

**FINANCING OF THE ETHNIC TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS:
THE CASE OF IRA, ETA, PKK**

ECEM ELİF ÜNAL

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FINANCING OF THE ETHNIC TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS:

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BY

ECEM ELİF ÜNAL

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Supervisor :

Prof. Dr. Emin GÜRSES

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethnical conduct I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and references all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date:17.05.2021

Name/Surname:ECEM ELİF ÜNAL

Signature:

ABSTRACT:

Terrorism is no longer a threat today, it has become a danger that affects the whole world. The main resources of terrorist organizations, which are basically ideologically, ethnically and religiously defined, to carry out their activities in the international arena are their financial support. Terrorist organizations need large amounts of financial support to achieve their goals. Terrorist organizations have used the resources of exaction collecting, extortion, robbery, theft, migrant smuggling, human trading, arms trafficking, drug trafficking, money laundering, fundraising and due collection, earning income through the media, and engaging in commercial activities in order to achieve their goals. The main purpose of this thesis was to examine the financial support of terrorist organizations and the international organizations established in order to prevent the financial support provided to the organizations. In order to achieve this goal, firstly, the reasons for the emergence of ethnic terrorist organizations and the financial resources of IRA ETA and PKK organizations, which are defined as ethnic terrorist organizations, have been analyzed.

Keywords: Terrorism, Ethnic Terrorism, Terrorist Financing, Terrorist Financing Sources, IRA, ETA, PKK

ÖZET

Terör, günümüzde bir tehdit olmaktan çıkmış, tüm dünyayı etkisi altına alan bir tehlike haline gelmiştir. Temelde ideolojik, etnik ve dini tanımlı olan terör örgütlerinin uluslararası alanda faaliyet gösteren eylemlerini yürütmek için en büyük temel kaynakları finansal destekleridir. Terör örgütleri hedeflerini gerçekleştirmek için yüksek miktarda finansal desteğe ihtiyaç duyarlar. Terör örgütleri hedeflerini gerçekleştirmek için ; haraç toplama, gasp,soygun,hırsızlık,göçmen kaçakçılığı, insan ticareti, silah kaçakçılığı, uyuşturucu kaçakçılığı, karapara aklama, aidat ve bağış toplama, medya aracılığı ile gelir elde etme, ticari faaliyetlerde bulunma kaynaklarını kullanmışlardır. Bu tez çalışmasının temel amacı , terör örgütlerinin finansal desteklerinin neler olduğu ve örgütlere sağlanan finansal destekleri önlenmesi açısından kurulan uluslararası örgütleri incelemek olmuştur. Bu amaca ulaşmak için, öncelikle etnik terör örgütlerinin ortaya çıkış sebepleri ve etnik terör örgütleri olarak tanımlanan IRA ETA ve PKK örgütlerinin finansal kaynakları analiz edilmiştir.

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ABBREVIATIONS

EU	: European Union
USA	: United States of America
UN	: United Nations
CEEB	: Central and Eastern European Bankwatch
CEPOL	: European Police College
CFCU	: The Central Finance and Contracts Unit
CND	: Commission on Narcotic Drugs
DEA	: Drug Enforcement Administration (USDOJ)
ECO	: Economic Cooperation Organization
EGM	: General Directorate Security
ETA	: Euskadi Ta Askatasuna
IRA	: Irish Republican Army
PIRA	: Provisional IRA
NORAIID	: The Irish Northern Aid Committee
BAC	: Basque Autonomous Committee
FATF	: Financial Action Task Force
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
INCB	: International Narcotic Control Board
INTERPOL	: International Criminal Police Organization
KOM	: Department of Anti-smuggling and Organized Crime
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PKK	: Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan
UNDCP	: United Nations International Drug Control Programme

UNODC	: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
MASAK	: Financial Crimes Investigation Board
TBMM	: Turkish Grand National Assembly
TMK	: Anti-terror Law
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PTA	: Prevention of Terrorism



INTRODUCTION

Overview of the Thesis

With the French revolution, the concept of modern terror started to be used as a political argument. As a result of the economic and social crises caused by industrialization in Europe, terrorism started to leave its traces in the 19th century. Urbanization and rapid population growth led to the mass growth of the working class, which stated that it was hard done by the government. The reaction of the workers and peasants, who could not get what they wanted with industrialization and population growth, prepared the groundwork for many attacks and struggles with law enforcement forces at that time. With the extensive socio-economic changes that occurred with the industrial revolution, terrorism took a revolutionary and anti-state meaning. I. It carried the same meaning until before World War II.

20. By the century, terrorism took the form of international terrorism by assuming its multinational structure with the arrival of the 1960s. When we give an example from recent history, the two poles, which were not in hot conflicts during the Cold War, also fought each other through terrorism. Considering the increase in material and moral costs of wars in this period, proxy wars emerged, which meant using the elements in the target region rather than using their own armies. With the possession of nuclear weapons, the destructive power of the states increased and this situation led the countries to act more cautiously. The devastating damage and casualties that could be caused by the hot war have led states to use terrorism as a tool.

I. The concept of ethnic terrorism, pioneered by the Self-Determination principle after World War II, is based on the understanding of the exploitation of ethnic groups that are formed as a minority in a specific region of a country. In other words, it is the elimination of preventing the transfer of certain rights that are indispensable for the use of the rights that may be necessary for the survival of ethnic groups, either explicitly or implicitly. Due to ethnic, ideological, local, regional, environmental, religious or sectarian differences; for independence or autonomy, citing economic, political, social and cultural differences or inequalities against a political national state order; without showing armed action, separatism, or civilian or military targets, sabotage, economic, material damage or murder incidents to the legitimate security structure order, efforts to use systemic acts as terrorist acts can also be defined as ethnic terrorism.

Among the ethnic terrorist groups, IRA, ETA and PKK, which will be elaborated in the thesis, draw attention due to their long-term activities and destructiveness in countries with democratic regimes. With today's conditions, the IRA has come to an end and has ended its actions. ETA delivered its last weapons to the French authorities in April 2017. The PKK, on the other hand, turned into a political party and reduced the activities of the organization. The different positions of the three terrorist organizations in terms of their actions, financial resources and strategies provide three different examples in terms of comparing the measures taken by the states in the fight against terrorism. In the study, these three examples, ETA, IRA, and PKK, were examined in detail

Investigating the financial resources of the ethnic terrorist organizations IRA ETA and the PKK are methods of struggle to prevent their financing to terrorist organizations in the UK, Spain, Turkey and international arena. The historical processes of the IRA, ETA and PKK, which were founded on the axis of ethnic identity in England, Spain and Turkey, politicization of nationalism in ethnicity, turning ethnic problems into political elements, the ethnic conflicts experienced and most importantly, the financial resources these terrorist organizations receive to continue their activities, subsequently, the struggle to prevent financial resources constitutes the main subject of the study. In this context, the problems, the transition of nationalism to the terrorism dimension, the historical process of terrorism, the financial resources of terrorist organizations, the institutions established in the international arena to prevent financial resources and the fight against terrorism in the UK, Spain and Turkey have been emphasized.

The need for financing is one of the main elements needed by terrorist organizations operating worldwide for their activities. Terrorist organizations have sought to diversify and increase their financial resources by using the crime networks of organized crime while providing financial support. In this way, it's established a mutual relation between terrorist organizations and organized crime on the basis of financial resources. Elements that sustain terrorist organizations are internal and external support, propaganda, agency and finance. The financial source of terrorist organizations consists of acts such as extortion, exaction collecting, kidnapping and ransom, arms trafficking, human trafficking, drug trafficking, fundraising and due collecting.

The threats of terrorist organizations to the economy and political stability of today's states are enormous. It is observed that terrorist organizations, which have intensified and got more complicated with globalization, have increased their activities that are a global threat. It is known that in societies where democracy is on progress, the biggest threat is terrorism and organized crime organizations. This globalizing problem continues to grow, despite the obligations accepted by the states within the framework of some international agreements that remain at insufficient level and the domestic legal regulations of democratic constitutional states. Terrorist organizations threaten the existing democracies of European countries from economic and political aspects, as well as pose a problem for countries trying to develop the democracy process. The economic interdependence between countries further increases the importance of the problem.

The academic study, which is made with examples of the financial resources of ethnic terrorist organizations, IRA ETA and PKK, consists of three chapters. In order to understand the research subject basically, in the first chapter, the concepts of terrorism, violence, ethnic terrorism and nationalism are defined and its historical development is explained, and the constitutional concepts of the concept of terrorism on the basis of the analyzed organizations are emphasized.

In the second chapter, the financial sources of ethnic terrorist organizations are analyzed in detail, and the international organizations established to prevent the financial support of terrorist organizations are explained.

In the third chapter, the financial resources they have obtained are explained in detail by

referring to the historical developments of the IRA ETA and PKK organizations, which are examined within the scope of ethnic terrorism.

In the conclusion chapter, the financial resources of terrorist organizations, the means by which organizations finance and the necessary conditions for the means of struggle are analyzed.

Methodology and Framework

This research, as in all cases, is limited to a specific time and place. As is known, traditional scientific research techniques and methods may not always be applicable. Field research, survey and interview techniques on terrorism issues may not be available in most cases. This thesis has been written as a literature-based analysis and case. Case studies highlight a comprehensive and powerful contextual analysis. This research includes a qualitative research approach. Also, the prescriptive approach has been adopted in this study.

In the preparation of the study, firstly, the definitions of terrorist organizations differing according to the states were included, and then the sources financing the ethnic terrorist organizations were reviewed in a comprehensive literature. The main subject of the study is to examine the theoretical structure of separatist ethnic terrorism that threatens the social peace and order of the modern nation state and to analyze the development of the methods used by terrorist organizations in spreading the climate of violence and fear under the basic background of financial resources. It is the scientific analysis of the financial support of the political, ideological and organizational structuring, which presents the differences and

similarities of the functional structures of the financial resources in the "ETA - IRA - PKK" terrorist organizations, in the continuation of the armed violence and propaganda acts of terrorist organizations. In this context, Turkish and English sources on financing of terrorist organizations, IRA, ETA, and PKK, which are the main elements of the research, were examined.

In order to better understand the financing sources of the ethnic terrorist organizations that are the subject of the study, before giving information about these organizations, the literature on the concepts of terrorism, violence and ethnic terrorism was reviewed and the definitions made by different authors and states were included. In the next stages, the financial resources of terrorist organizations and their income sources were examined, and the activities of terrorist organizations in the international arena to prioritize financial resources were explained.

From this point of view, the main academic problem of this research thesis is:

-With what ideological and political arguments do ethnic terrorist organizations aim to break the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state they are in and to establish a new and separate state?

-What kind of financial resources are used for the ideological and political propaganda methods of ethnic terrorist organizations?

-By what methods are money, weapons, drugs and human trafficking support provided to ethnic terrorist organizations in order to destroy the target country in terrorist activities provided with international support?

XXI. In the 21st century, what methods are used in the transfer of digital financial resources, money and weapons? What kind of communication and cooperation do terrorist organizations use with stock exchange and financial movements?

- What are the modality differences in the financial activities of terrorist organizations?
- Which financial models has the ETA terrorist organization followed?
- Under what conditions did the IRA receive financial support?
- With which financial resources is the PKK terrorist organization in an organic structure at home and abroad?
- Which state or non-state factors provide financial support to the PKK organization?

Figures and tables were also used to understand the research better.

In the research, analytical comparisons were made and the problems were tried to be explained with qualitative definitions, solution of the problems, and concrete policies that describe the parts that have survived to the present in the historical level. Micro and macro approaches are discussed in accordance with the multilevel analysis system. The attitudes of individual, local, regional, national and global actors on the financial resources of terrorist organizations have been used with political, psychological, political science and international relations theories to examine different approaches to the subject with a critical point of view. In this respect, different opinions and approaches from different sources were tried to be explained in an objective academic language.

CHAPTER I : DEFINITION OF ETHNIC TERRORIS, ALSO IN THE SCOPE OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK INCLUDING TERROR AND VIOLENCE CONCEPTS

In order to better understand the academic study, in this section, the concepts of terrorism, violence, ethnic terrorism, nationalism and ethnicity are analyzed within the scope of their lexical meanings; and their historical development, sociological definitions and state constitutions are analyzed.

1.1. Defining The Concept of Terrorism

When terror is examined in the context of its lexical meaning, "Terror: the situation that causes extreme fear, extreme fear, it is a state of violent anger, violence and anger aimed at burning, wrecking, destroying. Although this concept varies according to the governments or organizations, various organized groups that use terrorism are referred to as terrorist organizations; Individuals who perpetrate terrorism are called terrorists or subversive.

Due to the emotional environment created by the concept of "terror", it brings to mind inhuman, incompatible acts of violence. In the definitions made, it can be said that violence is the cornerstone of terrorist acts and it is a matter to be considered.

According to the Great Larousse dictionary and encyclopedia, terror: "The political action of individuals or minorities based on violence and against individuals, property or institutions, all of these acts of violence, individual or collective terrorism, as well as various forms of terrorism.

The origin of the word "terör" in Turkish, from the French word *terreur*, comes from the Latin word *terror*. The Latin word *terror* is derived from the verb *terreo*. The meaning of the verb *terreo* is "I'm scaring." *Terror* deriving from here means "great fear, dread, horror or object of fear". (Wilkinson, 1974) In Turkey, the word anarchy has been used in response to terrorism for years, and in recent years, this word has been abandoned and the word "terror" has been used. The word "anarchy" is of Greek origin. The Greek word means "headless, without ruler". (Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary, New York, 1969) The word anarchy is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as "a state of disorder resulting from a lack of authority or a lack of recognition of authority and other governing mechanisms." The word "*tedhiş*" originated in Arabic is sometimes used to mean terrorism. The word "tedhiş" means "spreading fear, being subversive".

According to the Dictionary of the Turkish Language Society, terror is defined as 'being subversive, murdering and destroying, spreading fear, tedhiş'. According to the French Petit Robert dictionary, terror is defined as "the common fear created by a group in a society to break the resistance of the people". In the Oxford English Dictionary, terror is explained as: "Using the element of horror to threaten and intimidate the people, usually for political reasons."

The concept of terrorism has been defined in the Turkish Anti-Terror Law as "all kinds of

actions aimed at changing the characteristics specified in the constitution and the political, legal, social, secular, economic order". While the legal definition of terror within the framework of the Anti-Terror Law of the Turkish Republic Anti-Terror Branch Office is made as follows, it is noteworthy that this definition is actually the definition of the word terrorism: Terror is all kinds of actions to be taken by a person or persons belonging to an organization (here the term organization includes an organization, a society, an armed society, a gang or an armed gang, where two or more persons join together for the same purpose) in order to change the characteristics, political, legal, social, secular and economic order of the republic specified in the constitution, to disrupt the indivisible integrity of the state with its country and nation, to endanger the existence of the Turkish state and republic, to undermine and destroy or capture state authority, to destroy fundamental rights and freedoms, to harm the domestic and foreign security of the state, the public order or the general health through repression, coercion, and violence in one of the ways of intimidation, suppression, frighten, or threaten. (İstanbul Security Directorate, 2004)

The British Anti-Terror Law defines terror as: "the use of violence against political institutions or use of violence to leave various segments of society in fear", while the French Anti-Terror Law defines terror as: "It is any activity that is carried out individually or collectively for the purpose of serious disruption of the existing public order through pressure or threat." "Definition of Terror", which took place before Article 1 of the United Nations Anti-Terror Law No. 3713 was amended by Article 20 of Law No. 4928 on 15.07.2003; It has determined that the use of repression, coercion and violence, frightening, intimidation, suppression or threatening as an element in order for an organization to acquire the character of a terrorist organization.

There are various definitions on the concept of terrorism. When terrorism is examined in the context of its lexical meaning, terrorism or intimidation is a term that refers to the use of pressure, intimidation and all kinds of violent means against civilians, specified target groups or official, local and general administrations in order to achieve political, religious or economic goals.

The United States defines terrorism as: "It is the illegal use of force and violence to coerce the government and intimidate or threaten the public with the aim of achieving social and political goals." (www.cfr.org, 2017).

NATO's definition of terrorism is (www.nato.int, 2018): "It is the use of illegal force on a population that spreads fear and distrust in order to humiliate the people and the government in order to achieve political, religious and ideological goals."

Although terrorism is interpreted in various ways by different theorists, as a result, the factor they want to explain is the same. At this point, the definition of terrorism emphasized in Ali Khan's book "A Legal Theory of International Terrorism" is important (Khan, 2006:23): "Terrorism stems from the derivation of groups claiming to be victims. These victim groups have two important features: they have specific political goals and the violence is indispensable to achieving their goals." We can define terrorism as creating a new regime in line with its own political goals and ideologies by destroying the existing regime or system with fear and violence. In addition, the concept of terror refers to psychological reaction and fear, while terrorism refers to the whole and strategy of political, systematic and organized actions.

There are many different definitions of the concept of terrorism in the literature. When these definitions are examined, it is seen that the most important common features are threat, violence, use of force, spreading fear, pursuing a political or ideological goal and creating a psychological effect on society. (Stephen, 2003) On the other hand, we see that they have common goals such as terrifying society by terrorizing it, undermining or destroying existing authority, enabling the authority to use methods of pressure on the public, mobilizing forces against the government or the existing order, neutralizing the powers and institutions of the current sovereign, influencing the public in their favor, directing the public negatively towards the authority, and acquiring political power or overthrowing the current administration. Within the scope of this information, we can define terrorism as terrorizing the society by using violence and force, affecting the public opinion in favor of or against the authority, and mobilizing groups or individuals opposed to the authority, destroying the existing authority and seizing political power centers in line with its political purposes.

Terrorism has been described by Ann Weil under the title "What is Terrorism?" of his book "Disasters: Terrorism" as follows: "Terrorism is a method of war in which randomly chosen victims or victims of symbolic value are chosen as means of violence. The victimization of these instrumental victims depends on their place in the group or class to which they belong. Thus, other individuals belonging to that group or class are also pushed into a chronic fear of terrorism". Wardlaw, one of the representatives of the view that sees the definition of terrorism as an ethical problem, says that focusing on the target in terror definitions leads to moral justifications. According to Wardlaw, terror is a form of behavior that uses violence. Wardlaw, who treats terrorism only as a form of behavior, names the situations in which this behavior becomes evident for political purposes as "political

terrorism". In this context, he explained political terrorism as "The use of violence or the threat of the use of violence designed to impose on this audience the political demands of the planners of the action by creating excessive fear and anxiety in a wider audience than the current victims of the act by individuals or groups, for or against the established authority.

According to Hoffman, the point that should come to the fore in terrorism definitions is the political aspect of terrorism. In this context, Hoffman's definition of terrorism is in the direction of the use of violence for political purposes, planned, calculated and systematic. The point that differentiates Hoffman is that the concept of terrorism attaches great importance to the process of historical change and because of the constant change of connotations brought to mind by the concept in this process, he deals with the concept dynamically. Within the framework of this dynamism, terrorism has been a concept that has constantly changed in terms of meaning and content since the Jacobins period. Terrorism is more than just a random act of violence as it involves political, ideological or religious motivations. Terrorism is a strategy. The reasons why a group or individual committed a terrorist act may vary. Terrorism can occur for many reasons such as religious, ideological, pedagogical, socio-economic, political, psychological, ethno-cultural reasons, as well as historical factors, pressure from leaders and state persecution, violations of international law, and deprivation of fundamental rights (Albayrak, 2004:295).

We can examine terrorism in three different classes as socioeconomic reasons, political reasons and ideological reasons. When we look at socio-economic reasons, factors such as poverty, unemployment, demographic structure, education are counted among socio-economic reasons (Şimşek, 2016: 327). Poverty, unemployment, especially in underdeveloped and developing countries, inequality in income distribution due to wrong

economic policies or policies implemented, the gap between the rich and the poor is widening causes people in society to not fully meet their expectations. People who form societies that have not reached the level they want economically can resort to terrorism (Albayrak, 2004: 295-296). Political reasons, on the other hand, are undoubtedly one of the most important reasons for the emergence of terrorism in countries. If political parties act in the opposite direction of their discourse and fail to fulfill their promises when they become administrators, it may cause a crisis of trust in the public. This situation causes polarization in the society by destroying some parties, raising other parties which have radical ideas. This polarization in society turns into mutual struggles over time (Albayrak, 2004: 296). In fact, terrorism, by definition, is the systematic use of violence to achieve political goals. Political factors, such as the absence or insufficiency of the regime in the country, the weak state authority, desiring the re-establishment of the old regime, using state authority for the interests of some groups, the formation of conflicts between existing ideologies and between political parties and these conflicts becoming unrecoverable, conflicts of opinion between the organs that make up the state, the emergence of government crises, corruption in state institutions, spread of corruption, the government of a political staff that could not renew themselves according to the requirements of the period, are accepted as the reasons for the emergence of terrorism. For ideological reasons, which are third class, terrorist organizations aim to impose their political ideas and goals on other groups. This situation reflects the ideological dimension of terrorism. Terrorist organizations are distinguished from other groups by drawing the boundaries of their activities according to the ideological goals they choose (Şimşek, 2016: 327). The ideologies adopted by terrorist organizations are Marxist, Leninist and Maoist ideologies, separatist, ethnic separatist, ideology, religious-theme ideologies (Kaplan and Dayioglu, 2017: 624).

The most important purpose of terrorism is to draw public attention to the ideology or

cause believed. This attention is caused by a sense of fear and horror that occurs in society after acts of violence. After fear and horror, the desired point is to spread the dilemma of "being a party" or "not being a party" into the society. Acting on this point of view, terrorism "prohibits the right of people to be impartial, destroys their mental and emotional innocence, pulls them into an environment of violence, and leads to the politicization and polarization of society through violence.

The most important problem of studies on terrorism is the difficulties encountered in defining the concepts of "terror" and "terrorism". The fact that there is no consensus on a common definition of terrorism brings up many different definitions both in practice and in the theoretical field. Terror and terrorism are separate concepts. "Terrorism is the killing of civilians or security officials by means of propaganda and resounding actions in order to achieve any purpose, which is mostly political." Terrorism is a strategic discourse that adopts organized, systematic and continuous use of terrorism for political purposes. (Mendez, 2002)

We can call terror as strategic action and terrorism as strategic discourse. Therefore, for example, although there is "terror" in any lynching or traffic accident, there is no "terrorism". Terrorists carry out their actions and turn to propaganda for the purposes of these actions. Terrorism steps in after this stage. In short, in order to talk about terrorism, there must be a series of terror incidents aimed at the same political purpose. It is an undoubted fact that disconnected terror movements will increase dread and fear in society; however, this is not enough to talk about terrorism.

1.1.1 Terrorism and Organized Crime

The concepts of terrorism and organized crime have many similarities. In the literature researches, it is stated that organized crime is primarily related to "rational criminal activity" and that organized crime can only occur with the presence of an organization participating in illegal activities (Von Lampe, 2008). Another view on this issue is seen as only about the concentration of power, separate from the organization and organization of the crime. This shows it as an alliance between criminals and the political and economic elite. Criminological theories focus on the social determinant and main source of criminal behavior. Environmental criminology is a term used to achieve the target options of criminals and their goals in a way that can be rationally explained. The terms terrorism and organized crime have similarities as well as differences. Terrorist organizations are basically ideological organizations. Organized criminal organizations do not act on a specific political view and belief, but they strive to have a maximum share in legal or illegal markets in order to gain maximum financial profit. Terrorist organizations seek ideology and political purpose in their activities. This feature reveals the fundamental difference between terrorist organizations and organized crime groups. Terrorist organizations aim to change the ideological and political situation in a region with acts of violence. Organized crime, which does not have an ideological structure, aims to direct the current political situation in accordance with its own interests. Organized crimes, on the other hand, are benefit-oriented structures based on financial interests. Terrorist organizations aim to increase their financial resources by using the crime networks of cross-border organized crime organizations. In this respect, terrorism is a concept that includes the concept of organized crime within the scope of activities.

1.2.1. Terrorism and Violence

While defining the concept of terror, it was stated that violence is indispensable. The terrorist, opposing the existing structure, applies violence with lethal weapons regardless of the target audience and expects to intimidate the public or the existing structure. Terror is a concept that originates in violence and is fed with violence. Terrorist organizations terrorize the society by using violence and force, and by mobilizing certain groups and individuals for their favor or against the authority, they destroy the existing authority and carry out terrorist activities in order to seize the authority and political power in line with their ideological and political purposes. To provide their propaganda, militant training and all equipment used in violent acts, accommodation, nutrition and travel of the members of the organization, terrorist organizations need a source of income, that is, an economic power. The most important tools of violence are armament and attacks. Even if an organized attack is not planned, violence is used by using Molotov cocktails, bomb packages and vehicles, assassination, kidnapping, suicide bomber, and permanent damage is planned to the target audience. During these actions, it is aimed to reveal a vulnerability and lack of security collectively by targeting the private positions of the public and institutions of the state and the private sector as well as the public. The important thing is to reflect the vulnerability of the state's security forces and the state administration to the public and to shake the public's trust in these units. Violence is not only used by means of weapons and by giving harm, but also through words, actions and behaviors. When this type of psychological violence is applied, psychological disorders occur in the individuals or groups that are applied, and it can be progressed towards the intended goal.

Despite the fact that violence is the direct source and starting point of brutality, violence

used in terrorist acts is a method that must be used to achieve the goal rather than being a direct tool of brutality. Although the findings resulting from the excessive dose of violence in the methods used in achieving the purpose in terrorist acts are perceived and named as "brutality", the main goal of a terrorist act is to cause brutality as a result of the reflection of the unrestrained feelings of violence on the surface. Every human being is born with co-instincts that include the impulse of violence in their nature, their suppression or their becoming dominant tendency is shaped over time depending on the environment, education, culture and economic conditions they have (Çitlioğlu, 2006). Considering the subject in terms of the psychology of the terrorist, the sources and reasons of terrorism should be evaluated in terms of the anthropological, sociological, psychological, cultural structures and socioeconomic conditions of the peoples living in different geographies, the conflicts they have experienced in the historical process, the body of social values, resistance and breaking points.

While explaining the equation of violence / brutality / terror / human at the conference on "Terror in the World and Turkey" held in Ankara in 2002 by the Central Bank, the following views are given and it is mentioned that violence and human beings are inseparable or complement each other: "It is known that in every historical period, political violence took the form of an incredible brutality, and actions were carried out in which the activist took the barbarity towards others to terrifying dimensions by also intending to end his own life is not unique for the present day. What is peculiar to today is that the activist has a mental functioning that knows that the action will reach the perception world of all humanity, thanks to information technologies and media understanding." (Göka, 2006)

The concept of "world emotion economy" has an importance that must be taken into

consideration in order to examine the methods of combating terrorism and the sources of terrorism. Unless it is taken into consideration that the "supply and demand" law, marketing techniques and methods are inevitably at the root of a terrorist act, it does not seem possible to develop anti-rational methods in the fight against terrorism. Considering that this 'supply' offered to societies, communities and people who live with the feelings of being wronged, humiliated, oppressed, exploited, excluded, and who cannot find a method of expression other than violence against those who create these feelings, constitutes terrorism as 'demand', and the transformation of an oppressive and imposing supply into a rising value also increases the demand for terrorism, when this emotional economy combines with the feeling of violence that exists within human beings, it is negativity to expect terrorism to come to an end and to be terminated.

1.2. Historical Development of Terrorism Concepts

Undoubtedly, terror and terrorism are among the most important security problems of today. Countries have become direct targets of terrorism. In most general terms, the fact that a common definition of terrorism, which can be defined as organized violence activities carried out for the purpose of creating violence and fear for political reasons, could not be defined on an international level and that a common reaction could not be formed due to this lack of definition shows that terrorism will be on the world agenda for a long time. Terrorism is not a new problem. Because terrorism is a phenomenon that can be regarded as the same as human history. The first examples of terrorism have manifested themselves in the form of assassinations, murders and sensational attacks.

When the development process of terrorism is examined, it is seen that different terrorism

waves occur in periods approaching half a century on average. In the development of terrorism, especially the attacks of September 11, 2001 are at the turning point. With these attacks, the terror routine from the past has been broken. The acts of terrorism, which were previously carried out in the form of sensational and small-scale actions for political reasons, led to a destruction and loss of life comparable to a war. This situation has completely changed the history of terrorism. When the terrorist acts that have taken place since the past are evaluated, it is seen that there has been a rapid increase after September 11.

Although the concepts of terror and terrorism have reached a level that affects the whole world and can cause massive deaths, their appearance goes back to the beginning of human history. However, the fact that such a history exists is often overlooked and terrorism has not occurred equally in all periods. After a period of relative calm in terms of terrorism, when it emerged again, its history was ignored and it was seen as a new phenomenon (Laqueur, 2001: vii). This situation increases the importance of the development of terrorism. How terrorism emerged and adapted to changing times gains importance in the analysis of today's terrorist activities. In Ancient Age, there were Judean Zealots, known to the Romans as the Sicarii or the men with daggers, who had a structure similar to modern terrorist organizations. Motivated by their uncompromising belief that they would not be able to fulfill the requirements of Judaism under Roman occupation, the Zealots, who continued their activities in secret, consisted of Jews, and they assassinated Jews they thought were collaborating with the Roman occupation forces and the Romans (Terrorism-Research Web Site, 2019). Another organization in Ancient Age was the Hashashins (Assassins), founded under the leadership of Hasan Sabbah. During their time, they became a problem for many states, especially the Seljuk Empire (Paksoy, 2013). Similar to the Zealots, the Hashashins, who were supported by

religious doctrines, set the goal of destroying the Great Seljuk Empire, and for this purpose, similar to the Zealots, they often carried out political assassinations with daggers. In addition to religious education, they also provided foreign language, philosophy and politics education to their members, whom they had received a very serious education, in this way, they kept them hidden until they achieved their goals. (Kırımtat, 2019). The leader of the Hashashins, Hasan Sabbah, interpreted the verses of Koran in his own way and made them a suitable thinking system for their purposes (Terzi, 2016: 31). The key elements of terrorism in today's sense were not encountered until the 1700s after the Hashashins, even though barbarism was involved in wars and conflicts, there were no elements that evoke terrorism. In the process of the nationalization of kingdoms and principalities after the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, there were sufficient tools to exercise authority and suppress activities such as terrorism. (Terrorism Research, 2019).

With the French Revolution of 1789, the period that was also described as "Revolutionary Terrorism" started. It is accepted by many scholars that modern terror started with the "French Revolution" and that it was formed by the emergence of a group known as the Narodnaya Volya, the People's Will, in Tsarist Russia in the 19th century, and that this group is one of the first and most important examples of terrorism. Finding the current power of the period completely despotic, this group assassinated many statesmen. After the French Revolution of 1789, the period between March 1793 and July 1794 was referred to as "Terrorist regime" by historians and terror was defined as the act of forcibly adopting an idea or target believed to be true and absolute, and using violence for this purpose. After the political events that took place during the 19th century, the meaning of terrorism changed. Accordingly, terrorism has become not only the violence of the state against the people but also the violence of individuals and political groups against the state. In the 20th century, the concept of "*cold war period terror*" emerged and terror began to be used frequently by states. During this period,

there was a guardian country where almost every terrorist organization received support from it and demonstrated on its behalf. The collapse of empires in the 19th and 20th centuries and the formation of new balances in the distribution of political power enabled terrorists to emerge with certain demands such as liberalizing the state or regime and caused them to engage in very bloody terrorist acts. "Organized political terror" was used by nationalist-separatist terrorists.

After the First World War, the concept of "self-determination" has been associated with "Modern Terror". While the national independence movements gained their independence by using violence, the political motivation behind these independence movements has come to determine whether this violence is a terrorist act and the international environment. (Brend, 2004.) Until the Second World War, the states that wanted to get the share they wanted from the world resources were trying to reach their goals with military occupations, and the hot wars caused great material and moral losses, causing these focuses to change their methods. The 1970s and 1980s caused an increase in "State-sponsored terror". Terrorist organizations have become the tools these states use to achieve their political goals. After the "Cold War", the economic borders between states gradually decreased and economic dependency relations developed. With the end of the Second World War, terrorism came out of the influence of revolutionaries and turned into a "Cold War Weapon" and "foreign policy instrument". In this period, countries used terrorism as a tool by forming various terrorist groups or supporting existing terrorist groups instead of fighting each other directly with the effect of the world wars. This period lasted until the collapse of the USSR, when the unipolar order was established. Then, in the 1990s, terrorism has become a global asymmetric threat (Union of Turkish Bar Associations, 2006: 39). With the "Democratic revolutions" in 1989-1990, the

countries in the "Eastern Bloc" opened to the world economic system by transitioning to a free market economy. The difficulties of finding resources in the economic restructuring process of the former Socialist States of Middle Eastern Europe have led them to make as little difficulty as possible for foreign capital inflows. The inadequacy of these states' legislation on organized crime and the restructuring of their economic systems in transition to a free market economy created an environment that terrorists and organized crime organizations exploited. Thus, organized crime organizations formed the chain of "Terror-drug traffic and great mafia crime". During this period, there are two groups: "Those who formed the" state terror and terror regime "in order to prevent counter-revolutions and those who reinterpret terrorism and shape their actions accordingly in order to make a revolution. Terrorist acts in this period were directed towards the liquidation of monarchies and the creation of nation states, and since the mid-19th century, anarchists who aimed to transform societies and states brought modern terrorism into the question (Union of Turkish Bar Associations, 2006:30).

In the 20th century, terrorism took the form of international terrorism by assuming multinational structures with the arrival of the 1960s and ceased to be the only method used in regular wars. With the possession of nuclear weapons, the destructive power of the states increased and this situation led the countries to act more cautiously. The devastating damage and casualties that could be caused by the hot war have led states to use terrorism as a tool. The conflict environments created by the expansionist and exploitative policies put into practice by the great powers for the sustainability of their own lives and to increase their share of social welfare have created micro-nationalism currents. Ethnic conflicts fed by the gaining power of these currents have been adopted as the "new slavery order" by underdeveloped or developing countries, which they carried along with globalization. Considering the

developments experienced, the change in the world has made new identities increasing and continuing with new methods, new expansions. One of the most important aspects of this change is that in 25 years; authority of the governments will decrease, a new power centre that is made up of NGO and finance-fund industry cartels will increase their influence in internal governing and the international field, and instead of inter-government relations, certain power centres will oversee governments and will become the dominant power. Taking this into consideration, it would not be wrong to propose that terror factor will not only continue to be the weapon of marginal groups, but also will become a weapon in the hands of the governmental and non-governmental power centres that want to increase their power and dominance.

Living in safety is one of the most basic needs of all people. However, although its methods and goals have changed in the historical process, terrorism has been an important threat to this need of people, world peace and stability. In this different threat perception, terror, which is used as a method of war today, has gained a global character by increasing its destructive effect as a result of technological developments. Security has been the most important issue of all societies due to the events that have taken place in the world, in our region and in Turkey in recent years. Terrorism has not only national but also international dimensions. It is now accepted by all the states of the world that it is one of the most important problems that pose a threat to both national and international security. Many countries faced the problem of terror and had to fight against terrorist organizations with different ideologies. The decline in state support and the attractive consequences of globalization being within the scope of terrorist organizations have caused terrorist organizations to get closer to organized crime and in some cases to be directly involved in criminal activities that generate significant profits.

The basic aims of terror and terrorism may differ according to the countries in which terrorist organizations operate and the centers that direct them. In the terror courtcases that are being held, members of the terrorist organization state that, depending on the ideology they defend, they aim a happier and fairer lifestyle and aim to destroy the governments and administrators they see as injustice, inequity and cruelty. If a terrorist organization serves the interests of a state, albeit indirectly, and facilitates the implementation of certain policies, this organization can be accepted and supported by the state as an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist. On the contrary, if the organization in question follows a policy that is incompatible with the interests of the state, this time it is accepted as an illegal formation that needs to be fought and tried to be prevented. Although it is not valid for every state, the tendency of states to see terrorism in this direction until recently is one of the main reasons why the terrorism problem has become so deeply rooted today.

Today, the most important aspect of terrorism is that it has gained an international character and has developed these relations considerably. Now, terrorists are not only within the borders of the state they are in, as they used to be, but they provide mutual support by establishing links with different groups in other states. The reason why states have chosen terrorism as a method of spreading their ideologies can be shown as the reason for increasing organic ties and cooperation between international terrorist organizations in terms of intelligence, training, logistics, technical and financial means of action. It is also seen that the acts of violence gradually gain an interstate dimension. In this regard, "International terrorism can be defined as terrorist activities whose content and repetition have international consequences."

Terrorism and terrorism have not only been a form of action resorted to by some organizations, communities and societies to achieve their political goals, but sometimes a structure that states cannot give up. In this respect, although targetless, involuntary and unsystematic individual behaviors can be called terrorism; It is the conscious use of terrorism in order to achieve political goals in a systematic and affordable way. Knowing that the destructive and traumatic effects of terrorism undermine their ability to make the right decisions as a result of the psychological traumas it creates on societies, ethnic-religious-ideological groups, who see that they can use the order of the countries they live in to destroy in the direction of their own purposes and philosophies, as well as to influence other countries, and they may emerge not only as a transnational but also an internal new source of threat.

1.3. Terrorism in Terms of Constitutions

In this section, within the scope of the academic study, the terror constitutions of the states where the IRA, ETA and PKK were established were examined.

In the period before 1991, when there was no regulation regulating the concept of terrorism and terrorist crimes in the Turkish Constitution, crimes that could be associated with terrorism were regulated in the articles 141, 142 and 163 of the Turkish Penal Code numbered 765, which were the subject of controversy during the period it was in effect. (Engin Akın, Anayasa Mahkemesi – Yargıtay Kararları ve Uluslararası Hukuk Metinleri Çerçevesinde Terör ve Terörün Finansmanı Suçu, Adalet Kitabevi, Ankara, 2009, p.43.) As a matter of fact, these three provisions were abolished with the article 23 of the Anti-Terror Law numbered

3713. The legal gap created by the abolition of articles 141, 142 and 163 of the Former Turkish Penal Code was filled with Article 8 of the Anti-Terror Law, which was later repealed by Article 7 titled "terrorist organizations". Except for these three articles, provision binding terrorist organizations to special sanctions is the "armed society and gang" crime regulated in Article 168, "armed organization" crime regulated in Article 314 of the Turkish Penal Code No.5237 corresponds to Article 168 of Law No. 65.

According to the first version of the Anti-Terror Law, which was adopted in 1991, the first paragraph of the article 7 is as follows: "With the provisions of Articles 3 and 4 and Articles 168, 169, 171, 313, 314 and 315 of the Turkish Criminal Code, provided that the provisions of the Turkish Penal Code are reserved, those who establish the organizations within the scope of Article 1 of this Law, and those who regulate or direct their activities under any name, are punished with heavy imprisonment from five to ten years and judicial fines from two hundred million liras to five hundred million liras, those who join these organizations are punished with heavy imprisonment from three to five years and judicial fines from one hundred million to three hundred million liras." The views put forward by Oltan Sungurlu, the Minister of Justice of the period when the Anti-Terror Law was adopted, are such as to shed light on the concept of terrorist organization created by Article 7. Sungurlu, drawing attention to the reserved provisions of the Turkish Penal Code in the first state of the article 7 above, emphasized that the "terrorist organization" was created as a new type of organization outside the scope of those articles. Therefore, an organization formed for the purpose of committing the crimes in articles 168, 169, 171, 313, 314 and 315 of the Turkish Penal Code, which is reserved in the first version of Article 7, will not legally qualify as a terrorist organization. Thus, the terrorist organization in its form in 1991 appears to be a type of organization that incorporates the elements enumerated in the law, apart from the aforementioned provisions.

The second paragraph of the same article was amended in the period before 2006, just like Article 1 of the Law, 15 days after the Law No. 4928 is adopted in 2003, with Law No. 4963, is adopted on July 30, 2003. Therefore, in terms of this regulation, it can be mentioned that there are three different periods as 1991-2003, 2003-2006 and after 2006, as we have emphasized regarding the article 1. The fact that the law is amended by two separate laws within the same year, even every fifteen days, is a concrete indication of a careless attitude in the regulation of the Anti-Terror Law. (TBMM,1991)

In England, the British Anti-Terror Law authorizes the Home Secretary to declare national and international organizations that he believes to be involved in terrorism as "terrorist organizations". According to Article 56 of the Law, those who manage all kinds of acts related to the commission of terrorist acts, regardless of their level, are considered guilty. Although taking part in the activities of the terrorist group does not constitute a crime in itself, measures have been taken to punish it for some specific crimes. Belonging to or inviting to a terrorist organization is defined as a crime. It is also considered a crime to dress in a way that raises the suspicion of being a member or supporter of a terrorist organization, carrying or displaying the symbols of these organizations. Unlike Article 56, these are only valid for organizations that have been declared terrorist organizations. Regardless of whether any other terrorist organization has been declared or not, providing financing or collecting money related to terrorism, collecting information for terrorist purposes is also considered a crime. According to the 1st paragraph of Article 57, a person who has any substance that can serve the purpose of committing, preparing or instigating a terrorist crime is considered to have committed a crime if he/she is suspected of terrorist crime.

In Spain, the Spanish Criminal Code makes a distinction between terrorist crimes

committed by members of an organization and individual terrorist crimes. Crimes within the scope of articles 570 and 571 of the Spanish Penal Code, that is, terrorist crimes or those who praise or justify those who have committed these crimes through any communication or broadcast medium or those who conduct activities that damage the reputation, despise or dignify victims of terrorist crimes or their families will be sentenced to one to two years in prison.

2.1. Structure of Ethnic Terrorism

In this chapter of the academic study, the terms nationalism, ethnicity, ethnic group, ethnic identity and nation will be examined within the scope of the concept of "Ethnic Terror".

Terror is the most important problem faced by democracies and it is a serious threat by targeting the national unity of states. Separatist and violent movements with an ethnic character are a situation where these two problems are experienced together. The main problem arises when the fight against terror is carried out within the boundaries of democracy. Because in democratic societies where ethnic revival is prominent, the establishment of social order and the protection of the country's integrity appear as a serious threat, and this threat cannot be remedied with existing legal regulations. For this reason, it has been a matter of debate whether special regulations and organizations to combat terror and the ethnic separatist violence movement are compatible with democracy.

When we look at ethnic terror within the context of its lexical meaning, it is the expression of the use of the rights necessary for the survival of ethnic groups by turning it into violence.

Due to ethnic, ideological, local, regional, environmental, religious or sectarian differences, arguing in the context of inequality of economic, political, social and cultural differences against a political national state order, armed attempts for independence and autonomy, separatism or sabotage of the legitimate security system without showing civil and military targets, economic, material damage, and systemic use of murder as terrorist acts are defined as ethnic terror.(D.Byman,1998:149-69.)

The main feature of ethnic terrorism is that it creates fear in society through violence in order to obtain political concessions. Especially in ethnic terrorist organizations, which claim that they are excluded due to ethnic differences, they are exposed to injustice and which try to form a mass of supporters fed by this feeling, the aim is to control the future of the society they claim to be the vanguard or to have a say in the distribution of power. The purpose of the actions of an ethnic-based terrorist organization is often to obtain state status on behalf of a group. (Derian,1992:105.)

Ethnic terrorist organizations support separatist groups who are dissatisfied with the policies of the central government to strengthen their infrastructure, to determine a policy against the administration as a result of their political and economic reasons. These ethnic groups have always been the target of terrorist or anti-system groups. It has been observed that the governments of developing countries deal with economic, political and human rights issues at the same time and face difficulties by solving the existing problems without destabilizing them. The lack of sufficient financial resources of these administrations has created difficulties in providing the basic needs of the people and necessary services. The exploitation of ethnic groups in the form of a minority in a specific region of a country has prepared a suitable ground for nationalist and social organizations, unrest between people.

Since such organizations cause a fear that social control is being lost in central administrations, central governments primarily chose to suppress these movements by force.

Since the 1970s, the IRA and ETA, starting in the mid-1980s, the PKK has come to a position that can determine the agendas of these countries by threatening the political and economic stability in the UK, Spain and Turkey. The most basic common arguments of these three organizations are that their people are colonized, therefore they claim the right of nations to self-determination and that they are fighting for this right. These organizations sought the support of social and international organizations in line with their goals. While the IRA and ETA found the opportunity to increase their power in developed industrial societies, the PKK found significant support in the periphery of a developing country, in an agricultural society, especially among the youth. In these organizations, while nationalism mixed with socialism was used in the arguments they used for the upper-level members, cultural, historical, mythical motifs were emphasized against the organizational elements. (Gürses, 2007)

Terrorist organizations differ in terms of their ideology. When the organizations in the literature (Çağlar, 1997: 124-125) are analyzed from an ideological point of view, organizations with Marxist - Leninist ideology aimed to overthrow the state regime and establish a Marxist - Leninist structure instead, and they were divided into two different parts. While one group wants to establish the Marxist-Leninist approach as a state order by coming to power through democratic means, the other group wants to establish a Marxist-Leninist political system with the revolutionary movement and through armed conflicts. In Marxist - Leninist organizations, the central committee, executive committee, secretariat, regional organizations, provincial or district organizations and cells constitute the structuring. An

ideology that adheres to ethnic origin constitutes the second group. These kinds of organizations, which have a divisive feature as well as ethnic origin, aimed to establish an independent or semi-independent state within the state.

At the beginning of an ethnic movement, usually a group of educated people decide to organize within a certain political program, claiming that they can find a definitive solution in times of increased social, economic and political crisis. Ethnic-based terrorist organizations, in the first stage, intensify their organizational activities especially among the group members who are excluded from the society or who are disturbed by the current structure. This period is called political organization. The Armed Operations Teams formed by the organization for illegal action activities are directly attached to the Central Committee. A unit responsible for financial affairs is established in order to provide the financial resources required for the activities of the organization. This unit is also accompanied by a group of consultants. Consultants follow up on how to obtain financial resources in the most appropriate way.

Leaders of ethnic-based terrorist organizations often believe that military success is necessary for political success and try to spread terrorist acts to weaken the central authority. The second name of Sinn Fein, the political party of Northern Ireland Catholic nationalists, Martin McGuinness, Belfast, explained the strategy of the Sinn Fein movement of February 26, 1994 in one sentence: "Sinn Fein will sit on the table with weapons." These words are the common slogan of the majority of ethnic-based terrorist organizations.

There are similarities as well as differences in organizations that fall under the scope of ethnic terrorism. The number of personnel who will carry out actions in the PKK movement is higher than that of the professional organizations of the IRA and ETA, which are active action

cadres. Unlike the IRA and ETA, we cannot see the structuring of the PKK in the ethnic movements of the industrial society, which consists of professionals. The high number of PKK members creates difficulties for the organization in the control of these personnel and in providing weapons and ammunition. The aim of ethnic-based terrorist organizations is to organize the community that they represent or claim to represent as a separate state, if possible, under their own leadership. Another important aim of the armed struggle is to ensure that the military expenses of the central government reach an unbearable level and thus to pave the way for the maturation of other economically based social movements, especially by leaving the central authority in a difficult situation.

Among ethnic terrorist groups, the IRA, ETA and PKK draw attention due to their long-term activities and destructiveness in countries with democratic regimes. As of today, the IRA has come to an end and put an end to its actions. ETA was disrupted and delivered its last weapons to the French authorities in April 2017. The PKK continues its activities. "IRA, ETA, PKK" has been examined in detail in the study, together with comparing the different positions of the three terrorist organizations in terms of their actions and strategies, the measures taken by the states in the fight against terrorism and presenting three different examples in terms of the financial support of the mentioned terrorist organizations.

2.1.1. Defining the Concepts of Nationalism and Ethnicity Within Ethnic Terror

Ethnic separatist movement is a violent movement that is carried out for the purpose of gaining independence from the country of affiliation of a particular region. Ethnic separatist movements are not movements that belong to a certain part of the world and can be seen in

many parts of the world. Tamils in Sri Lanka, Yoruba, Hausa and Ibo in Nigeria, Abaza and Asets in Georgia, Catalans and Basques in Spain, Scottish and Northern Irish people in England and Kurds in Turkey can be seen in different geographies. The aim of ethnic separatism is to divide the society on this axis by claiming that they are different in the form of separate race, sect and religion by the elements of the society as a whole, or to gain independence by separating a specific region or area from the country to which it is currently affiliated.

Structuring of ethnic organizations; It consists of regional officials, provincial or district officials and committees. While nationalist ideology constitutes the third group, these organizations believe in the existence of a single leader and advocate a central structure aiming at a new arrangement in areas such as culture, economy and politics. These organizations, which are highly dependent on their race, believe only in racial unity, regardless of citizenship. The structuring of racist organizations consists of senior management, regional officials, provincial or district officials and presidencies. The last group consists of terrorist organizations that take religion as an ideological basis for itself. Organizations with such ideologies shape the state structure according to their own ideologies, but base this ideology on religion.

Ethnicity was first used as a political concept in 1953 by David Friesman, an American sociologist. Hutchinson and Smith defined ethnicity as living in harmony with people with biological and cultural characteristics. The term "Ethnos" has been used to describe non-Greek foreign barbarians in an exclusionary way.

The concepts of nationalism, ethnic group, nation, tribe, nomadic societies, and clan are all based on ancestry (Berghe, 1987:15). Berghe links this kinship and descent relationship to the ideology of nationalism present in the Western tradition. Ethnicity, on the other hand, individuals of ancestry know that ethnicity is different from other groups with the consciousness of being rooted, and they fight for the homeland (Berghe, 1987:15).

The terms ethnicity and ethnic group can often be used interchangeably. Although the two concepts are very close to each other, there is a subtle difference between them. Although ethnic group is based on forefather (ancestry), culture or national origin; ethnicity is the identified or articulated version of an ethnic group. Max Weber (cited in Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 35) assumes that the ethnic group is formed by the similarities of communities in physical and objective beliefs, such as traditions and common descent, or the memories of the colony or migration. Weber expresses objectively that it does not matter whether there is a blood relationship within the group. Weber is based not on the common blood or descent of the people in the group, but on the "belief" of a common root. According to Smith, it presents a framework in which the ethnic group consists of values such as common ancestry myths, shared historical memories, one or more elements of culture, loyalty to the homeland and a sense of solidarity under the name of the human population. (Cited from Hutchinson and Smith 1996:6, Chandra, 2012:6) According to Fearon and Laitin, the ethnic group is larger than a family, and membership is primarily based on ancestry. The ethnic group is autonomous, independent, and traditionally has a natural history of being a group (Fearon and Laitin, 2000: 20). Here, Fearon argues that an ethnic group should have several of six characteristics: (Fearon, 2003: 7) First, membership must be based primarily on ancestry, second, members are conscious of group membership, third, members share different cultural

characteristics, and forth, this differences is valued, fifth, the group has a homeland, sixth, the group has a shared history. Ethnic groups can be more or less inclusive.

Horowitz explains ethnic conflict in terms of traditionalism and modernization. Horowitz (1985: 96-7) associates modernization with ethnic conflict in three ways. First, ethnic conflict is seen as a continuation of outdated traditionalism. Traditionalism has lost its effect as a result of the invasion of modernization. Second, it links ethnic conflict with traditionalism, and ethnic conflict is the biggest obstacle to modernization. Third, it sees ethnic conflict as a composite part of modernization.

He associates the concept of "social mobilization" highlighted by Deutsch (1961: 493-514) with ethnic conflict. This concept is perceived as a process in which the population of countries transitioning from traditional life to modern life undergoes a complete change.

The concept of "security dilemma" in international relations has been a phenomenon mostly passed between states. According to John Hertz, he describes the security dilemma as the situation in which states unsure of each other's views take up arms for the sake of security and thus begin the cycle. Hertz, who was the first to discover the concept of security dilemma, states that states that are armed for security reasons will feel less secure and will buy more weapons. The most important factor here is the tools that ensure the security of one and pose a threat to the other. Barry R. Posen's (1993: 27-47) study "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict" is important in terms of adapting the concept of "security dilemma", which is a concept used between states in international relations, to ethnic conflicts.

Posen evaluates the ethnic conflicts that emerged after the dissolution of the Soviet Union

and Yugoslavia after the Cold War from a security dilemma perspective. Posen states that ethnic groups in countries which are weak and in difficult situations are concerned about security due to fear in an environment of uncertainty. This situation will cause each ethnic group to increase their power and thus create a domino effect in other groups. Posen states that there are six aspects of the security dilemma in his study: The first is anarchy, the second is fear, the third is deprivation that wants to expand, the fourth is undermining its own purpose, the fifth is the preventive and primary effect response spiral, and the sixth is weapons for offensive and defensive purposes. (Posen, 1993: 27-35). One of the theorists who explain ethnic conflict with the security dilemma theory is Paul Roe. Roe points out that there are six aspects of the security dilemma that lead to ethnic conflict: first, unintentional consequences; second, unintentional actions; third, uncertainty; fourth, the regulator of the security dilemma; fifth, the developing or de facto condition of anarchy; and the sixth, the spiral of action and reaction. (Roe, 1999 as cited in Tang, 2011: 522).

Stuller (1993) explains that nationalism fuels ethnic conflict by giving various examples. Ethnic groups are communities with certain elements such as common language, ancestry, culture, nationality and religion. Today, many societies can get into ethnic conflicts on the basis of nationalism.

An ethnic society can be defined as a social group with a sense of social belonging or solidarity. According to Eriksen, who sees ethnicity as the awareness of cultural differences and communication: "a nation is an ethnic group that has achieved or aims to achieve a state dominated by leaders and their own cultural groups." Smith argued that ethnicity is a tool to achieve certain goals. Ethnicity has been used by nationalist leaders to mobilize ethnic groups around their nationalist organizations to force governments to compromise economically and

politically. Ethnicity is always subject to change, can be used to mobilize people for a political cause that exists at a particular time and place, and can be associated with certain political programs that contain nationalist characteristics.

Horowitz (1985: 53) explains ethnicity with a sense of common ownership. This sense of ownership is based on common ancestry, religion, history, culture, race or religion. Ethnicity is like an umbrella that holds people who differ in values such as color, race, language and religion together. (Horowitz, 1985: 53) Horowitz's "umbrella classification" has been used theoretically in recent ethnic policy studies. According to Baumann, he suggests that ethnicity is formed by the actions and activities of people and communities. Baumann disagrees with Berghe's argument that ethnicity can come from blood and ancestry (Baumann, 1999: 59). Despite the collapse of the USSR and Yugoslavia in the post-Cold War period, while ethnicity was placed on the agenda of international politics, Marxist and modernist theorists assume that as society industrializes and modernizes, ethnicity will be erased from society and eventually disappear. Likewise, assimilation and melting pot paradigm theorists plan that ethnic identities will end as a result of ethnic assimilation and integration. (Yang, 2000: 41). Unlike the theorists in question, Yang (2000) says that ethnicity is only an important element of contemporary life.

Chandra (2012: 4) states that the concept of identity is any social class an individual can be a member of. Membership of ethnic identity class is attributed to ancestry-based qualities. Ancestry-based qualities refer to values associated with ancestry. These qualities can be acquired genetically (such as skin color, gender, eye color, height and physical characteristics), as cultural and historical heritage (such as names, languages, family and ancestral origin and place of birth), as well as gaining later throughout the person's life (such

as surname). (Chandra, 2012:4).

Joseph Rothschild (1981: 20-32) uses the term "ethnopolitics" in the field of politicization of ethnicity. Rothschild claims that inequalities between ethnic groups will become stronger than a social and cultural phenomenon of ethnicity. The concept of ethnopolitics is characterized as a conflict between two or more groups when ethnicity and region are heavily influenced by the hostility of the state. Group members communicate with each other in the context of social values, through identity issues, religion and nationalism, as exemplified by Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. Brass (1991: 13-17) argues that the complex political system of a state is effective in the politicization of ethnic groups and their struggle against the state. According to Brass, his work in the politicization of ethnicity and the struggle of ethnic groups against the state refers to the instrumentalist approach. Brass refers to the view of ethnicity as a means to achieve some specific goals. Economic and political conditions cause ethnicity to attract attention. In this context, if they think that their existence and belonging is under threat, ethnic groups can politicize in order to protect their identity. (Kurubaş, 2008:20).

Most of the armed conflicts in the 21st century are not experienced between states, but within the borders of the countries between the central state and the peoples (groups) demanding their rights. Ethnic conflict is one of the biggest threats to international peace and security. Ethnic conflicts frequently cause problems such as human rights violations, genocide, crimes against humanity, economic crisis, environmental problems and refugee influx. Violence is conceptualized as a level but not a type of conflict. Violence is a phenomenon created by socio-political factors. (Brubaker and Laitin, 1998: 125-428).

The conflict areas of the concept of ethnic conflict in international law need to be examined. In international law, armed conflicts are examined as internationalized and non-international armed conflicts. Internationalized armed conflicts are in the form of a state granting warrior status to those who fight, the participation of foreign states in the armed struggle and a national independence war. (Pazarcı, 2006: 530-3). At this point, ethnic groups that rebelled and rebelled against the central state state that they are exercising their right to "self-determination". Therefore, they claim that their demands and actions are legal. However, Article 1 of Protocol I of 1977, in addition to the 1949 Geneva Conventions, clarifies this issue: ... The rights exercising the right to self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Principles of International Law on Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations are included in armed conflicts, in which they fight against colonial domination, foreign occupation and racist regimes. Therefore, the right to self-determination can only be used in colonial, racist regimes and occupation situations.

Horowitz (1985: 233) describes the emergence of the idea of separatism by dividing ethnic groups into two in his work "Ethnic Groups In Conflict". The first of these is the underdeveloped ethnic groups composed of those who have a high education level, work in non-agricultural jobs and have a world view, and those who are engaged in agriculture and have a low education level.

Robin Wright (1994: 157-163) explains the causes of ethnic conflicts in five chapters: tribal hatred, historical reasons, concern for cultural collapse, power seeking, and democratization and security. The tribal hatred that started to emerge especially after the cold war separates

humanity into race, belief and nationality.

Group and Region	Political Claims	Causes Of Separatism	The Cost Of Leaving
Underdeveloped Groups In Underdeveloped Region	Proportionality in civil rights	- Refusal to exercise fair citizenship rights - Differences in language and religion values - Intensive employment of developed groups in the service sector	- Separation decision is taken despite economic costs

Advanced Group in the Advanced Region	- No discrimination - Spending the income where it is earned	- Severe discrimination - Reverse immigration	If the economic cost is low, the decision to
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			leave will be taken.
Underdeveloped Group in the Advanced Region	- Proportionality in citizenship rights - Spending the income where it is earned	- Disproportionate use of citizenship rights - Political allegations of immigrants	The decision to leave is taken regardless of the economic benefits and costs.

Table 1.1. Underland Group and Advance Group Region

As can be seen in the table, the tendency of the underdeveloped groups to leave in the underdeveloped region is more frequent and likely to recur than the other groups. This group does not take into account the economic cost of leaving, and constitutes the group most susceptible to the separatist tendency. The advanced groups in the advanced region, on the other hand, constitute the group with the least separatist tendency. Even if this group decides to leave, the economic cost will be a major determinant. If the economic cost of leaving is low and all conditions are ripe, a decision to leave can be made.

It can be observed from the table that separatism occurs entirely as a result of economic interests and group concerns. Economic interests may see either an accelerating factor or a braking mechanism on the separatist movement. But among the most frequent and early emerging separatist movements - the less developed group in the less developed region -

economic loss or gain plays the smallest role, while ethnic anxiety plays the broadest role.

Structural	- Weakening of the state's structure
Political	- Discriminatory political institutions - Exclusionary national ideologies - Intergroup politics - Elite policies
Economic	- Economic problems - Discriminatory economic structures - Economic development and modernization - instability and conflict
Cultural \ Perception	Cultural discrimination against minorities
Other Causes	- Ethnic nationalism and religious radicalism - Change in the balance of power between ethnic groups - Opportunistic politicians can increase ethnic and nationalist feelings - Economic and social problems

Table 2 . Cultural and Political Causes for Ethnic Terrorism.

Ethnic, religious or tribal-scale conflicts, which were not encountered in the cold war years, were the most important factors in the beginning years of the globalization period. Globalization; it has a complex, social, economic and political content. The world is shrinking but unable to integrate, nations, cities and regions diverge as economies get closer to each other, and the global economic integration process accelerates political and social disintegration. With the globalization process, international political systems, strategic structures and balances have changed; the state's position of being the main actor in the international arena has changed; individuals and groups have increased and non-governmental organizations have gained influence. International capital tries to use international organizations to create suitable environments for their activities in certain states without completely eroding the sovereignty of states. The aim is to subordinate the state to the interests of the global market and while doing so, to avoid possible social and economic political turmoil. According to Farrands, when discussing the impact of the international environment, social structure, economic environment and knowledge structure are important factors in the effects of the political process. Peripheral states often lack the infrastructure existing in developed central states, and also most of them have political problems caused by military coups, economic stalemates, ethnic and religious conflicts that affect the political decision-making process. According to Hill, resources, geography, population, industry, underground wealth, trade, technology, diplomatic services, military units and weapons, the success rate that has the power to influence or change the decisions of opposing forces affects the political decision-making process. According to Watson, the freedom of states to carry out their economic and political relations more effectively is limited by the commitments of the UN, GATT and EU to regional and international organizations.

If social, economic, political ideals, practices, institutions conflict with the realities of the time, they may be forced to change as a result of the pressure of forces acting at national or international level. Cooperation or rivalries of actors in developed and developing countries can determine social, political and economic results in return.

Creating universal principles without discrimination, which can be accepted in developing countries in the international system, can be realized in gradual processes. Existing economic rules are often formulated by the rich developed countries in accordance with their interests. In many cases, great states need a certain level of international cooperation to protect their economic and strategic interests, in order to put their economic and legal systems into practice in other parts of the world. As one of the functions of the state, it plays a regulatory role in the process of generating income and transferring it to another place. The financial strength of international financial institutions weakens to some extent the nation-state political structures. Central countries in the world economy are in a competition among themselves for the markets of developing countries. According to Halliday, "... some institutional forces have been created to operate against interstate struggles. Halliday also states that the stagnation in the world economy, which led to the restriction of opportunities in the 1970s, supported the increase of competition and hostility among developed economies. If the pie to be shared is large enough, competition between centrally developed economies can be replaced by cooperation. The purpose of this cooperation is to avoid possible effects that could harm the economic and political interests of central countries at national and international level. Nationalist movements often invite the intervention of foreign states for calculated economic, political and strategic reasons and aim to attract the attention of government and non-governmental organizations that they think they can get their support by using increased communication opportunities. (K.M DeSilva & R.J.May,1991:13)

2.1.2. Historical Development of Ethnic Terrorist Organizations

From a historical perspective, the concept of nationalism emerged with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, with the establishment of nation-states. In the Westphalia Treaty, which is based on the principle of sovereignty, states have strict boundaries and the rights of a collective entity outside the state are not recognized. The main features of the Westphalian system are written in the United Nations Agreement. (Freeman, 1999) The concept of nationalism began to be embedded in the state ideology with the French revolution of 1789. With the Napoleonic Wars, this concept has become widespread in the European continent. In the years when nation states were established and nationalism gained importance, the concept of nationalism became a factor that kept the social structure of the countries together. The principle of self determination became one of the fourteen principles of Woodrow Wilson after the First World War. Explaining 14 principles in the US Congress in 1918, Wilson demanded that the principle of self-determination should be a mandatory principle by states for the foundations of the European order. This principle is defined as the determination of economic, political and cultural destiny. (New Encyclopedia Britannica (1993: Volume 10). Self-determination has been defined as an item that supports nations to gain consciousness and to choose their own government. After Wilson's statement, it has been adopted as the principle of self-determination in determining the political borders in Europe. (Freeman, 1999) With the end of the First World War, during the negotiations and geographical arrangements in 1919, some ethnic minorities put forward their demands in the form of social, economic, political equality and institutional recognition as a different group. The demands of each group may differ from country to country. While some Kurdish nationalists considered a federation of ethnic groups sufficient to protect their interests within the existing state

structure, the Sinn Fein leadership, representative of the Northern Ireland Catholic nationalists, and the political party of the Basque nationalists, Herri Batasuna, stated that their goal was separation.

The concept of nationalism served to hold European countries together until the Second World War. It was later used by third world countries against European Imperialism, which exploited them. With the end of the cold war, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the dissolution of the USSR and the process of globalization, ethnic identity became radicalized and became ethnic nationalism. This situation creates political arguments and causes great uncertainties at the regional and national level. The conflicts experienced have dispersed the cultural and sociological fabric of communities and geographies.

With the end of the cold war and the new world order that emerged after it, the international community has become questioning the hegemony of one state or region over others. Many states around the world host multiple ethnic identities. The multiplicity of these ethnic origins or the desire of some ethnicities to preserve their identity and values can turn into ethnic conflict. This situation, which may result in conflict, is observed to be in multicultural structures in theory.

In order to define ethnic groups, it is necessary to look at the definitions of nation, nationalism and state and the relations between them. The nation can be defined as an ethnic group that has its own common history and culture, and often the existence of a particular geography can be mentioned. (Gürses, 1998) The state is an economic, political and legal framework and a geographical structure. The leadership of a nationalist movement often promises a "glorious future" built on symbols and traditions of the past. Smith defines

"nationalism" as an ideological movement that aims to gain and preserve identity, unity and autonomy on behalf of a social group that some of its members believe to constitute a real or potential 'nation'. Nationalism can be defined as the ideology of a particular ethnic group or nation that wants to establish its own state or defend its current state. According to Smith, "the nation-state is the expression of the coexistence of the nation that has absolute power in the state that exists geographically at the same place or time." Smith emphasized that the nation is an extension of the ethnic community and the nation has very old roots.

(A.D. Smith, 1993) The nation "is a specific community of people with a single national economy, a mass folk culture that shares a historical geography, common legends and memories, and there are common rights and duties for all individuals. While the nation is seen as a group of people who believe that it is made up of a single people based on historical and cultural criteria and therefore should have their own independent, political units, the state is considered as an expression of the sovereignty over the geography in which a particular community lives. The nation-state is seen as an ideal situation where all inhabitants belong to a single nation.

(E.Kedourine and G. Urban, 1991: 226)

Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) was the first to use the term 'nationalism'. Herder stated that nature plays a dominant role in the structuring of every nation. According to Herder, the formation of the nation depends entirely on the natural environment. Every nation is different because they are all located in different places. The environment constitutes the language, traditions and culture of the nation. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) defines the nation as a political union. According to Rousseau, wealth, language and laws are the three most important factors for human beings. According to Rousseau, inequality is the biggest problem of society. The way to eliminate this problem is to form a civilian government.

While Rousseau makes sense of nationalism on the basis of patriotism, he talks about the unity between the nation and its members. (Davis 2001: 128).

Connor (1994: 94) says that the concept of nation comes from the Latin word "nasci", which is the English word "nation". The word means "to be born" or "to have common blood ties". According to the Turkish Language Society, the nation is expressed as follows: "It is a community of people who live mostly on the same land and have a unity of language, history, emotions, ideal traditions and customs. (www.tdk.gov.tr, 2017) ". Walker Connor (cited in Kırımlı, 2000: 72) says that if the definition problem in the concepts of nation and nationalism is not resolved, it will not be possible to understand nationalism. Connor talks about a confusion of definitions as the concepts of nation and nationalism are confused with other concepts. Stating that the concepts of nation and state are used interchangeably, Connor gives the most important example through the United Nations, which is formed by states.

Anthony Smith (Smith, as cited in 1991a. Crimean, 2000: 219) defines the nation as: "It is a human community that shares a historical land, has common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy, rights and duties valid for all its members, and a specific name." According to Smith, these emphasis on national identity will cause it to remain idle in the absence of the ideology of nationalism. Massimo d'Azeglio's discourse "We created Italy, now we have to create Italians." also shows this. (Hobsbawm, 2006a: 62) According to Smith, the ethnic origin of the nations should be emphasized in the definition of the nation. Smith mentions six basic characteristics of ethnic communities. These are a common name, a common origin myth, shared historical memories, memories, different elements of the common culture, loyalty to the homeland, a sense of solidarity.

Anderson (2007: 17) states that nations are imaginary political communities. According to Anderson, the vast majority of the nation will never meet and get to know each other with the vast majority of the nation. Communities' associating themselves with that group or community, without seeing or communicating with each other, with the awareness of common ownership can also be an important factor in the field of nationalism.

According to the advocates of the modernist view, nationalism arose before the nation. Nationalism emerged with the establishment of central states, capitalism, economic dependency and modernization elements such as secularization. He called the theorists "economic transformation", who emphasized the importance of economic factors, "political transformation" based on political factors, and "social-cultural transformation" based on social-cultural factors.

Eric J. Hobsbawm was theoretically influenced by Gellner by contributing to the modernist approach in his *The Invention of Tradition*. Hobsbawm sees nations and nationalism as a social engineering product. These arguments are constantly being repeated and internalized by the society and have become the essence of the society, forming the bridge between the past and the present. (Hobsbawm, 1983: 1 and Özkırmı, 2009: 146-7).

Hobsbawm highlighted the concept of nationalism that Gellner used. The concept of nationalism used by Gellner (1983: 1) in 'Nations and Nationalism' is as follows: "Nationalism is the principle that the political and national unit should be compatible with each other." Hobsbawm (Gellner, 1983: 49) shares Gellner's view on which nation and nationalism existed first: "Nationalism takes pre-existing cultures and transforms them into nations; sometimes inventing nations, often distorting existing cultures. So nationalism comes

before nations; nations do not create states and nationalism, it is the opposite of what actually happened". Gellner divides human history into three phases: Hunter-gatherer, agricultural, and modern-industrial. Gellner argues that there was no nationalism in the first two societies. Stating that nationalism emerged with the industrialization and hence the industrial revolution, Gellner explains this with the nation and the need for nationalism in this period. According to Gellner, nationalism is a principle that defends that the political and national unit should be compatible with each other (Gellner, 1983: 1). While Gellner stated that nationalism existed with modern times, he tried to clarify the issue by classifying the societies that included the modern period. According to Gellner, the most appropriate way to analyze nationalism is to see it as a necessary part of the transition from an agrarian society to an industrial society. Gellner emphasized that industrial society is nationalist, whereas agricultural society is not nationalist. The emergence of industrialization led to immigration. Different languages and material inequalities have forced these immigrants to choose between assimilating into the dominant culture or establishing an alternative culture based on their own language.

The goal of nationalist movements is to establish a nation-state structure, which is often its own independent political unit. The growing distrust between ethnic groups, the increasing uncertainty, and the resulting hope for economic and political integration that sought resistance in many regions have stalled. Nationalist movements have gained an unprecedented momentum in the era of bipolar system. In addition to the Quebec movement, where violence is generally negligible, Catholic and Protestant groups, Basque and Kurdish movements in Northern Ireland have turned towards violence. These movements exhibited a low intensity in certain periods and during the periods when social, economic and political crises were on the rise, these movements hardened and turned to the aim of leaving the existing state by

assuming a stubborn structure.

It can be mentioned that there are many factors in the development of nationalist movements. Nationalism has symbolic meanings with its political, nation-state, ideological, industrial capitalism, and psychological dynamics. The decentralization arguments of nationalism, which aim at identity, unity and autonomy in general, bring different demands. Kurdish nationalists think that their ties with the state they are in have lost their importance and their continuity has no meaning, so the state should be restructured. Scottish nationalists profit economically from the separatist movement thanks to the oil fields in the north sea; In Northern Ireland, Catholic nationalists use the sectarian difference as the main distinguishing feature for nationalist organization and mobilization of the people, and they consider Britain's presence in Northern Ireland as a colonial occupation and see them as the source of all problems. Some of the Basques living in a developed region of Spain think that the wealth existing in the regions of leaving Spain will remain in their own regions.(Gürses,1998)

J.Plamenatz sees nationalism essentially as a cultural phenomenon arising from the reactions of people who feel culturally excluded, and relates the development of nationalism to changes in the global political economy. Increased trade and communication creates social change and nationalism is shaped according to changes in the social structure. According to Löwy, third world nationalism has a liberatory dimension. He argues that third world nationalism develops against the political and economic exploitation of the "center", but nationalism in developed capitalist countries is reactionary because it includes xenophobic elements.

In his book *The Break-up of Britain*, Nairn explains nationalism as "irregular development."

Nationalism is presented as a reactionary expression that comes around the world economy that seeks to capture economically and socially developed states. From this view, it can be concluded that the power of nationalism may decrease after the social-economic and political development level of the developed states is reached.

Hechter formulated the concept of 'internal colonialism', which describes the mechanism that enhances cultural differences in terms of facilitating exploitation and political and economic control of developed society representatives / institutions over an underdeveloped society. Hechter has argued that there is a strong, culturally diverse center in the UK and that this center has established an economic and political control over the environment. According to Hechter, industrial development destroyed the Celtic language but could not make up for the inequality in Northern Ireland. An increasing economic inequality between the center and the periphery occurred. This cultural division of labor-differentiation that class and ethnicity confronted has generated a backlash in the environment.

Although Marxism, which takes the economy as the main factor in explaining social developments, has prevented to some extent in understanding the sources and political meaning of nationalist currents, it was the Marxist tradition that first expressed the relationship between capitalism, irregular development and nationalism. While nationalist movements that cross the class barrier and are based on ethnic groups bring up the forms of governance such as autonomy and federalism, social movements that do not refer to ethnic issues aim to partially or completely reorganize the socio-economic or political order to benefit the relevant groups and classes. In nationalist activities, first of all, the institutionalization phase is completed and implemented. Political-economic demands are made from the central authority in order to have their demands accepted. Nationalist

movements are defined as the imposition of one ethnic-nationalist group on another. In December 1992, it adopted a resolution at the United Nations General Assembly on the rights of individuals belonging to an ethnic, religious and linguistic minority group. According to Article 1, states are responsible for protecting the existence of the national/ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identities of minorities in their geographies.

Many ethnic nationalist movements have also led to the formation of the counter-nationalism of the majority inclusive ethnic group. As an example to this issue, the rise of Turkish nationalism in the face of acts of violence by the PKK can be given. In a country, the administration can adopt a compromising attitude due to internal and external economic and political pressures, and it has also brought oppressive policies to the agenda. Some governments have tried to use the nationalist sentiments of the majority ethnic group to support policies against minorities. Some nationalist movements have opted for violence to force governments to make concessions, such as in Northern Ireland, the Basque Country and the Kurdish issue. In some cases, the violent response of central governments to violent acts of nationalist movements that violate human rights has led to an increase in human rights violations among minority groups, and civil society organizations have been trying to find ways to reach a peaceful solution by putting pressure on nationalist organizations and governments.

Nationalist movements have shown that crises in the social, regional or international system have created a suitable environment for nationalist leaders to organize internal and external support and use it for their own benefit. If a state fails to recover from the negative effects of social, economic and political crises, a nationalist movement that maintains its social support and is well-organized will force the central government to make concessions.

Many nationalist movements have managed to draw the attention of governments and non-governmental organizations at the international level to the issue of human rights violations against their ethnic groups. In order to convince international actors, the leaders of the nationalist movement, claiming that they have different identities and therefore are subjected to the discriminatory and unjust policies of the central authority, have also been able to bring embargoes to the governments of the countries they are in, in order to make concessions. One of the best examples of this issue is Germany's refusal to sell arms to Turkey due to the Kurdish problem. The internationalization of economic and political activities can lead states to restructure their existing social institutions. The financial strength of international financial institutions weakens to some extent the nation-state political structures. (Gürses, 2007) Global financial institutions need the necessary institutional arrangements and ensuring security in the internal structures of the states in which they operate. Therefore, these organizations prefer to preserve their presence in the international system in order for the state to fulfill this function. These states provide services required for the financial activities of organizations in their geography.

Ethnic movements that entered the process of rising in the last quarter of the 20th century showed that the crises in the social, regional or international system created a suitable environment for ethnic leaders to organize internal and external support for their own benefit. If a state fails to survive the negative effects of social, economic and political crises, an ethnic terrorist organization that maintains its social and international support and has completed its adequate organization may lead the central government to make concessions. After the Cold War, local and international awareness about ethnic problems has been effective in drawing the attention of government and non-governmental organizations to conflicts. The financial support of terrorist organizations and the provision of sustainable financial resources are

among the most important issues in order to continue their activities. Although the main purpose of terrorist organizations is not to generate income, they must have financial support in order to survive. As a result, it does not seem possible for a terrorist organization that cannot receive financial support to survive for a long time.

Finance is one of the most fundamental functions of today's societies and it is very important in terms of understanding how much the country's economy has been damaged by terrorist incidents, especially the expenditures made within the scope of the fight against terrorism, as well as the economic losses and the loss of the employee workforce caused by the destructions, and the financial dimension of terrorism. The loss of the working workforce is one of the most important negative consequences of the migration phenomenon. Migration, which is a phenomenon as old as the history of wars, generally means that for individuals or communities it is an act of going from one settlement to another settlement, from one city to another city, from one country to another, moreover, from one continent to another, for economic, social or political reasons. For this reason, migration is a geographical displacement event that people have made in order to settle from one settlement to another, with the motive of having better conditions to spend either part or all of their future lives.

Propaganda made by terrorist organizations without ideological truths can have an impact on individuals who have been displaced or forced to live in their places under difficult conditions. These individuals, who are in the "anger" psychology, stand against the state, the terrorist organization, which uses this at every opportunity, continues to abuse it through the concept of "minority" and feeds itself through the feeling of ethno-nationalism. In addition, it is a fact that cities with rapidly increasing populations due to migration and unable to meet basic needs are a source of terrorism. As stated before, the concepts of poverty and inequality

play an important role among the causes of terrorism. Individuals try to eliminate their negative feelings and disappointments by turning to violence and terror in an effort to eliminate the poverty and unequal situation they live in. Although the main purpose of terrorists and terrorist organizations is not to generate income, they need financial resources to carry out their activities. Therefore; terrorist organizations want to obtain sufficient financial resources and use these resources to carry out terrorist activities without attracting the attention of public authorities. The fight against terrorist financing; It includes draining the financing resources of terrorist organizations, preventing their laundering and preventing the means and means of sending funds to terrorist organizations or terrorists.

The aim of terrorism is to intimidate a community, to put a government or international organization into action. Although the aims and strategies of terrorist organizations differ, it is known that they generally spread their activities to a wide area and they make various initiatives in direct proportion to the size of the organization and the width of its field of activity. Looking at the countries struggling with terrorism, it is observed that economic development has regressed, and resources are necessarily transferred to defense expenditures from the budget allocated for new employment expenditures. Experts' classification of terrorism in very different ways in terms of means, aims, methods and sources of support; It was adopted in common on the types of terrorism and prevented a classification to be made. The important determining factor in this matter is politics; Politics is driven by power. Politics, which is affected by the economy, also plans the economy. If the economic structure ignores large masses of people and causes an increase in unemployment, poverty and social problems, these masses of people may be dragged into new political pursuits. If the current power structure paves the way for these new pursuits, practices that are not suitable for democracy; "Terror" activities and conflicts may arise in social unrest.

CHAPTER II : FINANCING OF TERRORIST ORGANIZATION

Within the scope of the academic study, this chapter will analyze why and how terrorist organizations and criminal organizations use legitimate financial institutions to maintain their existence and how lawmakers build on this fact to propose innovative and more efficient answers to crime problems. In this context, when the sanctions that are applied to prevent the financing of terrorism are examined, it is necessary to explain the concept of financing of terrorism.

This section will address the following questions: How do ethnic terrorist organizations finance their activities? How can the opportunities for terrorists to fund their activities be reduced? In this way, it provides us with an in-depth look at the way terrorist financing works, as well as an overview of the measures taken by the United Nations and the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and organizations established to prevent terrorist financing. While examining the issue of terrorist financing and how to prevent them, the concepts of terrorism and organized crime will be applied to the prevention of terrorism through criminological theory. In the context, it will analyze the link between organized crime and terrorism, which will be used to examine the terrorist financing problem.

As we know from the literature review, many theories trying to explain terrorism have been derived within the scope of the researches on the origins and causes of terrorism. Significant progress has been achieved with the understanding of the term financing of terrorism and taking the necessary measures regarding it. Financing of terrorism is defined as knowingly or unknowingly providing or helping to provide the necessary financial resources for individuals

and organizations who want to carry out terrorist acts to continue their activities. (The World Bank, IMF, 2003.) It is emphasized here that the concept of financing should be handled in a fairly wide scope. All kinds of financial resources that seem small, such as building buildings for the terrorist organizations, providing accommodation for their members, covering the travel expenses of terrorist organizations are of great importance for terrorist organizations, and the detection, monitoring and prevention of these resources is one of the most important requirements in terms of combating terrorism. Although terrorist acts constitute a crime in all countries, almost every state has found a different definition of terrorism, so a common definition and common prevention of terrorist financing resources could not be achieved. What one state calls a terrorist, another state calls it a hero. Although it is an international crime, terrorism crime has not been included in the International Criminal Court Statute. The most important factor in the fight against terrorism is to prevent terrorist financing and to determine and monitor the financial resource income and resource flow of organizations. Financing of terrorism includes different activities such as fundraising, hiding financial resources, using financial resources to sustain terrorist organizations and infrastructure, and transferring funds to support or carry out certain terrorist attacks.

Terror is not just an armed act. Logistics and financial activities that lay the groundwork for such actions are also important arguments for terrorist activities. Money is a natural center of attraction. They attract terrorists, criminals always look for it. Money and the ways to get it bring these two murderous organizations together. Terrorist organizations need large financial resources for preparation and planning. For this reason, terrorist financing constantly needs new resources. Cross-border organized crime organizations and international terrorism today; it increasingly combines organizational and operational characters, and sometimes one becomes a partner of the other. It is possible to count the financial resource gap that emerged

after the cold war as one of the reasons for this convergence. It is witnessed that organized crime developed extraordinarily during this period. Unless the financial resources of terrorist organizations are prevented, it is possible to encounter terrorism everywhere. Since the sources that feed terrorism are linked to terrorist organizations, all transactions with a connection must be stopped, and even the existing accounts on behalf of the proponent person, institution or organization in that state must be frozen and examined.

Terrorist organizations must have a significant economic income in order to reach power. Terrorist organizations earn income through illegal means in order to obtain finance. Among the unlawful activities, it is possible to list the production and marketing of drugs, arms smuggling, human trading, gemstone and mineral smuggling, fuel, cigarette and luxury vehicle smuggling, exaction collecting, ransom, theft and extortion, counterfeit money and paperwork. The estimated value of international illicit drug trafficking is 320 billion for 2005, and the estimated income from human trading is 32 billion dollars (UN, 2007, p.170). It is estimated that between \$ 150 and \$ 470 billion annually from counterfeiting crimes and \$ 1 to \$ 4 billion from the illegal trade of light arms. The financing of terrorism, the income obtained through illegal means through organized crime organizations, are made legal by money laundering methods and can be used in terrorist activities by means of legal methods of opinion. When we look at the revenues obtained through legal means, donations made to legal entities such as foundations and associations, financial values obtained as a result of membership fees, earnings of commercial enterprises that support terrorism, financial income from social and cultural activities, broadcasting revenues, large donations made by real persons are important financial resources. (Bantekas, 2003). Individuals who help foundations and associations often do not know that their aids will be used in financing terrorism. In this regard, it is seen that terrorist activities are financed with the aid collected through

foundations and associations in Europe, especially in Germany. (Raphael, 2003)

The fight against financing of terrorism must be differentiated from counter-terrorism methods. Since conventional means of combating terrorism are insufficient in combating the financing of terrorism, states take measures to increase their intelligence, diplomacy, law enforcement and financial control capacities. For this purpose, it is observed that states have resorted to both substantive and formal criminal law measures at the international level, measures regarding the monitoring and control of the financial resources of terrorism, and international measures against the global threat perception. Terrorist organizations become increasingly professional depending on the developing technology and conditions, causing them to need more financial income. The suspicious transaction reporting system is used not only to combat money laundering, but also to prevent terrorist financing. Organize terrorist organizations' visits to crime types to organize their organizations in the reception to fund their political purposes (FATF, 2008, p.15; CE, 2005, p.20). Many terrorist organizations have become narcorists due to their activities in drug trafficking (Thachuk, 2006, p.61; GAO, 2003), in addition, terrorist organizations use methods similar to laundering in the process of transmitting the funds they provide both legally and illegally to the members of the terrorist organization (Schott, 2006, p I.5). Especially with the effect of the September 11 events, the use of tools used in the fight against money laundering to prevent financing of terrorism has brought to the agenda.

Terrorist organizations have to secretly transfer their revenues from one place to another. It is observed that different methods are developed for the transfer of the revenues obtained for the purpose of financing terrorism across borders, since the institutions whose banking transactions are recorded are constantly audited, and cash couriers carrying money are preferred because they are difficult to detect. There are various networks used for illegal

banking systems. It is ensured that the proceeds of crime are delivered to a specific place in that country and received, such as hawala, hundi, feiuchien, padala, which are delivered to a specific place in the country and transferred by taking the same amount there. On the other hand, it is possible to finance terrorism with money transfers made entirely in the register. It is seen that banking systems can also be used without drawing attention through a shell company, institution or person. Monetary transactions contain recorded information, and based on this information, information about the structure, members of terrorist organizations and the organizations associated with them can be accessed. Pro-non-profit donation and charity organizations that support terrorist organizations in particular are a good source of information due to their legal personality. Terrorists are involved in some financial crimes such as money laundering, tax evasion and fraud following these crimes, after committing crimes that are pro-criminal in order to generate illegal income.

Since the 1980s, the opening up in many countries, the liberalization of their regimes, the more integrated international financial system, the speed and volume of international capital and fund movements, the development of information technologies and the increase in the transaction and service channels offered by the banking system and online banking with its transactions, a significant amount of funds went beyond the borders of the country and started to travel around the world. 9 years after the first SWIFT message started to be used in 1976, the annual number of messages reached 157,220,000 in 1985, this figure was 3,501,163,017 in 2007. While the movement of funds in the international arena has gained momentum since the mid-1980s, the amount of funds subject to action has also increased. These developments have facilitated not only international legal commercial and financial transactions, but also the transactions of organized crime organizations. The fact that organized crime organizations have gained a multinational structure by expanding their fields of activity since the mid 1980s

(UN, 1999a, p.4) is an important reflection of this situation.

The threats of terrorism and organized crime to the economy and political stability of today's states are enormous. It is observed that organized crime organizations, which have become complex and intensified with globalization, increase their activities as a global threat when they integrate with terrorism (Yücebaş, Ö.20 2011). It is known that in societies where democracy is on progress, the biggest threat is terrorism and organized crime organizations. The most common feature of organized crime is that it slows down the functioning of democracy. Organized criminal organizations are a major problem and source of threat for democracies, as they are an illegal economic-political force in the field of civil society. The globalizing problem continues to grow despite the obligations accepted by the states within the framework of some international agreements that remain at insufficient level and the domestic legal legislation of democratic legal states. (KOM Publications, 2019).

The target of terrorist organizations is the current regime and system. For this, any activity done by the state is not seen right by the organization. In organized crime organizations; it is not the target regime and system, it is the main source of nutrition for the criminal organizations to continue their activities. Organized crime organizations cannot survive without the existing economic, social and political mechanism. Although terrorist organizations and organized crime organizations discriminate in this way, they must be in cooperation in terms of activities. To give a known example, drug and arms smuggling, which is among the activities of organized crime organizations, also provides financial resources for terrorist organizations. Organized crimes and terrorism, although in fact different types of crimes or phenomena, have started to intertwine in recent years. In particular, international terrorism and drug trafficking are two intertwined dangers to democracies. These two threats have become more evident after the "Cold War". Drug trafficking is among the methods used

by terrorist organizations in obtaining financing to purchase weapons and in money laundering operations. After the "Cold War", the economic borders between countries have gradually disappeared and economic dependency relations have developed. With the "Democratic Revolutions" of 1989-1990, closed command economies in the Eastern Bloc were opened to the world economic system by transitioning to a free market economy. The difficulties of finding resources in the economic restructuring process of the former socialist countries of Middle Eastern Europe have led these countries to make as little difficulty as possible for foreign capital inflows. The inadequacy of the legislation of these countries on organized crime and the restructuring of their economic systems in transition to a free market economy created an environment that terrorists and organized crime organizations exploited. Thus, organized crime organizations formed the chain of "terrorism - drug traffic - great mafia crime".

As can be seen, there are many different ways of generating income for the purpose of financing terrorism. For this reason, it is important that the methods of struggle of the states cover all this diversity. It is of great importance that the measures to be taken in this respect are implemented by the states by prioritizing international cooperation. It is clear that with these money, some of which are obtained illegally, it will be possible to carry out actions at the international level through international transfers of these money. Fighting against the financial resources of terrorism constitutes an important element of the fight against terrorism, as terrorist organizations have to obtain money, transfer the money they obtain and use these funds in their activities. As a result of effective measures to be brought to terrorists' international money transfers, their international action capabilities are limited and they turn them into local terrorist organizations.

One of the differences of terrorism today is the difficulty of distinguishing pure terrorist activity from criminal activity. Today's terrorists have better financial resources than their predecessors. Because, terrorists use the methods of organized crime organizations to obtain financial resources and carry out their activities; does not hesitate to be in contact with organized crime organizations; While maintaining its ideological identity, it can also engage in activities such as a criminal organization. Thus, co-financing methods can be established and it is necessary to evaluate the financial structures of terrorists and organized crime organizations within the scope of the fight against terrorism. In order to monitor the money movements in financial institutions in order to prevent the financing of terrorism, it is necessary for the state to have a legal infrastructure that enables the intervention and analysis of personal data in urgent cases. (Document of the European Union with the number 20.10.2004 COM (2004) 700 Final.)

According to the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB), terrorist organizations earn \$ 400 billion annually from the international illicit drug trade. This figure accounts for approximately half of all criminal revenues of terrorist organizations, which are considered to be 1 trillion USD per year. This figure also corresponds to 8% of the entire international trade or the annual capital of the textile industry. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates the total amount of black money in the world at between 700 billion and 1 trillion dollars. It is stated that there is an annual increase of 80-100 billion dollars in the amount of black money.

Walker estimates the rate of money laundering obtained from criminal activities as 80%, according to the estimates of FATF, this rate is 70%. The Federal Reserve of the United States of America (FED) has officially announced that money laundering in the USA in amounts varying between 300-500 billion dollars annually. This figure is enough to meet the

1-year oil purchases of all Western States. " These economically strong organizations have greater access to weapons of mass destruction than in the past, and are more determined to access and use them than terrorists in the Cold War era. The increase in the threat of terrorism is directly proportional to the increase in weapons of mass destruction. This alarming trend of danger increases the potential of "Super terror", biological, chemical or nuclear violence day by day.

In order to combat terrorism financing more effectively and to ensure compliance with our international obligations, the terrorist financing crime was regulated as a separate crime with the amendment made by the law numbered 5532 on 18.07.2006 and it has been stipulated that those who knowingly and willingly provide funds or collect funds that will be used for terrorist acts will be deemed to have committed the terrorist financing offense. In this context, the Law No. 6415 on "Prevention of Financing of Terrorism" entered into force in February 2013. Providing and collecting funds for actions included in the UN Convention, without being limited only to actions against Turkey, has been redefined as the financing crime of terrorism, and all transactions related to freezing of assets are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance. Turkey has imposed strict sanctions and penalties for smuggling and tightened border controls. Turkey is a member of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), which is a global anti-money laundering and counter-terrorism financing body, and actively contributes to the activities of the FATF. Turkey is constantly reviewing its legislation and practices in the fight against financing of terrorism in order to fully comply with the FATF recommendations. The Financial Crimes Investigation Board (MASAK), Turkey's financial intelligence unit, operates in cooperation and coordination with prosecutors and law enforcement officers at the national level. Cooperation between MASAK and EGMONT (Egmont Financial Intelligence Group), which envisages multilateral information sharing and

cooperation between financial intelligence units of certain countries in order to prevent money transfers to terrorist organizations, has been increased. Turkey has prepared a legal framework in line with the FATF recommendations for the effective implementation of UNSC Resolutions 1267 and 1373, which penalize the financing of terrorism and freeze the assets of terrorists.

As it is known, the crime of financing terrorism entered into Turkish law for the first time with the 8th article of the Anti-Terror Law. However, the act of providing financial support to members of a terrorist organization even before financing of terrorism is accepted as a crime, does not go unpunished; People who financed terrorist organizations were prosecuted and punished within the scope of "aiding and abetting".

As studies have shown on the financing of terrorism, the terrorists of everyday life as a political, not economic rules to determine the terrorists to be able to finance a significant portion of their time looking for ways to increase their violent activities to spend their money on you for such a notice is engaged in research, and 'new economy of terror' was created by an international economic system that we can call the armed organizations, the illegal and criminal economy that is integrated with the total turnover of approximately 1.5 trillion dollars in the economy than if it is fed by the terrorist groups of this resource is that \$ 500 billion by the country of currency movements, which cannot be controlled and which cannot be registered under the capital movements, \$ 500 billion of donations collected through charities and corporations called new economy of terror obtained by terrorist organizations such as money, another \$ 500 billion dollar portion of the trafficking of drugs and arms trade came from, he said. Organized crime threatens the existing democracies of European countries in economic and political aspects, as well as a problem for countries trying to develop the

democracy process. The economic interdependence between countries further increases the importance of the problem.

2.1. Financing Ethnic Terrorist Organizations

We can identify the sources that finance ethnic terrorism under government support, donations, legitimate economic activities, and illegal or criminal activities. (Bakker & Donker, 2006). Throughout history, the IRA, ETA and PKK have been examples of state-sponsored terrorism. These organizations can receive support from Libya, Iran and the United States respectively (Bakker & Donker, 2006). Lately, state support for terrorist organizations has declined significantly as it is placed under great international pressure. However, some states still provide direct or indirect support to organizations that can be classified as terrorists (Clunan, 2013). The failure of a state to interfere in the fight against terrorism can be seen as state support (Bakker&Donker,2006).

State financing was the main source of revenue for terrorist organizations during the Cold War, when regional conflicts were generally the battlefield for two blocs and each terrorist gave an opportunity to disorganize the other bloc. The end of the cold war drained these sources of financing. Although some isolated states continued to provide weapons, training camps and funding to certain terrorist groups, major terrorist organizations had to look for other sources of support. In addition, organizations can provide shelter, nutrition, clothing, treatment and transportation needs in order to survive; to be able to prepare broadcast and propaganda materials; they must be able to meet their weapon, ammunition and communication needs. Terrorist organizations, which cannot meet their financial needs

legally, try to meet this need within the scope of organized crime activities illegally (MASAK, 2018).

Financial resources of terrorist organizations are divided into internal support and external support. To be able to meet the accommodation, food, clothing, treatment and transportation needs of terrorist organizations; to be able to prepare broadcast and propaganda materials; the financial resources they need in order to meet their weapon, ammunition and communication needs have a privileged place. The aforementioned financing is sometimes provided by the aid of the client states or from the legally sourced income, but mainly from illegal activities, especially drug trafficking.

Within the framework of internal support, terrorist organizations benefit directly or indirectly from legal organizations established in the axis of cultural centers, publishing houses, associations and foundations in order to meet their needs in finance, education, logistics and accommodation and to provide the support they need. Thus, women, workers, civil servants, youth and their relatives can recruit new members of the organization by organizing, spreading their ideology to a wider audience and providing logistical support through panels, seminars, conferences, open sessions and radio and television programs.

External support is the support of an organization that is engaged in illegal activity against the constitutional order of a state, rather by neighboring and unfriendly states. External support can be financial, as well as in the form of housing, education and weapon provision. Weakening the targeted state by external support of illegal organizations is a risk-free way, so it is used by most states.

The methods used in financing terrorism are very diverse. They employ all kinds of methods to obtain and use the monetary funds necessary to achieve terrorist goals. Terrorist organizations do not use the same financing methods worldwide and resort to various methods. First of all, aids are provided by various governments and organizations. Secondly, illegal activities such as forcibly collecting money, smuggling drugs, people, weapons, diamonds, extortion, theft, robbery, forgery, illegal sale of various valuable materials, etc. play an important role in the financing of organizations. Third, terrorist organizations establish legal companies and businesses and use legally collected donations for organizational purposes. It is not possible for an organization without external support to be successful. One of the most important reasons for terrorist organizations in Turkey to continue their activities uninterruptedly for years is this subsidiary state aid. Terrorist organizations operating in Turkey receive assistance from client states, especially some neighboring states. In addition to financial aid, the client states provided support in areas such as allocating camp sites, training, and providing weapons and ammunition.

Another source of income for terrorist organizations or the financial support of the international terrorist organizations besides the supporting states. There are links between local terrorist organizations and international terrorist organizations today, as always. It is known that international terrorist organizations also use local terrorist organizations as subcontractors.

2.2. Financial Resources of Ethnic Terrorist Organizations

In this section, the financial resources of the ethnic terrorist organizations IRA ETA PKK will be analyzed.

2.2.1. Income Sources From Dues and Donations

Its revenues that provide financial support to terrorist organizations include revenues from non-profit charities and donors. In the current system, they are companies, foundations and associations that are not accepted by any institution of the state to engage in illegal activities. The first of the legal financial resources of terrorist organizations is to raise money through aid. The money collected through aid not only provides hot money to terrorist organizations through NGOs, but also enables them to recruit militants. The second important legal financial source of terrorist organizations is the resources obtained from commercial enterprises such as cafes, tourism agencies and commercial companies. In addition, terrorist organizations use these companies to launder illegally received money. Fundraising and aid requests for charities are a very effective way to raise money to support terrorism. The money collected in this way can also be subject to money laundering activities. Most of the time, the fundraising process for charities is carried out on behalf of charitable institutions or charity organizations. Most members of the institution are unaware that some of the funds collected are directed towards terrorist purposes. For example, supporters of a terrorist movement may apparently engage in legitimate activities to obtain financial resources in another state. Supporters of this movement gather these funds by infiltrating and taking control of institutions within the immigrant community in the other state. Certain fundraising methods may include collecting membership dues or registration fees, broadcasting sales, trips, cultural and social events, collecting money by walking around the community, donations from affluent members of the community, and donating part of personal earnings.

Terrorist organizations, in addition to being a barbarian power with a weapon in their

hands and using brute force, have also become structures that portray an image that sometimes appears as merchants, sometimes as an establishment owner, and sometimes as a businessman (Aykın & Sözmen, 2008: 33). Commercial businesses that are opened through members of the organization selected from among the members of the organization, which are hidden or not disclosed, operate legally. These businesses are seen as the legitimate side of the organization's logistic needs as well as providing the flow of money. These businesses can be large commercial institutions or they can be small businesses; In the report prepared as a result of an investigation conducted by the Oslo police and which lasted for 2 years, it was noted that small newspaper vendors and kebab shops were among the financial resources of terrorism and the money collected in this way was transferred to terrorist organizations (Lilley, 2006: 142). Terrorist organizations want their companies to be international, so they earn higher income and use logistics routes for their purposes.

Another income that terrorist organizations have legitimate sources of is the income generated by companies operated by terrorist organizations. These initiatives generally manifest themselves in the form of classic or fast food restaurants. It is known that the PKK terrorist organization has many restaurants, cafes and cafes, especially in EU States such as Germany, England, Austria, Hungary and the Netherlands.

Although it becomes difficult to discover the relationship between workplaces used as a cover and terrorist activities, documents such as invoices, credit card receipts, tax quotations, tax reporting obligations resulting from workplace activities are an opportunity for law enforcement to perform financial investigations effectively. This certification is important in determining ties with terrorist elements, showing participation in criminal activities, and fighting against these funds.

Dues and donations should be counted among the legal revenues of terrorist organizations. It can be said that terrorist organizations survived with the money they collected under the name of dues from their members, especially during the periods when they were hit by security forces. Each organization member contributes by paying the amount determined by the organization. The aids and donations collected by organizations with international networks from migrant workers in these states have reached remarkable dimensions. The terrorist organization PKK and IRA, which mask their activities with their non-governmental organizations by taking advantage of the democratic and political environment in Europe, continue to work towards collecting dues and donations, recruiting militants and expanding their base in order to provide the financing they need in terrorist acts with these activities. Terrorist organizations use the newspapers, magazines and books they publish to spread their ideology and train their side in theoretical training, as well as providing financial resources by selling these publications to their sympathizers and militants.

2.2.2 Exaction Collecting Activities

Extortion is the payment of the money determined by the terrorist organizations by individuals or organizations, whether they are related to terrorist organizations or not, by submitting to threats, intimidation or pressure methods. Payment can be in money or goods. Exaction collection activity can be carried out through methods such as protection, non-harm, intimidation, kidnapping, threatening to report a crime or situation to the competent authorities. In general, extortions taken based on threats and bullying are collected by terrorist organizations under the tax protection fee nomenclature. Exaction collecting by terrorist organizations: "Protection is an application carried out with methods such as harming,

intimidating or threatening to report a crime or situation to the competent authorities".

Terrorist organizations operating in Turkey have tried to forcibly collect them under the name of "Taxation". Turkish citizens living abroad have been the main target of terrorist organizations. In the so-called 3rd Congress of the PKK, in the decisions taken under the name of "Taxation Law" in order to provide financial income to the organization, it has accepted to receive money under the name of tax in return for a receipt to citizens who provide economic support, and accepted to provide financial support to the organization. It is understood from the statements of the members of the organization that the PKK received money under the name of protection money from drugs and weapons smugglers who passed through Iraq. (EGM, 2004). In the 1995 report of the German Federal Criminal Office of the PKK Terrorist Organization, it was stated that the organization was able to collect 35 million German Marks per year throughout Germany, while it was stated that it could collect 20 million Marks in the 2000 report.(EGM,2004)

2.2.3. Extortion-Robbery-Theft-Ransom-Forgery-Ransom Kidnapping

A financial resource used to find small organizations or the money needed to start is robbery and extortion. However, people are likely to be caught while committing these crimes. The security systems established by large financial institutions and the police measures taken prevent the creation of a continuous and significant source of income in this way. Many terrorist organizations around the world have received ransom in return, especially by kidnapping businessmen, and have tried to develop their financial resources. Resources are also created with the commissions received through fake passports or fake visas issued for the purpose of kidnapping and money received in return for border delivery organizations.

Other common forms of fraud, such as credit card fraud, bank fraud, social assistance fraud, are also methods used to provide the money needed in financing terrorist organizations. In line with the development of technology, forgery of documents has become easier, and forgery has emerged as a revenue generating sector. Although counterfeiting is an important source of income, it is not seen as a constant source of money by terrorist organizations because of the high risk of being caught, and it is applied to earn hot money in a short time.

Another source of income applied by terrorist organizations is ransom. Ransom is defined as "The money that a person has to pay himself or someone else on his behalf in order to escape from slavery or any trouble that may befall him." Terrorist organizations pursue two purposes with this. The first of these aims is that the organization wants to make propaganda by announcing its name. Its second purpose is the provision of money or facilities deemed necessary. With this method, bureaucrats, wealthy businessmen or their relatives are targeted and kidnapped and then the required amount of ransom is demanded. The ETA terrorist organization has earned a significant amount of income in this way compared to many terrorist organizations in the world. Many terrorist organizations in the world use the ransom method by kidnapping especially wealthy businessmen and bureaucrats in order to both maintain their existence, make their voices heard and generate financial income for the organization. The ETA terrorist organization generated the highest income from kidnappings for ransom when compared to other organizations in the world. For example, Catalan businessman Jesus Serra Santamans was kidnapped in 1980 and released for \$ 1.5 million. Industrialist Adolfo v. Martin was released in 1990 for a ransom of \$ 2.8 million. (Alkan, 2004)

2.2.4. Immigrant Smuggling and Human Trafficking

"Illegal" immigration is one of the most important problems in the world agenda in recent years. Illegal human movements caused by reasons like socio-economic and political conflicts such as interstate conflicts of interest, civil wars, natural disasters, the need for cheap labor, high earnings and low risk, unawareness of the consequences of migrant smuggling and human trade, longing for a better life, and especially widespread human rights violations have turned into a global problem involving millions of people in a year today.

Human trading and migrant smuggling is one of the most profitable sources of income after arms and drug smuggling. Human trade and human trafficking are two separate concepts that should not be confused. Human trading in accordance with Article 3 of the protocol to prevent and punish human trading in the UN Convention against organized crime:

"is the use of force or by the threat of force or in any other way, by coercion, abduction, fraud, deceit, abuse of influence, exploiting the despair of the person or gaining the consent of those who have control over others, by earning or gaining interest or gaining acquisition for abuse purposes, moving from one place to another, transferring, hosting or receiving."

Terrorist organizations, which are intertwined with illegal criminal organizations, receive so-called taxes or commissions in exchange for tolerating crossing the border and providing security. They ensure that illegal immigrants cross the border illegally and are taken to European countries. They ensure that asylum applications are made by exploiting the asylum policies of European countries and using various fraudulent methods. They take a role in the use of the organization for all kinds of illegal activities of the organization from European countries, by taking a share from the assistance provided to refugees from European countries, and obtaining the right of residence. As is known, drug and electronic goods trade

is also carried out through immigrants, and terrorist organizations are financed.

The illegal immigration movements in the world, which states have seriously focused on in recent years and Turkey is directly involved in various aspects, especially due to its geographical location, not only threaten the security of the state, but also cost the lives of many illegal immigrants during these illegal activities, which constitute a journey of hope. It also provides significant gains and benefits to terrorist organizations, smuggling networks and illegal immigration organizers that earn great income from migration. Terrorist organizations both provide income and recruit themselves through human trafficking.

According to the International Organization for Migration, there are 130 million immigrants in the world and 20-30 million of them are illegal immigrants. 4 million of these illegal immigrants are constantly on the move. It is estimated that 300,000-450,000 migrants enter Western European countries annually. The average cost of human trafficking from Africa to Spain is 4,000 Euros. If fake identity documents are also provided, this price goes up to 6,000 Euros. The same figure is between 6,000 and 12,000 Euros in a smuggling from Asia to Spain. (CE,2005)

The fact that Turkey is on the route of human trafficking towards Europe causes it to be affected by these activities. Between 1995 and 2005, 580,000 people were trafficked through Turkey. It is evaluated that an average of \$ 5,000 per person is received during these transactions. (Yayla, 2008). One of the methods mostly used to finance the activities of the PKK terrorist organization is that migrants are transported illegally across the borders to European countries and receiving a share of the financial aid provided to them in European countries.(Alkan,2004).

2.2.5. Arms Trafficking

Arms and ammunition trafficking is a type of smuggling that occurs especially in periods of hot war and terrorist incidents. Its most important feature is that it does not observe the state, nation, party and ideology. This type of trafficking is directed towards the developed manpower and economic resources of the targeted states. It is a fact that terrorist organizations in the world work in conjunction with terrorist organizations in other states, engage in joint actions, engage in smuggling activities, and terrorist organizations obtain the necessary financial resources from drug trafficking in order to provide the weapons they need.

With the end of the Cold War and increasing conflicts, the demand for weapons has increased. The aforementioned war criminals transferred the weapons in their country to terrorist organizations and organized crime groups. One of the best known of these is Victor Bout. Terrorist groups, especially in Latin America, the Middle East and Africa, provided their weapons needs through these war criminals. (Shelley, 2014) The advances made by the EU in the economic and monetary field reduced the EU's dependence on America in the field of defense and security. The Union has begun to voice its intention to become a global actor that will balance the US in the military field. The September 11 attack and the globalization of the defense industry have been a factor in Europe's formation of a common foreign policy, its orientation towards defense cooperation and military power. France has met the needs of its own army, has become one of the countries with high export revenues from the defense sector, and the UK has also been among the arms exporter countries.

States that support armed organizations are not just two superpowers. State-sponsored terrorism, by its very nature, is a tool that can be made available to anyone who can afford it.

In the 1970s, Libya transferred the surplus of energy revenues to terrorist organizations. Many international armed organizations, from the PLO to the IRA, from the Angola Liberation Movement, to the ANC in South Africa and the source in Nova Scotia, have transferred the oil revenues of Libya. The unexpectedly large price increases in oil prices in 1974 caused oil-producing countries to earn huge revenues. This huge financial income broke the balance of payments by entering current accounts. For these reasons, countries had to extract capital out of the country in order to fix the balance of their payments. Correspondingly, the money was sent to US and European banks. This process has been called oil-dollar circulation. (Adams, 1989).

In recent years, arms trafficking has taken an important place in the agenda of states. Despite the increasing international measures, there is a high amount of arms traffic around the world and support is provided to an increasing number of criminals and organizations by this way. (Arsovska, Kostakos, 2008). The main EU countries producing weapons are Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Sweden. These countries produce more than 90% of the EU's defense vehicles. This means that many small European countries are in the position of supplementary suppliers. In theory, an integrated European defense market should allow more defense goods and services circulation among EU members. Regionally, there are different findings on arms trafficking. While arms trafficking are described as a security issue in conflict zones such as some African countries, the general approach is that it is an international threat by cross-border criminal organizations. (Greene, 2000). Although the way weapons are produced, transfer routes and delivery methods are uncertain, the most obvious weapon resources provided to organizations are the weapons that the states stopped using and the weapons stolen from the state stocks with weak security. (Greene, 2000)

There are three distinct ways of smuggling weapons by smugglers representing different groups. First, large quantities of weapons are provided by splitting them into small quantities through individuals or small companies. Second, a higher amount of smuggling is carried out with the help of dividend-paid intermediaries. Third, states play an active role in arms trafficking by permitting trafficking and facilitating secret shipments to reach targets for profit. (Klare,1997)

François Delattré, the permanent representative of the United Nations in France, expressed how frightening the international arms trafficking of terrorist groups is at the UN Security Council meeting on August 2, 2017:

"Current events constantly remind us of the urgency and seriousness of the illegal arms trade problem, pose a serious threat to international peace and security, while the illegal arms trade encourages terrorist groups and makes them act as they need to." (Permanent Mission of France to The United Nations in New York, 2017).

Weapons obtained by terrorist groups or ammunition used in the production of explosives are sold or sold to terrorist and organized crime organizations in line with the need. This attractive and money-making market also provides the desired raw materials and weapons to be easily obtained.

Due to arms trafficking in Turkey, especially terrorist activities in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions, PKK terrorist organization members confiscate the weapons that the people living in the region brought from neighboring states to protect themselves. The PKK terrorist organization introduces the weapons used in Turkey through the sale of handmade weapons produced by some individuals who accept small arms production as a

means of subsistence in simple workshops located in the high parts of our Black Sea region, which are difficult to control or outside of the settlements. Weapons seized during arms trafficking in Turkey are usually introduced from the borders of Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, the authority gap in northern Iraq, especially during and after the Gulf War, was a major factor in smuggling, and the PKK Terrorist Organization organized arms trafficking in this region. It is understood from the investigations. Arms trafficking originating from this region poses a serious threat to the states of the region, especially Turkey, due to the authority vacuum that has been going on for years in the north of Iraq and deepened after the military intervention of the USA in Iraq in 2003. While some of the weapons that enter Turkey remain in the region, some of them are brought and sold to our other regions by road transport in the hidden compartments of the vehicles by individuals who want to earn income from this way or distributed to members of the PKK terrorist organization. There are two main reasons for terrorist organizations to be involved in arms trafficking. The first is to use weapons in their own acts of violence. The second reason is that they use arms trafficking as a financial resource. Terrorist organizations trade arms with the help of their members or sympathizers. The best example to this issue is the PKK terrorist organization.

2.2.6. Drug Trafficking

Drug trafficking is one of the primary sources of illicit finance, and in recent years the concept of "narco-terrorism" has been used to define the tight link between terrorist organizations and drug traffickers.

All over the world, especially in the USA and Western European States; the abuse of substances such as cannabis, heroin and cocaine has been on the rise since the 1960s.

According to UN sources, drug trafficking, which has an annual global return of 500 billion dollars, is considered as a very attractive economic resource for terrorist organizations as in every criminal organization. Drugs are a very good source of income that whets the appetite of terrorist groups, thanks to the ease of both production and storage, and the ability to instantly turn into hot money. Boutos Ghali, who served as the UN general secretary, used the following statements in the context of terrorism and drug trafficking in the *"International Terrorism Seminar"* he attended in Cairo on 29-30 May 1996:

"Terrorism is not an independent concept, it cannot be separated from illegal movements. Terrorists try to hide the dimensions of criminal relations by wearing a political mask in creating financial resources by laundering the money they get from drug trafficking in smuggling weapons and ammunition"

The fact that the marketing network of drugs with a high rate of easy-to-profit profit can be established much more easily by international terrorist organizations and most importantly, can be instantly converted into hot money are the reasons that make drug smuggling attractive for terrorist organizations. The use of high technology makes it possible to monitor the police and other security units and ensure that these organizations are aware of the operations in advance, so that they can camouflage themselves.

Drugs are a very good source of income that whets the appetite of terrorist groups, thanks to the ease of both production and storage, and the ability to instantly turn into hot money.

Thanks to the addiction they create, drugs have become a commercial product that is in constant demand and ready to market. According to the 2018 world drug report prepared by the United Nations, there are 31 million drug addicts in the world. Worldwide drug use is 275

million. The UN organization has determined 3 conversions regarding the commercial use of narcotic drugs and restrictions have been imposed in these conversions, except for the use of psychoactive substances, which are expressed in hundreds, for medical and scientific purposes. Among these substances used are opium (including heroin), cannabis, cocaine, amphetamine-type stimulants (including ATS), ecstasy and other drugs. According to the UN 2016 world drug report, 192 million people used cannabis, 34 million people used heroin, 21 million people used ecstasy, and 18 million people used cocaine in 2016.

For the drugs used in all of Europe, almost all of the cocaine originates in Afghanistan and reaches Europe via two routes, the first of which is the Balkan route and the second reaches Europe through Eastern Europe, making Russia a major market (Organized Crime Situation Report, 2005). It is obvious that this product, which turned into hot money and produced easily in such a short time, has whetted the appetite of organized crime organizations as well as terrorist organizations. These two groups should not be confused, but have unthinkable ties apart from each other. Although there are differences in purpose, the bond between them is just as strong. Regarding the matter, UNODC Senior counterterrorism officer Irka Kuleshnyk says:

"While it is difficult to determine how widely terrorist groups are involved in illicit drug trafficking, the breadth and nature of the cooperation between these two criminal groups, including the size and relationships of these numbers, is worrying." (UNODC).

UNODC reports that the international drug trade is a global \$ 500 billion mechanism. It is obvious that such a large source of income is too important and dangerous for states to ignore.

Terrorist organizations, together with the control mechanism they possess by having

an important authority thanks to the violence they contain, ensure the controlled functioning of the drug trade and prevent other groups from interfering in the said area, thanks to the structures established by street, region, country and country. In addition, they achieve their goals by ensuring the maximum level of confidentiality within the organization, preventing disclosure and transferring the drug income to the organization at the desired level. (Aydın, 2007, p.11).

According to US State Department reports, at least a dozen of the world's 25 largest terrorist groups have ties to the worldwide drug trade. Some of these terrorist groups are Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC), Colombian United Defense Groups (AUC), National Liberation Army (ELN), Shining Road, Palestine Islamic Jihad, Al-Qaeda, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, Hezbollah, PKK, Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA) includes Tamil El-amin Freedom Tigers and Abu Sayyaf (Thachuk, 2006, p.61).

In the Huallaga valley, a large amount of income is obtained from drugs. In the late 1980s, it was known that the total revenue from Peruvian coca leaves and coca pulp reached \$ 28 billion from sales to the United States alone. The share of Peruvian dough producers and local carriers of these revenues was \$ 7.48 billion, which equates to 20 percent of Peru's \$ 35 billion GDP in 1990. The breeders earned \$ 240 million from coca cultivation. It was known that Sendero Luminoso's share of Selva Alta from this business was around 30 million Dollars. (Sevillano, 1990) This figure was sufficient for the purchase of weapons and the continuation of conservation activities and threats on Peru. The benefits of the commercial war economy were also visible to the public. The 66,000 families living in the Upper Huallaga valley had an average annual income of \$ 3,639, more than three times the annual

per capita income in the rest of Peru, an average of \$ 1,000. The international prevalence of terror-led economies such as the Upper Huallaga valley is surprising.

All around Turkey is surrounded by the world's unstable zones. Considering that the ongoing instability in the Middle East, the Caucasus and the Balkans creates an environment suitable for the abuse of drug traffickers, and that it is also on the Eastern Mediterranean and Northern Black Sea routes, which are drug trafficking routes other than Turkey's Minister Route, its importance in the fight against drugs emerges. The most important drug problem faced by Turkey is drug activities carried out through Turkey. The branches of the Balkan Route, which is the most important transport route of the Southeast Asian Drug that meets the demand in Europe and North America, unite on Turkey due to geographical necessity and reach their targets by dividing into different branches following their exit from Turkey. Synthetic drugs and chemicals used in the manufacture of drugs follow an eastward course in the European States with a current opposite to the Balkan route, and as a result, Turkey remains in the middle of a two-way drug traffic.(KOM,2001)

According to the world report, 30% of the drugs in Afghanistan are shipped via Russia using the northern route, 30% via Pakistan using the southern route, and the remaining 40% via Iran using the western route. The map below shows the routes of drug trafficking from Afghanistan.



Figure 1: Drug routes originating from Afghanistan

Source: KOM Department

According to the map above, drugs smuggled through Russia are transported to target countries, Russia and Western European countries, via two different routes. It is seen that this route, which is called the Northern Black Sea Routes, has started to be used increasingly in recent years. One of the alternative routes originating from Afghanistan is the Eastern Mediterranean Route, also known as the southern route. Smugglers go to the Mediterranean via the Red Sea from the south of Pakistan and the Arabian Peninsula, and the drugs are transported to target countries.

The value of the drugs increases astronomically as they get closer to the area of use in the production areas and the trade route gets longer. According to the 2002 data of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, the street price of one gram of heroin in Afghanistan is 2.7 US Dollars. It is estimated that this figure is 91 USD in the UK, 60

USD in Spain, 38 USD in Germany and 34 USD in the Netherlands.(UNODC,2004)

When we look at the measures taken in the international arena, international terrorism and drug trafficking became prominent after the "Cold War" as two interrelated dangers that threaten all humanity and democratic values. In Article 5 of the report of the United Nations Organization The International Narcotics Control Board Section (INCB) in 1993 in which the links of terrorist organizations and international drug trafficking were announced, in the resolution on "Terrorism and Human Rights" taken by the United Nations General Assembly on 24 November 1993, in the Draft Political Statement adopted as a result of the "United Nations Special Session Against Drugs Problem in the World" held in New York on June 8-10, 1998 and as in the UN Security Council resolution 1373 of 28 September 2001, the links between terrorist organizations and international drug trafficking have been expressed in many international texts and international solutions have been sought.

The criminalization of financing of terrorism was first addressed in an international document through the International Convention on the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism in 1999, faced with the challenge of establishing a regime that would criminalize the financing of a failed action, it was defined extensively in advance.

2.2.7.Money Laundering Activities

The income obtained by terrorist organizations illegally is "Black money" and within the scope of the struggle against money for many years, the fight against the illegally

earned income of terrorist organizations is also being fought. Another difference between terrorist financing and money laundering is related to the process of creating a crime. In order to be able to engage in money laundering activities, the predecessor crime has to be committed and the income obtained from this crime is laundered through a process and returned to its economic system. In the financing of terrorism, crime occurs only with the last step. Even if a terrorist act is committed with the money given to terrorist organizations, it is not a crime by itself to give the money to an association, foundation or any other organization. In order for the crime to occur, the money must be given with the intention of "To provide the financing of terrorist act". "Settlement", which is used in the theoretical explanation of the money laundering process, which means recovering the income arising from crime from the cash form and entering the financial system, "Separation", which means removing the illegal money from its legal source as much as possible, and "Integration" in the sense of returning the money that has a legal appearance to its original owners, all of the acts in those stages are actually a money laundering act.

Terrorist organizations use methods commonly used to launder money and transfer money to members of the organization. Some of these methods include sending money in amounts below the notification threshold, performing financial transactions through "Off-Shore" banks, and making nylon invoices through established fake companies. Terrorists sometimes transfer legally earned money illegally, unlike organized crime groups. According to some estimates, approximately one trillion dollars earned by criminal organizations from other illegal activities, especially drug trafficking, are transferred to the financial system by various and complex methods such as clean and legal money. Some of this money is reinvested in drug trafficking and other organized

crime. According to a statement made on the basis of a research conducted by the International Monetary Fund, this money amounts to 2-5% of the world gross national product as of 2000.

Financial resources and weapons to be used in terrorist activities of terrorist organizations are seized as a result of operations against organized crime organizations. Within the framework of "War on Terrorism", which was declared as a reaction to the terrorist act of September 11, 2001, the financial resources of terrorism, the orientation of the experiences gained in the struggle to destroy the assets of organized crime organizations against the international terrorist threat has come to the agenda. Traditional organized crime organizations and terrorist organizations launder and transfer the money they obtain illegally through similar ways.

There are various methods used by terrorist organizations for money transfers. The main methods are the physical transfer of money without using financial institutions, the use of commercial financial institutions and the underground banking system. Terrorist organizations use couriers to physically transfer their money. This method, seen as a relatively easy transport management, has a number of advantages and disadvantages.

Since the money is physically transported, it does not leave behind traceable documents. It is getting harder to keep track of money. In addition, there are no third parties other than the criminal organization, such as bank officers, who are aware of suspicious transactions and the money movements are under the full control of terrorists, although the physical transfer of the money of terrorist organizations can be counted as other advantages, the costs increase if the money is transferred physically, this transfer

requires a large number of courier and hardware support. Losses are possible due to laws that restrict the transfer of large sums of money, such as the bank confidentiality law. Therefore, it is risky to transfer money by courier for terrorist organizations in Europe, Australia and the United States.

90% of money transfers made in the USA in terms of monetary value; It is carried out through electronic transfer and the interbank settlement payment system. Electronic payment and money transfer systems such as e-cash and smart-card, which are becoming increasingly widespread in the USA and Western States, are used to easily transport black money physically, and some smart cards have the capacity to enable uncontrolled card-to-card transfers. This provides a serious potential to organizations for money laundering.

The possibility of losses due to border searches constitutes another disadvantage in the physical transfer of their money by terrorist organizations. If customs officials do not have sufficient education and income, this does not pose a difficult problem for terrorist organizations. Criminal organizations can bribe public officials not to take action against them and to do whatever they want.

According to statistics, the number of internet users in the world exceeded 800 million in March 2005. The increase in the number of users in the last 5 years is on average 126%. These figures indicate that the Internet, which has entered many stages of life such as banking transactions, communication, money transfer, purchase of goods and services, will increasingly be abused by criminals. As a matter of fact, terrorist organizations seek help through their web pages or e-mails they send, make sales on

their web pages, try to meet their financing needs by using shell companies and humanitarian aid organizations that provide funds on the internet or by committing various cyber crimes on the internet. A transfer made in this way will create an image of legality. The money movement made is one of the millions of transactions that take place every day in thousands of individual and corporate accounts. As the money transfer costs are relatively low, the number of people involved in money transactions is also low. In addition, millions of dollars can be transferred within a few seconds, and the risk of being stolen is less. The money to be transferred to terrorist organizations as financing is deposited in a bank by a person, and the money received by another person is taken from the bank and sent to the organization.

Since financial institutions will keep records of money movements, it facilitates the tracking of money and creates traceable documents, making the transactions known to people outside of the terrorist organization who can witness the investigator in the future. On the other hand, for terrorist organizations, it creates a risk of investigation and seizure of assets due to violations of the bank secrecy law, money laundering laws and other criminal laws.

Underground banking systems or informal financial systems are seen in every state around the world. "Black market" is related to financial service providers, currency exchange, money transfers, sales of financial instruments such as checks and money order orders, gold, jewelry. Those conducting underground banking activities often operate within various ethnic communities. The money does not physically leave the country, it is kept in inventory or deposited with a local bank. Thanks to the trust between family members or business partners, the money is delivered the way the

customer wants. The money is paid from the inventory held by the link in the second country. With this system, which has a wide application area in developing countries and regions where the banking system is not widespread, large amounts of money can be sent from one country to another without any transaction. The reasons why underground banking systems are used by terrorists are that this system is cautious, reliable, fast and less costly, it is not regulated by the government, and the records kept are minimal.

These include Organized Criminality, illegal immigration, terrorism, regional armed conflict, and the growth of the illegal and informal economy. All these problems have different socio-cultural and economic roots, as well as differences in their effects on social life. Organized criminal organizations earn huge amounts of crime revenues by committing many crimes such as illegal drugs and arms trafficking, migrant trafficking, human trafficking, smuggling, and fraud. It is impossible to accurately measure the amount of these revenues of crime. However, estimates show that this is not negligible. The estimated value of international illicit drug trafficking is 320 billion for 2005, and the estimated income from human trading is 32 billion dollars (UN, 2007, p.170). It is estimated that between \$ 150 and \$ 470 billion annually from counterfeiting crimes and \$ 1 to \$ 4 billion from the illegal trade of light arms.

2.3.International Organization Established To Prevent The Financing Of Ethnic Terrorist Organizations

Terrorism is a form of crime and should be handled as such. Thus, financing terrorism is a form of promoting and facilitating criminal behavior. Terrorism cannot be defined by any religion, ethnic identity, color, race or specific geographic region and cannot be limited by

national borders. As a result, the fight against terrorism involving law enforcement is also in an international form. In this context, since effective fight against financing of terrorism requires international cooperation, it should be ensured that terrorists are involved in the process aimed at freezing their assets by being a party to the agreements and decisions adopted by the states, the United Nations, the European Union and the FATF, as much as possible. The International Convention on the Prevention of the Financing of Terrorism provides basic standards. As far as it is generally understood, terrorist organizations get the support of the people they need in order to be effective. As terrorism financing is a major threat to international security, states are encouraged to sign it and comply with its terms.

An inventory of existing criminal laws, administrative measures and practices should be made to obtain information on what countries are doing in terms of adopting measures to combat the financing of terrorism. It should be designed from existing evaluation standards. Such work can best be managed by regional organizations or international financial institutions acting within their own jurisdiction, which have gathered a great deal of information about government measures to combat the financing of terrorism.

Domestic and international cooperation works best when all relevant institutions involved in an initiative operate on a common understanding of "financing terrorism," a common agenda, and as much shared information as possible. A fully effective local and global effort to combat the financing of terrorism benefits from well-functioning, transparent and corruption-free economies equipped with appropriate anti-money laundering legal, regulatory and institutional frameworks. It also benefits from the institutional capacity to enforce laws and collect, analyze and share real-time intelligence and documentary evidence across and across national boundaries.

2.3.1. Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering FATF

FATF was established in 1989 by the G-7 countries USA, Japan, Germany, France, England, Italy and Canada within the OECD. At the Paris Summit, it was concluded that there was a need to take urgent and effective steps to effectively combat drug production, trade and consumption and the laundering of revenues from these crimes, and it was decided to create an action force in order to respond to this need. FATF emerged as a result of this decision (FATF, 2007c, p.1). Apart from Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, England and the European Communities Commission, which attended the Paris Summit, Austria, Australia, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland were also invited to participate in this formation. FATF has a total of 33 members, 31 of which are state and 2 regional organizations. Turkey became a member of FATF on September 24, 1991. (FATF,2005)

The 40 Recommendations, which were prepared by FATF in 1990 and revised twice, one in 1996 and the other in 2003, set a framework for the measures to be taken to bring the legislation of the member states closer and to ensure international cooperation in order to prevent money laundering through the financial system. In this way, it creates a universal application area. Certain non-financial entities are listed by the FATF as entertainment centers, real estate, precious metals and gemstone traders. Professionals, on the other hand, refer to professionals such as lawyers, notaries and accountants who perform their profession independently. However, these persons' obligations in terms of money laundering and terrorist financing are limited to the transactions such as buying and selling real estate, establishing, managing and transferring companies, foundations and associations.(FATF, 2007a, p.77).

In 1990, 40 Recommendations were drawn up to combat money laundering. At the same time, it was decided that all OECD and financial center countries could become members of this formation. After this decision, 8 other OECD countries, including Turkey, were added to the member list of Hong Kong and the Gulf Cooperation Council. Turkey's membership date is September 24, 1991. Today, the number of members of FATF is 34, including the European Commission and Gulf Cooperation. In addition, there are over 20 observer members. FATF has started to be strict in accepting new members after the number of members it has reached and to apply severe criteria. Instead of enlargement, it promotes the creation of FATF-like regional bodies (FATF Style Regional Bodies (FSRBs)). FATF's anti-money laundering and terrorist financing network has reached over 170 countries together with regional organizations like FATF. The 40 Recommendations, prepared in 1990, were later revised by taking into account the new developments in the field of laundering in 1996 and 2003 (FATF, 2003) and good practice examples. After the September 11 events, 15 European Union member countries called for the FATF to expand its mandate to include the prevention of terrorism financing. Similarly, G-7 Finance Ministers called on the FATF to make specific recommendations on terrorist financing. Thereupon, "Special Recommendations" were added to 40 Recommendations to prevent financing of terrorism. The number of Special Recommendations for today is 9 (FATF, 2004), all recommendations are also called "40 plus 9 Recommendations".

FATF has now become a standard-setting agency in combating money laundering and terrorist financing. FATF member countries, FSRBs, IMF and World Bank consider the "40 plus 9 Recommendations" and Methodology (FATF, 2007a) as the main reference and evaluation tool in combating money laundering and terrorist financing. Country legislation, preventive measures and international cooperation are shaped according to the "40 plus 9 Recommendations" and methodology.

The suspicious transaction reporting system is used not only to combat money laundering, but also to prevent terrorist financing. Although terrorist organizations are formed for political purposes, they frequently resort to the types of crimes used by organized crime organizations in order to meet their financing needs, and because many terrorist organizations operate in the field of drug trafficking, they become narcorists, and it is similar to laundering the funds obtained by terrorist organizations both legally and illegally in the process of reaching terrorist organization members to use methods, the use of the tools used in the fight against money laundering to prevent financing of terrorism, especially with the effect of the September 11 events, has been brought to the agenda. (FATF, 2008) Through notifications, law enforcement units provide support from organizations and individuals representing a significant part of the economy in terms of their surveillance function within the scope of prevention of money laundering and terrorist financing.

Suspicious transaction reporting is the type of notification that countries are required to implement with the 13th recommendation of the FATF, and it includes the notification of the situation that will require suspicion or suspicion that the funds subject to the transaction are related to laundering or terrorist financing by the obliged parties to the competent central authority. In the 14th recommendation of FATF, due to the suspicious transaction reports made to the financial intelligence unit within the framework of goodwill rules, regardless of whether the financial institutions, their managers and employees know the exact nature of the crime that originated the suspect transaction and whether the illegal act has taken place, it stipulates that the law ensures that they will not be held liable in any way in terms of legal and criminal matters, such as violating any legislation regarding the disclosure of information, and prohibiting them from disclosing information regarding suspicious transaction reporting or

information regarding this. With the 26th recommendation of the FATF, countries will be asked to establish a central financial intelligence unit that will receive and analyze suspicious transaction reports and other information regarding money laundering and terrorist financing and distribute these analysis results to the relevant authorities.(FATF,2008)

2.3.2. Egmont Group

We can examine the Egmont Group as one of the best examples of international cooperation in the fight against terrorism. In line with the regulations in international texts, the "Suspicious Transaction Reporting" becoming the most important institution of the anti-money laundering system has been an important factor that creates the need for a central unit. For this purpose, "Egmont Group" was established on June 9, 1995 with the gathering of 24 states and 8 international organizations in Brussels.

At the meeting held by the Egmont Group in Rome in 1996, a FIU definition was adopted in which at least common criteria were determined in order to guide the group's work. Accordingly, the financial intelligence unit, " For the purpose of financial fight against money laundering and terrorism, to collect financial information about the revenues suspected to be derived from crime and the financing of potential terrorism or reported in accordance with national legislation, if permitted, it is the central national unit responsible for processing, analyzing and referring to the relevant authorities. Currently 94 states are members of Egmont, Turkey applied for membership in February 1998 and was accepted for membership in June 1998. MASAK represents Turkey in this institution.

2.3.3. Wolfsberg Group

The Wolfsberg Group is a group of twelve banks with a global nature and its aim is to develop standards and products to combat money laundering and terrorist financing by recognizing customers in the financial services sector. The Wolfsberg Group met in 2000 at Wolfsberg Castle in North East Switzerland. The Wolfsberg Anti-Money Laundering Principles for Private Banks were published in October 2000 and revised in May 2002.

The 4th principle of the revised Anti-Money Laundering Principles of the Wolfsberg Group is related to the detection of extraordinary and suspicious transactions. In accordance with this principle, banks are requested to put their policies in writing to identify and follow up unusual or suspicious transactions. The policy document should include determinations of what constitutes unusual and suspicious transactions.

In the principles of anti-money laundering, it is stated that banks can identify unusual or suspicious transactions, monitoring transactions, contacting the customer, information to be obtained from third parties, and information provided by banks from their internal information systems. Regarding any unusual or suspicious transactions detected, banks will conduct an analysis of the history of this transaction. If a convincing explanation about the transaction cannot be reached as a result of this work to be carried out, this time it will be possible to continue the business relationship with the Customer by strict monitoring, to terminate the business relationship, to find a suspicious transaction report to the Authorized Authority, and control practices will be in question. Reporting of suspicious transactions to the relevant competent authority will be done by a previously appointed senior manager. The compliance officer with a high level of authority may be top managers such as the head of the

organization, the head of the audit unit. If required by the legislation of the relevant country, the assets subject to the transaction will be blocked and the transaction can be made with the approval to be given after the necessary inspections. As can be seen, detailed principles were determined by Wolfsberg with suspicious transaction reporting, and the importance given by banks to this issue was revealed.

2.3.4. Financial Crimes Investigation Board (MASAK)

MASAK has been serving as Financial Intelligence Unit in Turkey since 1997. As MASAK Turkish FIU, it represents Turkey in formations related to money laundering and terrorist financing such as FATF, EGMONT Group, Eurasia Group, MONEYVAL. MASAK is an administrative financial intelligence unit and was established under the Ministry of Finance. Although the task of being a financial intelligence unit was given to MASAK by Law No. 4208 before, it was rearranged to include the financing of terrorism with Law No. 5549.

The main function of MASAK is to conduct research on the activities for laundering proceeds of crime and the methods emerged by the prevention of money laundering crime. In this context, to expand the measures, to collect and analyze data within the subject and to convey the findings to the relevant authorities.

MASAK will appoint a compliance officer at administrative level for the notifications they need to make in accordance with the provisions of the legislation on the Implementation of the Law No. 4208 on the Prevention of Money Laundering. The Ministry of Finance has been authorized to determine the obliged parties to be appointed, the starting dates of the implementation, the qualifications, duties, powers and responsibilities of the compliance

officer. The Ministry of Finance used this authority with the Financial Crimes Investigation Board General Communiqué No: 4 published in the Official Gazette dated 10.11.2002 and numbered 24932. In the Communiqué, the obligation to appoint only bank compliance officers from obliged parties was introduced. In the Communiqué, it is understood that the duties assigned to the compliance officer are limited to the scope of the notifier. With Law No. 5549, it is seen that this approach is being abandoned. As a matter of fact, the compliance officer in Article 3 of the Regulation on Measures to Prevent Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing, issued in relation to the implementation of Law No. 5549: He is defined as an officer with the necessary authority assigned by the obliged parties in order to ensure compliance with the obligations imposed by the legislation enacted on the basis of the Law No. 5549 and the Law. In the second paragraph of Article 27 of the same regulation, it is stipulated that suspicious transaction reporting will be carried out by the real person liable himself, the legal representatives of the legal person oblige, the managers of the non-legal person or those authorized by them, and in the obliged parties who have been appointed as compliance officers.

Non-profit organizations are open to the abuse of terrorists for various reasons. First of all, the reliable image of these organizations in the public makes these organizations a target for the collection of funds for terrorists. The main reasons for non-profit organizations to be targeted by terrorists are the serious funding sources and the opportunity to access conflict zones and their intensive activities in these areas. In addition, many non-profit organizations can carry out national and international activities in connection with their fields of activity and can easily perform financial transactions for these purposes. This global activity network also creates a very attractive environment for terrorists.

CHAPTER III : ETHNIC TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS IRA ETA PKK

FINANCIAL RESOURCES

3.1. Ira Terrorist Organization

Due to the great famine in Ireland between 1845 and 1848, close to 1.5 million people died due to hunger or illness, and almost 1 million people migrated due to famine. Most of the migrations were to the United States of America (USA), Canada and England. As a result of the migrations, there have been serious Irish immigrant communities in these countries. As a result of the famine experienced, nationalism increased in Ireland and some separatist organizations started to be established by immigrant communities. The rise of nationalism and the victimization caused by famine accelerated the birth of the IRA. The "Young Irish Movement", one of the separatist movements that occurred as a result of the famine, tried to attract attention with more non-violent actions. The other separatist organization that emerged as the radical wing of the Young Irish Movement was the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The organization, which was established in Dublin in 1858, progressed to the USA in the following years. The IRA terrorist organization was established in 1919 by Irish militant nationalist volunteers. The IRA was divided into PIRA and OIRA in 1969.

3.1.1. Financial Sources of the IRA Terrorist Organization

Irish Americans have traditionally been a major source of income for the IRA. It was the American branch of the Fenian Brotherhood, founded in New York in 1858, that financed the Irish uprising in the 19th century. IRA members founded Irish Northern Aid, known as Noraid, in the 1960s. Noraid reached out to a large number of people as the current Irish

American network of organizations. Money coming from all regions of the USA was collected in different ways. These methods, proceeds from the sale of broadcasts, were collected from demonstrations, from Irish-American entertainment centers such as O'Neil's in Chicago and Wednesday's in New York. Well-known Irish people who came to visit the country were also collecting donations. When Bernadette Devlin came to the United States in 1969 for the Northern Ireland Human Rights Association (NICRA), she collected \$ 650,000. Noraid has reached a budget of \$ 7 million over a decade and is able to meet more than 50 percent of the IRA's cash needs. (Adams, 1989). Noraid's goal was to gain political power to lobby strongly enough to influence the US government in achieving the relationship between Ireland and the UK, as well as financial support. In this sense, professional lobbyists organized activities such as Christmas dinner in cities in America to raise funds. Politicians and union members who paid \$ 400 to meet at the Waldorf Astoria, their meeting place in New York, were attending the invitations.

Initially, Noraid funds reached Ulster through the Belfast-based Northern Half Committee established after the 1969 Londonderry uprising. When this organization was captured by An Cuman Cobrach (ACC), the modern version of the Inmates' Relatives Fund in 1920, the money began to be sent via ACC, which shared the same office with Sinn Fein in Dublin. The ACC would then send these money to the Green Cross, the official organization aimed at supporting the families of Republican prisoners in Belfast. In fact, the Green Cross was a tool used to finance the IRA. (Geldard and Craig, 1988). Although Noraid told Irish-American sponsors that the money was spent on clothes and food for the homeless in Northern Ireland, she was funding the IRA with the pretense of charity. During the case against Noraid in 1982, the US Department of Justice stated that "Noraid" had been operating as the Irish representative to the Irish Republican Army, its political wing, Sinn Fein, and its member organizations from the very beginning. A significant portion of the money collected by

Noraid in the US was used to buy weapons and smuggle them to Ulster. For example, in 1982 the FBI uncovered a \$ 1 million gun smuggling in New York, one of the two who led the smuggling, Andrew Duggan was a member of Noraid.(Sunday Times, 1985)

Although direct financial assistance from an independent organization such as Noraid is less restricted than state support, armed groups are conditioned in the same way as these funds. The assassination of Lord Mountbatten in 1979 and the bombing of the Harrods shopping mall in London on Christmas 1983 drew the attention of the US public to the terror campaign of the IRA in the UK. It narrowed its boundaries due to the IRA's new strategy announced by Gerry Adams in 1977. The IRA had begun increasing illegal activities such as smuggling, tax evasion, and fraud to find funds that supported Adams' strategy. The 270-mile border between the Republic of Ireland and Ulster made it an ideal area for smuggling activities.

The IRA and the Republic of Ireland benefited from the Common Market export incentives when sending Irish agricultural products to the UK, of which Northern Ireland is a part, in order to generate income. According to the figure provided by the Court of Auditors of the European Commission on how much the total amount obtained through incentive smuggling reached, the Common Market losses in 1985 were 450 million pounds.(Sunday Times, 1986)

Another illegal source of income for the IRA terrorist organization was the abuse of different tax rates between the Republic and Northern Ireland, in particular Value Added Tax (VAT). While the VAT on products was 35 percent in the south, this rate was 15 percent in the north. Goods were smuggled from north to south and sold below market prices. In total, this type of smuggling caused the Dublin government to lose \$ 100 million in tax losses each year. (Adams, 1986) As Gerry Adams organized the return of the IRA to dominant politics,

large chunks of IRA revenues were diverted to Sinn Fein's political campaigns. According to the British government, Adams' political dreams were up to three times the cost of running the IRA as an armed organization. For example, this figure, which is estimated to be £ 1.30 per voter and £ 137,000 in total, spent solely for security during the campaign, the political party where Adams was elected, was largely covered by the illegal income of the IRA. (Sunday Times, 1984)

The Irish government revealed in 1985 that £ 2 million, part of which was reserved for the campaign for parliamentary elections, was transferred to the IRA. This money was received from Associated British Foods in exchange for the IRA's abandonment of violent acts such as kidnappings and bombings in the Republic of Ireland. The Irish investigators who tracked the money and the US Customs managed to uncover this complex financial operation by unraveling money movements. The money was deposited from Switzerland at a New York branch of the Bank of Ireland. (Adams, 1986). It is common practice for armed organizations wishing to participate in existing politics to use covert activities to finance legitimate political campaigns. The IRA raised £ 7 million in 2001 alone through criminal activities. Tobacco smuggling from Eastern Europe has been one of the biggest sources of income. Cigarette-laden trucks were traveling from Eastern Europe to the UK and the Republic of Ireland. Without paying taxes and extortion, the IRA sold them and earned up to £ 400,000 per truck. (Sunday Times, 2002). Special training and development of expertise for the realization of critical and resounding terrorist acts is a costly activity. Long-term training period may be required in terror training camps in order to acquire many skills required for terrorist acts. (Williams, 2005)

The UK's Organized Crime Task Force reports state that the revenue loss from fuel smuggling and counterfeit tobacco products between Northern Ireland and the Republic of

Ireland in 2000 alone reached 568 million dollars. The IRA's capacity to generate money from counterfeit products and goods smuggling is estimated to be between \$ 7.7 and \$ 12.3 million. (Thachuk, 2006)

It is claimed that the IRA specializes in money laundering to directly or indirectly control businesses with high business volume. IRA uses its illegal income especially in businesses with high cash inflows such as markets, cafeterias, pubs and hotels. According to the Northern Ireland Organized Crime Task Force, the IRA uses many types of crime for financial support, such as money laundering, VAT and other tax frauds, robbery, kidnapping, customs smuggling, fraud. The IRA earns more than £ 10 million in illegal earnings each year for its crimes alone. However, it is suggested that this income from illegal activities is less than half of the income that the organization derives from its legal businesses and real estate development business (Chrisafis, 2005).

Among the legally qualified businesses of the IRA, there are private security firms, a cooperative consisting of 300 taxis, whose annual income is reported to the tax authorities around 1 million dollars, a construction company, street markets, restaurants, pubs, hostels, galleries and spare parts, courier service businesses. (Horgan and Taylor, 1999)

What the weapons and ammunition used in the attacks and struggles of the IRA throughout its history, how and where it obtained it and how it financed them should be expressed in terms of understanding the study better and being a complementary element. The supply of weapons and ammunition has been the biggest financial resource of the IRA. Such ammunition was very expensive when purchased from arms dealers. The organization used

ground-to-air missile SAM and launchers, Russian-made grenades, assassination rifles, machine guns and assassination rifles purchased from the United States, Russia and Libya, inside or outside Ireland. It is known that most of the heavy machine guns and ammunition of the IRA came from Libya. In 1987, a Panama-flagged ship, which was later determined to be sent from Libya by the court, was caught by French customs officials off the coast of Normandy while carrying weapons to the IRA. It had enough weapons and ammunition to wage a small war: 1000 assault rifles, 1 million bullets, 2 tons of explosives, 20 ground-to-air missiles, 20 mortars, 10 heavy machine guns and 430 hand grenades. (Adams, 1989)

The organization's production of homemade explosives has created an advantage for the organization, especially during ceasefire. This is because the terrorist organization's purchase of some of its ammunition and ammunition commercially from arms dealers may expose this relationship of the organization and thus terminate the ceasefire. The fact that the components used in bomb construction could be obtained easily and without inspection did not cause any difficulties in the procurement of these components. It has been revealed that 45-60% of the ammunition seized in the operation carried out by the security forces in 1992 was obtained from Libya and some Middle Eastern countries in the 1980s. (Horgan and Taylor, 2007).

Another source of income for the IRA is animal, grain and cigarette smuggling, drug smuggling, kidnapping, and armed robbery. (Horgan and Taylor, 2007). It became a source of income for the kidnapping organization in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1979, big businessman Ben Dunne was kidnapped and released for 2 million pounds. The biggest example of a bank robbery is when they robbed the Northern Bank and stole £ 26 million. (Dingley, 2012)

Horgan and Taylor state that the annual budget of the IRA is 15 million dollars.

3.2. ETA Terrorist Organization

ETA is a terrorist organization that emerged in Spain. The region where the organization claims to be separated is in the north of Spain and in the south west of France. The aim of the organization is to achieve the independence of the Basque region it claims. The Basque problem is seen as a nationalist problem that occupies Spain by fighting terrorism.

The Basque Country (Basque: Euskal Herria) is on the borders of two European states such as Spain and France. It takes the life of the Basques in this region until 1512. The Basque Country consists of 7 regions. The Basque region on the Spanish side consists of 4 regions: Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa, Navarra and Alava. These places cover a total area of 17,600 km². In addition, these regions constitute 85% of the Basque Country and 3.5% of the Spanish territory. In 2011, 3 million people lived on the Spanish side of the Basque region, which corresponds to 7% of the total Spanish population (Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2017).

He transformed the Basque society into a society concentrated in areas such as mining, heavy industry, shipbuilding and banking. Social stratification emerged within the Basque society as a result of industrialization. While the Basques doing high-level jobs in the fields of industry and investment went in contact with the Spanish authorities, the worker or working population was not accepted among the Basque people and caused stratification. This situation served to deepen nationalism by changing the socio-economic structure of Basque society (Shabad and Ramo, 2003: 416).

The region has become one of the wealthiest regions in Spain in the following years.

Industrialization had begun to affect the Basques (Clark, 1984: 16). However, industrialization has brought some disadvantages with it. Like pollution, crime, low working conditions, slums and economic competition. People from all parts of Spain had begun to migrate to the Basque region. The loss of Basque nationalism, especially with the Franco regime, the pressure of the dictatorial regime, and the passivity of the PNV in bringing solutions to these problems will reveal a terrorist organization that Spain will fight for about 50 years.

During the dictatorship of Franco, the general unwillingness and powerlessness of the nationalist sentiments of Basque society was evident in the indifference or ambiguity of nationalist reasons. It was very difficult to resist Franco's pressure and counterattack. However, with the 1950s, nationalist rhetoric started to rise. Especially these discourses were made under the auspices of the magazine *Ekin*, which was founded by middle-class young university students. The aim of this group was to introduce Basque traditions through the work of Basque intellectuals, including Arana. In 1956, the "Catholic Country Youth (HG)" and the PNV youth organization (EGI) also joined this organization. EGI has taken initiatives for more radical actions. Graffiti and pro-nationalist slogans were written by this structure on the walls of small towns and cities. Unlike *Ekin* members, EGI members lacked intellectual background. Because these young people came from small industrial cities where access to higher education, which is linked to economic conditions, is limited, but Euskera language is spoken (Heiberg, 1989: 106).

ETA was established on July 31, 1959 with the unification of these radical youth organizations. This date is also known as the 64th anniversary of the establishment of PNV (Özçer, as cited in 2006. Demir, 2017: 216). The political torture of Basque language and

culture under the Franco regime led to the radicalization of Basque nationalist consciousness. With the establishment of ETA in 1959, acts of violence and armed struggle were gathered under the roof of an organization. The aim of ETA was to engage in revolutionary and massive actions, using the resentment in Basque society against the full repression of the Franco regime. This purpose worked well when Franco was severely besieging the Basque region. In the late 1960s, ETA had begun to prepare the ground for military actions (Heiberg, 2007: 25). Since its establishment, ETA has been an organization with the aims of unifying seven Basque regions and achieving independence, protecting the Basque identity and language, and fighting against the police and military violence of Spain, which exists in the Basque region (Shabad and Ramo, 1993: 427).

The Spanish state, on the other hand, found disproportionate power to suppress Basque nationalism and prevent the activities of the organization. For this reason, at the end of the 1960s, ETA decided to start its actions, thinking that there was no other choice but to resort to violence to achieve its goals. In 1962, an ETA executive committee was established in exile. At the first meeting of this committee, the aim of ETA was defined as "the revolutionary Basque movement fighting for national liberation".

3.2.1. Financing Sources of the ETA Terrorist Organization

Successful armed groups must develop comprehensive accounting structures in order to manage their money. In 1986, the realization that a secret room located downstairs of the Sokoa factory in Hendaya, France, was the financing headquarters of the nationalist armed group ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) fighting for the independence of the Basque region,

revealed the complex accounting techniques the group used to balance its budget. (Terra / Agencias, 2002) Cash inflows and outflows were recorded in Spanish pesetas and the remainder in French francs, similar to the balance of payments records of legal states. 85 percent of the ETA's budget is in Spain and the rest in France. Proceeds were mainly derived from kidnapping, extortion and armed robbery, with a net income of around 800 million pesetas in a decade from armed robberies, and robberies were abandoned in the mid-1980s, considering that low income was generated despite the high risk. While 50 million pesetas were earned in 1970, the money earned in 1997 increased to 15 million dollars in return for 1.5 billion pesetas. As this crime became widespread, the Spanish Government started to freeze the bank accounts of the families of the abducted people in 1984, by enacting a law pioneered by Italy, in order to prosecute those who mediated the kidnapping and prevent them from paying ransom.

Tributes received from businessmen and industrialists were also an important source of income. Often it was taken in the form of a protection fee against violent acts. ETA members saw it as a 'revolutionary tax' on wealth. The nationalist claims were in favor of these forcibly collected money: " ETA, considering that the continuation of the resistance against the oppressors (the Spanish government) is both a legal and moral responsibility of all people living in the Basque region, this responsibility should be fulfilled in the same way that the governments of independent states collect taxes from their own citizens. wants. According to documents found at the Sokoa factory, the total cash generated from the tributes between 1980 and 1986 was 1.2 billion pesetas (\$ 12 million). Contributions made by the militants and sympathizers were also added to the income. The accounts in Sokoa showed that 5 percent tax was collected from the wages of Basques working abroad, especially in France, through the Basque's immigration committee. Money from foreign countries was not recorded. The cash

value of this was difficult to determine, as the Soviet Union, its Eastern European allies, and the PLO only provided arms and training support. ETA's close links with the Spanish Communist Party served logistical and tactical purposes rather than creating a source of income. ETA was predominantly self-sufficient. Between 1978 and 1997, its average annual income was over 400 million pesetas (\$ 4 million).

ETA's self-financing activities in the Basque Country had devastating consequences for the local economy. The Basque people were a small minority in Spain. In the early 1980s, around 1.5 million Basques lived in Spain and around 200,000 in France, whereas Spain's total population was 37 million. Francisco Franco's forced migration policy caused a massive influx of immigrants from the poorest regions of Spain to the Basque country, changing the ethnic balance of the region. Immigrants were affected by the industrial wealth of the region; steelworks, mines and shipyards were the center of attention for job seekers. In the 1960s, before the terrorist incidents broke out, industry in this region was making great progress. Average income in the Basque Country was the same as in the Benelux countries and had the highest average per capita annual income in Spain. This economic prosperity came to an end because of the terror campaign ETA launched to finance its armed struggle against Madrid. ETA's nationalist goals impoverished the region and caused wealthy patriots to migrate elsewhere. Factories in the country were closed, Basque industrialists fled elsewhere in fear of ETA's kidnapping, extortion, bank robbery, increasingly revolutionary taxes and fundraising methods.

The immigration of the rich to whom you extorted has caused ETA to turn its face outside the region to finance its struggle. The fact that the monthly salaries of the militants were expressed in French francs in 1985 showed that the activities were moving beyond the borders. In the same year, 65 percent of the spending was also recorded in French francs,

indicating that more money was spent in France. After 1985, most of ETA's annual cash outflows were recorded in French francs. Buying foreign currency is a strong indication that the organization has moved to the French side of the Basque region to raise money.

When it comes to expenses, cash facilities were paramount in determining ETA salaries. In the 1980s and 1990s, annual salary payments totaled 600,000 French francs, or \$ 120,000. This figure made up only 10 percent of ETA's total money. In the 1990s, ETA paid 700 French francs, or \$ 140, to young people, while it paid 1200 French francs, or \$ 240, to middle-aged ones. These salaries were significantly lower than the average monthly salaries in Spain. The group gave its members a minimum subsistence wage, forcing them to rely on the help of sympathizers or parties. Priority was given to strategic spending; the purchase of weapons and explosives and the creation of security shelters.

Militants abroad were also paid based on cash flow. Payments were made using different methods. For example, ETA was paying its members in Nicaragua through Larreategui Cuadra, a Basque gang, who had been sent to assist the Sandinists. Banknotes were hidden between magazine pages and sent by mail. ETA salaries in Nicaragua were \$ 20 a month until 1989. This price was increased to 100 dollars after a ransom payment of 1200-1500 million pesetas, which was estimated to be around 12-15 million dollars, made by a businessman kidnapped in 1988. Other cash spending was determined by the domestic political infrastructure, international aid to other armed organizations such as the Sandinists, and operational expenditures. These expenditures included the purchase of weapons and explosives and financial support for members in prisons. The average annual expenditure of ETA between 1978 and 1997 varied between 300-400 million dollars.

The existence of ETA's accounting structure revealed that there was a terror-centered economy similar to a war economy. ETA's self-financing was based on a different "predatory war economy" model. According to this model, "Armed groups were reaching the indigenous people and economic resources through acts of violence and looting. This type of economy is a short-term plan for the organization to survive, as it leads to rapid depletion of political resources and diminishing political support. As in wartime, the abuse of the legitimate economy was not only allowed, but the mainline of the economy was its livelihood. Therefore, while the legitimate economy was consumed, wealth was not redistributed in the region. Money spent on weapons and ammunition was leaving the Basque region's money circulation line instead of generating new sources of income. After terrorism spread to the region, the region's national income per capita dropped by an average of 10 percent due to the fear of violence, extortion and kidnappings by ETA separatists. The organization then had to move elsewhere to generate revenue.

3.3 PKK Terror Organization

The main subject of the study was to analyze the financial resources of the PKK terrorist organization and the sources of financial support to be obtained in order to carry out its activities for the purpose of the organization's ideologies. Terrorism against the state is a form of terrorism for the purpose of overthrowing the state administration or gaining independence of separatist ethnic organizations. In this respect, it shows that in the regions where the PKK carried out its activities intensely, it feeds on "separatism" or "separatism" based on its ethnic structure and carries out violent acts under this. PKK (Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan / Kurdistan Workers' Party) was founded in 1978 in Diyarbakır-Lice. During this period, the activities of

the PKK terrorist organization were decisive and constituted a priority security problem. Adopting the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the PKK launched a terrorist movement based on ethnic identity and with widespread violence in order to establish a separate state or federative structure in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia. Since 1984, with the PKK terrorist organization's armed actions, the terrorist organization has been the most important item on Turkey's agenda.

The PKK organization, which has continued its activities in Turkey since the 1980s, carried out bloody actions against the state and aimed to establish an independent state in the region where they settled. The organization still continues its activities today. While it was not included in the list of terrorist organizations of the European Union when it was called as PKK, it was added to the list of terrorist organizations with its former name when it changed its name and changed its name to KADEK.

3.3.1 Financial Sources of the PKK Terrorist Organization

In order to examine the activities of terrorist organizations, it is necessary to first look at the cause and effect relationship. PKK is a Turkey-based terrorist organization. When terrorist acts started in Turkey, resources were sought and found for financing. Despite the comprehensive policies of struggle against the PKK terrorist organization in Turkey, the existence of the organization is explained by the diversity of financial resources and the continuity of money flow to the organization. Among the financial resources of the organization; In Turkey and Europe, collecting dues and donations, so-called tax total, extortion, forgery, and ongoing smuggling activities in the countries on the south and southeastern border of Turkey.

Taking advantage of the democratic and political environment in Europe and hiding its activities with its non-governmental organizations, the PKK terrorist organization continues its efforts to collect dues and donations, to recruit militants and to expand the base in order to provide the financing it needs in terrorist acts with these activities.

PKK has purchased weapons from neighboring states from individuals who aim to profit from arms smuggling, with the intention of protecting the citizens themselves, due to arms smuggling, which is one of the biggest sources of income of the terrorist organization, and terrorist activities, especially in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions. PKK terrorist organization militants enter Turkey with the weapons they use, and the sale of handmade weapons produced by some individuals who accept small arms production as a means of subsistence in simple workshops located in the high parts of our Black Sea region, which are difficult to control or outside of the settlements.

In the years when the PKK terrorist organization provided financial resources, its main financial source was limited to so-called tax collection under the name of tribute or protection money. Currently, tribute and so-called tax collection continues to be the PKK's financial source, especially in European countries (Roth and Sever, 2007). In the 1990s, the PKK collected tribute, mostly from Kurdish citizens, in Britain and earned an annual income of 2.5 million British Pounds. (Criss, 1995).

Dues and donations are also important sources of income for the PKK terrorist organization. It is known that sympathizers of the organization in Turkey and Europe pay regular dues to the organization and make donations under the name of aid campaigns. Until today, it has not

been determined how much money has been donated to the organization, but it is estimated that the income from donations is a significant sum. In a fundraising campaign conducted in the 1990s, Öcalan stated that close to 2 million brands were collected for the organization. (Cengiz, 2011)

It is alleged that the PKK terrorist organization has many restaurants, cafeterias and coffee houses in countries such as Germany, England, Austria, Hungary and the Netherlands. While providing income to the organization with such legal-looking workplaces, on the other hand, these are used for contact points and coordination of organizational activities (Aydın, 2007, pp. 56-57).

The PKK terrorist organization, known to be one of the most important organizations specializing in forgery in the world, prepares forged documents in return for a certain price in order for the asylum requests of individuals who want to go abroad illegally to be accepted. In addition, the organization performs forgery acts by falsifying documents such as passports and identity cards obtained by force or voluntarily from our citizens or foreigners abroad, and thus generates income. Smugglers who were taken to European countries with forged documents were followed by the organization in the countries they were sent to and registered as members of pro-PKK associations with the promise of shelter and job opportunities, and if they found a job, money was collected from the aforementioned individuals under the name of dues to help the organization. The organization may also undertake ideological training of some of these individuals it has taken abroad, and may attempt to forcibly collect money on behalf of the PKK, distribute the organization's media organs, and use them as courier in drug affairs (Alkan, 2004). It is reported that PKK / KONGRA-GEL terrorist organization has 2

newspapers, 4 TV channels, 13 radio channels, 19 magazines and 3 printing houses and many internet sites.

The PKK terrorist organization is also actively involved in the global migrant smuggling and human trafficking, and generates significant revenues. According to Gheordunescu (2000), the PKK terrorist organization carries out its activities of smuggling migrants to Western European countries via Romania, using its cross-border crime networks. In addition, the organization plays an active role in the illegal trafficking of immigrants from the Middle Eastern countries to the European continent. In the past, the PKK terrorist organization has provided logistical support for citizens of Kurdish origin to migrate to Western European countries as refugees. This support was realized at high levels in the 1990s. PKK has prepared fake documents showing that immigrants are under pressure in Turkey. (Cornell, 2009). According to Janssens and Arsovska (2008), the PKK terrorist organization takes tribute in the regions where it is strong on the route in the smuggling of migrants from the Middle East and Asian countries to Western European countries and constitutes an important link in international criminal networks.

The PKK terrorist organization, which generates high revenues from organized criminal activities, launder these revenues using various techniques. Two investigation files conducted by the European police in the past years give clues about the PKK's ability to launder money. Scotland Yard and the Belgian Police carried out an operation called "Sputnik" in 1996 against the PKK's financial resources. Extensions of the operation have also been moved to Luxembourg and Germany. The purpose of the operation was that MED TV, a media organ of the PKK, was managed with the proceeds of the PKK from crime. As a result of the operation, Belgian francs worth US \$ 11 million in the MED TV account were seized. It was

determined that this money was obtained by the terrorist organization as a result of tribute and so-called tax collection. The PKK laundered this money using 15 different companies and put it into the market by depositing it in its MED TV account. In another operation in Belgium in 2002, police found that a company was corruptly drafting false documents and laundering money. In the later parts of the operation, it was revealed that the company transferred the income earned by PKK terrorist organization members in Europe to the PKK terrorist organization. (Roth and Sever, 2007)

Weapons seized in arms trafficking in Turkey, it is understood from the operations carried out that the PKK Terrorist Organization organized arms smuggling in this region, and that the authority vacuum that occurred during and after the Gulf war in northern Iraq was a major factor in smuggling. Arms smuggling originating from this region poses a serious threat to the states of the region, especially Turkey, due to the authority vacuum that has been going on for years in the north of Iraq and deepened after the military intervention of the USA in Iraq in 2003. While some of the weapons that enter Turkey remain in the region, some of them are brought and sold to our other regions by road transport in the hidden compartments of the vehicles by individuals who want to earn income from this way or distributed to members of the PKK terrorist organization.

Another important source of the PKK is drug trafficking. Turkey, due to its location, is an important center point in drug transport. The PKK terrorist organization's interest in drug trafficking dates back to past years. According to Galeotti (1998), in the 1990s, the PKK earned approximately USD 30 million annually from international drug trafficking. (Galeotti, 1998), in the 2000s, the drug income of the PKK terrorist organization increased even more. Another important source of the PKK is drug trafficking. Turkey, due to its location, is an

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The PKK Terrorist Organization operates at every stage of the activities of drug organizations in the country and cooperates for the delivery of drugs to European States. In addition, as a result of the political evaluation of ethnic differences by some European States, providing various conveniences to our citizens as political refugees and keeping the associations of the terrorist organization PKK out of control by evaluating them as a political association have brought the result that the organization is very well organized in the European States for drug trafficking.

The PKK terrorist organization smuggles drugs, as well as from international reports, the statements of persons caught in drug operations in Turkey, criminal records linked to terrorist organizations, drugs seized in the organization and cell houses, and money records of drug trafficking in documents. It is understood from the seizures made in the past years that the PKK Terrorist organization, located in the mountainous part of our Iran-Iraq borders, turned some of the basmorphine it obtained from the "Golden Crescent" into heroin in mobile laboratories in this mountainous area. It is known that among the substances seized in the operations against the organization in 2005, the organization possessed chemical substances used in the production of drugs.

In Turkey, the PKK terrorist organization, which has been linked to drug trafficking since

the 1980s, has been directly linked in many incidents. According to the KOM (2012) report, between 1984 and 2012, PKK connections were found in 370 incidents. In these incidents, 1214 people were captured and high amounts of drugs were seized in 60 cell houses and shelters belonging to the terrorist organization. In 370 operations against the PKK, 4253 kg of heroin, about 34 tons of cannabis, about six million roots of cannabis, 4305 kg of basmorphine, 22 kg of opium gum, 710 kg of cocaine, about 350 thousand of synthetic drugs, about 27 tons of acetic anhydride and two workshops were seized. (KOM 2012 Report). The commission that the PKK receives from the smugglers constitutes an important source of income in the drug trafficking connection. So much so that the act of getting commission dates back to the 1980s. During these years, the organization received a 1000 Mark or 10% commission fee from drug traffickers. In the period after 2000, the money to be paid to the organization in order to cross the border is 50 dollars per kg or 10% commission fee. The persons caught in the drug-related incidents related to the organization confirmed that the PKK is particularly effective from Iran's borders, that it is not possible to cross the border without commission, in some cases the organization uses force and threats to those who do not want to give a commission, and that the organization permits the passage of smugglers who are sympathizers or members of the organization (KOM 2012 Report).

The PKK terrorist organization carries out money laundering activities in order to cover up the financing resources it obtains from arms and drug trafficking and to prevent illicit appearance in the western states where it is settled under the cover of "political organization". The PKK terrorist organization launder some of the financial resources it obtains illegally by making "economic investments" in various European States, and the money laundered in this way is transformed into an effective economic power through PKK's shell organizations.

Some of those conducting money laundering operations on behalf of the PKK transfer the money they laundered under the cover of legal affairs by opening businesses in European States to the organization through the abuse of couriers and legal means. Citizens of western countries, who are less suspicious than the citizens of eastern countries, are used as courier for commission in border crossings. The black money sent to Turkey is not only used to procure weapons and ammunition, but also distributed to PKK members as wages and salaries. In this way, money becomes a "Source of Livelihood" for the members of the organization.

In the "Periodic Activities Plan" prepared by the terrorist organization PKK regarding the activities planned to be carried out after the so-called 7th Extraordinary Congress, the issue of establishing commercial organizations to gather the so-called Kurdish Capital under the same roof was also included. At the end of 2000, it was observed that the organization continued increasingly in this direction in Europe.

Until 1987, the PKK terrorist organization aimed to spread among the public, to recruit and train supporters and to find the necessary financial resources for them. He provided financing to the PKK by mediating the drug trade of the PKK during this period and by taking commission from the smugglers. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, about 85% of the agricultural production in the Bekaa Valley was poppy production. Organizing the smuggling of historical artifacts along with drugs, the PKK has provided significant amounts of financing through its trade through Turkey and Southern Cyprus. In addition, in accordance with the decision taken in the third congress, donations and tribute to the terrorist organization started to be received from businessmen and contractors of Kurdish origin.

It is also mentioned in international sources that one of the most important sources of income of the PKK is drug trafficking. According to the report of the DEA (US Drug Fighting Agency), the PKK's method of generating revenue from drugs is the production of heroin, the tax on the goods of drug dealers passing through their cross-border lands, and the control of a significant part of the heroin markets in Europe. Asa Hutchinson, the director of the DEA, wrote that the PKK has taxation on drug shipments and drug traffickers in the Southeastern region of Turkey. In the reports of the American Narcotics Organization (DEA), "the PKK uses heroin production and smuggling to support the terrorist organization's terrorist movement against the Turkish government. Traditional drug trafficking families and smuggling organizations are also active. " • According to the Italian Fiscal Police in 1998, the PKK is directly involved in the international drug trade, and also earns illegal income from migrant trade and systematic protection of Turkish businessmen and workers abroad. According to the UNODC report, drug trafficking from Central Asia, Afghanistan, and other countries to Europe estimates an annual revenue of \$ 5 billion. The German Prosecutor's Office claimed that 80% of the drugs seized in Europe were linked to the PKK. In recent years, Interpol has followed the drug trafficking of various Kurdish groups in Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain and found that these groups have relations with the PKK. PKK is known as the group that runs drug laboratories in Turkey and Northern Iraq. In addition to the manufacture and trade of drugs carried out by individual cells to support operations, the PKK also receives taxes from Kurdish drug traffickers in Western Europe.

The PKK terrorist organization carries out its activities of collecting tribute, by taking extortion under the name of tax at prices determined per kilo of drugs brought by drug dealers from the eastern border of Turkey, and by receiving money from drug traffickers through threats, blackmail and armed force and hostage. The statement in EUROPOL's 2013

Terrorism Status and Trend Report is as follows; "Turkish investigation reports show that the PKK organization is involved in drug trafficking in order to finance its terrorist activities. The PKK terrorist organization collects money through the taxes it receives from drug traffickers crossing the Turkish border. In addition, the PKK receives a share of profits at every stage of the transportation of drugs to Turkey, their delivery to the EU, and their distribution and sale in the EU. In response, the smugglers are often offered protection from the PKK and mediation for disputes. " According to INTERPOL reports, it was emphasized that between 1992 and 1994, the European drug market was under the control of the PKK between 60 and 70 percent, and in 2005, 80 percent of the drugs that came to the European market were PKK control. In the same report of INTERPOL, in addition to organized extortion campaigns, PKK terrorist organization's money laundering, illegal drug trafficking and human trafficking and illegal immigration crimes within and outside the European Union, a simultaneous and joint operation was carried out against the PKK terrorist organization in Belgium, France, the Netherlands and Turkey in March 2010, Italy, Romania and that investigations were carried out in Slovakia and that these investigations against the activities of the PKK terrorist organization were conducted for recruitment, financing, logistical support, propaganda and training camps. NATO reported that according to intelligence analysts, the PKK earned from \$ 50 million to \$ 100 million from the heroin trade alone.

The "Links Between Terrorism and Other Forms of Crime" report presented to the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in April 2004 by terrorist experts Yvon Dandurand and Vivienne Chin, included the following statements; " According to researches, the cooperation between the PKK and Kurdish groups is similar to that between Sicilian mafia families. The PKK works like a multi-layered organization that takes part in every stage of the drug trade, from production to market sale.

On page 18 of the report published by the Financial Action Task Force on the Prevention of Money Laundering (FATF) in October 2015, it was stated that the PKK, just like the Taliban, earned income from illegal drug trafficking and received tax from the delivery of drugs to the European market through Turkey.

In Turkey, economic, geographical, terror, sociological and legal reasons have been effective in the activities of terrorist and organized crime organizations. Due to its geographical location, Turkey is a source, transit and destination country for the activities of organizations. Neighboring or proximity in conflict zones also affects the potential of organized crime in a country. In this sense, Turkey, close to Afghanistan and neighboring Iraq and Syria, is one of the more vulnerable countries in terms of organized crime potential compared to Western countries. PKK, one of the terrorist organizations operating in Turkey, provides its financing from various sources. In recent years, it has been observed that the PKK terrorist organization has formed an important link in international criminal networks.

4. CONCLUSION

With the academic study, examples of IRA, ETA and PKK terrorist organizations, which are included in the scope of ethnic terrorist organizations, and their financial resources and their support were examined. As of today, the IRA and ETA have decided to end their terrorist activities or have been forced to end their terrorist activities because they lost their operational capabilities, and the PKK continues its activities. The conditions that direct or compel these organizations to disarm will hopefully be useful in drawing a road map for Turkey. Likewise, the wrong methods used by Spain, England and Sri Lanka, who fought against these organizations, from time to time in the fight against terrorism, and the rising terror wave that they faced after this, can be seen as a warning for Turkey to achieve the ultimate success in the fight against terrorism. The other three terrorist organizations considered in the comparison are similar to the PKK in many respects. These organizations have emerged with the claim that they represent a numerically minority ethnic group in the countries they target. All three organizations have defined a specific geographical region within a country as their political boundaries of the ethnic groups they claim to represent.

The IRA claimed to represent Northern Ireland, which is a part of the UK, and the Irish Catholic population in particular. ETA argued that it was acting to represent the Basque region in the northeast of Spain and the Basque people residing there. The PKK stated that it was the defender of the Kurdish people in Turkey and that it represented them. Another aspect that makes these organizations similar is that individuals belonging to the ethnic group they claim to represent live outside the country, which is their primary target. The IRA contacted

the Irish population in Southern Ireland (Republic of Ireland) and the Irish diaspora in the United States (USA), and the ETA contacted and provided support with the French Basque community in the Basque region extending into France. The PKK wanted to build a bridge with Iraq, Syria and Iran and the European diaspora Kurds. All three organizations received substantial assistance from these related communities. Again, all three organizations have been linked not only to related communities but also to many international actors, some states and some terrorist organizations in order to provide international support. In addition to the similarities between them, another factor in the selection of these cases is that these cases are of great importance in terms of both the terrorist literature and Turkish politics. In this study, the IRA, which was examined in comparison with the PKK, was the third most effective terrorist organization in the Global Terrorism Database's (GTD) activity ranking for the period 1970-2010 with 2,670 attacks, while ETA ranked fourth with 2,24 individual attacks. All three organizations caused great loss of life and economic costs for the countries they target. For these reasons, these organizations have become the primary security threat to the countries they target.

When evaluated within the scope of the financial resources of terrorist organizations, which is the main subject of its work, terrorist organizations need financial support to carry out their activities. There are distinctly similar financial resources in the terrorist organizations examined in this regard, as well as differences. While the IRA receives most of its revenues through tax evasion and dues donations, the ETA terrorist organization provides it through extortion and kidnapping. It has been observed that the most prominent financial source of the PKK terrorist organization is drugs and arms trafficking. Although the financial resources of the existing terrorist organizations cover the states they are located in, their nature of being an

international problem continues. In this regard, relevant institutions in the international arena are required to establish a common understanding of "financing terrorism". In order to increase the current international measures and to develop national cooperation, it should be ensured that the internal policy mechanisms of the states work effectively.



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