WHY MUSLIMS BECOME INSTRUMENTS OF TERROR?

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Abstract

The Thesis states Global Terrorism, is a global project that has no direct place or time is an interesting approach. Although the reason of terrorism has been come down to difference between civilizations and religions; that is not the case. Another reason which is argued is that Muslims are unable to integrate into Western societies. However this is not unique to Muslims, it is also a problem for non-Muslim immigrants. Another problem is whether Islam is compatible with democracy or not. Most of the Islamic countries have despotic and oppressive regimes which are economically, politically and socially unstable. However this has nothing to do with Islam. Hundreds years of colonization did not let democratic values and institutions to develop in these countries. Lack of non-governmental organizations in Islamic world; caused these countries to become either a secular despotic or an Islamic oppressive regime. Both situations create an environment for radical groups to exist. To eradicate terrorism, one has to look for its political and economical reasons. The despotic regimes in Islamic countries have to be removed and some Western countries should change their mentality while dealing with terrorism. Although Muslims were blamed for being terrorists; they are the ones who get more damage from terrorism. Muslims have gained nothing from terrorist attacks. Who gets benefit from it? It's not important who gets benefit from it because it can change depending on time and place.

Keywords: Kalâm, Muslims, Religious Terror, Globalism, Exploit the Religion.

MÜSLÜMANLAR NEDEN TERÖRE ALET OLUYORLAR?

Öz

Terörizmin küresel bir proje olduğu şeklindeki tezler, terörizmin nedeni medeniyet ve dinlerarası bir düzeye indirgenmiş olsa da, konu her iki boyutu da aşan bir konumdadır. İslam dünyasının Batı standartlarına çıkamaması ve uyum sağlayamaması gibi bir gerekçe ileri sürülmekle birlikte, söz konusu bu durum Batı'da olan Müslüman olmayanlar için de geçerlidir. İslam dünyasının ekonomik, eğitim ve kültürel temel sorunları yanında yönetimlerin baskıcı ve rejimler, demokrasinin temel ilkelerinin yerleşmesinde bir başka etkendir. İslam dünyasının insani değerler bazlı STK'lardan yoksunluğu ve yönetim biçimindeki evrensel değerler merkezli eksikli, radikal örgütlerin oluşumunda önemli bir amildir. Günümüzde Dini istismara yönelmiş küresel terörün önünün kesilmesinde ekonomik ve kültürel şartların iyileştirilmesi yanısıra, Müslümanlar üzerindeki siyasi iç baskılar ve Batı'nın da terörist algısına yaklaşımının değişmesi bir zorunluluktur. Genellikle teröristlerin Müslümanlar oldukları şeklinde bir algı oluşturulmuş olsa da, terörden daha fazla zarar görenler onlardır. Bu doğrultuda Müslümanlar, terörist saldırılardan hiçbir şey elde edememişlerdir. Bu durumda kim bundan faydalanır? Aslında bundan yararlanacak kişiler önemli değildir çünkü bu, zamana ve yere bağlı olarak değişebilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kelam, Müslümanlar, Dini temalı terör, Küreselleşme, Din istismarı.

Introduction

Today, religious-themed terror has gained a global dimension. Because global terror uses more religious discourse and arguments. Global terrorism uses Muslims in line with various reasons. But the main problem is that Islam produces arguments for terrorism? Or is it that some Islamic ideas lay the ground for terror?

The areas of spreading of terrorism are lands that are struggling with economic, cultural and political problems. In addition, lack of education and cultural change caused by conditions led to radicalization in feelings and beliefs. Thus radicalization occurred which could result in terrorism. In this respect, the interpretations of religious texts have been radical.

Such groups have been available to be a tool that can be used by global powers. However, the main problem is that religious and external problems that make such groups available to use.

All definitions of terrorism compose around common features such as; containing violence, endangering the lives of the people, intimidating the civilian population, forcing an ideology on people, attempts to change existing administrative system, forcing people to take part in terror attacks and lastly assassination attempts. Every ideology and action in accordance with these features is considered as an act of terror which occurs as low intensity conflict. This conflict with all its dimensions may occur not only in a local and specific area but it may also occur in international arena with the intervention of big powers. This may happen when big powers support the violent actions of regional insurgent groups. For example; the International Commission for Justice condemned United States on June 1986 for using unlawful force and supporting armed groups in order to shape other countries' system of government. According to Noam Chomsky, "many events supported or organized by United States are acts of international terrorism".[1] Again Chomsky states that "source of terror industry was Israel before 1980s, then United States became the main source of terrorism".

Terrorism has always been there. However its presence and influence has been increased since the world has become a global village. Before, terrorism was a local phenomenon, today it is global Therefore terrorism has come to the status that can seriously damage all humanity. Equally, a Muslim from Indonesia and a Christian from New York may both be the victims of a terror attack.

Causality of Global Religious Terrorism

Terror is a result with all its dimensions. An ideology that goes through certain periods may turn into violent action. There are preliminary reasons behind terrorism and these can be categorized as internal and external factors.

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[1] Noam Chomsky, "Uluslararası Terörizm: Görüngü ve Gerçek", *Terör Ne Terörist Kim*, trans. Metin Duman, (Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi, 1999), 18, 26, 35.

Internal Factors

There are many different kinds of terrorism; but the main ones are religious, ethnic and state terrorism. State terrorism occurs in state's own borders or beyond state's borders. We call this "Terror that is affected by internal factors". This occurs in two different ways as in one of them terror is created by the state and in other one terror is created by a specific group living within the state borders whose ideology and actions have anti- state basis. In many totalitarian Middle Eastern regimes, internal state terrorism targets its own people. By doing this, the totalitarian regimes try to strengthen their power at government. They misinform people about the terror incidents.[2] In the end, in order to distract people from their economical, political and social failures, these states limit all the freedoms of people to cover up the mess they did. On the contrary, a lucky minority which makes 10% of population composes of the relatives and friends of the government officials and security forces live in a wealthy life while 90% of people are trying to live their daily lives on the edge. Except for a few Islamic countries, the situation of the people is mostly like this in most of the Muslim majority countries including Turkey. Religious danger which is synonymous with the word fundamentalism (irtica) on the basis of Turkish context remained on the agenda in Turkey for a long time. It stood like the sword of Damocles against the people who just wanted to be religious, although there has never been a religious armed action countrywide in Turkey except some efforts in a narrow sense to provoke people. This kind of approach has begun to change at the state level since October 2010.

The second kind of terrorism due to internal factors is religious themed ideology and movements. There are formations in Turkey that can be put in this category; like Great Eastern Islamic Riders Front and Turkish Hezbollah that are against secular regime. Also there are movements like Kharijites and Wahhabism that have their own interpretation of Islam and declare all other Muslims as infidels. Today, this radical religious movement, called Salafiyyah or Wahhabism act according to Kharijites ideology. According to this movement Islam is a tawhid (the oneness of God) religion. Any ideology, thought and act that is against tawhid is blasphemy. Blasphemy is a phenomenon for Muslims; so that the actual thing is that Muslims must purify themselves from sins. Therefore every act and thought of a Muslim in today's society is blasphemy according to this movement. Jihad (Holy War) must be declared upon those who are in blasphemy. Jihad is also a mandatory religious duty for every healthy and grown Muslim. The followers of Wahhabism consider themselves chosen Sunni Muslims and according to founder of this movement Mohammed Bin Abd al-Wahhab, most of the Muslims are in blasphemy. Abd al-Wahhab had written a book called "Kitab at-Tawhid" especially on this issue. In the book he mentions the struggle for Tawhid and he sees this struggle as a jihad to purify all Muslims from sin.[3]

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[2] Faruk Örgün, *Küresel Terör*, (İstanbul: Okumuş Adam Yayınları, 2001), 89.

[3] Muhammed Abd al-Wahhab, *Kitab al-Tawhid*, (Medine: Merkezi Şuuni'd- da've, 1414).

In the light of these it can be said that; Wahhabism targets non Almohad Muslims according to their belief. Therefore they tend to bother Muslims, desecrate graves and tombs in Turkic Republics and Balkans. The followers of Wahhabism generally choose Muslim populated regions to fight against other Muslims where they have good relations with non-Muslims. For example in Kosovo and Bulgaria they rather bother other Muslims about Islamic symbols than bothering Christians about Christian symbols. This phenomena can be seen almost anywhere.

Members of radical Islamic movements in Turkey accept Hassan al- Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Abul Ala Maududi and Said Hawwa as their guides. Furthermore Ibn Taymiyyah is to be said the founding father of Wahhabism. As it can be seen, these people are from outside of Turkey.[4]

Besides Ibn Taymiyyah, Islamic thinkers that are mentioned above had never approved use of violence inequitably. It seems these scholars resort to violence only for self defense or when their countries are invaded by foreign powers. On the other hand, given the fact the time periods and places these individuals live, the harsh conditions of their environment may be the reason behind their aggressive attitude. For example; Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb had been held as prisoners for a long time and later executed by the Egyptian State. Said Hawwa and Abul Ala Maududi had never publicly called for use of violence or terror. Both scholars had often mentioned about the necessity to live a religious life in their community. Their main argument was the need to implement Shari 'a law to the government. But to achieve the implementation of Shari 'a law, they emphasized not to use violence. Although there are few statements made by these scholars that support violence and terror, their main target is the governments aiming to keep status quo that are supported by the Western powers. In his fatwa Ibn Taymiyyah mentions a state which would be governed according to Shari 'a law would be righteous. In Mardin Fatwa which is often expressed by radical groups and organizations, Ibn Taymiyyah states, it is every Muslim's duty to declare Jihad against infidel and invader Mongolians.[5]

In fact the sentence of Ibn Taymiyya in Mardin Fetvas is as follows: (They are treated 'yuâmalu' like non-Muslims). The library has a single copy of the book in the library in Damascus (Library of Zahiriyya, no. 2757). He also conveyed the same way in Ibn Muflih, a student of Ibn Taymiyyah.

But in later editions of the book, there is the phrase like "can be fought with them/ yukatalu".[6] It is seen that Ibn Taymiyyah's word has been changed.

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[4]   Mustafa Kılıç, *İŞİD Gerçeği*, (Edirne: Pasifik Yayınevi, 2014), 138.

[5]   Takiyüddin İbn Al-Taymiyya, *Macma al-fetava*, ed. Amir Cezzar, Enver Baz (Riyad: Mektebetü'l-Ubeykan, 1997), XXVIII, 240-241.

[6]   Husam Haddad, *Hitabü'l-unf ve'd-dem fi'l-fikhi'l-İslami*, (Daru İbn Ruşd, 2018), 50; Mahi b. Hammad Cüheni, *el-Mevsüatü'l-müyessera fi'l-edyani ve'l-mezahib ve'l-ahzabi'l-muasara* (Kahire: Darü'n-nedve, 2008), 353; Ebü'l-Haris Abdullah Telkifi, *Silsiletü'l-İmam İbn Teymiyye yerüddü ala DAIŞ*, (1436), erişim: 1 Ekim 2018, http://www.saaid.net/book/open.php?cat=88&book=13981.

Most of the religious groups and movements in Turkey had avoided terrorism in their actions and discourses. However there are exceptions; groups like Al Qaida and Turkish Hezbollah are known to be involved in terrorist attacks. It is known that both of these organizations are originally from outside of Turkey. Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front is a marginalized and limited group.

The majority of the religious groups and sufi movements of Turkey origin are Maturidi. According to Ahl al-Sunna (Maturidi and Ashari) obedience the sultan is *wajib* and to be against the president is *haram*. Maturidism has a rational, tolerant and free will understanding.[7]

Throughout the history, Turks have managed to live with people from other ethnicities, religions and culture in harmony.[8] Jean Paul Roux in his book *"La Religion des Turcs et des Mongols"* mentions, after converting to Islam, Turks have always been tolerant to non-Muslims. This tolerance continued when Turks had seized control of Christian majority Anatolia. Non-Turkish Muslim travelers who came to Anatolia had often mentioned about Turkish tolerance to Christian and sometimes got annoyed from this attitude.[9] Saying that Turks easily and quickly had embraced Islam in the beginning, does not comply with social evolution idea. Taking into account that continuity of pre- Islamic Turkish traditions even today, attitudes and behaviors in Seljuk period which considered as Turks' early Islamic period; have solidified with Islam. In this sense embracing Sunni Islam teachings, Seljuk Turks' city Urganch became an important place for Mu'tazilah movement. In the streets of Urganch scholars from different Islamic sects had come together and discussed about Islamic knowledge. According to "Fahraddin al-Razi", 400 elite scholars had participated in these discussions and common people used to watch them.

These types of discussions had become a tradition for Seljuk Turks as in the time of Sultan Ahmad Sanjar; cities of Marv and Belh had become cultural centers where discussions on Islamic knowledge had taken place and women could participate.[10] One of the famous figures of that century was Abu Bakr Ibn Al-Arabi of Andalusia. He had begun to travel and stopped at Egypt. Because of Shia oppression he left Egypt and went to Jerusalem where he met several Turkish Muslim scholars. Also he had attended many assemblies with several Sunni, Shia, Jewish and Christian scholars. Due to tolerant nature of the city, Al-Arabi had stayed 3 years in Jerusalem. From the expressions of Al-Arabi, we understand that every religion and sect had its own establishment. In the city everybody had been educated

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[7]   Recep Önal, "İnanç ve düşünce özgürlüğe bağlamında İslam'ın kılıç zoruyla yayıldığı iddialarına karşı İmam Matüridi'nin yaklaşımı", *Hitit Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 16/1 (2017): 76-79.

[8]   Ramazan Biçer, "Religious Understanding of Turkish and Pakistani People", *Ethics, Values and Society: Social Transformation*, ed. Ghazala Irfan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 273-283.

[9]   Jean-Paul Roux, *Türklerin ve Moğolların Eski Dini*, (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları 1994), 31.

[10]   Zakariya Kazvini, *Asar al-Bilad wa ahbar al-ibad*, (Beyrut: Daru Sadr, nd.), 377-379.

according to their own religion. In certain days; scholars from every religion and sect had come together to discuss scientific knowledge. According to observations of Ibn Al- Arabi; in these discussions every religion and sect freely presented their ideas without making any outbursts. He had the same experiences in Syria, Baghdad and Khorasan under Seljuk rule as he had in Jerusalem.[11]

In brief; religious tolerance had been a Turkish tradition for a long time. After Turks had accepted Islam, this attitude had solidified. There had not been a single radical Islamist movement that had originated from Turkey besides Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front.

External Factors

Second type of state terrorism occurs when one state imposes sanctions to another state or states. According to Chomsky; the actions of Israel and United States as they are the center of terror industry, are categorized under second type of state terrorism.[12]

Terrorism with its retaliatory and defensive nature that is flexible and dependent on time and place can be twisted as required. According to Chomsky, it is important to distinguish terror from resistance. We need to put aside the realist approach and see terrorist acts are accepted as terrorism only when they are carried out by official enemies. These terrorist acts are called humanitarian military operations, retaliation or defense attacks when they are carried out by United States and her allies.[13]

In the light of these information, there are different speculations about the reasons behind September 11 attacks. One of the main reasons behind this attack is "oil"; apart from this there are strong claims that the attacks were used to shape the American domestic policy.[14] There is no certainty about the perpetrators of September 11 attacks. According to many news reports that were published on *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* there was not any evidence that associates September 11 attacks into Al Qaida or Osama Bin Laden. The government officials in United States do not care who is behind the attacks. According to Chomsky; the real reason behind these attacks and the perpetrators can be only known by C.I.A. It was the some powers that had supported and strengthened Al Qaida and Taliban.[15]

If Western powers re-evaluate their positions on foreign policy; meaning stop supporting authoritarian regimes in Islamic World. Then Muslims around the

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[11]   Ramazan Biçer, Biçer, "Türk Düşünce Tarihinde Selçuklular Devrinin Yeri ve Önemi", *Türkler*, ed. H. C. Güzel and et al., (İstanbul: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002).

[12]   Noam Chomsky, 9-11 (New York: Seven Stories Press.), 68-70.

[13]   Abdulla A. Rasha, "Islam, Jihad, and Terrorism in Post-9/11 Arabic Discussion Boards", *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 12/3 (2007): 1067

[14]   Türkkaya Ataöv, *11 Eylül: Terörle Savaş mı Bahane mi?* (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2004).

[15]   Noam Chomsky, *11 Eylül ve Sonrası: Dünya Nereye Gidiyor?,* trans. T. D et al, (İstanbul: Aram Yayıncılık, 2002),52-54.

world would stand against the extremist groups to protect the values of Islam.[16] From this statement it can be understood why in some Muslim countries people are indifferent to religious terrorism. They simply do not trust the Western powers.

Factors Triggering Religious Themed Terrorism

There are many reasons behind the religious themed terrorism. Some of the terrorist organizations target Muslim governments and officials in the country that they are operating. Most of the governments or leaders in Islamic World, force their policies and ideas to the people without asking them to have a say in administration. Governments of most Islamic countries suppress the demands of masses which radicalize the people. Therefore many terrorist groups use people's anger and frustration towards governments to carry out attacks.[17] But mostly terrorist organizations target non- Muslim governments, officials and institutions that hold the global power. In both categories –targeting Muslims and non-Muslims- the perpetrators are Muslims using Islamic discourse. Marginal Islamic groups carry out terrorist attacks in Islamic and Western World. In these circumstances; Islam is linked to terrorism in the international arena. Because of all terrorist attacks Islam is condemned to be related to terrorist movements. Thus many researchers who study Islamic themed terrorism took Huntington's work "The Clash of Civilizations" that predicts Islam-West conflict as a reference.[18]

First of all; it is wrong to define Islamic World as one cultural entity. There are many different groups based on different ideology and philosophy. Also many of these groups and sects have mixed Islamic values with local cultures and traditions. There are many different and unique Islamic structures in the World. Therefore the jihad calls of Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden did not draw much attention from Muslims all over the World. Also in the past, Hashishin and Kharijites were not accepted by most of the Muslims which shows radical movements cannot gain popularity in the World of Islam.

In today's globalizing world, borders between Islam and West have begun to be eliminated and the gap between the minds and hearts of Muslims and non-Muslims has been decreasing. Muslims in Europe and United States have become a part of Western societies. Most of them are European and American citizens.[19] They are loyal to their countries as much as Jews, Christians, Buddhists or Hindus. So how well Muslims are integrated to Western democratic societies? For example; not all the immigrants from Africa to Europe and United States are Muslims. In

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[16]   John L.Esposito, *Kutsal Olmayan Savaş, trans.* N. Yılmaz-E. Yılmaz, (İstanbul: Oğlak Yayınları, 2002), 173-175.

[17]   Esposito, *Kutsal Olmayan Savaş*, 173.

[18]   Peter Tarlov, The interaction of religion and terrorism, International Journal of Safety and Security in Tourism/Hospitality, erişim: 24 Kasım 2018, https://www.palermo.edu/Archivos_content/2017/Economicas/journal-tourism/edicion16/PAPER-2.pdf.

[19]   Esposito, *Kutsal Olmayan Savaş*, 159-174.

fact most of them belong to different religions other than Islam but they have the same problems as

Muslims have in Western societies. So it would be wrong to associate a religion or a culture directly into terrorism. Of course people, who carry out terrorist attacks in the name of a religion, would justify their acts by showing versus from religious scripts. But these kinds of verses are open to discussion. Terrorists interpret these verses according to their interests but they avoid many versus in religious scripts that condemn terrorism.[20]

It is a solid argument that many countries in Islamic World are open to foreign interventions. In this globalizing world; countries that have the economic, political and military means, intervene the domestic and foreign policies of Islamic countries which criticized by many international non- governmental organizations. Because of the war in Afghanistan, thousands of civilians died, wounded or lost their homes and became refugees. It is known that Afghanistan had an anti-democratic government before the invasion. But the new government which is supported by United States and other Western powers is also an anti-democratic structure. The reasons behind the Iraqi invasion turned out to be false. Thousands of innocent men, women and children had died under the U.S bombardments. The Iraqi government that has come to power after the fall of Saddam Hussein, is open to any intervention from outside. Therefore it cannot be said that Iraqi government is independent. The recent documents show kidnappings, killings and tortures have taken place in Iraq among the civilian population.[21] In this context the killings, torture and destruction in Afghanistan and Iraq brought more soldiers into the ranks of terrorist movements. Any terrorist attempt is a reaction to a Western powers' invasion of an Islamic country. However we should not ignore the facts that encourage people to join the terrorist movements. All in all; to decide any crime at international level is an act of terrorism should not be in the control of Western powers.

The argument that is made in "The Clash of Civilizations" has not historically ensconced in any realist dimension. There are many people with different religions in Islamic countries who live in peace with their Muslim friends and neighbors. Religious wars did not only occur between two different religions in the World. In the Western societies Christians had fought among themselves for decades. Although there were sectarian wars in Islamic World, they were not as much as in Western World. Therefore it is not coherent to say that because Islam and West are two different civilizations and that's the reason why terrorism rises. At least on a theological context that's the truth. Political context should be considered as a variable apart from theological context.

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[20]   Ramazan Biçer-Mehmet Dalkılıç, "Dini Temalı Terör Hareketlerinin Ana Nedenleri", *Terörün Sosyal Psikolojisi*, (Ankara: Polis Akademisi Yayınları, 2010), 91-120.

[21]   Türkkaya Ataöv, "Terörün Arkasında Kim Var?", *NPQ Türkiye 5*/Özel Sayı (2003): 17.

One of the main factors, give rise to terrorist movements is that people think that their civilization is under threat. In this globalizing world, the rise of Islam is remarkable. This rise of Islam is regarded as a threat by Western Christianity. Therefore Western powers are now trying to dominate Middle East by invading Islamic countries. Looking at recent developments in this area from an economical perspective would not be consistent, because Western control over natural resources in the Middle East is not considered as a serious problem. The main problem is that West sees Islam as a threat; an alternative civilization.[22]

One of the consequences of terrorism is that it maintains status quo in many countries. Many objections and demands of people were refused by the despotic governments. Rise in terrorist attacks; limits individual freedoms and rights. Therefore it can be said that terrorism leads big powers to become more authoritative.[23]

One of the triggering effects of terrorism is that; it increases arms trade. Arms producers support terrorist groups in order to find markets to sell their arms. But it should not be forgotten that the main arms producers in the world are Western countries.

Global oligarchy and unchecked capitalist aggression are also regarded as main factors behind terrorism. According to this statement, capitalism as the architect of a new international oligarchy under control of Western corporations carries a Christian spirit and philosophy. Therefore capitalism's main target is Muslims in the world and that's quite natural because Islam is the most widespread religion after Christianity. Also many of the natural resources of the world are in Islamic countries. In this context, the radical Islamist movements were separated into two categories. One group regards west as the enemy and targets United States and European countries.[24] The other group was trained and supported by United States against Soviet Union during Cold War; now they are used to damage Islam in the eyes of the world public.

On the one side; there are troubles that were created because of the fight among Western Capitalist corporations about holding power; on the other hand there are people who are oppressed by the oligarchic international system. Pressures and Breakages between two sides inevitably create terrorism. Today these breakages and pressures take place in Islamic countries and therefore Muslims are associated with terrorism.[25]

In another point of view, it is argued that global terrorism is systematically organized. That is to say; Brian Jenkins who is considered as a terrorism expert, projected that terrorist attacks would double up at the end of 1990s. Despite this

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[22]   Teoman Duralı, "Ezilenin Gayr-i Meşru Silahı: Terör", *NPQ Türkiye 5*/Özel Sayı (2003): 24.

[23]   Duralı, Ezilenin Gayr-i Meşru Silahı: Terör, 29.

[24]   Erol Manisalı, "Küresel Düzen ve Küresel Terör" *NPQ Türkiye* 5/Özel Sayı (2003): 42.

[25]   Manisalı, Küresel Düzen ve Küresel Terör, 42.

projection, there had not been any terrorist attack for four years in United States of America. But 1332 books titled as terrorism and 121 books titled as terrorist were cataloged in American libraries. Although there were not any terrorist attacks during Regan administration, terrorism was considered as the most important threat in the international level. In United States between 1980 and 1985; on the one hand only 17 people were victims of terrorism, on the other hand more than 150,000 people were victims of homicide.[26] In the light of this information, it can be said that big powers use terrorism as a tool to achieve their goals.

Terrorism with its international nature; is a threat to humanity. Many people have suffered from terrorist attacks. However these terror attacks are harmful to Muslims in two ways. One of them is physical damage, the other one is psychological and spiritual damage. After September 11 attacks; Muslims in United States and European countries have been under a lot of pressure from non-Muslim public and state. Some of the freedoms are limited by Western states. Terrorism is also used by United States and her allies to invade Iraq and Afghanistan as they argued Saddam Hussein is supporting terrorist groups and Afghanistan is the home of Al Qaeda and Taliban. On the other hand countries which have Muslim minority like Balkan states have used terrorist attacks to oppress Muslims. Also in Central Asia, Turkic states' governments have detained non-political Islamic groups. State officials and administrators try to change the political agenda by pointing out the terrorist attacks, so that they avoid any problem related to economical, political and social issues.

When we look at the effects and consequences of terrorist attacks it is true that most of the perpetrators are Muslim, but at the same time most of the victims are also Muslim. We should ask ourselves: Who gets benefit from terrorist attacks?

We made a research in Bulgaria. In the city of Pazardzhik, we saw that there was a radical Muslim group that harasses other Muslims who go to mosques associated to Mufti of Bulgaria. It's really interesting that, this radical group declared other Muslims as infidels and it is condoned, even protected by the European states. Our researches and observations showed that this radical group specifically targets mosques, cemeteries and madrasahs that had inherited from Ottoman period. Also we saw that they do not try to spread Islam in the region.

Conclusion

In the global terrorist incidents, it is seen that the overwhelming majority of the attackers are those who have Muslim identity and discourse. Terrorism is a global phenomenon. There can be great global powers who support terrorism. The emergence of the members of the terrorist organizations, which are exploiting the religion and acting with the Jihadist-Salafism ideology, as Muslims have unfortunately led terrorism to be associated with Islam. In this direction, the justified defenses that Islam is not related to terrorism and global violence are

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[26] Mustafa Özel, "Yeni İkiz Kuleler: Küresel Terör, Küresel İmparatorluk", *NPQ Türkiye 5*/Özel Sayı (2003): 47.

ended up being wrong. The driving force of the terrorism, which is classified as a crime without boundaries, has both external and internal reasons such as economic, cultural and religious reasons. Unless there are strong justifications, it is not possible to justify the Chomsky's argument that great global powers are feeding and using extremist groups. It is known that overwhelming majority of the individuals and groups with Muslim identity, who have carried out terrorist acts, are the followers of Jihadist-Salafism ideology. The main reason behind the low participation of the people, who grow up with the Turkish culture, in such organizations is the Maturidi religious thought, which is the representative of wisdom, authentic will and healthy religious understanding. The other reasons for participating terrorist groups that exploit religion are not the main triggers.

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