defining terrorism

definition was accepted in Canada in Bill C- 36. In these two, damage to property is sufficient if it corresponds to the other conditions of the Act. Also in the international arena, the definition given by the Framework Decision of the Council of European Union (Eaton, 2004:78)⁶ and Immigration and Nationality Act in the U.S.⁷ refers to the damage to property as sufficient to be treated as terrorism. But, this development in modern definitions brings the danger of including nonviolent public protests with destructive action against public facilities. Therefore, any public protest that exceeds the legal form (for example large scale demonstrations with violent excesses) may be labeled as terrorism. (Walter, 2003:5) After intensive debates, Canada put the following restriction in the wording:

[A terrorist Act is an act which] causes serious interference with or serious disruption of an essential service, facility or system, whether public or private, **other than the result of advocacy, protest, dissent or stoppage of work that is not intended to result in the conduct or harm referred to in any of clauses (A) to (C)** [which refers to endangering acts]⁸

The Turkish Anti-Terrorist Law is also a detailed and important law because of its long tradition to fight against terrorism. Turkish law constitutes terrorism as; any acts done by one or more persons belonging to an organization to damage the country, its unity, secularism and economy by means of pressure, force and violence, terror, intimidation, and oppression or threat. Although the Turkish Anti-Terror Law is mainly concerned about the domestic terror organizations, its definition includes all the steps

⁶ The framework Decision of the Council of European Union mainly concerns the information systems, computers and communication network. In article 7, it is stated that: "Criminal law in the area of attacks against information systems should be approximated in order to ensure the greatest possible police and judicial co-operation in the area of criminal offences related to attacks against information systems, and to contribute to the fight against organized crime and terrorism."

⁷ United States Immigration Report. Can be found online at: http://www.immigration-usa.com/ina_96.html

⁸ Canadian Department of Justice Official Web site. Can be found online at: http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/news/nr/2001/doc_28217.html

taken by international conventions. The part “economy” shows that, although not clearly defined, Turkish Laws also accept damage to private and governmental property as a terrorist event because of their indirect effect on the Turkish economy. (Şehirli, 2000:370)

1.2.1.1.b. The Subjective Element:

A traditional subjective element of terrorism traced back to the French Revolution is that of the creation of a climate of terror and fear within the population or parts of the population. In nearly all of the National Laws, the signs of this element can be found; therefore it can be accepted that, fear and insecurity amongst the people became a consensus in legislation world-wide. Maybe the Italian approach could be considered an exception because of this country’s long tradition in fighting with Mafia organizations as international terrorists. The Italian constitution generally relies on the anti-mafia legislation to fight against terrorism and merely requires that violence be used with the aim of “eliminating the democratic order.”(Oehlers-Frahm, 2003:430)

In the modern definitions of terrorism, the element of fear and insecurity amongst the people is accepted and used as a sufficient subjective element, but not as a necessary requirement. The definitions given by the UK Terrorism Act 2000, the Canadian Bill C-36 and in the framework decision of the Council of the European Union, show the intention to create fear amongst the population and the purpose of influencing or compelling the government or an international organization is used or accepted alternatively. (Walter, 2003:7). Because of that, two questions arise; is creating fear and insecurity amongst the people a sufficient and necessary element in the definition of

terrorism, or intention of coercing the government may suffice to be defined as terrorism without creating the necessary conditions mentioned above? Because it is clearly seen that modern definitions separate these two issues although they are closely linked in reality. Although mostly the intimidation of the population serves the aim of coercing the government, there may still be exceptions, which creates great fear in the population without any political, religious or ideological purpose. For example, the attacks by sniper in the United States, which succeeded in creating an atmosphere of enormous insecurity and fear amongst the population by killing more than 14 people in the same area (*Guardian Unlimited*, October 22.2002), did not seem to have a political or other ideological cause. Although both modern and older definitions accepted this event as a terrorist action, because of the political and ideological points that the law mentioned, in the first instance the separation between a serial crime and terror event cannot be clearly defined.

This raises a question about the political motives of terrorists. Is it necessary, in order to use the word “terrorism”, that the perpetrators advance a political, religious or ideological cause?

The older concepts do not tend to require such an element. The 1948 Israeli Prevention of Terror Ordinance only requires “violent measures which might cause the death of a person, or his injury.” without addressing the purpose of the perpetrators. But three detailed modern definitions, (UK, EU and Canada), tried to solve the problem by additionally requiring “advancing political, religious or ideological cause”(Grote, 2003:3) or “political, religious or ideological purpose”⁹ But in the UK definition, the

⁹ “[I]n whole or in part for a political, religious or ideological purpose, objective or cause”, Wagner; Country report Canada, (Note 9), 5 et seq

word “influence” was used, instead of “coerce” the government. This creates some problems about the area of inclusion, which may also contain the demonstrations and democratic actions made to “influence” the government. Russian definition is also similar to that. In the Russian Criminal Code, “frightening the populace or exerting influence in decision-making of the government authorities,” is clearly stated.

The element of “coercion”, instead of “influence”, in the Canadian definition goes far beyond the other definitions, which not only refers to coercing public authorities, but also private individuals.

The Turkish Anti-Terrorist law is the one that emphasizes on the political aim and outcome of the terrorist action most. In this law, terrorism is defined as acts aiming to change the characteristics of the Republic, its system, its authority, public order and general health. The conditions are expressed clearly in the 1991 Turkish Anti- Terrorist Law. (Şehirli, 2000:370).

We can generally say that in modern definitions, the intentions of the perpetrators are more precisely indicated to be accepted as terrorists. In World communities, the intention of creating “terror” by fear and insecurity within the population is an uncontroversial element of definition. But, the degree of influence or coercion on government decision-making, which is necessary in order to speak about terrorism, varies. (Walter, 2003:8)

1.2.1.1.c. Number of Perpetrators

The number of collaborators varies in definition of countries in order to be qualified as terrorists. German, Spanish, Israeli, and Italian definitions require at least

some sort of collective action; the definition in France¹⁰ expressly includes individual action. And in the Turkish Anti –Terror Law, “One or more persons” statement is added. (Şehirli, 2000:371) The laws in the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, and the EU Framework Decision do not specifically address the issue and therefore are open to interpretation, which does not require that more than one people acts. (Walter, 2003:10)

1.2.1.2. Defining Terrorism in National Laws:

Before explaining the national legal concept of the definition of terrorism, it should be noted that such an imprecise and ambiguous term like “terror” is extremely difficult to put into legal statute in national laws. For example, Richard R. Baxter noted in his articles that, a legal concept of “terrorism” was *inflicted upon* the citizens in the United States and this creates serious problems that make the legislators regret. (Baxter, 1973/74:380) But on the other hand, laws need proper definition because of the nature of the legal system. Without certain elements, a criminal, a terrorist, or a victim cannot be separated. Therefore, definition made by Justice Potter Stewart of the U.S. Supreme Court (To define pornography) “I could never succeed in intelligibly doing so, but I know it when I see it [...].”¹¹ or the statement made by the Permanent Representative of the UK to the United Nations; “What looks, smells, and kills like terrorism is terrorism.”¹² Are not useful in the legislative system currently operating in the World. So, many codes about terrorism avoided the problem of ambiguity by legislating the

¹⁰ UN Doc. S/2001/1274, 3

¹¹ Jacobellis vs. State of Ohio, 378 U.S. 184-197 (1964). Can be found online at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacobellis_v._Ohio

¹² Senior British Representative Iraq 2003-2004. British Ambassador to the United Nations (heading UN efforts to combat terrorism). Can be found online at: http://www.p10k.net/terrorism_defined.htm

event of terrorism without emphasizing the general or political outcome of the activity. The Texas Penal Code, section 22.07 could be a useful example how a terrorist act is legally defined:

In this code, terrorism is defined as:

- (a) A person commits an offence if he threatens to commit any offence involving violence to any person or property with intent to:
 - (1) cause a reaction of any type to this threat by an official or volunteer agency organized to deal with emergencies;
 - (2) place any person in fear of imminent serious bodily injury; or
 - (3) prevent or interrupt the occupation or use of a building; room; place of assembly; place to which the public has access; place of employment or occupation; aircraft, automobile, or other form of conveyance; or other public place; or
 - (4) cause impairment or interruption of public communications, public transportation, public water, gas, or power supply or other public service.¹³

The more contemporary acts are further concerned about the outcome of the terrorist activities, and it is important to note that as academic writers and terror experts concentrate on the political aim of terrorism, terror acts are also beginning to cause concern for the outcome of the activity. An example, which demonstrates the aim of an illegal terrorist activity can be given from the United Kingdom Anti Terrorism Act, 2000. This Act is also important because of its comments regarding international terrorism. The United Kingdom Anti-Terrorism Law states:

Section 1

- (1) In this Act, “terrorism” means the use of threat of action where
 - (a) The action falls within subsection (2)
 - (b) The use or threat is designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public; and
 - (c) The use of threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause.
- (2) Action falls within this subsection if it
 - (a) involves serious violence against a person,
 - (b) involves serious damage to property,
 - (c) endangers a person’s life, other than that of the person committing the action,

¹³ Baker’s Legal Pages Web Site. Can be found online at: <http://www.bakers-legal-pages.com/pc/2207.htm> (Texas Penal Code, Section 22.07)

- (d) creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public, or is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system.
- (3) The use or threat of action falling within subsection (2) which involves the use of firearms or explosives is terrorism whether or not subsection (1)(b) is satisfied.

Section one goes on to give the Act Worldwide scope

- An “action” can be anywhere in the World
- “The government” is that of any country, not just the UK and,
- “The public” is the public of any country. (Hadden, 2004:119)

In this Act Cyber-Terrorism is also included as a branch of terrorism. Although which actions in computer programming are considered as terrorism were not defined clearly, damage or disruption of an electronic system is considered to be a terrorist action if it serves a certain political purpose.

For some countries, which have a tradition of fighting against terrorism, this international element may be quite new. For instance, the Italian Anti-Terrorist legislation was only extended to international terrorism after the events of September 11. (Oehlers-Frahm, 2003:432)

A more nationalistic definition can be also given from the constitutions of some countries. To give an example, the Indian Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance (POTO) in 2001 clearly stands on the academic definitions made by terror experts and limits it in the borders of the Nation without concern to comprise the whole World. In this ordinance, there is no definition of terrorism but it defines a “Terrorist Act” as:

An act done by using weapons and explosive substances or other methods in a manner as to cause or likely to cause death or injuries to any person or loss or damage to property or disruption of essential supplies and services or by any other means necessary with intent to threaten the unity and integrity of India or to strike terror in any section of the people.¹⁴

¹⁴ Indian Embassy Official Web Site. Can be found online at:
http://www.indianembassy.org/policy/Terrorism/poto_2001.htm

The Turkish national Anti- Terrorist Law also indicates how a nation tries to take necessary precautions legally to protect itself from terrorism. In the Turkish Anti-Terrorism Law, both the effects of political, ideological and religious aims of terrorists and the effects of violence, intimidation and damage to private and governmental property can be clearly seen. In this law adopted in 1991, terrorism is defined as:

[Terrorism] is any kind of act done by one or more persons belonging to an organization with the aim of changing the characteristics of the Republic as specified in the Constitution, its political, legal, social, secular and economic system, damaging the indivisible unity of the State with its territory and Nation, endangering the existence of the Turkish State and Republic, weakening or destroying or seizing the authority of the State, eliminating fundamental rights and freedoms, or damaging the internal and external security of the State, public order or general health by means of pressure, force and violence, terror, intimidation, oppression or threat. (Şehirli, 2000:371)

In this definition, the main emphasis is on endangering or damaging the State and its authority. It can also be accepted that, Turkish laws use a more broad terminology to protect the State and its organs. In some parts, the aim of this law is similar to the ones in Italy, Spain and Israel.

The efforts to define terrorism in national codes do not result in restrictive concepts of terrorism. Rather, in some areas the approaches taken are very broad and extend the concepts far beyond what had previously been considered to institutionalize terrorism definitions.

2.1.3. Defining Terrorism in International Law

International attempts to define terrorism began since the 1920 s, but the questions about some states, whether their actions re labeled as “terrorism” or whether the actions of the groups operating in the area are labeled using this word, prevented a consensus

until today. As a result, the approach taken to define terrorism in the international area has been to adopt a specific (inductive) model. (Williams, Golder, 2004:273)

According to this approach, international legal scholars do not attempt to define terrorism as a general concept. Instead, they have tried to define (and proscribe) specific events such as plane hijacking, taking of hostages, bombings and so on.

In adopting the specific approach, international law adapted itself to the “Predominant form of terrorist action at any given time.” (Sorel, 2003:365-368) and attempted to overstep a broader definitional question because of the political sensitivities of the states. As a result, there are some 12 international conventions such as; the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons,¹⁵ including Diplomatic Agents, the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages,¹⁶ and the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings,¹⁷ which are examples of this specific approach.

But, recently the utility of this specific approach started to be criticized and questioned. Indeed the international community has begun to search for a more general definition of terrorism. In 1999, an attempt to formulate a more general definition has been made in the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. In the first place, the definition shows a specific approach by referring to various international conventions and certain acts mentioned in these conventions. But the second part is about a more general definition. It refers to:

¹⁵ *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomatic Agents* was, opened for signature 14 December 1973, 1035 UNTS 167 (Entered into force , 20 February 1977)

¹⁶ *International Convention against the Taking of Hostages*, opened for signature 17 December 1979, 1316 UNTS 205 (Entered into force 3 June 1983)

¹⁷ *International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings*, opened for signature 15 December 1997, 2149 UNTS 284 (Entered into Force 23 May 2001)

Any other act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to a civilian, or to any other person not taking an active part in hostilities in a situation of armed conflict, when the purpose of such an act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.¹⁸

More recently, as a response to the September 11 terrorist action, the Sixth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly attempted to formulate a comprehensive general definition of terrorism. Article 2 of the Draft Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism reads:

- (1) Any person commits an offence within the meaning of this Convention, if that person, by any means, unlawfully and intentionally causes:
 - (a) Death or serious bodily injury to any person; or
 - (b) Serious damage to public or private property, including a place of public use, a state or government facility, a public transportation system, an infrastructure facility or the environment; or
 - (c) Damage to property, places, facilities or systems referred to in paragraph 1(b) of this article, resulting or likely to result in major economic loss, when the purpose of the conduct, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act.¹⁹

This Convention is still in draft form but it is important to show the need for a general definition to decide as to whether an action is related to terrorism or not in the world community. (Schmid, 2004:53-61)

When we look at the positive and negative parts of the specific and general definitions, it is seen that both have certain advantages and disadvantages. For example, the specific definitions possessed not only the wording that “avoids political conflict over basic definitional principles”, but also, maybe a more important point, possessed the practical benefit of “permitting textual agreement” to be reached. But on the other side, identifying the crimes that include acts of terrorism may not be adequate to clearly

¹⁸ *International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism*. Opened for signature 9 December 1999. 2178 ILM 229. Entered into force 10 April 2002.

¹⁹ United Nations Official Web Site. Can be found online at: <http://www.un.org/law/cod/terroris.htm>

separate ordinary crime and terrorist action. This issue presents a problem. Individual actions referred to may not be capable of capturing what we understand as terrorism. An alternatively specific offence may exclude the definitions indicated in the separate acts of terrorism and this may be a concern for the community especially when additional punishments are imposed regarding terrorism. On the other hand, a general definition may extend to a range of activities that are not considered to be terrorism. Civil disobedience, public protest and industrial action are examples of activities that may fall within a general definition. For instance, a mass protest of university students about the deregulation fees against the British government may also fall within the definition of terrorism. Another example may be given about the behavior of a nurse in Britain who strikes for the increase of fees, pay and conditions in state hospitals. By striking, she satisfied both “create a serious risk to the health or safety of the public”, “political cause”, and the “influencing government” requirement. And the protesting students who start a fire or let off fireworks around a property may exemplify “serious damage to property”. This action can easily fall within the code because of the foulness of the motive and political cause requirement if their aims were to put on pressure on the government to increase scholarship funds in public universities. (Williams, Golder, 2004:288-289)

Another definition in the international convention is the Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism. Accepted in Cairo in April 1998, this convention is important because the members of this convention are mostly blamed for the perpetrators and protectors of terrorist groups such as Saudi Arabia, Syria, and United Arab Emirates. In this convention, terrorism is defined as:

Any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property or to occupying and seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize national resources.

This convention is adopted at Algiers on 14 July 1999 (Also referred to as the "Algiers Convention"). No definition of "terrorism" in OAU Convention is occurred but the aim of this convention is to produce a precaution against terrorist acts by defining the events that may be accepted as terrorism.

"Terrorist act" is defined in Article 1 Par 3 as "Terrorist act" means:

(a) Any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a State Party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to, any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to:

(i) intimidate, put in fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint, or to act according to certain principles; or

(j) (ii) disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency; or (iii) create general insurrection in a State.

(k) (b) any promotion, sponsoring, contribution to, command, aid, incitement, encouragement, attempt, threat, conspiracy, organizing, or procurement of any person, with the intent to commit any act referred to in paragraph (a) (i) to (iii). ". Article 3, Par 1 provides that:

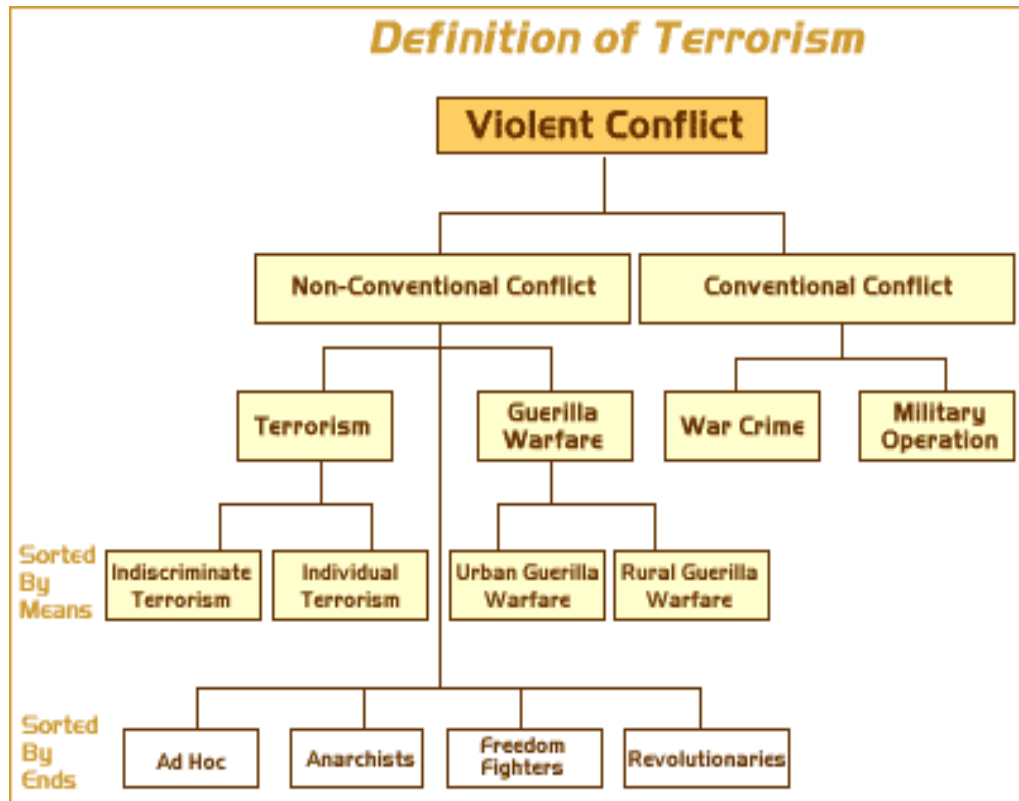
(l) "Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 1, the struggle waged by peoples in accordance with the principles of international law for their liberation or self-determination, including armed struggle against colonialism, occupation, aggression and domination by foreign forces shall not be considered as terrorist acts".

1.2.2. Attempts to Define Terrorism in Literature:

There are many issues and problems about the conceptualization of terrorism. The problem about terrorism lies in the personality of the terrorist. The question about who is a terrorist depends entirely on the viewpoint of the definer in the school of terrorism

studies. (Ganor, 2002:287). Maybe a definition of terrorism can be based upon the accepted National and International laws and the principles accepted and permitted in the conventional wars between nations. But the definitions of the academicians and terror experts are useful to prepare national or international law. Therefore some of the definitions made by experts and academicians will be included in this thesis. And Schmid's table of the terror elements will be taken as the basis to analyze these definitions.

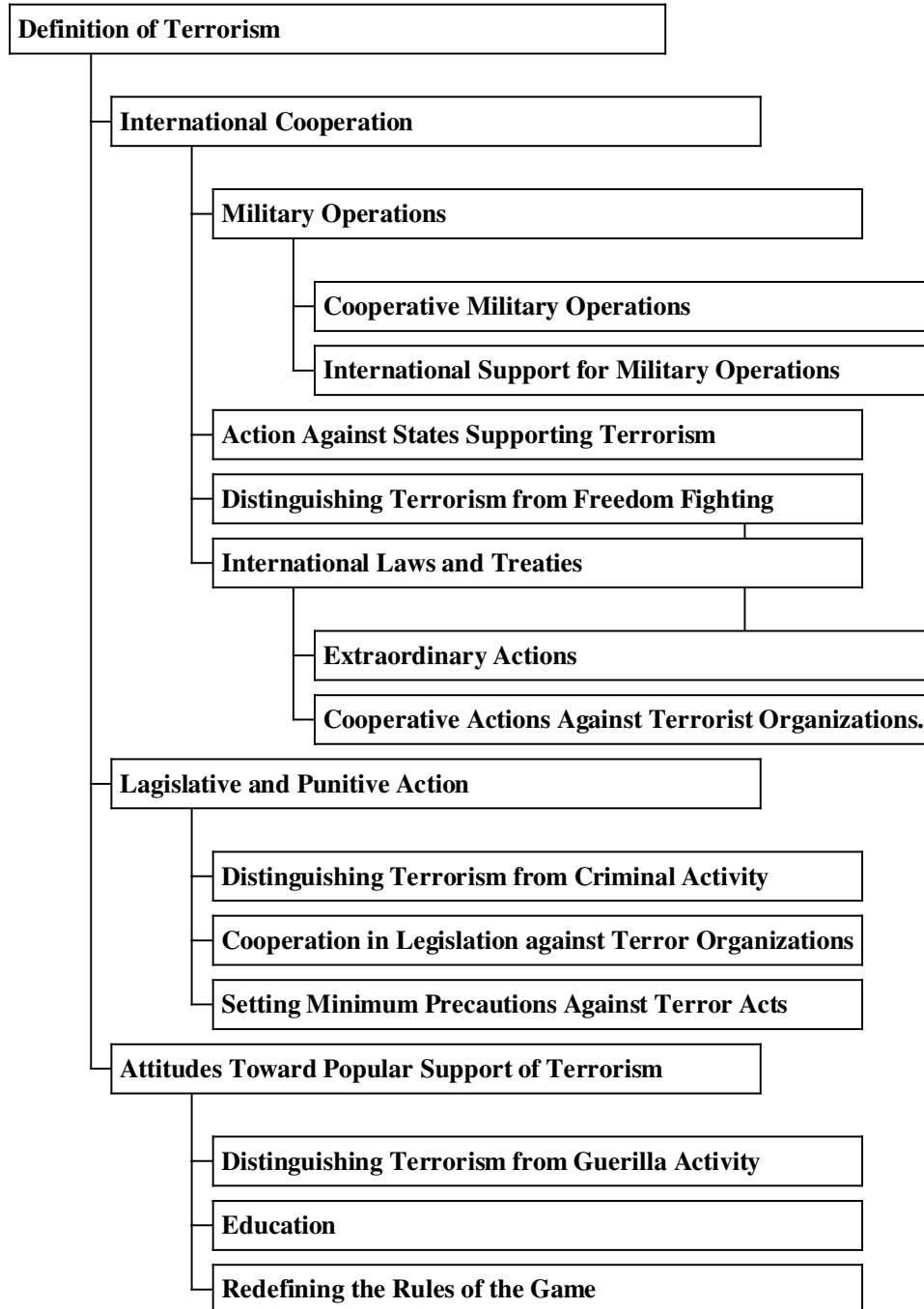
Figure 1: The Outcome of the Violent Conflicts and Categorization of Violence According to Their Aim.²⁰



²⁰ Forsnet Terör Sitesi. Can be found online at: <http://www.teror.gen.tr/english/usa/articles/article2.html>

Figure 2: The Definition of Terrorism as a Counter Terrorist Weapon.²¹

The Definition of Terrorism as a Counter-Terrorist Weapon



²¹ Forsnet Terör Sitesi. Can be found online at: <http://www.teror.gen.tr/english/usa/articles/article2.html>

1.2.2.1. Basic (Simple) Definitions:

In simple definitions, only one or two important characteristics of terrorism are emphasized. The reason for this may probably be to avoid the ambiguity of the concept by generalizing commonly accepted basics of terrorism and exclude detailed explanations. The most important points underlined in these definitions are perceptible violence, fear, political ends, and threat. The definitions given by Wurth, Wolfe, and Krieger are good examples of this category.

In Wurth's definition, the main concern about the concept is opposition against the state and the regime. In his definition, all kinds of actions, which create terror in order to destroy the state and the regime, are accepted as terrorism. Still, there are problems about defining religious terrorism and terror inflicted by fundamentalist groups such as Al-Queda because of its inadequacy in describing methods of terror other than the ones against the state. Although Al-Queda existed long after these definitions that do not prevent them to be rendered useless. Wurth defined terrorism as:

“Terrorism is a method of action by which the agent tends to produce terror to impose his domination on the State in order to transform or destroy it.” (Wurth, 1985:119).

The second definition in this category is Wolfe's definition made in 1978. This definition differs a bit from Wurt's by excluding the state and replacing it with allies or enemies. He also clarifies the notion “terror” as deliberate violence done indiscriminately or selectively. His definition was stated as:

“The threat or use of deliberate violence, indiscriminately or selectively, against either enemies or allies to achieve a political end.” (Wolfe, 1978:1291)

The third definition written by Krieger had a different approach by totally ignoring state-terrorism. According to his definition, terror events are the actions committed only by independent or small groups that are in need of achieving a certain goal. And it also mentioned the subnational, national or international aspects of terror events, which differ from the other simple definitions mentioned above. His definition was stated as:

“Non-government public violence or its threat performed by an independent or small group and aimed at achieving social or political goals that may be subnational, national or international.” (Krieger, 1977:45)

These three basic definitions tend to focus on the act or action, which is being unlawful and concentrate on the motivation of the activities. According to these definitions, terrorism is something that does not fit the legitimate behavior and other legal ways to alter or suppress government activity. (Mullins, 1997:13). It is also important to note that there is no emphasis on the threat of violence or damage to property in these definitions. Mainly, the actual use of violence was seen as a condition to accept the event as terrorism. Therefore, it may be accepted that these definitions exclude Cyber-Terrorism and Narcoterrorism. Also, the incalculability, unpredictability and the unexpectedness of occurrence of violence are not mentioned in these short definitions. As a result, although simple definitions are good for giving a first opinion about the subject, they are not useful for a total explanation of terrorism that can be a legal example. Therefore, these definitions can only be used as a foundation to reach to a broader and more certain concept. It is generally accepted that, many definitions that

take place in legal acts are based on the simple definition made by these terror experts and academicians.

1.2.2.2. Definitions that Emphasize Violence, Political Ends and the Fear of Terrorism:

The first example in this category is Neale's definition of terrorism. This is one of the rare definitions that touch upon the positive connotations of the subject. In this definition, terror is described as a "symbolic act".

"Symbolic act entailing the use or threat of violence and designed to influence political behavior by producing a psychological reaction in the recipient that is also known as terror." (Neale, 1973:56)

Neale also added that "Terrorism is sometimes known as "Politics by Violence" and anarchist followers of Michael Bakunin called it "The propaganda by the deed."

In Paust's definition, victims are classified as "instrumental targets" and states or power holders on which terrorists try to impose their goals are classified as the "primary target". This is a good perspective to describe the victim and the target, but this may not be adequate for differentiation. The problem in this issue is that, the more the definition tries to generalize the subject, the more it becomes ambiguous for laws, which need definite descriptions.

"Terrorism is thus viewed as the purposive use of violence or the threat of violence by the precipitator(s) against an instrumental target in order to communicate to a primary target a threat of future violence so as to coerce the primary target into behavior or

attitudes through intense fear or anxiety in connection with a demanded power (political) outcome." (Paust, 1974:67)

Our main concern is with political terror: that is to say with the use of coercive intimidation by revolutionary movements, regimes or individuals. (...) We have thus identified some of the key characteristics common to all forms of political terror: indiscriminateness, unpredictability, arbitrariness, ruthless destructiveness and the implicitly amoral and antinomian nature of a terrorist's challenge. (...) Political terrorism, properly speaking, is a sustained policy involving the waging of organized terror either on the part of the state, a movement or faction, or by a small group of individuals. Systematic terrorism invariably entails some organizational structure, however, rudimentary and some kind of theory or ideology of terror. (Wilkinson, 1974:128)

In the definitions of Neale, Paust and Wilkinson, it is clearly understood that political aspects of terrorism are emphasized and in this definition, terrorism is seen as a political tool of a certain aim or outcome adapted to the aim of the perpetrators. Therefore, it can be claimed that these terms are definitions of political terrorism. The condition of violence, use of force, use of fear, the threat of violence, conditions of the victims, methods of combat, strategy and tactics are used only to achieve a certain political result, and the importance of these terms are related to the aim or outcome of the event in the political arena according to the definitions of these writers. On the other hand, group movement, organizing the action as perpetrators, the purposeful, planned, systematic and organized character of the event are pointed out in a strong manner. These three definitions may cover all the characteristics of terrorism committed due to the political ends, but are insufficient to identify the terror done only for the sake of religion or only to create and psychologically affect fear.

International terrorism may be defined as politically and socially motivated violence conducted outside the territories of parties to a conflict or directed against the citizens or properties of a third party. It is effective because of the fear it generates and thrives on publicity. Forms of terrorism include aircraft hijackings, kidnappings, and seizure of

hostages for ransom, assassinations and bombings. The victims of these attacks are usually civilians. (Bite, 1975:12)²²

In Bite's definition, a different side of the terrorism was addressed. Demands made on third parties were added to the usual definition of terrorism. It is important to mention that, supporting conflict against a third group is usually seen in the definitions that emphasize on defining international terrorism. Also the fear caused in a large population by the publicity effect and motivation on social and political conditions were discussed. The examples given in the definition such as aircraft hijackings, kidnappings, the seizure of hostages for ransom, assassinations and bombings indicate the need to address the events by name, but this categorization shows the incompleteness of definitions that emphasize mostly events that took place in the United States. Moreover, it excludes religious terrorism, which the United States suffered as one of the biggest terror events in the World.

1.2.2.3. Definitions That Emphasize the Illegality of Terrorism with Violence, and a Political, Ideological or Religious Goal

The "legal" part or "illegality" of terrorism can be understood by Rubinstain's definition that does not mention the "illegality" of the concept. According to Rubinstein (1987:31), terrorism is:

"I use the term [terrorism] ... to denote acts of small group violence for which arguable claims of mass representation can be made." This definition is important

²² 'International Terrorism,' Foreign Affairs Division, the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. Part IV, (Washington DC, GPO, May 14, 1975)

because the concept of “crime” and “legality” depends on two different bases. And the concept of “crime” covers a larger area than “legality” because it consists of two different contending parts. One emphasizes the reactions of the officials and the other concentrates on the normative considerations. (E.g. Statutory Law) Therefore, it should be pointed out that, an action may be illegal or criminal (in light of statutes and/ or the reaction of the officials) because of; (1) where it was planned; (2) Where it commenced; and/ or, (3) Where it continued especially in relation to crossing a political boundary. This situation produces the question about the status of terrorism. Should it be taken as a kind of crime, or depending on the definitions and differentiations of terrorism from other types of crimes and name is it a completely different subject. Because when terror and terrorism are taken as a kind of crime because of similarities, there may evolve a situation where acts of terror and ordinary crime may be confused. To prove this, Gibbs gives the example of a man who and an apple which falls down to earth from the air. According to a scientific definition the fall of these two produce completely different results, but if we analyze this action within the boundaries of the gravitational theory, there is no difference between the two. Both of them fall down like the other. Defining terrorism as a crime has the same danger of misinterpretations in definitions. As a result, the two questions about this subject should reach a conclusion before making a statement about the category of the concept. (1) Is terrorism to be defined as a crime and considered to be a kind of violence in certain boundaries; or, (2) Is it to be defined as a special event rather than a kind of crime; depending on its own definitions and boundaries. If the second choice enters the literature, than having to reach to a consistent definition will be more important than ever. (Gibbs, 1989:330)

Violence and Terrorism: "Violence" or the "Threat of violence" appears in nearly every definition of terrorism. (Scmid, Jongman, 1988:5) As it was discussed in the section on terrorism in the National and International law, the phrase "Violence" causes problems. Writers often suggest that violence can only be applied to humans, however, many officials, journalists, and historians have identified and instances of destruction or damage of non- human objects, (e. g., buildings, domesticated animals, crops) as terrorism. This interpretation is generally related to the elements of "fear" and "threat of violence" which can be found in every definition of terror, supposing that terrorists pursue their ultimate goal through inculcation of fear, and humans do fear damage or destruction of particular non-human objects.

The Political, Ideological or Religious Goal of Terrorists: Definitions about terrorism usually depend on the motivations and goals of the terrorists. According to many definitions, terrorists should have a certain aim to achieve. Although it is difficult to think of a human being whose behavior is not goal oriented, this type of thinking may be rigid and controversial for two reasons. One reason is the allegation that terrorists are irrational or mentally ill. (e. g. Livingston, 1978:224-239, Livingstone's commentary, 1982:31 on Parry) This causes question marks in the minds of people whether all terrorists have certain and definite goals. It is also known that, many terrorist organizations use narcotics and other kinds of illegal drugs. It is difficult to name these kinds of actions as freedom; they can only be labeled as terrorism. The second problem lies in the nature of sociology. In the definition of Gibbs, the first part of the definition is unconventional only in that, the goals of terrorists are not necessarily political. Although many definitions create the impression that the roots of terror are political, it may not be

so. In history, there are accepted terror acts that aimed at no political results. However, all accepted terror events lead to a political *outcome*.

1.2.2.4. Definitions That Include the Use of Violence, the Production of Fear, and Some Other Elements

These definitions include the most complicated and detailed group of defining terrorism. Definitions included in this group mainly concentrate on all aspects and characteristics of terror acts. By classifying the important common points of a definition, they became the best examples in forming laws that help ease to combat terrorism. The three most important of these definitions are Schmid's, Lodge's and Jenkins's definitions. Many authorities especially accept Schmid's definition as the best definition of terrorism to form a basic for a consensus in the World.

.Schmid(1983) "A method of combat in which the victims serve as the symbolic target. Violent actors are able to produce a chronic state of fear by using violence outside the realms of normative behavior. This produces an audience beyond the immediate victim and results in a change of public attitudes and actions."

According to Lodge (1981), terrorism is; "An organized pattern of violent behavior designed to influence government policy or to intimidate the population for the purpose of influencing government policy."

For Jenkins (1975); " A strategy whereby violence is used to produce certain effects in a group of people so as to attain some political end or ends."

These definitions include the use of violence, intimidation of fear, and some other elements. For example, in Netanyahu's definition, fear, political purposes and violence

for the citizens of the society, but ignores the threat of violence. Netanyahu (1986) defined terrorism as; “The deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends.”

Maybe a separation between maiming and menacing is more accurate. Instead of menacing and maiming, menacing *or* maiming is better and more certain.

According to Friedlander (1981) “ Terrorism is the use of force, violence, or threats thereof to attain political goals through fear, intimidation or coercion.” In this definition, violence, force and political aim included but it indicates violence only had to be threatened.

It should be admitted that, in many definitions of terrorism, some common points are used to distinguish them from other types of crimes. When these common points are analyzed, the results can be listed as follows:

Inevitably political in its aims and motives; it is:

- (a) Violent- or, equally important, threatens violence;
 - (b) Designed to influence the society and have far reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target.
 - (c) Operated by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or cell structure. (Members wear no uniform or identifying insignia); and
- Perpetrated by a sub national group or non-state entity. (Excluding terror conducted by the state) (Hoffman, 1998:43).

Another term for terrorism can be found in extremism. Scruton (1981) made a definition concerning the extremist side of terrorism in his book. According to him, terrorism is;

“(1) Taking the idea to its political limits, regardless of the unfortunate repercussions, impracticalities, arguments and feelings to the contrary, and with the intention of not only confront but to eliminate opposition

Intolerance toward all views other than one’s own

Adoption of means to political ends which show disregard for the life, liberty and human rights of others.”

In terms of violence, fear created in the population of a society, violence used against an audience and for a political purpose, this definition is like the other ones. However, in this definition violence is implied as an outcome. (Mullins, 1997:14)

The complexity of the definition leads to misinterpretations in some definitions of terrorism. For instance, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, in its 1976 Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism said: “ There is an area of true terrorist activity that cannot clearly be termed political, notably that ascribed to the present-day operations of the organized crime. This is true terrorism, exhibiting conscious design to create and maintain a high degree of fear for coercive purposes, but the end is individual or collective gain rather than the achievement of political objective.” In this definition, although terrorism has a political outcome, it is shown that, organized crime is a legitimate form of terrorism. In other words, organized crime tend to use laws for their sake to inflict fear amongst the people and they try to consolidate their power based on these factors. According to Bolz, J.Dudanis and Schultz (1986:73), terrorism is the effective and planned use of violence to reach a specific religious or political aim by coercion, intimidation or threat. It is a kind of symbolic criminal action, which aims to influence the watchers behind the real victims.

Worldlaw defines terrorism as the events that create effects which breed fear and form an extensive environment of fear using violence or the threat of violence by individuals or groups who are against or supporting the stable government for the aim of persuading their political demands to the target majority behind the victims. (Worldlaw, 1984:16) He further sees terrorism as a political weapon to reach political results. (Worldlaw, 1984:9)

According to Yayla, terrorism is not an ideology, doctrine or a systematic idea. Terrorism is a method, tactic, strategy, in another way, a kind of war. (Yayla, 1990:339) On this point there must be a differentiation between terrorism and war and methods of war. Terrorism is a systematic and unruly violent operation. (Ilhan, 1998:8) Although violence inside terrorism sounds like a kind of war, the unlawful side of terrorism indicates its most important difference from regular battles. Because, there is no war without certain codes or laws. The national and international establishments of war have evolved and in jurisprudence, its borders are drawn. Terrorism, with a different method, inserts weapons and violence to the political, economic and social struggle in peace time. With a strategy of erosion, terrorists try to change the balance of power to the advantage of the centers that support terrorism. (Ilhan, 1998:21)

Another complex definition of terrorism can be found in the words of Gibbs:

Terrorism is illegal violence or threatened violence directed against human or non- human objects provided that it:

1. Was undertaken or ordered with a view to altering or maintaining at least one putative norm in at least one particular territorial unit or population.
2. Had secretive, furtive, and/ or clandestine features that were expected by the participants to conceal their personal identity and/ or their future location;

3. Was not undertaken or ordered to further the permanent defense of some area;
4. Was not conventional warfare and because of their concealed personal identity, concealment of their future location, their threats, and/ or their spatial mobility, the participant perceived themselves as less vulnerable to conventional military action; and;
5. Was perceived by the participants as contributing to the normative goal previously described by inculcating fear of violence in persons (perhaps an indefinite category of them) other than the immediate target of the actual or threatened violence and/ or by publicizing some cause. (Gibbs, 1989:330)

CHAPTER 2:

A SHORT HISTORY OF TERRORISM (FROM ITS ORIGINS TO THE MODERN TIMES)

2.1. Terrorism in the Ancient Era and the First Usage of the Concept:

The history of terrorism is a real long story and it will take volumes of encyclopedias to study a full-scale history of terrorism that are commonly accepted in the world literature and political history. Even the terror history of a country may take a volume of an encyclopedia. Therefore, in this chapter, the aim will be to give an idea about how the concept of terrorism can spread to different areas and how it can produce gray areas in history, which makes it quite difficult to reach a proper discrimination of terrorism from other events.

It is commonly thought in the arena of politics that terrorism is a late twentieth century phenomenon. After the destructive lessons of World War 2, after 1945, nations turned to terrorism as an alternative method of declaring war on a much superior force. For example, Algeria gained independence from France by using terrorist tactics between 1954 and 1962. India, Vietnam, Cuba, and other colonial states gave permission to terrorism to gain their independence.

It is also generally in the minds of people that, after the lessons taken by the nations who gained their independence against imperialist powers, any “dissatisfied” groups who do not like the system of the authority resort to the way of terrorism to fight back. The examples of this thought are despots such as Kaddafi, Khomeini, and Bin Laden against the United States, the IRA against Britain, and the PLO and Hezbollah against western powers. Also Italy’s Red Brigades or Japan’s Red Army factions can be remembered as examples.

These perceptions about terrorism are all wrong. Terrorism has been a truth for the world since the earliest recorded times and is still going on without any hope to end soon. Although it has emerged in many different forms and out of such different variations like political movements, religious protests, and social uprisings, they played a continuous and deadly role in many events in the world history. These acts were named as “terrorism” after Jacobins in the French Revolution, but they were present since the ancient times.

Some historians are using the cliché “those who will fail to understand history are doomed to repeat it.” This cliché is completely true for explaining terrorism. Because the lessons learned from the past are also the lessons of the future. To understand the threat above us coming from terrorism, we must first understand where and when it came from. Because, the lack of knowledge and misunderstanding about terrorism gives a significant advantage to the people who undertake terrorist actions. Terrorism in Europe, the Middle East, Far East, America did not arise in one day and started to expand fear to the hearts of the masses. The bombers of the British Consulate and HSBC Bank in Istanbul on 20 November 2003, did not suddenly decide to kill more than 30 and leave some 400 wounded behind. We have to accept the truth that terrorism also has a rich and

varied past, which have taught terrorists the lessons to become more deadly and effective enemy.

When we look generally at the terror acts that left a mark in history, we can see the important changes in its nature and typology. For example, although fear and violence remained the same, the aim of these actions changed due to technology and other factors. In the older times, victims were targeted because of religious reasons, to frighten ruling leaders and to rebel against authorities, but now, this violence is spread to the masses to be publicized and to become known. These differences are mentioned deeper in the modern dates part of the chapter

In this chapter, a global overview of the people and the events that shaped terrorism today will be presented and a careful selection of people and events.

2.1.1. First Recorded Terror Acts: Jews and the Roman Empire

Terrorism is thought to have begun in first-century Judea as a political weapon. Some Jewish men were seeking to overthrow the Romans who then occupied their lands. They used a short dagger (sica) to cut the throats of their Roman enemies in full view of the public. (Maxwell, 2003:14). These actions took place in full daylight when the Romans were amongst both friends and allies. Assassins were not to be found because of the large crowds in the public places that were used both by the population and the Roman and Greek noble-blood. These assassination missions were thought to send messages to the Roman people that no one is safe anytime, anyplace. This method proved incalculably effective. They also attacked wealthy Jews and kidnapped their families and servants for ransom. Because of the name of the dagger that was carried as

a weapon, these men were called *sicarri* and these were a part of the group named *zealots*. The term *zealot* has its roots from this movement. (Kushner, 2003:361). These qualifications of the *sicarri* are thought to be found in the nature of the Jewish protestanism whose beliefs include that God alone is considered the Lord; there should not be any allegiance to the any other Earthly or Heavenly powers; while the priests as intermediates were rejected. To illustrate another way of thinking, they may be considered as *listai* (robbers) using patriotism and the demand for freedom only as a cloak for their own personal gains and great manipulations by outside forces. (Brandon, 1967:56-57)

These actions carried out by the Jewish *sicarri* had increased to such an extent that the Roman army decided to take up arms against this dangerous sect. After many bloody struggles, the Roman army finally trapped *sicarri* at the Massada castle in 73 A.D. Over 900 *sicarri* decided to commit suicide rather than surrender to the Romans. This tradition of self-sacrifice was later imitated by many terror organizations and continues to date. (Mullins, 1997:44)

The *sicarii* existed for approximately 25 years; a brief period compared with the other terrorist organizations, but their immediate and longstanding effects became enormous. These holy terrorists were generally concerned with members of their own religious culture, but at that time, Jews also considered a mass uprising against the Greek population that existed in large numbers in Judea and the Romans, who governed them both. The attempt of the uprising proved disastrous and led to the destruction of the temple, the desolation of the land and a mass suicide at Massada. Moreover, *Zealot-Sicarii* led to two more Jewish uprisings against Rome in successive generations, which

resulted in the extermination of the large Jewish population in Egypt and Cyprus, the virtual depopulation of Judea as the final crash, called then and now, as the Exile itself.

The Exile created a traumatic impact on every Jew's conscience and became the central feature of the Jewish experience for the next two thousand years. Exile changed every institution of the Jewish life. There are very few terror acts that influence the life of a community so decisively. (Scholem, 1972:12)

It is important to consider that the first recorded terrorist actions took place under the cloak of the religion, although they were more cloaked by values, such as preserving freedom and patriotism.

2.1.2. Thugs and The Thuggee Cult in India

Later, in seventh-century India, members of a secret cult named *thuggee* ritually strangled their victims with a silk scarf called a *roomal*, then sacrificed the blood of their victims to their Hindu goddess *Kali*. According to the belief, a gigantic monster threatened human society as soon as they were created. *Kali* (Also known as *Bhavani*, *Devi* and *Durga*) killed the monster with her special sword, yet when the monster spilled his blood, each drop created another monster against her. The vicious circle continued each time *Kali* killed a monster. At the end *Kali* found the way to prevent demons multiplying by licking the blood from their wounds. *Thugs* believed that, *Kali* sought assistance by making two men with the sweat of her silk handkerchiefs made from his garment in order to strangle the demons to kill them without dropping his blood. The ceremony of the victim depended on this myth believed by the *Thugs*. (Sleeman, 1836:36)

No one knows exactly when these *thugs* (Often called *Phansigers* or Stranglers) first appeared. According to a few, the first traces of this secret cult can be traced to Herodotus (7, 85) as the ancient *Sagartarians* who were described as stranglers serving in the Persian army. The British encountered the same cult 2500 years later. If this narrative is true, their existence started in the 7th century and finished at the end of the 19th century. This group existed for more than 1200 years.

This is an enormously long lifetime for a terrorist organization. In the modern world, IRA is the terror organization, which holds the record in its hands of completing its 7th decade now. (Rapaport, 1984:660-661). These people found a religious appeal in killing people and sacrifice life to *Kali*. The words of a *Thug* prisoner, Feringea make sense: “The ones who tasted the *goorun* (sweet) of sacrificing becomes a *thug*, knows all arts and owns all the riches of the World. I found myself in a high status, wherever I travel, I became the favorite. On the other hand, I was always unhappy when I was away from my place so, I had to turn to be a *Thug* again.” (Bruce, 1968:111). In the 19th century Thugs were strangling 40,000 people a year, but by then many cases of Thuggee were straightforward robbery with no religious aims.²³ Because they acted in isolated places, the officials couldn’t catch them. The term *thuggee* and the modern term *thug* are rooted in the Hindu word *thag*, which referred to highwaymen who made their living by robbery. (Rapaport, 1984:660). Anglo-Indian authorities denied the existence of this cult until Major-General William Sleeman focused on this subject and ultimately destroyed this sect during the 1830 s. Until destroyed, this sect operated for centuries and to date, no one has clearly found its roots. One reason for their destruction was the existence of

²³ Origins of the word “Thug” <http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/hinduism/features/thugs/>

the mass railroads and other communication systems established by the British government that destroyed the isolation of this cult in India.

2.1.3. Hasan ben Sabbah and the Assassins (Fedayeen)

The better-known organization that is thought to be the ancestor of modern political terrorism is Hasan ben Sabbah's thuggees. "The Old Man of the Mountain" was born in Qom, Iran (near Tehran), in 1007 A.D. (Kedourie, 1986:166-167). Hasan Ben Sabbah belonged to an Islamic sect known as Ishmaili, which is fervently opposed to the Shia and Sunni Muslim sects. Traveling throughout Iran, Iraq and Syria, Ben Sabbah attempted to convert Muslims into his sect.

In fact, they originated from the more active *Shia* elements that organized missionaries or summoners to tell and persuade other Muslims by seeming to respect the true meaning of their faith. Although their roots were in Persia, many of these orthodox Muslims were educated in the religious schools in Egypt. When they acquired enough power, the founder of the assassins, Ben Sabbah declared his independence, seized several impregnable fortresses on the mountains and made them hospitable to all kinds of refugees.

According to a legend, in 1057 A.D. Ben Sabbah constructed a palace in the Alamur valley, and had every pleasure known to man. This palace became his headquarters and training center for doctrinating and educating the local goat-herders who lived in the caves at nearby regions. (Mullins, 1997:45). By using the pleasures provided in his castle and with the help of *hashish* (a kind of drug), he recruited and trained a cadre of terrorists to spread the Ishmaili sect's philosophy. These recruits were

trained as assassins who were used to murder commanders of fortresses, emirs, governors of cities, and religious leaders. Even Conrad of Montferrat, the Crusader King of Jerusalem fell to the dagger of these professional assassins. They also tried to kill Saladin, the King of the Eyyubites, but failed twice. (Laqueur, 1977:8-9). These assassins were indoctrinated in such an extreme way that, even in their deaths, they were still believed to engage in this assassination mission to destroy Allah's enemies. So they didn't hesitate a moment to destroy themselves along with their target. Because of this devotion to self-sacrifice, these men were called as *Fedai*, or *Fedayeen* (plural); man of sacrifice (Dobson, 1974:19-20). Also known as Hashishin, or Hashashin (hashish eaters); or in their basic definition, assassins made ben Sabbah the First Grand Master of the Order of Assassins. (Lewis, 1967:43)

In contrast to thugs, because of their aim to reshape Islam, assassins couldn't find opportunities to make arrangements because their doctrine included an international conspiracy and this couldn't be a system that can be adapted to an Islamic state. Therefore, they had to establish an independent state without borders, a group of scattered mountain fortresses and city-states. (Hodgson, 1968:99)

Assassin armies only protected their bases and raided caravans for booty, but assassin doctrine made it clear that war and assassination are completely different actions. For example, one leader of the assassins, Hasan the third, sent armies to conquer cities and provinces, not his *Fedayeen* to kill the *Emir* s of these places. He also built palaces and mosques, which transformed the fortresses into a civilized city from a lair of assassins.

The terror created by this dreadful religious group lasted until the Mongol invasion of Iran in 1256 led by Hulagu, grandson of Ghengiz Khan. This invasion may also be

accepted a terror event because when the invasion occurred, Hulagu captured Baghdat, killing all inhabitants, and built towers with the skulls of the city's citizens.

Ben Sabbah is still considered as a motivational force for the terrorists in the Middle- East, who still use the term Fedayeen and feel honor in sacrificing themselves to win against Allah's enemies. (Laqueur, 1977:10; Maxwell, 2003:14)

2.1.4. Regime de la Terraure and First Usage of Terrorism as a Concept

The *regime de la terreur* is the root of the word "terrorism". This took place between 1793 and 1794, and it was used to punish the "subversives" and "traitors" whom the new regime accepted as enemies of the republic and the people. (Kushner, 2003:360)

In 1793, the revolutionary government of France found itself facing a threat created by the aristocratic emigrants acted in a conspiracy with the help of the foreign rulers to invade the country. At the same time, in support of this reactionary force, treason at home was also suspected. The French legislature, the National Convention which were led by a radical group, the Jacobins, run by Maximillien Robespierre, accepted and adopted a policy of Terror on August 30, 1793. This caused decisions to be made about mass murders and executions of suspected traitors. At that time, the National Convention was formed with two parties, the Girondins and the Jacobins. As a dynamic and convincing public speaker, Robespierre easily controlled the convention and started his reign of terror. To establish his empire of fear, Robespierre first formed the Committee of Public Safety, which had its own security force, namely, a network of spies, and "revolutionary forces" all around France. The Committee of Public Safety had

three functions going step by step. First, they were finding the “enemies of the people”; secondly, they were trying these enemies of the people with or without a court; and lastly sending them to the guillotine for the safety and the security of the people. (Mullins, 1997:47; Encyclopedia Britannica, 1995:650-651; Thackrah, 2004:265) This reign of terror was first started against the supporters of the King and the Monarch, but later the “terror of thought” began, and the original supporters of the revolution were executed along with the republic established after the destruction of the monarchy. Maximillian Robespierre said: “Virtue, without which terror is evil, terror, without which virtue is helpless” and then declared, “Terror is nothing but justice, prompt, severe and inflexible.” (Hoffman, 1998:16).

Soon after the original supporters of the harsh methods operated by Robespierre against counter revolutionists, began to fear for their own lives and set a conspiracy to overthrow him. Robespierre couldn't be accused of *terror* (terror), because before they accepted this as a legitimate form of government. Therefore, the term *terrorisme* (terrorism) that suggested illegal and repulsive conduct, was used to make an accusation against Robespierre. Because of this accusation, Robespierre and his comrades were sent to the guillotine on the 9th and 10th of Thermidor of the year two. (27 and 28 July 1794). (Thackrah, 2004:264).

After the death of Robespierre, the Jacobins lost their control over the government and France began to be ruled by the Men of the Directory. However, this government quickly lost support of the population because greed, corruption and incompetence of the leaders rose to a high degree. After Men of the Directory, the rule of France passed into the hands of the French general, Napoleon Bonaparte who used tactics not less harsh than the ones that of Robespierre had to eliminate his opponents. Reaching the limit of

the terrorist rule in 1814, the citizens of France brought back the Bourbon monarchy with the help of other European countries, which were united against Bonaparte. After the military successes against the French Emperor, they overthrow Bonaparte. (Ozouf, 1984:579-597).

During the French reign of terror, more than 42.000 people were executed and 400.000 died in prison. An approximate number of 17.000 of these faced their death at the guillotine. (Mullins, 1997:49).

Robespierre and the Reign of Terror demonstrated that terrorists have a chance to gain the entire control of a country by organizing and using the tools of their intimidating trade. In addition to this, Robespierre's model of government became a basic of the governments later organized by Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-Tung, and countless other tyrants. Robespierre showed the way of the necessities of a dictator to establish a legitimized organization of state terror to control the population and maintain a high level of fear. (Kelly, 1980:18-36).

2.1.5. Signs of Terrorism in the Far East

Like the *Thugees*, in the Far East, there were militant secret societies placed near river regions and amongst outlaws. In addition, they also found their place amongst respected city dwellers. In this society there was a trained fighter usually used by this organization as an "enforcer". Some of these societies were involved in the criminal activities with hired killers. These criminal societies sold themselves to the highest bidder. They usually ran gambling houses and smuggled salt. However, some of these

societies had more important aims. They bred a common hatred against the foreigners and followed some Anti-Manchu political aims. (Chesnaux, 1972:12-22).

China was the arena of the secret societies since ancient times of history. Some of these organizations like “big daggers” and “white lotus” started activities against foreigners in the name of the organization “The fist of harmony and justice boxers” (Yi-Yo-Hi-inan). They were telling unthinkable lies to the public against foreigners. According to them, Europeans worshipped a crucified pig called Ye-Su, and their blue eyes proved this. With their railroads, they upset Chinese forefathers, and with telegraph lines, they disturbed the air spirits. The reason for opening hospitals was to take out the hearts of the patients and use them for magic. These boxers believed that when they tossed themselves to the floor and gouged blood upon their faces, they would not be affected from bullets. (Altuž, 1977:67). These organizations were behind the Boxer Rebellion. In addition, in the early days of his career, they helped Sun Yat-sen greatly. After these two societies, the “red spears” in the 1920 s mixed a combination of politics and exercises such as deep breathing and magic formulas like the counterculture of the 1960 s. But this organization worked like the mafia and politics was only one leg of their activities that strengthened their hand to maintain the others. (Pentelone, 1966:45-57).

2.2. Terror in the Nineteenth Century

2.2.1. Beginning of the Systematic Terror and Separatist Activities

Systematic terrorism could be considered to begin in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Russian revolutionaries fought against an autocratic government between 1878-1881 and again in the first quarter of the 20th century. Radical Nationalist

groups such as the Armenians, Serbs, Macedonians and Irish used methods that could be considered terrorism for their aim to gain autonomy or independence. Also, there was the anarchist “propaganda by the deed” mainly during the 1890s; in France, Italy, Spain and the United States. (Laqueur, 1977:11) This “Propaganda by the deed” concept should be focused on more, since for many thinkers, it is accepted as the beginning of the modern terror.

This term was advocated first in the declaration of the delegates to the Italian Federation of the anarchist international of 3 December 1876.

The Italian Federation believes that the insurrectionary deed, which is designed to promote the principles of socialism by action, is the most efficient means of propaganda and the one most capable of breaking through to the deepest social strata, and attracting the most vital forces of humanity to the struggle of the Internationale. (Guillaume, 1910:114)

As interpreted by the Anarchists who used it, the slogan “Propaganda by the deed” referred to an alternative way of arousing a possible revolution, a kind of trigger to fire the revolutionary weapon. Because of the difficulties of creating a revolution under the suppression of government, this was a tangible way of activating the masses. For example, they would arouse and excite, elucidate and explain.

The terrorist act became a manifesto itself without revealing any targets, merely aimed only at protest and confrontation. Neither the removal of the tyrants, opponents, dictators or enemies, nor acquiring and using power was the declared aim of this *deed's* violence. It was only considered as an act, which could set free the revolutionary potential of the masses. (Iviansky, 1977:45-46)

The philosophical antecedents of modern-day terrorism were also created by the Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin in the middle of the 19th century. He claimed in

his book *Principles of Revolution*, that no action would cleanse the Russian soil, except terrorism by individuals or small groups. (Kushner, 2003:360)

In the 19th century, terror was usually seen in the form of anarchism. The most important of all these movements is the Russian anarchist movement called *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will) In 19th century Russia this anarchist organization started a wave of assassinations and bombings. Their targets were Tzar, the royal family, government officials and others who were believed to be members of a corrupt regime. The first shot of the armed struggle began when *Kovalski*, one of its members, resisted arrest. The events continued with *Vera Zasulich's* shooting of the governor general of St. Petersburg, and reached to its peak with the assassination of General Mezentsev, the head of the third Section, (the Tzarist political police). Tzar Alexander the Second was virtually tried and sentenced to death by the revolutionary court of the *Narodnaya Volya*. (Laqueur, 1977:11-12). This decision led to the assassination of Tzar Alexander the Second. The members of the *Narodnaya Volya* used the word "terrorist" proudly and they developed ideas that were considered to be the bulwark of many other terrorist organizations. They believed in the idea that violence and astonishing assassinations would spark an overall revolution. The program of the executive committee of *Norodnaya Volya* clearly showed how terrorism could be justified for the purpose of creating a revolution against an unjust regime that cannot be adequate for its citizens by its means of freedom and social rights.

Terrorist activity consists of the destruction of the most harmful persons in the government, the protection of party from spies, and the punishment of the official lawlessness and violence in all the more prominent and important cases where it is manifested. The aim of such activity is to break down the prestige of a government, to furnish continuous proof of the possibility of pursuing a contest with the government, to raise in that way the revolutionary spirit in the people and finally, to form a body suited and accustomed to warfare. (Iviansky, 1977:46)

Yet after the assassination of Tzar Alexander the Second, it was clearly understood that this event completely failed to create the revolutionary effects to establish a new regime.²⁴

Armenian terrorism against the Ottoman Empire began in the 1890 s, but it was short-lived and ended in disaster because under war conditions, the governors of the Ottoman Empire became less tolerant about such terror events. (Altuğ, 1989:22). The second wave of the Armenian terrorism occurred between 1915-1918 in the form of assassinations against some individual Turkish Leaders who were thought to be involved in the Armenian *techir* (Forced immigration) in the First World War. These assassinations continued in 1970 s and 1980 s against Turkish ambassadors in various countries in the name of the terrorist organization ASALA (Armenian Secret Army of Liberation).

At the same time as Armenians launched the first terrorist attacks, the Macedonian IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) started separatist activities against the Turks from a different location. The leader of the IMRO organization was Damian Gruev. This was at first an underground civilian propagandist society, but was quickly reshaped into a military movement, preparing both for systematic terror and mass insurrection. (Laqueur, 1977:13). The attempt of the mass insurrection resulted in a catastrophe. The Ottoman Empire was losing control over this region and Macedonian terrorists had allies from the Eastern European regions. But after the withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire, Macedonia could not gain independence. Instead, it was divided

²⁴ BBC Media Home Page. Can be found online at:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/sept_11/changing_faces_02.shtml

between the three Balkan States of Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia between 1912- 1913. After this redistribution, IMRO continued its struggle from the Petrich district in Bulgaria, but the aim of the organization eroded after it started to be backed up by the government of Bulgaria. Later, this organization became a tool of the successive Bulgarian governments against Yugoslavia and Greece. Between 1924 and 1934, internal struggles inside the organization started to demolish its roots and a large number of their numbers of their members perished in internal struggles exceeded the number of members who died when trying to inflict casualty to its enemies. At the end, when the Bulgarian government suppressed the remnants of IMRO in the mid-1930 s, there was nothing left except the name of the organization founded for the freedom of Macedonia after 40 years. (Rossos, 1994:375-394).

At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, terrorism showed itself in the form of assassination of the people whose death would panic and influence the public to a large extent. In 1914, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by a Serb anarchist, helped trigger World War 1, in which millions of people died throughout the World. The anarchists were bigger than ever in those days. In a seven-year period, they assassinated General Martinez Campos in Barcelona, Spain, in 1892, the president of France, Sadi Carnot in 1894 (Laqueur, 1996:24), Empress Elizabeth of Austria-Hungary in 1898, the Prime Minister of Spain, Antonio Canovas in 1899, the King of Italy, Umberto the First in 1900, and the president of the United States, William McKinley in 1901. (Laqueur, 1977:14). Although few of the assassins were anarchists, they mostly acted without the support or knowledge of the organizations to which they belonged.

During the interwar period, in contrary to pre-World War 1, the main creators and perpetrators of terrorism were on the extreme right and frequently supported fascist ideologies. (Laqueur, 2001:71).

2.3. Reign of Terrors in the Second World War Period

In the Second World War it is surprising that few terrorist events took place as assassination and anarchism. Better put, it could be said that terrorist activities didn't have a negative effect on the morale and force of the governments in this period because the massive human losses and property damage of the countries in the War created more urgent problems than assassinations. Instead of terror, there was guerilla warfare to a large extent, but this was something quite different from terrorism. Mainly the Second World War and the post World War period is the example of Reign of Terrors that took place in Nazi Germany instigated by Adolph Hitler, Fascist Italy by Mussolini, Soviet Union by Lenin, than later Stalin and in China by Mao-Tse Tung. In these states, imprisonment, arrest, torture and execution were applied without any legal guidance and creating fear became a state policy with the supporting ideologies that included economic, political and social goals. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1995:650-651). There are some important figures that must be focused on in this time period because of their effectiveness and success to inflict "reign of terror" on their citizens as written above. The first of these is Adolph Hitler in World War 2.

2.3.1. Hitler and Nazi Germany in the World War 2

Hitler emerged in the political arena with the National Socialist German Worker's Party (NSDAP- *Nationalsozialist Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*), or Nazi Party, which came to power in March 1933 in Germany. Using strong-arm and paranoiac tactics, Hitler successfully replaced the Weimar constitution with the Third Reich and started the greatest terrorist conflagration in all of history.

His first act was to take legislative power from the Reichstag and ban all political parties except NSDAP. He also disbanded trade unions and placed Nazi governors in all of the German States. During the same year, he placed Nuremberg (Ghetto) Laws that limited the social rights of the people who were of non-German blood. After this law, Jews were excluded from the social and economic life of Germany absolutely and completely.

All of Hitler's politics and military campaigns depended on racial purity. A special selective-breeding program was formed to re-purify the Aryan race and a political and military campaign was followed to get rid of Europe from the other races. Also, the people of the Aryan race who had some physical constraints were included in the death list because of their inability to fit into the Nazi's "pure race program". (Gilbert, 1989:35)

The four units of the Nazi party had taken responsibility to purify Germany. The Storm Detachment (*Sturmabteilung*- SA) was responsible for the preservation of internal order and policies. They were also responsible for identifying the possible enemies of the NSDAP and had them arrested by the other NSDAP units. (Hildebrand, 1991:13)

The security service (*Sicherheitsdienst*-SD) was the intelligence branch of the Nazi party. Anyone considered to oppose the state could be arrested, prosecuted, sent to concentration camps or executed by this secret service. Also in occupied territories, this organization was responsible for maintaining order and suppressing the resistances.

The Elite Guard (Defense Echelon-*Schutzstaffel*- SS) was the largest of the units that were responsible for state security. SS operated in the concentration and extermination camps in all of Europe. However, its military branch also operated as the “spearhead” of the German Blitzkriegs.

The Gestapo (*Geheime Staatspolizei*- Secret State Police) was the frightening police force that was designed to protect and cover politics, programs and policies of the Third Reich in Germany and German occupied territories. They had their own rules, legal system, court process and prisons. They could imprison and execute any person they wished. (Hildebrand, 1991:13-15)

Hitler’s concentration and extermination camps were the worst of his terror programs. In these concentration camps, somewhere between 8- 10 million people were executed. Nearly 6 million of these people were Jews.²⁵

After the defeat of Germany, at Nuremberg, between November 1945 and October 1946, a military tribune from the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union tried Hermann Goering and 23 other members of the Nazi Party on four counts: Conspiracy to commit crimes alleged in other counts, crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Also, six organizations, the Reich Cabinet, The Leadership

²⁵ Directorate of Research Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute, Patrick Air Force, Florida. Can be found online at: <http://www.ngb.army.mil/staff/special/eo/docs/daysofremembrance.pdf>

Corps of the Nazi Party, the Gestapo (including the S.D.), S.A., S.S., and the general staff and high command, constituted “criminal organizations. (Wechsler, 1947:14-15)

2.3.2. The Lenin Era and the Reign of Terror in Russia After Tzarist Regime

Vladimir Lenin ruled Russia from 1917 to 1924. After his death; Joseph Stalin, who ruled until 1953, replaced him. Three philosophers influenced Lenin’s political ideas. One was Karl Marx, the father of modern communism and author of *Das Capital*, who believed socialism was the only form of government to provide parity among the citizenship, truly serving the citizens, accordingly the ruling classes had to be disposed of for a proletarian government to be formed. The second was Nikolai Chernshyevsky, who believed that, an agrarian society is necessary to start a revolution. And the third one was Friedrich Engels, who defended similar ideas with Marx. In addition to that, Engels believed violence was a necessary ingredient to overthrow the existing corrupt regime. Violence could also be used to ensure obedience and increase loyalty to the new regime. (Mullins, 1997:49)

In 1917, after the fall of the Tzar, there emerged a huge vacuum in the political arena of Russia. A government was established that consisted of moderate socialists and liberals who could govern a country easily under normal conditions. However, after the destruction of the Tzarist regime, the problems that emerged were so big that this government was unable to get the support of the public. In addition, the financial and economic problems were far too enormous to deal with. This government, led by Kerensky, stayed in power between 1913-1916, became so weak to solve these problems and they started to lose control of the army and police. (Chamberlain, 1965:4). Vladimir

Lenin rose like a savior in these political conditions and after the October revolution of 1917, Lenin and the Bolshevik party wrested control from Kerensky. On 7th November 1917, Lenin emerged as the new ruler of Russia with approval from the Congress of the Soviets. The Bolsheviks then renamed themselves communists. The Communist party formed many organizations that used methods of terrorism, but the most famous and the most important organization in Russia related to the “reign of terror” was *Cheka* (Ch.K., Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage) in this period, which was established after Lenin rose to power. This organization was built to find and execute enemies of the state, like Robespierre’s Committee of State Security in the French Revolution period. The terrorism caused and administered by the *Cheka* was called “Red Terror”. First, the organization targeted the upper class and intelligentsia, but after Lenin consolidated his power, military officers, priests, governmental officials from prior regimes, peasants, industrial workers and prostitutes were added to the “wanted” lists. Hundreds of thousands of people were sent to concentration camps and insane asylums, which served as slave labor and medical research centers. (Mullins, 1997:50). The research done in these concentrations camps were mainly related to the pharmacology. *Reserpine* (Neural atrophy), *aminazin* (drug causes memory loss and loss of control of muscular movements) and *sulfozin* were administered to the prisoners to test about the effects of these medicines. (Parry, 1976:36). Inhabitants of these camps were brutalized, overworked, starved and died by the thousands with the effects of disease and infection.

After targeted by the poisonous bullets of an assassin on 30 August 1918, Lenin could not recover from his wounds. He had a stroke after and he lost the ability to talk in 1922 and died in 1924. During his rule more than one and a half million Russians were

killed by the agents of the *Cheka*. In addition to this death toll, hundreds of thousands were imprisoned in concentration camps or were admitted to insane asylums.

2.3 3. The Reign of Terror in the Stalin Era

After Lenin's death, Joseph Stalin took over the control of Russia. At the age of 18, he had started to work for the Russian Social Democratic Party (Tucker, 1974:3), joined the Bolshevik Party in 1904 and became editor of the Bolshevik official newspaper *Pravda* in 1917. (Ulam, 1973:7). Stalin rose to power with Lenin's support and used all the advantages that were given to him by his predecessor. Therefore, when he finally acquired absolute power in Russia, there was no internal party opposition to compete with his authority. To do this, he killed six of his colleagues in the Politburo, the highest steering committee of the party. During his reign, if Mao Tse-Tung is excluded, only Hitler could compete with the mass killings executed under the command of Stalin. In the Stalin era, four or five million peasants died from famine between 1932 and 1933, and uncounted numbers perished or died in concentration camps, which were thought to hold some ten million people who were the victim of an operation known as "Liquidation of the kulaks as a class" and masses brought from the Baltic States and Poland. (Chamberlain, January 1965:9)

Stalin added various inventions to commit state terrorism. One of these innovations was the public trial. Hundreds of thousands of people were brought to public trials to confess their crimes against the state. Although they were no more than a show to watch for the public, this system worked well to legitimize terrorism carried out by the state in

the eyes of the people. The accused were brought to trial, found guilty and were sentenced.

The concentration camps left by Lenin were developed and became specialized in Stalin era. The usage of the concentration camps extended to the urgent needs of his country. Camps were specialized for mining coal, cutting and sewing lumber, manufacturing goods, or building railroads. This greatly helped the industrial development of the Soviet Union in those days. Even construction of atomic bomb was made with the help of these concentration camps from the mining of the ore to the actual building of the bomb.

Cheka was also re-shaped under Stalin as NKVD (*Norodny Komissariate Vnutrenikh Del*-People's Commissariate of the Interior). NKVD established a strong interior intelligence throughout the country after Cheka. In addition, it was assigned to develop an international network of intelligence. Until Levertny Beria was assigned director of this organization, NKVD was not effective in committing state terrorism. (Chamberlain, July 1964:215). After Beria took the rule in NKVD, he formed KGB (*Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Beopasnosti*-Committee for State Security) (Barron, 1974:4) and made this committee responsible for internal security in Russia. To carry out its mission, KGB became the cruelest of all the police forces that were on duty up to that day, rivaled only by the Hitler's Gestapo, SD, and SS. Mass rapes of female prisoners, executions of the prisoners' family in the presence of the prisoner, crushing limbs, pulling out fingernails and many other fiendish, new techniques of torture were common. (Staar, Takosa, 2004:40). Beria later tried to take power within the communist party after the death of Joseph Stalin, but after an internal coup by Nikita Khrushchev, he

was brought to trial, and sentenced as “The enemy of the people”,and was executed. (Staar, Takosa, 2004:41).

Stalin stayed in power until 5 March 1953. In his 29 years of reign of terror, an estimated 15-35 million Russians were dead or imprisoned. At the concentration camps, ninety percent of the people working there were at working age and the death toll of these camps were %20-%50 of the camp population per year. (Mullins, 1997: 51)

2.3.4. The Reign of Terror in Mao Era in China

The third important character of state terrorism emerged in China while Stalin was consolidating his power in Russia. This man was Mao Tse-Tung. His methods in this era led to the absolute and total dictatorial control in China. He brought great discoveries to the methods of state-sponsored terrorism and during his rule; Chinese government became one of the most effective governments that used terrorist methods to suppress the population. Many terrorist organizations thought that these terrorism methods were a special kind of socialism, but when the Mao era in China is studied more extensively, it will be seen that, his innovations and methods only led to extensive use of terrorism. Mao changed the form of state-sponsored terrorism and strengthened it in new and certain methods. It is possible to say that, his rule paved the way for the contemporary dictators, teaching how to be more frightening against the population and also how to be more effective in the World community.

The first of the Mao’s discoveries about state terrorism was splitting the structure of the family. He believed that a person should have absolute and total obedience to the state. And if a person pledged obedience to the family, than his obedience could not be

absolute to his state. Like other dictators, to control the population and create fear, he concentrated on the family and religion, both of which had a chance to give people hope. Therefore, while destroying confidence between family members, he also tried to eliminate religion from Chinese life. He understood that by destroying the family unit, he could also achieve the aim of destroying religion.

His second innovation to improve state terrorism was the public show trials conducted throughout the country. His trials were a bit different in method from the trials of Robespierre, Lenin and Stalin. These trials became an outdoor show in China. People, who were accused as the enemy of the people or as spies, were brought to open areas, which were filled with people from nearby towns or villages invited to see the trial. A state appointed judge urged the people who were brought there to find the accused guilty, and also had them commit the execution by stoning or beating the accused to death. By doing this, Mao made the public active participants of state terrorism. These executions were also publicized to the people with live radio programs and by the press. They were open to the world and many times western journalists were invited to see the trials.

In his rule, between 38.250.000 and 61.250.000 Chinese people were killed in the reign of terror created by Mao. (Mullins, 1997:52-53). In his book, Rummel said a number of about 45 million perished. (Rummel, 1986)²⁶

²⁶ Can be found online at <http://www.fortfreedom.org/h10.htm>

2.4. Terrorism in the Post World War Years

Post World War years indicated significant change in the methods and aims of terror. The tool of terrorism passed to the Nationalist groups from the anarchists , and terrorism became a choice of strategy for Nationalist groups in the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia in their struggle for independence. Kushner, 2003:361). In the late 1960 s and 1970 s came a sudden upsurge of left- wing terrorism in Europe, Latin America and elsewhere. (Laqueur, 2001:71). These groups mainly used terrorism to put pressure on colonial powers to hasten their withdrawal. After the withdrawal of the colonial powers, rivalry for the leadership of the emerging state also led to terrorism between various groups.²⁷

In agricultural societies, terrorism developed in the form of guerilla warfare. China and Indochina can be given as examples to this kind of terrorist struggle. On the other hand, in urban areas, terror acts were committed within city limits such as Palestine and Cyprus. (Hoffman, 1998:26)

Additionally, in the post World War 2 era, the methods of terror were also re-shaped. Instead of assassinations of the leaders of the country or known personalities, new types of operations started to replace assassination type terrorism. Development of automatic weaponry and compact, electrically detonated bombs gave enormous lethality and mobility to the people who used terrorism. Also the public impact of terrorism increased greatly with the use of the mass communication systems and the media. Any

²⁷ BBC Media Group Web Page. Can be found online at:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/sept_11/changing_faces_02.shtml

event that included terrorism and death attracted the attention of television coverage, and therefore communicated the demands, political goals, grievances and aims of the terrorist organization to millions of people. The victims of the terrorists also changed from political assassinations, to innocent civilians. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1995:650-651). Commercial planes opened new horizons to a horrible sky-jacking campaign all over the World.

From 1984 until today, the Turkish republic suffered a terrorist organization PKK, which claimed more than 5100 lives until 1992. This terror organization may be accepted as the most violent terror organization in the Middle East based on the numbers of the victims in the southeastern region of the Turkish republic. (İmset, 1992:1). This terrorist organization performed actions between 15.08.1984 and 20.02.2000, and we see that it carried out about 21866 terrorist actions. Six thousand, seven hundred and fifty one of these incidents were assaults, whereas nearly eight thousand and five hundred were clashes with the security forces, 3519 were mining and bombing explosions, 411 were usurpation, 1076 were waylays and kidnaps, 676 were declaration distributions and 852 were illegal meetings. In these incidents, 5546 security personnel died for their fatherlands, 4027 of these personnel were soldiers, 1265 were Village Guards and 254 were policemen.

A total of 11383 security guards were wounded; 8676 of these guards were soldiers, 1725 were Village Guards and 986 were policemen.

Four thousand, five hundred and sixty one of Turkish citizens lost their lives in these incidents while 5860 were wounded.²⁸

²⁸ Forsnet Terör Sitesi. Can be found online at:
<http://www.teror.gen.tr/english/turkey/separatist/pkk/numbers.html>

2.4.1. Ilich Ramírez Sánchez (Carlos the Jackal)

Carlos the Jackal is considered to be one of the most notorious terrorists of the modern ages. He was educated in a local school at Venezuela and joined the youth movement of the National Communist party at ten. After that, his parents divorced and his mother took him and his brother to London. He attempted to enter the University of Moscow but he was expelled. He then travelled to a training camp, run by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in Jordan. It was there that he gained the pseudonym Carlos. He fought alongside PFLP members as they resisted the government.

In 1973, Sanchez made his first terrorist attack by kidnapping a businessman, Joseph Sieff in revenge of Mossad's assassination of Mohammed Boudia. After that, he claimed responsibility to bombings of the many pro-Israeli targets. When the police tried to arrest him in Paris, he shot two of the detectives and the informant. After that, he passed to Beirut. From Beirut, Sánchez participated in the planning for the attack on the headquarters of OPEC in Vienna, Austria. In December 1975, he led the six-person team that assaulted the meeting of OPEC leaders and took over sixty hostages, all of whom were eventually freed. Because of disputing the plans, he was expelled from PFLP. In the plans two of the hostages and oil ministers of Saudi Arabia and Iran were to be killed. Sánchez then settled in Aden, where he formed his own group, the Organization of Arab Armed Struggle. He also formed connections to Eastern European security agencies, and his group carried out contracts for these and other organizations. In 1982, this group attacked a Nuclear Power station but failed. His group also worked with Eastern European security agencies and made contracts with them and other

organizations. After that, two members of his organization, including his wife, were arrested in Paris, but he set off a number of bombs in retaliation.

After he was expelled from Hungary, he stayed in different countries such as Iraq, Libya and Cuba. At last he found limited support in Syria, where he was forced to stay inactive.

He settled in Sudan but in 1994, he was handed over to the French. He was charged with Paris attacks and was sentenced to life imprisonment. (Smith, 1977:299-303)

2.4.2. September 11

The most important and deadly terror event in the modern World is the World Trade Center attacks in September 11, 2001 by far. Up to that date, it was 325 people killed in the Air Indian Flight crash in 1985; more than 300 killed by car bombs in Bombay in 1993; 270 killed in the crash of Pan-American flight 103 in 1988; 241 killed by a truck bomb in Beirut in 1983; 171 killed in the crash of a UTA flight in 1989; 168 killed by a truck bomb in Oklahoma City in 1995; 115 in the sabotage of a Korean airliner.

These huge death tolls were ominous events in the history of terrorism. Of more than 10000 accepted international terrorism incidents recorded since 1968, only 14 of them before September 11 had resulted in 100 or more casualties. (Jenkins, 2001:4-6). So a conclusion can be reached from these statistics that, “New kind of terrorism sought casualties of epic proportions.” (Jenkins, 2001:6).

On September 11, nineteen people of non-United States citizens boarded four commercial United States commercial passenger jets in Boston, Newark and Washington, then hijacked the planes minutes after take-off and crashed them into the World Trade Center in New York, the Pentagon in Northern Virginia and the Pennsylvania countryside. All told, some three thousand people were killed in the incidents, the worst casualties experienced in the United States in a single day since the American Civil War.

The first plane; American Airlines Flight 11 crashed at 8.48 a.m. to the North Tower. And the second plane, United Airlines flight 175, crashed at 9.03 a.m. to the south tower of World Trade Center. After crushing of the planes to the towers, both of them burst into flames. Fifty thousand people were thought to have been working in the World trade Center at that time. The floors, which are below the crashed floors, started massive evacuation immediately after the incident. At 9.50 a.m. the South Tower collapsed, followed by the North Tower at 10.30 a.m. With them, 12 million square feet of office space, which is equal to the sum of the all office sites in Atlanta or Miami and damaging another 18 million square feet of office space in the nearest buildings In addition to these losses, a subway station, two electrical substations and some thirty-three miles of cables were crushed. (Grunwald, September 12, 2001). More than 2900 people were reported dead or missing by the end of 2001. Also, 157 passengers, crew and hijackers themselves were killed on the two planes. (Grunwald, October 28, 2001)²⁹

²⁹ Michael Grunwald, *Terror's Damage: Calculating the Devastation*, *Washington Post* October 28, 2001. The New York Comptroller issued a rough estimate of the cost of the attack on the World Trade Center: \$11 billion in the loss of "human productive value"; \$34 billion in property loss (an amount nearly double the damage from the previously worst disaster in the in the United states history, hurricane Andrew); \$14 billion in cleanup and police costs; and \$21 billion from the interruption of business in the lower Manhattan Dstricts. By contrast, the investigators tracing the funds of the hijackers estimated that the cost of orchestrating the four hijackings was no more than \$500000.

2.4.3. Train Bombings in Spain (ETA/ Al Queda)

On 11 March 2004, a series of ten explosions occurred at the height of the Madrid rush hour in four commuter trains (*Cercanías* in Spain). Thirteen improvised explosive devices were reported to have been used, all but three of which detonated. This attack is also known as the **11/3**, **3/11**, **M-11** and **11-M**.

The attacks were the deadliest assault by a terrorist organisation against civilians in Europe since the Lockerbie bombing in 1988 and the worst terrorist assault in modern Spanish history. The number of victims in this attack far surpassed Spain's previous worst bombing incident at a Hipercor chain supermarket in Barcelona in 1987, which killed 21 and wounded 40; on that occasion, responsibility was claimed by the Basque armed terrorist group ETA:*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* ("Basque Fatherland and Liberty") or ETA.

Official statements issued shortly after the Madrid attacks identified ETA as the prime suspect, but the group, which usually claims responsibility for its actions, denied any wrong-doing. Later evidence strongly pointed to the involvement of extremist Islamist groups, with the Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group named as a focus of investigations. As of early April 2004, fifteen people had been arrested, and seven more were detained in connection with the attacks. In these train bombings, the death toll consisted of 191 people and more than 1,800 people were wounded.

The explosions occurred during the morning rush hour, targeting a busy commuter rail line that runs just south of downtown Madrid. Four bombs (planted at the front, middle and rear of a single train) exploded at 7:39 at Atocha station, and three bombs planted on a single train went off simultaneously just outside of *Téllez* street, near

Atocha station. Two more bombs on one train detonated at 7:41 at El Pozo del Tío Raimundo station. One further bomb exploded on a train at Santa Eugenia station at 7:42. Most of the casualties occurred at Atocha/Téllez (89 confirmed dead) and El Pozo (70) with another 17 at Santa Eugenia.³⁰

³⁰ Guardian Unlimited. Can be found online at:
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/spain/article/0,2763,1361262,00.html>

CHAPTER 3:

CONCEPTUALIZING TERRORISM AS A DEFINITION AND EVALUATING THE DIFFERENCES OF THE CONCEPT FROM OTHER TYPES OF CRIMES AND WARFARE

3. 1. A Brief Introduction of the Two Different Concepts: Terrorism and Guerrilla Warfare:

Terrorism is usually confused or equated with guerilla warfare because of the similar tactics they use, such as assassination, kidnapping, bombing of the public gathering places, hostage taking etc. for the same purposes like intimidating or coercing people, thereby affecting the behavior of the population for the purpose of arousing fear. In addition to these, terrorists and guerillas wear neither uniforms nor any identifying insignia. Therefore, neither of them can be separated from non-combatants. However, despite the thought that both can be considered in the category of “irregulars”, there are some significant differences between them. According to Norton, guerilla in its most widely accepted usage, exemplifies a larger group of armed combatants who operate as a military unit, attack enemy military forces and seize and hold territory (even if only for short periods during daylight hours.), while claiming sovereignty or control over a

certain defined geographical area and its population. On the other hand, terrorists do not operate as armed units in the open area, generally do not attempt to seize or hold territory, and deliberately avoid attacking enemy military forces in open combat and rarely exercise any direct control or sovereignty either over territory or population. But, this separation may not be adequate in certain case studies. Any terrorist organization may claim to be guerillas by holding a small part of territory, or attacking military forces of the other side. Although this separation seems adequate to discriminate religious terrorism from other crimes, it may not be enough to define separatist terrorism and may result in confusion while identifying the “terrorist” and the “guerilla”.

3.1.1. The Five Stages of Terrorism to Legalize Itself and to Become Guerrillas:

Terrorism tries to impose an aim, a system of thought, a political idea or a style of life to the people by force or at the cost of life. Because of that, they are antidemocratic and unlawful. As its concept consists of imposing the will of the minority on the majority by force, it snubbs the freedom and free thought.

Terrorists and their organizations make propaganda of freedom, justice and the rule of law. By becoming the representative of these ideals, they can arouse support from the population. On the other hand, the pride of man, right to live, other rights and liberties of people are nothing more than some conceptions that are transgressed when necessary in the logic of terrorism. Therefore, the human being becomes a tool in terrorism. The individual, regardless of his identity, personality, validity and history, becomes like a property.

All ideologies, philosophical thoughts, moral activities and religions aim at the morality and happiness of the people as a basis. In all these thoughts and ideas, man is in the center. Terrorism differs from all these ideologies because of its system of validity that suppress the importance of humanity in its logic of thought. In terrorism, even the most valuable and most important right of humanity, the right to live is ignored and the individual becomes a tool to reach certain purposes. Terrorism targets the values of humanity, morality and political structure.

The aims of the terrorists differ from country to country or region to region. Sociological and ideological concepts are also important in identifying the aims of terrorism. Terrorists try to destroy the existing political, social, and economic institutions, processes and relations and replace them with the ideal order that they advocate. To achieve this goal, they use some tactical aims that lead to the main goal. According to Garri Gan and Lopez (1998:19), these goals can be to force the governments to a bargain, to advertise their cause or just themselves, or to suppress the government to enforce a mass suppression or a kind of counter-terrorism, which damages the sense of security of the population.

According to Hoffman, terrorists do not want to attract the attention of the population in the beginning, but after some time, they try to introduce their case to obtain support and gain sympathy. After the majority of the population gets to know them through their use of intimidation, fear, violence, and the threat of violence, these organizations try to take over authority against the incumbent government. Terrorists want to obtain complete control over the government and the local population after gaining authority over these governmental and local establishments. There are few

organizations that remained alive long enough to stay only in the attention and acknowledgment phases.

Generally, terrorists aim to isolate the individual from society. They try to create a psychology of isolation for the individual in society that this individual may live in. After many individuals are put into that psychology of loneliness, the order and laws that settled in the region are to be vilified. This campaign of propaganda aims to proclaim the actions and cases of the organization, to advance and to gain bargaining power against the government that is opposed. (Tavas, p, 51-61)

According to Hoffman, terrorism seems to be erroneously indiscriminate or senseless, but on the contrary, is actually a very deliberately and planned programming of violence. Five processes following each other may trace the method of terrorism. These five processes may also be accepted as determinants of the difference of terrorism from guerilla warfare.

1. *Attention*: In this first phase, terrorists seek to focus attention on themselves and their causes through the media and publicity by using dramatic, attention-riveting acts of fear and violence. For this they try to show up and attract attention especially by news and television media coverage.
2. *Acknowledgement*: After having attracted attention and gained some thrust about a previously ignored or forgotten cause on the state's or preferably the international community's agenda, terrorists seek to legalize their new-earned notoriety into acknowledgement (and perhaps sympathy or support or both) of their cause.
3. *Recognition*: This phase can also be called acceptance of the justification of their cause. In the recognition phase, terrorists attempt to capitalize on the interest and

acknowledgement of their brutal acts. According to them, these acts in area result of the gained rights that are not practiced because of the apathetic behavior of the government. To operate this propaganda, a leader or a spokesman of the organization starts to show up, then advertised by media coverage as a freedom fighter who uses violence to give liberty to an ethnic group, or defend some other religious or ideological cause as their legal right to inflict fear amongst the majority of the population.

4. *Authority*: After justifying their actions in the recognition phase, terrorists seek big enough influence to affect the changes in the government and/or society that lie at the heart of the movement's struggles. These affects may include a change in the government or the entire state structure, redistribution of wealth, re-adjustment of the geographical boundaries, assertion of minority rights, etc.
5. *Governance*: In this last phase, terrorists try to consolidate their authority with direct or indirect control over the state, their fatherland and/or their people.

Generally, many terrorist organizations have been successful in achieving the first three phases in modern times; organizations that attained the latter two is not commonly seen. Nonetheless, terrorist organizations exist and function hoping to complete these five steps and reach the ultimate goal of consolidating their power over the government. (Hoffman, 1998:183-184)

In Jenkins's definition, the example of the "Castle in the Apache lands" is given to characterize the actions of terrorists. This example can perfectly fit the third phase of the roadmap that terrorists use to achieve their political goals. In this example, Jenkins defines how the aim of completing the recognition level can be achieved. According to Jenkins, in this tactic, the main target of terrorists is the security forces and local police.

Security forces start to be increasingly strained; this causes them to lose self-confidence and they start to take suppressing and forbidding measures. This isolates them from the society. Therefore, their intelligence decreases, and along with that they begin to be afraid of being in the local society. The police begin to feel as if they are soldiers besieged in the lands of the enemy Apache natives. When the police start to talk with the local society behind protective shields and megaphones, terrorists become successful in achieving one of their most important goals. (Jenkins, 2001:5-6)

After police forces are isolated, terrorists start to provoke suppression more. Terrorists use violence to force the governments to take more rigorous counter measures, to accept extreme laws and orders, to transgress the liberties, and to begin mass arrests. So, the government takes its place with its all-suppressive powers. Because of the government's coercive measures, dissatisfaction and alienation from the current order increases. There evolves many negative problems that terrorists can use for their propaganda. (Jenkins, 2001:6)

After that, the problems and contradictions of living in a settled society begin to become prominent and local population begins to polarize. Social solidarity and trust decreases. The increase in the numbers of violent actions provokes and counter-measures of the government create a dilemma. Government is accused of being the source of the problems. It is said that, let alone solving the situation; the government cannot even guarantee the safety of its people.

By propagandizing, the intense power of the terrorist organization is emphasized. Also the aim of terrorism is said to be achieving liberty and justice to the population. With these actions, terrorists not only boost their own morals inside, but also increase their bargaining power on the scene of the population against formal authorities.

Terrorists try to show themselves stronger than they truly are. They give special importance to create a public opinion. The impact of the actions of violence of fear is extremely important for these organizations because that gives the terrorists a feeling that they are more important and effective people. Well known terrorist organizations in the West like Baader Meinhof, Japanese Red Army, or Italian Red Brigades were considered as very large terrorist organizations. But, in their most powerful eras, their number never exceeded 50 members. Their only glory lied on advertising and propagandizing. By using the mass media, their power of inflicting fear exceeded far beyond their true power to cause damage. Even more substantial groups, like the Tupamaros and the Brazilian ALN, the Black Panthers and the Weatherman, were very small in reality and did not depend on clear public support. Because of that they collapsed and disappeared from history so quickly. In these conditions, to be successful depends on obtaining at least one of the two important obligations for a terrorist organization. They should either receive wide and unconditional support from the local population, or they should receive serious support from foreign countries. There is a third option that is very rarely seen in history. The government of the state being terrorized can be in a situation of a long, continuous and irresistible decay, which prevents it to mobilize the great resources of the country against terrorists. This may led the country's defeat in the fight against the terrorists. (Laqueur, 1977:218-219.)

There is dubiousness in discriminating between the definitions of the words "guerilla" and "terrorist" and terrorists have the habitual behavior of defining themselves as "guerillas" by using this blurriness of these two concepts. And media continually support this uncertainty by mixing these two concepts. But guerillas are not terrorists. The most important difference between these two is their targets that they choose to

force their enemies. Guerillas are irregular soldiers, who wage war against regular military forces, not on civilians. (The Spaniards first used this term in 1810 for the makeshift units they formed to fight against Napoleon's army.) Therefore, it can be said that terrorists are the complete opposites of guerillas. While they make a low-density war against a far-superior army, terrorists generally choose to attack weak and defenseless civilians. In fact the target of the terrorists is anyone except soldiers if they can avoid it. Civilians are the key to terrorist strategy. The fear of becoming the target makes it easier for the terrorists to achieve goals by coercing authority. (Netanyahu, 1986:11)

3.1.2 Guerrilla Warfare:

Because of the existence of a notion such as "terrorism" and because of the tendency of the countries to put all the irregular actions in their lands into this category, the word "guerilla warfare" suffered greatly from misunderstanding, which broadens the meaning of the subject. In short, the term "guerilla" was originally used to describe military operations carried out by non-military irregulars against the rear or reserves of an enemy army or by local settlers against an occupying force. Recently, this term is applied to most of the revolutionary wars, wars of national liberation, insurrections, peasant wars, and terrorist acts (such as hijacking planes and kidnappings). It has also been applied to some activities in the universities. Therefore, it became extremely difficult to apply one definition of guerilla warfare to every single event that is called guerilla warfare in the World just like terrorism. One reason for the difficulty to decide on one definition lies on this wide use of the concept. On the other side, it can be said

there are some real difficulties in defining this term. The usage of guerilla tactics by regular armies or bandits does not vary much. A regular army can easily turn the tide of the war to guerilla warfare, but so may bandits. Some guerilla armies may transform themselves into regular armies, but the opposite can also take place. Further, not all the unconventional wars are “guerilla” wars; therefore, it is wrong to use this term as a synonym for revolutionary politics, civil wars, (such as in Lebanon and Angola) or terrorism.

The tactics of guerilla warfare are quite simple and easy to adapt, in contrast to the disciplined training needed to build a regular force. Because of that, its history traced back to ancient times, even guerilla warfare can be accepted as a preliminary to the regular warfare. Typical guerilla operations include harassment of the enemy, evasion of decisive battles, cutting lines of communications, and carrying out surprise attacks. This is a kind of warfare that changes from country to country and society to society, geographically depends on area conditions, weather, plantation; social and political processes and change in technological developments.

According to a widespread belief, guerilla warfare is a new way of declaring unconventional war discovered by a stroke of genius by Mao in the Yenan period, and later successfully applied to other parts of the World by left-wing revolutionary movements. (Laqueur, 1976:384)

Just like terrorism a general definition of guerilla warfare is sought to define it in literature, but it is difficult to improve the definition provided by Samuel Huntington. In this definition Huntington defines guerilla warfare as:

Guerilla warfare is a form of warfare by which the strategically weaker side assumes the tactical offensive in selected forms, times and places. Guerilla warfare is the weapon of the weak..... Guerilla warfare is decisive only where the anti- guerilla

side puts a low value on defeating the guerillas and does not commit its full resources to the struggle. (Laqueur, 1976:392)

Although this definition seems to be the most adequate one to reach the proper result, it certainly does not fit to Castro's campaign in Cuba nor can it be maintained that the French in Algeria or the Portuguese in their African colonies put a "low value" on defeating the guerillas. Even excluding these, many other guerilla warfare succeeded without taking any offensive at all, simply by outlasting the enemy.

The conditions and steps of guerillas to succeed can be summarized below, though these are only probabilities not certainties. Because with all the favourable conditions on their behalf, guerilla warfare can still be unsuccessful, or with all the preconditions negatively affecting the warriors, they can still be victorious against the regular forces they face.

1. Geographical Conditions: For guerilla warfare, geographical conditions are of prime importance. Guerillas usually prefer maintaining their warfare in geographically hard-accessible places such as mountain ranges, jungles, forests, swamps etc. In these places they are difficult to locate, and the enemy cannot deploy its full forces to maximize benefit. In the first period of consolidation, hiding in such places is a great advantage against regular forces. But this tactic has also some serious setbacks. If the enemy has to suffer from the hardships of mountains, jungles, swamps or forest warfare, the guerillas will have to bear the burden of the same conditions. It is difficult to obtain food and other supplies in distant, thinly populated areas. In these areas, guerillas will be relatively safe; on the other hand, in correlation to their safety, they are ineffective. They will not be in a position to hit the main lines of communications of the enemy and they lose contact with the population whose they need support to be successful. Thus, the

ideal guerilla territory should be relatively inaccessible while it must be placed not too far from cities and urban areas. In modern guerilla warfare, the importance of hard-accessible places decreased to a certain degree because of the increasing importance of cities. The village cannot gain success against the city if the majority of the population lives in urban areas. Therefore, in relatively modern dates, guerillas prefer to find cover in towns rather than in jungles or mountains.

2. Guerilla warfare generally occurs in the areas where there were wars before. For example, the Spanish war against Napoleon took place in the same regions in which Viriathus and Sertorius had fought the Romans. This may be partly due to geographical factors. Also in these places, the occupation force extends less control compared to the more centralized areas.

3. To an extent, there is a negative correlation between guerilla warfare and the degree of economic development. In many countries, the peasantry is the main human source of guerilla organizations led by non-peasant elites.

4. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there were three different kinds of guerilla warfare. The guerilla warfare directed against foreign occupation forces, against the central government by the separatist, minority movements (the Vendee, IMRO, Ira, EFL, the Basques, the Kurds, FLQ, etc.) and against native incumbents have been the rule in Latin America and a few other countries (Burma, Thailand, etc.). Throughout the nineteenth century, gaining national independence became the ultimate and sole goal of guerilla warfare. But in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the propaganda side of guerilla warfare gained infinite importance. This forced guerilla warfare to stay only in the recognition phase. It must be noted that the importance of the words “Marxist” and “Leninist” are also increased considerably.

5. Leadership of the nineteenth and early twentieth century guerilla movements are usually characterized by “men of the people” (Mina, the Empecinado, Andreas Hofer, Zapata, the Boer leaders, the IMRO). In less developed countries, tribal chiefs or religious dignitaries led these organizations. More recently, these leaders were the preserve of young intellectuals or semi-intellectuals. There are only a few exceptions like Fabio Vasquez and Samora Machel.

6. It is usually accepted that, peasants form the basis of the guerilla movement traditionally; but conditions varied considerably from country to country even in the nineteenth century and apart from that time, there has been a continuous change. For example, IZL and Stern Gang were almost exclusively city-based. Usually, it can be accepted that, the smaller the guerilla army, the larger its middle-class elements. Women have participated in nearly every guerilla warfare.

7. The aim of the guerilla warfare is usually directed toward patriotism. Historically, this element has been used interchangeably in guerilla propaganda, which gives importance to react against the invasion of the homeland by foreign powers, or the resentment directed against the colonial power. Secessionist guerilla movements put up their ideal base on the discrimination against and persecution of the ethnic or religious minorities. Lastly, guerilla movements fighting against their domestic leaders base their ideas on fighting against tyranny, unequal distribution of income, government inefficiency, corruption and “betrayal” and, generally speaking, “the anti-popular character of the ruling authorities”.

8. Organization, propaganda and terror have always been essential parts of guerilla warfare, but their importance has increased greatly over time and by using the developing technology, new techniques have been reconstructed. A political party, which is

noncombatant, either with a legal, semi-legal or an underground organization system, is always in place. This political party provides money, intelligence and services to the guerilla organization.

9. The techniques and organizational forms of guerilla warfare have varied enormously from country to country according to terrain, size and density of the population, political constellation, personality of the leader, the conditions of their objective, their own courage, wisdom and determination, and coincidences. It is not a necessity that every successfully operating guerilla warfare will end up successful.

10. Urban terrorism gained importance especially in modern guerilla warfare. But, there is the fact that, “urban terrorists” cannot normally establish “liberated zones”; their actions may take place in the headlines but they cannot operate a campaign of mass propaganda and build up a political organization. If it is not in the framework of the overall strategy of a political movement, usually separatist in character, which has already a acceptable mass basis, conducting terror in urban guerilla warfare concept is politically ineffective.

11. Guerilla movements have frequently been formed by internal conflicts, within their own ranks and between rival groups. Internal strife within the political and military leadership can be also a cause of friction unless they are identical. Sometimes, a division of labor between rival organizations against a common enemy may wipe out cohesiveness but once the foreign power that was fought against is defeated, all rival guerilla groups start conflict with each other or set former comrades-in-arms against each other. (Laqueur, 1976:388-404)

3.1.3. Differences Between Guerrilla Warfare and Terrorism:

In fact, guerilla warfare and terrorism are the different branches of the same phenomenon. The term “terrorism” however, has a far more negative connotation, whereas the term “guerilla warfare” is perceived as neutral and carries a more positive connotation.

The problem accompanying the concepts “terrorism” and “guerilla” warfare lies on their ambiguity to make a clear distinction. Both in terrorism and guerilla warfare, there are blurred points that cannot be defined clearly and selectively. However a statement can be made by claiming that in the course of war, guerilla combatants become regular military forces until victory is attained and one political party is defeated. Samuel Huntington defines guerilla warfare as “weapons of the weak” and opens this comment by emphasizing the strategically weaker side’s methods on maintaining tactical offensive in selected forms, times and places. (Laqueur, 1977:392). According to the guerilla definition of Huntington, terrorism frequently appears in the guerilla war and he indicates that; “Guerilla activity is best placed on a sequence, ranging from sporadic terrorist attacks not necessarily against military units, up to sustained guerilla warfare and confrontation with military forces.” Others view guerilla war and terrorism as two separate points along one sequence dealing with the use of violence. But the opposite can also be true. Terrorist organizations use guerilla methods to survive against a more organized foe definitely. Therefore, while guerilla warfare is covering terrorism, terrorism is on the other hand, covering guerilla warfare at the same time. This is one of the main problems identifying the difference.

Some scholars prefer to draw a clearer distinction between guerilla warfare and terrorism. According to Walter Laqueur, “Urban terrorism is not a stage in guerilla war, it differs from it in essential respects, but it is an heir to a different tradition.”

“The essence of the guerilla warfare is to establish *foci*, or liberated areas in the countryside and set up small military units which will gradually grow in strength, number, and equipment... in order to fight against government troops. In the liberated areas, the guerillas establish their own institutions, conduct propaganda and engage in other open political activities. None of this applies to terrorists, whose base of operation is in the cities, and who have to operate clandestinely in small units.” (Laqueur, 1977:22)

This definition points out some difference between terrorists and guerillas, but there are serious setbacks in this kind of separation. First of all, a clear differentiation between terrorists and guerillas cannot be established such as that one made above. Terrorists may also operate in rural areas; also guerillas may plan actions in the cities, even larger metropolis cities. There is no necessity for a terrorist to be centered on a city and make a crowded place to be his base. So, a classification between these two phenomena should depend on some other criterion.

Ehud Sprinzak tries to classify terrorism and guerilla warfare from a perspective of regular warfare. According to him, guerilla warfare is a kind of small war and the same rules on regular warfare are applied, only on a smaller scale. Therefore, it differs from terrorism, which have no moral or legal constraints on the regular war rules.

Rapaport adds to this definition stating, “The traditional distinguishing characteristic of the terrorist was his explicit refusal to accept the conventional moral limits which defined military and guerilla action.” This definition is also supporting the Sprinzak’s definition, but in this definition, moral aspects are added to the regular war rules. (Laqueur, 1977:42-44)

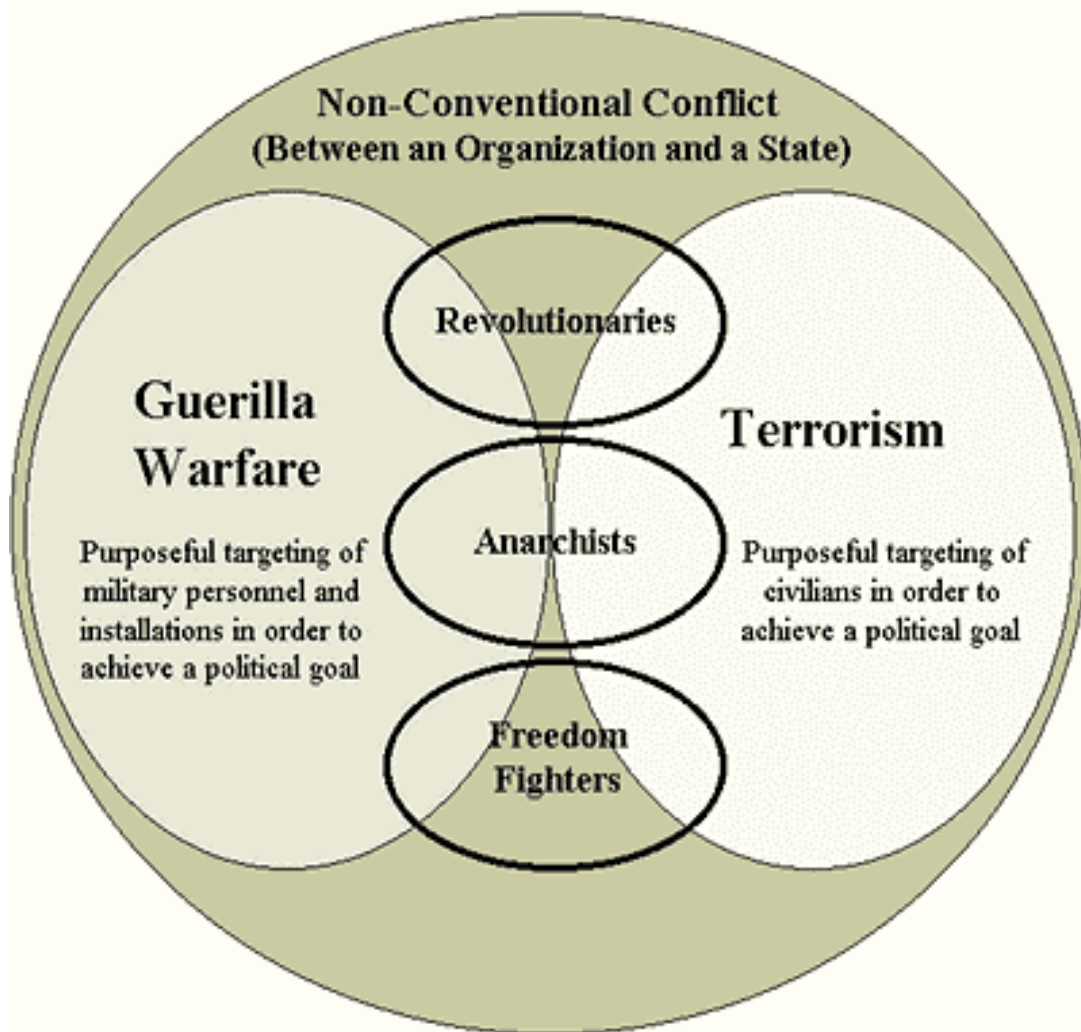
In contrary to Laqueur's definition, Paul Wilkinson (1974:140) depends on the target to make a clear separation. According to him, innocent targets and military targets create the difference between terrorist and guerilla.

Guerillas may fight with small numbers and often inadequate weaponry, but they can and often do fight according to conventions of war, taking and exchanging prisoners and respecting the rights of non-combatants. Terrorists place no limits on means employed and frequently resort to widespread assassination, the waging of "general terror" upon the indigenous civilian population.

Figure 3: Ends and Means in Non-Conventional Conflict³¹:

³¹ Forsnet Terör Sitesi. Can be found online at: <http://www.teror.gen.tr/english/usa/articles/article2.html>

Ends & Means in Non-Conventional Conflict



This definition separates terrorists from guerillas according to the intended target of attack. This definition indicates that, if an attack deliberately targets civilians, than the attack will be considered as a terrorist attack, whereas, if it targets military or security personnel, than it will be considered as a guerilla attack. It all depends on the victims who are targeted. But this definition also produces the need for identifying specific events whether they are terrorism or not, instead of identifying the nature and source of

the organizations. Therefore, instead of discriminating “terrorism” and “guerilla warfare”, the terms “terrorist actions” and “guerilla activities” gained importance.

Another type of definition can be created by how the organizations follow the five steps towards propagandizing the population. The phase attention, acknowledgement, recognition, authority, and governance may take place differently in the programs of organizations that depends mainly on guerilla warfare rather than terrorism. First of all, it can be said that guerillas may depend on the first three stages of attention, acknowledgement and recognition, but to continue their operations in their guerilla warfare, they should induce support of the population. There are two ways to gain support of the population. If there is a general unhappiness in the society of a country or a region of that country because of discrimination, racism or some other political purpose, this support to the organization may come imminently and this support will give the organization to feed their guerilla activities against settled authority. Another way to gain support of the citizens may be by forcing them to obey the rules and laws imposed by the organization using the effect of fear and threat of violence. This can be named as a “force support” from the population. Because people cannot trust settled government to take the necessary precautions for providing their security; by the effect of fear, they may support the organization instead of to be violated by them. But in the long run this will lead the organization to commit terrorist actions against the people that are needed for support and protection. So, the source of the support while leveling the stages to fulfill their aims inside government is of prime importance. If their support relies on a general imminent support because of the bad intentions of the authority, than this organization may be called a guerilla organization. But if this support is based on violence and support

because of the lack of popularity of the organization in the area, than this organization may be called as terrorist organization.

This definition seems to identify specific events, but by using some methods, it is still possible to clarify a difference between the two. For example, relying on a quantitative perspective may result in calculating the number of individual “terror events” and “ guerilla activities” may lead to a decision about the origin of the organization. Or, in the perspective of a qualitative look, one could claim that, any organization attacking civilian targets is a terrorist organization and it is irrelevant whether this organization also perpetuated guerilla activities. Hence, in this qualitative perspective, the assumption that every guerilla organization has also harmed civilians does not effect the definition of terrorism.

The absence of a clear definition in both guerilla warfare and terrorism creates the result of a situation, which many organizations are involving simultaneously in terrorist actions and guerilla activities. A definition accepted commonly by the national and international authorities may force these organizations to take “cost benefit” considerations into account when choosing the mode of activity appropriate to attaining their ends. If the damage and suppression against the organization from the national and international communities after committing a terrorist action is greater than the damage and suppression after guerilla activity, than the organization will certainly choose to focus on guerilla activities rather than terrorism. As long as there is no adequate definition that separates guerilla warfare and terrorism accepted by the international communities, it should not be a surprise that organizations choose to engage in terrorist activities or guerilla warfare according to their own will and limitations.

3.2.Organized Crime

In today's world, advances in communication and technology have dramatically expanded legitimate commercial enterprise between states, unimaginable long distances and international firms, rendering state frontiers porous, and opening up previously impossible opportunities of commercial, political and social interaction. However, this process of expansion brings the world to a darker side in the lands of criminal activities. The increased opportunity for legitimate commercial businesses have been equalized by unprecedented openings for illegitimate activities by criminal groups and enterprises.

In fact just like terrorism, there is no internationally accepted definition of organized crime. However, if the elements of criminal activity can be identified in a classified manner, it is possible to discriminate this type of crime from others.

First of all the people involved in organized crime should be structured in groups. Secondly, these structured groups should commit crimes to obtain legal goods by illegal manners. And lastly, these organizations maintain their economic activities by using violence and they try to corrupt the governmental system to encrypt themselves and to maximize their benefit by influencing legal activities with illegal methods. And if all these activities are carried on with the people from different nationalities, the crimes start in one country and ends in another, and the results are effecting more than one country, we may call these organizations as transnational crime organizations.³²

³² Forsnet Terör Sitesi. Can be found online at:
<http://www.teror.gen.tr/english/criminal/whatis/definition.html>

The international community first recognized the threat of corruption by transnational organized crime to the political, economic, and social fabric of societies in the mid 90's. The subsequent negotiation of an International Convention against Transnational Organized Crime was a historic step forward countering this threat.

In many parts of the World, by using the enormous possibilities opened with the developments in communication and technology, the criminal organizations managed to organize an international illicit cartel and confederation. (Cressey, 1997:3). These organizations are dedicated to amassing billions of dollars from usury and the illicit sale of lottery tickets, chances on the outcome of the horse races and athletic events, and the sale or manipulation of sexual intercourse, and narcotics. Also there are some organizations committing activity in weapon trading, women and child slavery, organ trafficking, dirty money laundering, smuggling everything that comes to their benefit, and other worse criminal activities.

Although these illegal activities pose a threat to the world security and wealth, the real danger does not lie in their activities in certain unlawful areas. These organizations do their jobs in both international business sphere and local governmental sphere. It is when these criminal syndicates start to undermine basic economic and political traditions and institutions of a country that the real trouble begins. And although these organized criminals do not yet have control of all the legitimate economic and political activities of states except some low-developed and old iron curtain countries, they do have control of some of these activities in many areas.

Of course while arguing about organized crime, the first type of organization that comes into mind is mafia organizations. With their hierarchy, structure, discipline, and rules reminds an acceptable terrorist organization or guerilla warriors. According to

Wharton Economics Forecasting Associates (1986), the Mafia earns approximately \$50 billion each year at an annual cost to the U.S. economy of \$18.2 billion in economic output, 414,000 jobs, and \$77.20 in per-capita disposable income. Although these Mafia-type organizations have such a great benefit even only in America, it has rarely been the subject of a serious academic analysis. It is probably because of the lack of primary source material. The Mafia is, after all, a highly secretive organization that executes those who break its code of silence. (Firestone, 1997:71). Therefore, except some ex-mobsters, most of whom became government witnesses, there is no detailed information about these secret cash-machine organizations.

3.2.1. The Difference Between Organized Crime and Terrorism:

Although there is no common definition of organized crime just like terrorism, it is difficult to say that they are in the same category. Taking as the famous cliché “one’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter” the example for a comparison, it is clearly understood that no crime organization is someone’s freedom fighter. Terrorism is accepted in its negative connotation but the problem lies in discriminating the terrorists from guerillas, or fighters resisting to an unjust issue. In contrary, members of a crime organization are not concerned about some noble aims or intentions, and everyone accepts them as “criminals”. Also Mafia type organizations do not require public support to stay alive in the communities. Instead, they prefer to use their money and tries to influence the legitimate economic and political activities.

The aims of crime organizations and terror organizations are completely different. Terror organizations generally use violence against innocent civilians for reaching to an

ultimate political, religious or ideological goal. On the other hand, crime organizations only use violence against their own members or the people whom they are worked with or worked against. More than that, some Mafia organizations like cheque and bond mafia can be considered to be an alternative to the state legitimacy system. Because of that, while terror organizations aiming to reach their ideals and goals by weakening the permanent state operating there, crime organizations prefer a stable but disorganized state system to gain more money by assuming some of the problems within the individuals of the society.

When the recruitment system of Mafia and a terrorist organization is put into comparison, the differences between these two are clearly seen. There are some theories about why people become member of a crime organization. The first one of these theories is *strain theory*. According to it people become mobsters to acquire the wealth, power and status that society prevents them from obtaining through legitimate means. (Bell, 1960:127-143)

Second theory is *differential association* or *cultural deviance* theory. According to this theory, people “learn” to become criminals from friends or family members. The effects of these models prevent the individual to prefer legitimate activities. (Sutherland& Cressey, 1974, p: 88)

In contrast with differential association theory, which seems crime as a result of an individual’s absorption of community norms, *control theory*, a third school of thought argues that crime is caused by alienation from the surrounding social institutions. According to this control theory, the more an individual is involved with society, the more likely he or she is to develop law-abiding behavior. Conversely, the more an individual is separated from society, the more likely he or she is to become a criminal.

After analyzing the theories of recruitment in mafia-type structures, returning to the human resources of terror organizations will be appropriate. In fact, the human factor and recruiting in terror organizations differ according to their political, religious, or ideological aims but generally they use the common dissatisfaction of the society or a part of society against the state or they use their ideals to give their members a certain goal. In organized crime, members are aiming to obtain money and living wealthy life, and while becoming a member, they know that they will do something in the career of a criminal. But for a terrorist, who fights for a common objective, money and wealth falls in very low rates in his or her list. Also families have little effect on terrorism unlike Mafia-type organizations.

In the contemporary world, the development of communication systems created a vast area and possibilities for both terrorists and organized crime members. Although they are not serving in the same areas, they usually work in cooperation and do business within themselves. The difficulty for a terrorist organization to obtain modern weapons is coming to ease with the help of Crime-organizations. Also many terrorist structures prefer to invest money on drug trafficking and dirty money laundering to finance their groups who are fighting with a far superior army. Therefore, terrorists and criminal organizations use same methods to feed their organizations.

As a result, although some of the terror and crime experts claim that, Mafia –type organizations also ha to be counted as terrorist, neither their aim, not their recruiting methods are similar to the other. Also these two groups influence fear to different peoples in different categories. While terror organizations try to inflict fear to the majority of the population to get support and advertise the power of the structural

stability, Mafia generally stays in a total secrecy and they use their powers in the fields of jurisprudence by using their money.

3.3. Steps Toward a Definition of Terrorism

In defining terrorism, the main problem lies in the discrimination of terrorist activities from other types of crimes. Some criterion may be placed to make a separation after analyzing commonly accepted terror events placed in Chapter 1. These may be listed as:

1. Terrorism is ineluctably political in aims and motives;
2. Violent, or, equally important, threatens violence;
3. Designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target;
4. Conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial cell structure (whose members wear no uniform or identifying insignia); and
5. Perpetrated by a sub national group or non- state entry. (Hoffman, 1998:43)

To understand terrorism, an analysis step by step may be useful in context. Someone who commits an action of violence will be seen as terrorist, or warrior, or freedom fighter depending on the perception (and the perceiver) of the context (Was the U.S. a country at peace that was brutally attacked, or was it already, though its proxy is Israel and with its troops on holy soil, at war with Islam?) and depending on the assessment (and the assessor) of the goals (Is Chechnyan or Palestinian independence a legitimate goal?). Terrorism is always an activity in a context and for a goal.

After giving information about the main definitions and confusing points about terrorism, the necessity to conceptualize and generalize these definitions could be more precise and understandable. As the aim of this thesis is to clarify terrorism, it is needed to put out the objectives of it, and form identification to terror activities including transnational terrorism, international terrorism, domestic terrorism, state terrorism, cyber terrorism, narcoterrorism etc. As we clearly see from these definitions written above, all explanations of terrorism use one aspect of it as its main argument. Therefore, deciding about the act whether it is a terrorist action or not becomes more complicated.

3.4. The Preconditions to Conceptualise the Basics of a Terror Definition

In my argument terror can be defined as a table with six legs. Three of these legs are essential to form a terrorism table as vital parts but other three legs are also essential to make this terrorism table fixed and powerful. Without the first three, table cannot stand on its legs and the second three prevents vibrations and unbalanced points.

The first and main essential leg of the table lies in the assumption that, terror is a tool used for achieving a certain goal. This goal can either be for reaching to a political end or just for moral and expectational reasons; or an ideological and/or religious purpose. In all the definitions made by Gibbs, Crenshaw, Rumpf, Schmid etc. mentioned the importance for a common goal but, they linked this goals to violence, fear, legality, political ends and moral and motivational reasons. Maxon-Browne, 1994:47). It can be clearly stated that, every action named as ‘terrorism’ has certain and definite goals, but these goals are serving several different reasons.

The second leg is the assumption that, terror is an indirect method to achieve a goal, which cannot be achieved or very difficultly achieved with direct methods or ways. In the ETA case, this leftist group uses terrorism to form an independent Basque state in parts of Northern Spain and Southern France.³³ But to achieve this goal, ETA has to confront with two powerful states, France and Spain. Therefore, ETA uses an indirect method by terrorizing Spain. In the classical definitions of terrorism, state terrorism is a special kind that usually leads to a misunderstanding. In the book of Wayman, state terrorism is defined as acts conducted by the government against its own citizens and within its own borders. And Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Hitler were given as the examples of the state terrorists. (Mullins, 1997:37-38). In state terrorism events, to consolidate the regime, the first thing is to establish the necessary foundations for controlling the people who will later supply the necessary manpower, agriculture, industry, commercials and so on. Therefore, it can be accepted that a dictatorship depends on the people in the establishment stage. Therefore, this can also be seen as actions that are made by the weak governmental organs to the powerful citizenry that will form the vital legs of the dictatorships later. In these regimes, this is made by two ways, either consolidating terrorism in a certain ideology that will claim peace and wealth in the long run, or by instituting the necessary structures to suppress the population that the regime depends on.

Although, these first two legs seem to overlap themselves, in reality they are not. For example guerillas use special methods to achieve their goals and these methods are the direct ways to reach their aims although they only use them as a tool. On the other hand, terrorist aim innocents as indirect targets although they also use them as a tool to

³³ Web Site About Terrorism. Can be found online at: <http://cfrterrorism.org/groups/eta.html>

reach their aims. By aiming civilians, in fact they target the government. So in these definitions, the concepts of “direct tools” and “indirect tools” are evolving.

The third leg of the terrorism table is the existence of certain physical harm to the people, life, objects, states or organizations. Also, the fear that emphasizes physical harm is an indicator of terror activities. This is the last vital assumption to define a terrorist action. When we look at the actions that were named as ‘terrorist actions’ they all give a certain amount of physical harm either to the people, or non-living objects. And nearly in all the definitions of terrorism both in legislation and literature, violence, threat of violence, fear, and physical harm is a must that has to be committed to accept the organization as a terrorist one.

The other three legs of our terrorism table are not of vital importance, but they are necessary to draw the boundaries of the terrorist actions against other types of crimes. Because although in this concept, it can be easily said that, an action cannot be called ‘terrorism’ without these three indicators, there are many other types of crimes, which should not be called as ‘terrorism’ but fits all three conditions, such as smuggling, organized crime, or human rights abuses. So, the last three legs of this terrorism table must also be analyzed carefully to determine whether an action is a terrorist action or not.

The fourth leg can be describes as; terrorist actions should be analyzed from the side of the victims. In the September 11 case, the victim is the United States. Therefore, the event should be analyzed mainly from the side of the US government without seeking their mistakes in the international political arena. Also in the ETA case, victim is Spain and therefore, determinations should be made from the side of the Spain

government.³⁴ These examples could be extended. And maybe the most difficult example is PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization). From the side of Israel, this is definitely a terrorist organization. On the side of the Palestinians, these are warriors fighting against an invader. To overthrow the cliché of “one’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter” this condition should be carefully analyzed and put into action.

Fifth leg of this conception can be described as the legal basis of the terrorist actions. A terrorist action should be an event, which is discordant to the international and/or national laws of the country that affected from terrorism. Because, in some countries leaded by dictatorship, state terrorism can be operated depending on some legal basis of this country. Also totalitarian regimes can be added to the dictatorships. Totalitarian regimes are the century’s gift to mankind.³⁵ And these are supporting especially international terrorism. And there is another problem about this issue. Although the national communities are taking some measures and decisions about terror activities; because of the lack of a single definition, many misunderstandings have taken place. This can also be named, as “there is no law” (Netanyahu; How the west can win?)

The last part of the table can be claimed as one of the most distinguishing feature of all. It can be summarized as; every action has to be a political outcome to be named as a terrorist action. In Italian case, between 1969 and 1979, revolutionary terrorist actions came in such an extent that, Italian leaders in the late 1970’s trembled for the future of their country and for the very survival of its democratic institutions. (Drake, 1984:281).

³⁴ Can be found online at:

<http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Basque%20Fatherland%20and%20Liberty>

³⁵ The word “totalitarian” first appears in English in 1928 in a reference to fascism. In 1929 *The Times* (London) defined it as “a reaction against parliamentarism...in favor of a “totalitarian” or unitary state, whether Fascist or Communist.”

If we carefully analyze the actions named as terrorism, we can clearly clarify that; all actions have a political outcome over the authorities. Even in cyber terrorism or narcoterrorism, the results are the same.

3.5. A Statistical Analysis of Terror Events Between 1973- 2003:

The Annual Global Patterns of Terrorism Report is an important tool to analyze and search about the statistical information on terrorism year by year. This report is prepared in response to the title 22 of the United States Code, section 2656f (a), which requires the Department of State to provide the Congress with a full and complete annual report on terrorism. As indicated in the legislation accepted in 1979, every report includes detailed information about the foreign countries where large terrorist attacks occurred and a list of countries supporting terrorism. This Patterns report also provides detailed information about the known individual terrorists, terrorist organizations and umbrella organizations and their activities year by year. In 1996, Congress decided that, depending on the level of cooperation, this information reports would be shared by other countries that are fighting with terrorism for the counter terrorist operations and the prevention of future terrorist acts.

In preparing this report, State Department has chosen the definition of terrorism as the definition indicated in Title 22. This code, which has been used by the American government since 1983 for statistical and analytical purposes, includes the following definitions:

“The term terrorism means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetuated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents usually intended to influence an audience.”

“The term international terrorism means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country.”

According to this definition, the most recent edition *Patterns 2004*, was published in April 2005 and giving the information about the year 2004.

The RAND corporation is another establishment of statistics, which aims the “objective analysis of the challenges for the American Nation and the World”. RAND has been actively involved in statistical terrorism studies for almost 30 years.

At present, the system includes three RAND databases; the RAND Terrorism Chronology Database, the RAND-MIPT Terrorism Incident Database and the MIPT Knowledge Database. The RAND Terrorism Chronology Database records international terrorist incidents that occurred between 1968 and 1997, while the RAND-MIPT Terrorism Incident Database records domestic and international terrorist incidents from 1998 to the present. Recently, these two datasets were integrated in the MIPT Knowledge Database.³⁶

The definitions used by MIPT-RAND differ somewhat from those one used by the State Department:

“**Terrorism** is defined by the nature of the act, not by the identity of the perpetrators or the nature of the cause. Terrorism is violence, or the threat of violence, calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm. These acts are designed to coerce others into actions they would not otherwise undertake, or refrain from actions they desired to take. All terrorist acts are crimes. Many would also be violation of the rules

³⁶ The RAND Terrorism Chronology (1968-1997) and the RAND-MIPT Terrorism Incident Database (1998-present) can be consulted on <http://db.mipt.org/index.cfm>. The MIPT Knowledge Database can be found on <http://beta.tkb.dfi-intl.com:8080/TKB/Home.jsp>

of war if a state of war existed. This violence or threat of violence is generally directed against civilian targets. The motives of all terrorists are political, and terrorist actions are generally carried out in a way that will achieve maximum publicity. Unlike other criminal acts, terrorists often claim credit for their acts. Finally, terrorist acts are intended to produce effects beyond the immediate physical damage of the cause, having long-term psychological repercussions on a particular target audience. The fear created by terrorists may be intended to cause people to exaggerate the strengths of the terrorist and the importance of the cause, to provoke governmental overreaction, to discourage dissent, or simply to intimidate and thereby enforce compliance with their demands.”

“Domestic Terrorism is defined as incidents perpetrated by local nationals against a purely domestic target.”

“International terrorism: Incidents in which terrorists to go abroad to strike their targets, select domestic targets associated with a foreign state, or create an international incident by attacking airline passengers, personnel or equipment.”

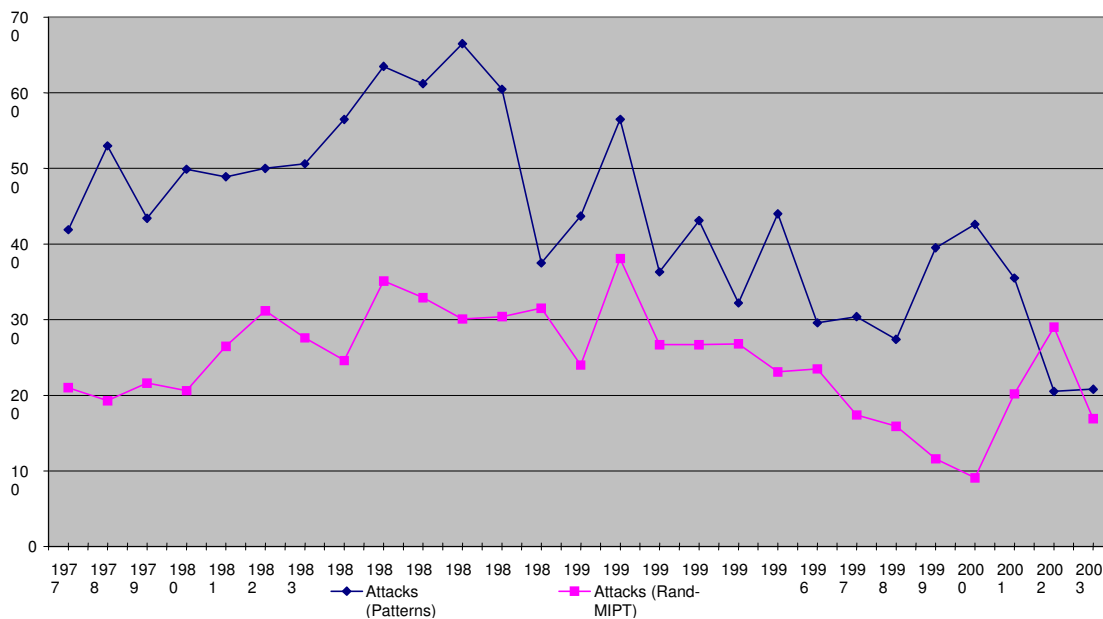
3.5.1.Statistical Analysis of the Number of International Terrorist Attacks:

In figure 1, Patterns (2004) identifies 2003 and 2004 years as the low intensity years about terror events. In these years, there are 205 and 208 attacks. RAND-MIPT figures point to the year 2001 as the absolute low since 1982. The number of attacks during 2003 returned to the level of 1997- 1998.

In figure 2, these figures are put into the “best fitting line” According to the figure, in both of the results of the two researches, a clear and systematic decline in number of the terrorists attacks can clearly be observed. But in the statistics of Patterns report this decline is more visible.

The numbers of incidents in the Patterns make clear that the number of attacks for 2002 and 2003 represented an all-time low since 1977, with respectively 205 and 208 attacks. But as referred to in the introduction of the Patterns 2003, we can even trace back to 1969 as a marker instead of 1977. This means that 2002 and 2003 were the most ‘terror free’ years of the past 32 years.³⁷ The records of RAND indicate the same downward trend. Accounted for in absolute terms, 1997-2000 ranks as the most ‘terror free’ period, followed by an increase between 2000 and 2002, but ending with a decline in 2003 down to the – relatively low – levels of 1977-1980.

Figure 4: Number of Attacks of International Terrorism (1977-2003)



³⁷ US Department of State, 2004:1

Figure 5: Number of Attacks of International Terrorism (1977-2003)

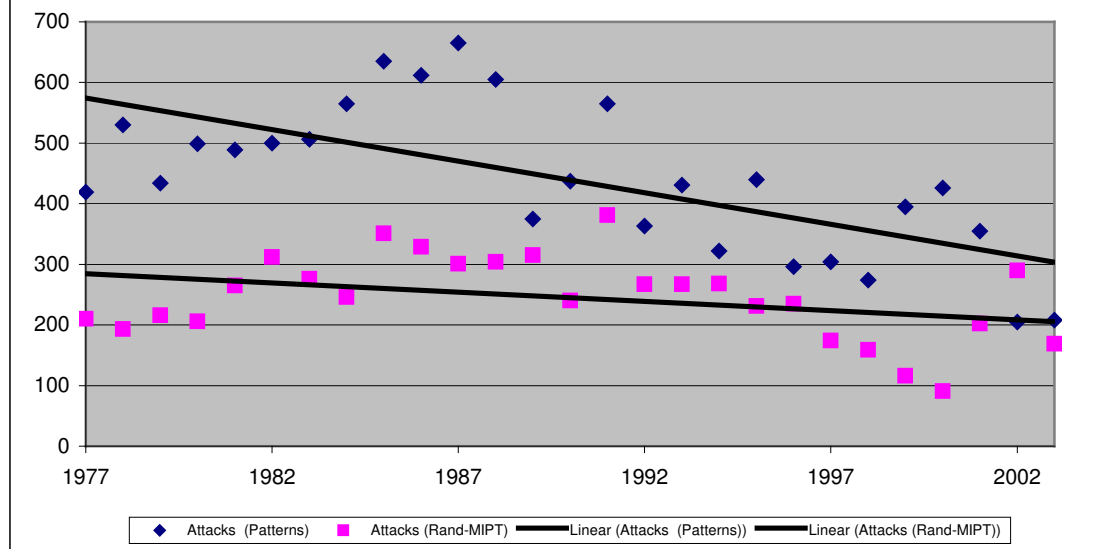
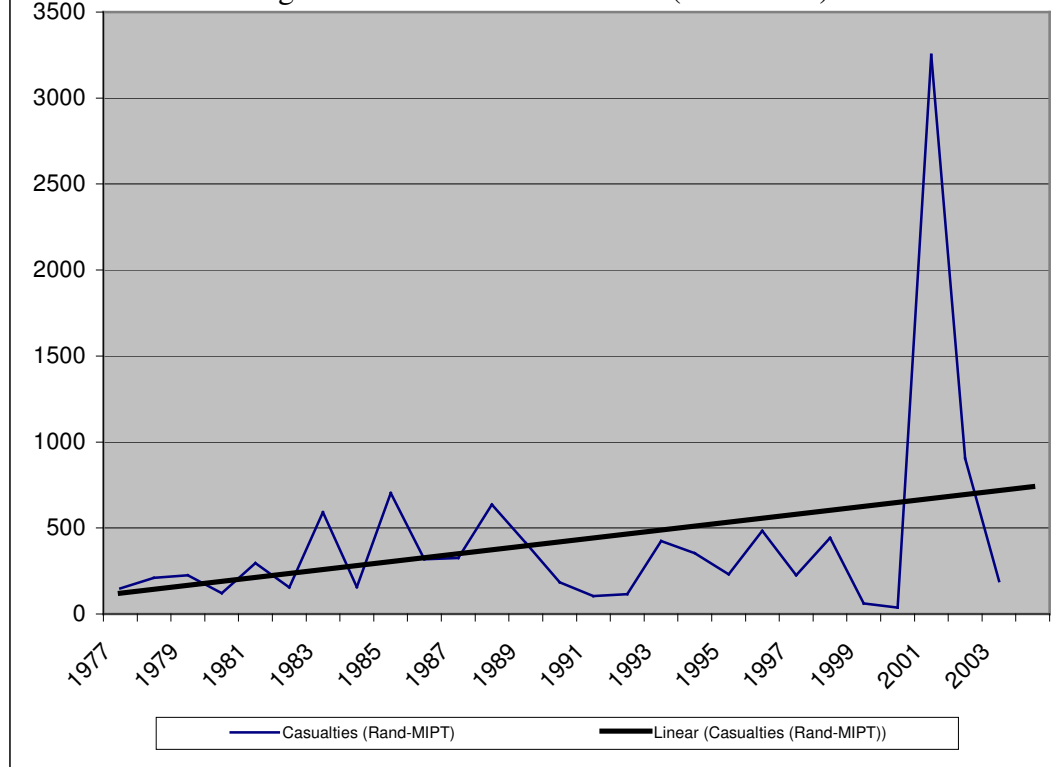
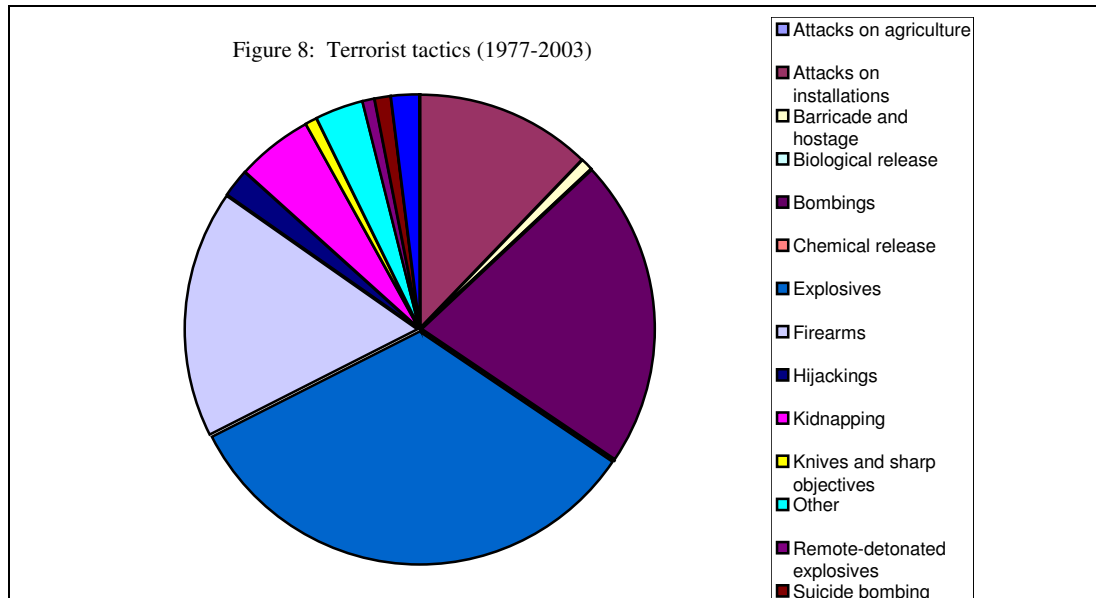
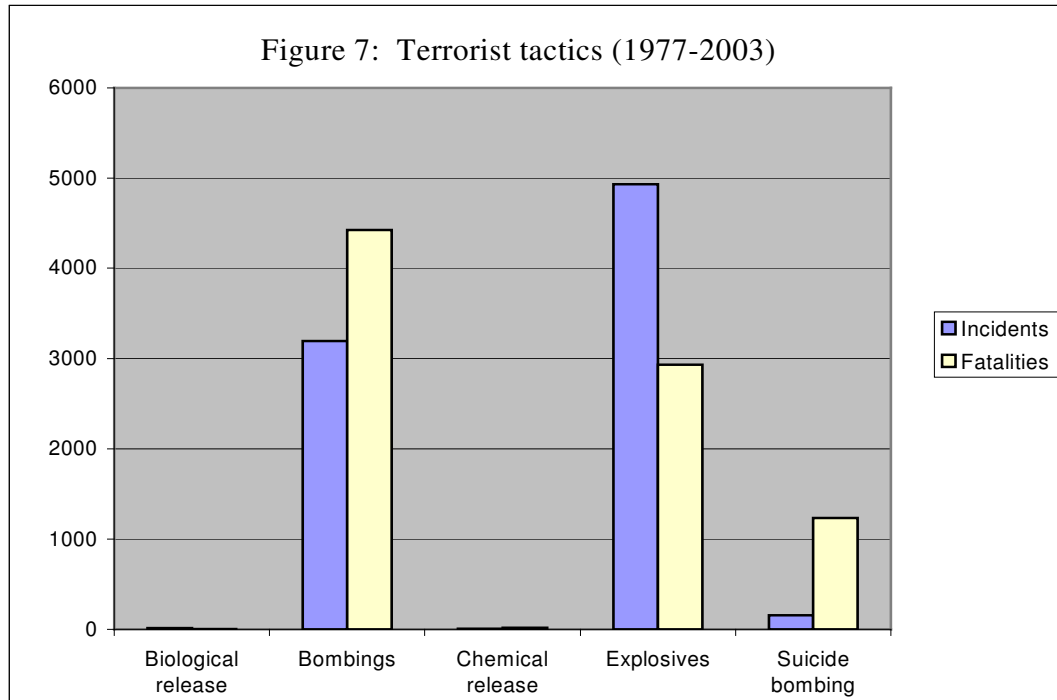


Figure 6: Number of Casualties (1977-2003)





(The RAND Terrorism Chronology (1968-1997) and the RAND-MIPT Terrorism Incident Database (1998-present) can be consulted on <http://db.mipt.org/index.cfm>. The MIPT Knowledge Database can be found on <http://beta.tkb.dfi-intl.com:8080/TKB/Home.jsp>.)

CONCLUSION

When we look at the literature on terrorism, we see that there are many competing and conflicting definitions of terrorism. This thesis mainly aims at answering the question of how to solve the problem of defining terrorism in both national and international communities. It analyzed the question of terrorism at three different levels, that is to say, definitions, history, and comparison.

There are many books about the solution of this academic problem but still no satisfactory solution has been formed. While some books are concentrating on the previous definitions of terrorism, (see Schmid:1983); others try to clarify the definitions according to the previous terror events adding some social and psychological characteristics (see Laqueur:1977). However, to clarify the problem with all aspects including historical, academic, legal dimensions is important in order to elaborate a broad and old concept such as terrorism. To reach a proper solution, the most important thing is to examine all the phases of this issue without exceptions. “Terrorists” will continue to damage and exploit the governments around the world until a common definition of terrorism can be agreed upon. Only by establishing a common definition of what terrorism is and what it is not, effective measures can be taken to reduce and prevent violence and fear created by this issue. There are many deficiencies in the war against terrorism. Most of these weaknesses are attributed to the lack of any unified policy or program addressing this issue. These problems are clear in both international

and domestic levels. The lack of any comprehensive, encompassing policy regarding counter-terrorist efforts has given the advantage to the terrorists. What is called for is a complete, unified and multilateral approach to terrorism that involves the full range of response actions available within the context of specific cultural values. This multilateral approach is an urgent need in world-wide coordinated intelligence efforts, which must be established using this criterion to identify, locate and isolate terrorists. It is clearly evident that a war against different enemies at different levels cannot be won.

In mass-scale terrorist attacks, there are many complex and interrelated factors. These factors can be summarized as some improvements in weapons and explosives, media attention and motivation of the terrorists. (Mullins, 1997:126-139)

The terrorists are highly motivated, dedicated, and committed to a political, ideological, or religious cause. They are psychologically prepared to do whatever is necessary to accomplish their goals and bring about political, ideological, or religious change. They are fanatical to a cause but not psychotic. There is no way to distinguish the terrorist from any other citizen. They do not stand out in a crowd, or they do not have marks on their faces proclaiming them to be terrorists. They do not give any advertisements about their secret identities to the newspapers, either. Except the manner in which they attempt to enforce their beliefs on everyone else, the terrorist is undistinguishable from anyone else. Therefore, without understanding the motivation and psychology of the terrorist, it is not possible to find an effective way to prevent terrorism.

When the structure of a terrorist organization is analyzed, it can be seen that this type of organizations are highly efficient, fluid, and able to dynamically change as

circumstances or situations dictate. Terrorist organizations are much more efficient and operationally effective than the functioning of any state bureaucracy.

In this thesis, in chapter one, it was focused on various definitions of terrorism, which are important for a clear analysis aiming at a conclusion about whether one can find a proper consensus in obtaining a clear definition that includes all possibilities regarding terrorism. In the literature, one can find the most detailed definitions of terrorism and the changes of the meaning of the term over time in dictionaries like *Oxford Dictionary*, *Webster's Dictionary* etc. After giving information about these meanings of the concept of terrorism, the thesis focused on a general introduction about the definitions used today in the academic world and in the field of legislation. In this part of the chapter, it became clear that the common points that define terrorism are violence, political aims, fear or the threat of fear, victim target differentiation etc.

Chapter 1 also comprised definitions used in national and international communities. Analyzing the legislative experiences of the countries that have problems with terrorism is incredibly helpful because of their effective measures in the field of legislation to prevent the terror events that affected them. Although many countries make their own legislative regulations against only their own terrorists, one can find the signs of collaboration in the field of legislation among different countries.

The definitions made by the academicians and terror experts have an equal importance with the definitions existed in laws and constitutions of the countries. Therefore, in the same chapter, I presented the definitions of these academicians and terror experts. In the classification of these definitions, it is evident that many different phases in language have been used to expand the boundaries of the terms, but this causes an ambiguity in the meaning. Besides, some definitions tend to be “antithetical” like

Neale's (1973) definition. In his perspective, terrorism is a symbolic art of violence. Another definition is given by Paust. Paust's (1974) definition can be seen an example of the attempt of broadening the concept by introducing new notions like "instrumental target" and "primary target". Some other academicians and terror experts prefer only to define a part of terrorism to avoid this ambiguity in meaning while broadening the concept. For example, Wilkinson (1974) only focuses on the political side of terrorism; therefore, his definition only comprises political terrorism. On the other hand, Bite (1985) prefers to define international terrorism through expressing its modern outcomes such as plane hijackings, train bombings, kidnappings and seizure of hostages for ransom. This statement shows that the question of whether an independent definition of terrorism would be created or the separate events that are thought to be terrorism would be emphasized is still a debate not only in the field of legislation, but also in the academic field. Other definitions in the academic field generally include the use of violence, the intimidation of fear, and some other elements. In this chapter, these points were also carefully discussed.

Chapter 2 mainly concentrated on the historical background and development process of terrorism. In addition, the selectively use of the events in various types of terror events aimed to help understanding how difficult to reach a conclusion about any results commonly accepted as terrorism. The first three terror activities mentioned in this part basically intended to achieve a religious goal. This chapter tried to be constructed in a chorological order.

It is not wrong to say that early terrorist activities mainly concerned with religious issues and attained to pursue a religious goal. After that, another stage of terrorism began to take place. This stage was important because the term "terror" was first used by

the state institutions, which aimed at suppressing of crowds that were not satisfied with the government. Since it was used by the state powers as a justification to their operations against the public, the word terrorism gained a positive meaning and had been used after the French Revolution by the Jacobins. This event can also be accepted as the first sign of state- terrorism. This era of the Jacobins was also marked by the first usage of terrorism as a concept.

In this chapter, the importance of separatist activities and social revolution theories were analyzed. Besides, the activities of the anarchists and their effect to the world politics are evaluated. These events show the importance of a discussion about which activities should be considered as terror event: the actions aiming at a political, religious, or ideological goal, or the actions causing a political, religious, or ideological result? Although many of them do not succeed, nearly all of the terrorist activities done by anarchists have a significant political outcome.

After the Second World War period, another transformation of terrorism was taking place, which was rooted from the events after the French Revolution under Robespierre, a member of the Jacobins. Following his tracks, Lenin and Stalin in Russia, Hitler in Germany, Mao Tse-Tung in China created reign of terrors and they added many characteristics to the system by discovering new methods and concepts regarding how to establish a powerful dictatorship, and to silence individuals by using terrorism.

In the last part of the second chapter, the third and the last transformation of terrorism were pointed out. After the development of mass media and communication technologies, the terrorism has reshaped itself in such conditions that the effect of fear and threat to violence became the most important ingredient of a terror event. By using mass media and communication technologies, terrorists began to acquire power more

than their “real” power. In this part, fundamentalist terror against the United States with the example of the plane crashes in September 11 and against Spain with the example of train bombings were mentioned in a smaller proportion.

The aim of this chapter was mainly giving historical information about different events and periods regarding terrorism and showing the extensiveness and indistinctiveness of the concept. One important point after analyzing the history is that fundamentalist terror came back in modern time that has not been seen till ancient dates. This chapter of the thesis forms the second leg to make a clear statement through analyzing previous definitions made by laws and academicians.

Chapter three basically concerned with differentiating terror events and general terrorism in context from other types of events and crimes like guerilla activities and organized crime. In context, guerilla activities are confused with terrorism or the opposite came true. In this chapter, a solution to this confusion is searched. The part regarding organized crime aims to indicate the differences and similarities between these two. Besides, the use of organized crime by the terrorists in economic means and their common interests like weapon trading, dirty money laundering etc. was analyzed without deepening the subject. After this part, the main argument of the whole thesis has come forward in “steps toward a definition” part. In this part, the six conditions that have to be accepted by the whole world before searching for a consensus about a definition of terrorism was specified. And in the last part, a statistical analysis of the terror events throughout the world between 1973-2003 was given to complete the last ingredient of a clear terror definition, or precondition.

In this thesis, my argument is that although in these conditions of today’s world it seems impossible to reach to an agreement under a common terror definition, by

accepting some preconditions, there can be a reconciliation that everyone will benefit from countering terrorism. In my thesis, I provided these six preconditions as “table theory”. I accept these conditions as a table with six legs. The first three legs make the table stand on its feet and the other three helps it to maintain its balance. The first precondition states that terror is a tool, not an ideal. This is important because it helps to understand the roots of terrorism and the psychology of a terrorist, and the third benefit of this precondition might be preventing the support of terrorist groups by foreign powers.

Second leg is terror is an indirect method for achieving a goal. Accepting this precondition helps to counter terror events because while taking precautions for a terrorist group, it becomes easier to take necessary steps. Also, the government does not have to take a terrorist group as an interlocutor after accepting their actions as an indirect way.

Third leg is the existence of certain physical harm to the people, life, objects, states or organizations. After putting all these three legs, we achieve this conclusion in the half of the table theory. “Any action that works as a tool to achieve a higher ideal with indirect methods and inflicting physical harm to the people, life, objects, states or organizations”. Of course, the first three steps are only the basics. Other three steps aim to put the table in balance.

The first of the three balancing legs is about the perspective of terrorist action. In the fourth leg, I claim that any action assumed to be terrorism should be analyzed from the side of the victim. Any ideal or aim of the terrorist group will be eliminated if the event is conceptualized from the side of the victim.

Fifth leg is any terrorist action should be discordant to national laws or international laws. This leg is to prevent state sponsored or directly state terrorism. With this leg, although national laws approve a kind of reign of terror (especially in totalitarian regimes), with the support of international legislation, the actions done by the state can be named as terrorism. And the last leg of the preconditions is the most distinguishing of all. Any action has to be a political outcome negatively or positively to be accepted as a terror event and perpetrators as terrorists. This article makes it possible to include cyber-terrorism and narcoterrorism to be counted as terror events because of their effects on certain political events.

After putting all the parts of the table, a possible definition arises simultaneously.

This definition can be explained as:

Any action that works as a tool to achieve a higher ideal with indirect methods and inflicting physical harm to the people, life, objects, states or organizations and any action that is committed against the national or international laws, and produces certain political outcomes, is described as terrorism. To make a clear analysis to any event, the situation should be focused on the side of the victim.

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