



Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Geliş tarihi |Received:24.08.2024

Kabul tarihi |Accepted:30.09.2025

Yayın tarihi |Published:25.10.2025

Elvin Abdurahmanlı

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0629-8317>

Dr., General Coordinator of the Republic of Türkiye of the KIAMP – Karabakh is Azerbaijan National Platform, established by the Azerbaijani Ministry of Diaspora / President of the Karabakh is Azerbaijan Coordinating Association. Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism Expert, Azerbaijan, abdurahmanlielvin@gmail.com

### Atf Künyesi | Citation Info

Abdurahmanlı, E. (2025). Globalization and Terrorism: Dimensions, Causes, and Consequences. *Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi*, 12 (5), 978-1003.

## Globalization and Terrorism: Dimensions, Causes, and Consequences

### Abstract

This article explores the relationship between globalization and terrorism by examining how political, economic, and technological transformations influence the emergence of terrorism. It analyzes the dimensions of globalization and discusses how global inequalities, identity crises, and state fragility contribute to terrorism. The study categorizes terrorism into ethnic-religious, state-sponsored, narco-terrorism, and cyber terrorism. It includes perspectives from the EU, UN, and UNODC, as well as state-level approaches from the USA, Turkey, Germany, Spain, and others. Case studies of terrorist organizations such as ASALA, PKK, YPG, PYD, and FETÖ are presented to understand the ethnic dimension targeting Turkey. The article also evaluates proxy wars, the Arab Spring, and the geopolitical role of superpowers in supporting terrorist organizations to maintain regional influence. Ultimately, the research emphasizes that without addressing the structural roots of terrorism tied to globalization, sustainable counterterrorism is not possible.

**Keywords:** Globalization, Ethnic Terrorism, Narco-Terrorism, Proxy Wars, Cyber Terrorism

## Küreselleşme ve Terörizm: Boyutlar, Nedenler ve Sonuçlar

### Öz

Bu makale, küreselleşme ile terörizm arasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyerek, siyasi, ekonomik ve teknolojik dönüşümlerin terörizmin ortaya çıkışını nasıl etkilediğini araştırmaktadır. Küreselleşmenin boyutları analiz edilmekte ve küresel eşitsizlikler, kimlik krizleri ve devlet kırılğanlıklarının terörizme nasıl zemin hazırladığı ele alınmaktadır. Çalışma, terörizmi etnik-dini, devlet destekli, narkoterörizm ve siber terörizm olarak sınıflandırmaktadır. Avrupa Birliği (AB), Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) ve Birleşmiş Milletler Uyuşturucu ve Suç Ofisi (UNODC) gibi uluslararası kuruluşların yanı sıra ABD, Türkiye, Almanya, İspanya gibi ülkelerin terörizmle mücadele yaklaşımlarına yer verilmektedir. Türkiye'yi hedef alan etnik terör bağlamında ASALA, PKK, YPG, PYD ve FETÖ gibi örgütlerin vaka analizleri sunulmaktadır. Makale ayrıca vekâlet savaşları, Arap Baharı ve süper güçlerin bölgesel nüfuz sağlamak için terör örgütlerini desteklemedeki jeopolitik rollerini değerlendirmektedir. Sonuç olarak, çalışmada küreselleşmeye bağlı yapısal nedenler ele alınmadan sürdürülebilir bir terörle mücadelenin mümkün olmadığı vurgulanmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Küreselleşme, Etnik Terörizm, Narkoterörizm, Vekâlet Savaşları, Siber Terörizm

### Copyright and License Statement

All publication and copyright of this article are held by the Journal of Academic History and Ideas / Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi. The article is made available by the journal as open access under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC 4.0) (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>). Under this license, the article may be used, reproduced, and shared in any medium for non-commercial purposes, provided that proper scholarly attribution is given; however, the original content may not be altered, transformed, or used to create derivative works. The scientific, legal, and ethical responsibility for the content of the works published in the journal rests entirely with the author(s) of the article; the journal's editors and editorial board cannot be held responsible for this content. All requests concerning commercial reuse, translation, or republication of the article must be directed to the journal's editorial board at [akademiktarihvedusunce@gmail.com](mailto:akademiktarihvedusunce@gmail.com).

## Introduction

Following the formal establishment of national borders in the modern international system, numerous states have pursued expansionist policies, often seeking to destabilize rival nations through subversive activities such as political interference or covert operations. In *The Art of War*, Sun Tzu emphasizes that significant losses in warfare stem from intelligence leaks and psychological tactics—including suicide missions carried out by individuals willing to die for their cause (Tzu, 2016). These strategies, though ancient, remain relevant in today's geopolitical landscape, especially through their modern manifestation in terrorism.

Terrorism has become a strategic tool utilized by various state and non-state actors aiming to spread fear and disrupt the socio-political order of target countries for their own geopolitical or economic interests. Typically, terrorist organizations position themselves as defenders of minority rights or oppressed groups, labeling their actions as a fight for freedom. These organizations can be broadly classified into two categories: those engaged in armed struggle and those pursuing political objectives.

Armed organizations such as the PKK, ASALA, and the Taliban resort to direct violence, whereas groups like the Irish Republican Army (IRA) maintain both military and political wings. The existence of a political branch often allows these groups to legitimize their operations or gain public sympathy, even while engaging in acts of terror.

The economic impact of terrorism is profound. In countries like Türkiye, where tourism plays a vital role in the national economy, frequent terrorist incidents lead to a sharp decline in tourist arrivals. Particularly after the terrorist waves of the 2000s and the onset of the Arab Spring, the tourism sector in the Middle East has experienced significant contraction. Oil-rich nations such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria have become epicenters of terrorism, leading to chronic instability and economic stagnation. These developments highlight the extent to which terrorism has evolved from a domestic threat into a transnational challenge.

The Arab Spring, which emerged amid heightened regional instability, particularly in the early 2010s, raised critical questions about the influence of international actors. The primary driver of the Arab Spring revolutions was the authoritarian nature of Middle Eastern regimes. Faced with unemployment, political exclusion, and systemic inequality, large segments of society began organizing resistance against their governments. Over time, these movements transitioned into full-scale uprisings, often with significant international ramifications (Deniz, 2015).

## **The Concept of Globalization and Its Dimensions**

Globalization has emerged as a result of the intensification of inter-state relations, the resolution of ideological polarizations, the rise in societal expectations, advancements in technology, and the increasing roles of non-governmental and international organizations. These dynamics have fostered complex networks of relations across nations. In essence, globalization has oriented societies toward integration with global capital markets.

A pivotal institutional milestone in the history of globalization occurred during the Second World War. In July 1944, representatives from 44 countries convened in Bretton Woods, a small town in the United States, to establish a new global economic order known as the Bretton Woods system. The primary goal of this system was to overcome the prevailing global economic crisis. However, the majority of the participating states were developed economies, with minimal representation from the developing world.

One of the key intellectual outcomes of globalization has been the development of the field of International Political Economy (IPE). Within this framework, issues such as global trade and finance, dependency theory, hegemony, North-South relations, and the expansion of multinational corporations have gained analytical prominence. Moreover, globalization has expanded into multidimensional areas including culture, security, and the environment, all of which are now integral to the study of IPE.

The emergence of neoliberalism in the 1970s, often referred to as the third wave of globalization, signaled a major shift in global economic paradigms. Following the decline of Keynesian economic models, neoliberal policies advocating deregulation, privatization, and market liberalization began to dominate. These changes gained momentum in the 1980s, particularly after 1989, marked by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc. The removal of a central pole in global politics created fertile ground for the global dissemination of Washington Consensus policies, which further accelerated globalization.

On the one hand, advancements in communication and information technologies have fostered global connectivity; on the other hand, discourses surrounding human rights, participatory democracy, and multiculturalism—regardless of religion, sect, language, race, or nationality—have grown in influence. While such developments support liberal ideals, they have also contributed to new tensions, occasionally creating fertile ground for terrorism and extremist ideologies.

Globalization can be analytically examined through five principal dimensions:

### **Economic Globalization**

Prior to the 1970s, international economic and commercial activities were largely state-controlled. However, beginning in the 1970s, global capital integration intensified. This shift weakened state sovereignty and contributed to systemic transformations such as the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the 1990s. Economic globalization also fostered a decline in protectionism and an increase in transnational economic interdependence.

### **Political Globalization**

As economic integration deepened, political dynamics also shifted. The erosion of national sovereignty, coupled with the growing influence of international organizations and legal norms, led to increased demands for political autonomy and democratic governance across various regions.

### **Socio-Cultural Globalization**

Cultural globalization has accelerated alongside economic restructuring. However, the rapid pace of technological change has often overwhelmed both local and universal value systems. Societies unable to adapt to these transformations face cultural homogenization and the erosion of indigenous identities. Historical examples such as the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union illustrate the cultural disruptions associated with globalization.

### **Geographical and Ecological Globalization**

Rapid advancements in technology, communication, and transportation have brought significant ecological implications. Developed nations have historically exploited the natural resources of underdeveloped regions and exported their industrial waste to these countries. For instance, states such as India, Egypt, Türkiye, Pakistan, and Indonesia have accepted large quantities of environmental waste in exchange for monetary compensation. A stark example can be found in Kazakhstan, where it has been documented that over 237 million tons of radioactive waste were buried during the Soviet era (BBC Turkish, 2005).

### **Technological Globalization**

The global dissemination of technology has redefined the way societies function, enabling rapid innovation, automation, and digital integration. However, it also poses challenges related to cyber security, digital inequality, and data sovereignty, which must be addressed within a global governance framework. In summary, globalization is a multifaceted and dynamic phenomenon that transcends national borders and disciplines. Its effects are highly context-dependent, producing both integration and fragmentation, progress and inequality, cooperation and conflict across different regions and sectors.

Thousands of nuclear tests were conducted across Kazakhstan during the Soviet era. These tests, primarily executed by the USSR, resulted in the release of significant levels of electromagnetic radiation throughout the region. Measurements of electric and magnetic fields have indicated that the radiation emitted from these tests exceeded the radiation produced by the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima during the Second World War by a factor of 20,000. According to reports by Kazakh biologists, the effects of these tests persist today, with observable genetic mutations continuing to emerge within the population. Researchers have documented increased rates of cancer, mental illness, and immunodeficiencies in newborns, suggesting long-term, intergenerational health consequences from Soviet-era nuclear experimentation.

### **Technological Globalization and Its Consequences**

Technological globalization, particularly within the economic domain, has led to widespread mechanization and automation. While the expansion of internet and satellite communication systems has enhanced transnational connectivity and information flow, it has simultaneously reduced the quality and frequency of face-to-face human interaction. In this regard, Abdurahmanlı (2019) argues that although communication networks facilitate global integration, they have also eroded personal relations and intensified societal isolation. One important outcome of this technological expansion has been the proliferation of international institutions and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These actors, empowered by advanced communication technologies, have acquired the capacity to influence global governance alongside states. As the number and influence of these entities increase, they contribute significantly to shaping international agendas and crisis response mechanisms.

Simultaneously, the rise of digital technologies has introduced new vulnerabilities in the global system. Concerns regarding data privacy, cyber warfare, and digital manipulation have become pressing issues. For instance, the evolution of cyber warfare has led to a transformation in traditional military strategies, shifting from conventional battlefields to digital infrastructures.

Globalization, particularly in its technological form, has become a pervasive and largely irreversible process. While it promotes political cooperation, diplomatic engagement, and rapid access to information, it has also exacerbated structural challenges such as unemployment, poverty, and inequality. Moreover, it has fueled the spread of terrorism, disinformation, perception management, fake news, economic crises, cyber-attacks, and hybrid warfare strategies. These developments have laid the groundwork for the emergence and expansion of

terrorist groups, whose operations are increasingly influenced by the technological tools of the globalized world.

### **The Concept of Terrorism**

In Türkiye, the legal definition of terrorism is codified under the Anti-Terror Law enacted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA). According to Article 1 of Law No. 3713, amended on July 15, 2003, terrorism is defined as:

*"The use of force and violence by one or more persons belonging to an organization to change the characteristics of the Republic as defined in the Constitution, to disrupt the unity of the State with its territory and nation, to endanger the existence of the Republic, to weaken or destroy the authority of the State, to abolish fundamental rights and freedoms, and to threaten internal and external security, public order or general health" (Terör tanımı, 1991).*

Despite this comprehensive legal articulation, there remains no universally accepted definition of terrorism in the international system. The absence of a global consensus is primarily due to differing national interests and political agendas. As noted by Çomak et al. (2016), definitions and classifications of terrorist organizations vary widely across states, leading to contradictions in international law and diplomacy.

Beyond legal interpretations, terrorism is also a complex psychological and sociological phenomenon. Ariboğan (2005) describes a terrorist as an individual whose personality is inherently resistant to social norms, who rejects conventional life choices, and who challenges all prohibitions through violent means. In this sense, terrorism incorporates ideological dimensions and often targets civilian populations to instill fear and disorder. A key distinction exists between terror and terrorism. While terror refers to the emotional state of fear and intimidation, terrorism constitutes an organized strategy aimed at manipulating public perception through violent actions to achieve political objectives. It involves the deliberate use of fear, rage, and resentment as tools of political influence. Although there is no unified definition of terrorism in international law, various conventions and national legal systems include partial or implicit definitions. These often address terrorism through isolated legal provisions or thematic clauses within broader treaties. Nevertheless, such fragmented definitions fall short of creating a coherent international framework.

From a strategic perspective, Mahir Kaynak interprets terrorism as merely one component of a much broader geopolitical operation. According to this view, terrorist actors rarely possess the capacity to overpower state forces; rather, they function as proxies manipulated by more powerful actors to serve specific political ends (Bilgiç, 2009). This aligns with the argument

made by Binyamin Netanyahu, who posits that terrorism is a tactical instrument used by states and non-state actors to achieve geopolitical objectives through asymmetric warfare.

In summary, terrorism is a multi-dimensional concept that encompasses legal, political, psychological, and ideological components. Its definitional ambiguity in international law complicates global counter-terrorism efforts, while its strategic use by both state and non-state actors underscores its continuing relevance in contemporary global politics.

### **The Evolving Definitions and Psychological Dimensions of Terrorism**

Terrorism has been interpreted by researchers as the intentional and deliberate act of murdering innocent individuals to impose certain ideologies (Helvacıköylü, 2007). From a psychological perspective, terrorist acts are often rooted in deep-seated personal conflicts and cognitive distortions. Perpetrators may attempt to force others to adopt their personal beliefs, driven by unresolved psychological traumas or anti-social tendencies. Individuals fitting this profile typically demonstrate elevated narcissism, view themselves as superior to others, and rationalize their actions—no matter how violent—as morally justified and ideologically necessary.

Such cognitive framing is often used as a psychological buffer. In this way, terrorists absolve themselves from the guilt associated with harming civilians by believing they are serving a larger, noble cause. A prominent example is the early life of Abdullah Öcalan, the founding leader of the PKK, who was reportedly shaped by a strict and oppressive family structure. Upon becoming a leader, Öcalan exhibited authoritarian and despotic traits that were reflected in his command of the organization (Bilgiç, 2009).

It is essential to distinguish between the terms *terrorism* and *terrorist*. Terrorism refers to a collective, deliberate act of violence planned and executed by an organization or group. A terrorist, in contrast, is an individual member of such a group who actively and knowingly carries out these violent acts. These individuals are often bound by rigid hierarchies, executing commands without question. Non-compliance or failure in operations typically results in severe internal sanctions or punishment from superiors (Arıboğan, 2005).

Terrorism functions not only as an act of violence but also as a political strategy. Its objectives include undermining the economic interests of a government, generating widespread insecurity, and shaping public opinion by exerting psychological pressure on the populace. Over time, this psychological warfare evolves into policy manipulation, often forcing governments to reassess their domestic and international strategies.

The etymology of the term *terrorism* reveals its historical complexity. While the word "terror" originates from French, a synonymous term of Arabic origin—"terör"—is also used in

Türkiye. The modern conceptualization of terrorism emerged during the French Revolution, specifically during the Jacobin-led Reign of Terror in 1793. During this period, systematic violence was employed as a political instrument, embedding the concept of terrorism into the fields of law and political theory (Helvacıköylü, 2007).

The Turkish Language Association (TDK) defines *terror* as acts of physical violence and extreme aggression resulting from heightened emotional states (Ağaoğlu, 2018). Although this definition reflects the emotional intensity of terrorism, it lacks the broader political and ideological context often associated with the term.

In the United States, the definition of terrorism gained renewed focus following the September 11 attacks. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), terrorism involves "deliberate acts intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, influence the policy of a government or international organization through intimidation or coercion, or affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping" (FBI, 2018). This interpretation reflects a comprehensive understanding of terrorism as both a domestic and international threat, with psychological, political, and structural consequences.

The FBI categorizes the modern spread of terrorism into three key dimensions:

#### **The Internet**

Terrorist organizations leverage digital communication platforms for recruitment, propaganda, and operational coordination across international boundaries.

#### **Social Media Networks**

These platforms are used to radicalize and mobilize sympathizers within and outside the United States, often targeting diasporic communities and marginalized groups.

#### **Homegrown Violent Extremists (HVEs)**

The FBI also monitors domestic threats posed by individuals or cells radicalized within the country. These actors often have no formal ties to transnational groups but operate independently under similar ideological motivations (FBI, 2018). In conclusion, terrorism is a multifaceted phenomenon, encompassing psychological, ideological, legal, and political dimensions. The absence of a universally agreed-upon definition continues to hinder global counter-terrorism efforts. Furthermore, the psychological profiling of terrorist actors offers critical insights into the root causes of radicalization, which remain essential for both prevention and intervention strategies.

#### **Terrorism and International Legal Reactions: The Case of Spain**

Spain is frequently cited as a successful example in the global fight against terrorism, primarily due to its commitment to democratic principles. The country's prolonged

confrontation with the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) organization has provided it with extensive national experience. This domestic experience was catapulted into the international sphere following the Madrid train bombings on March 11, 2004.

Within Spanish legal and political discourse, terrorism is broadly defined as "the imposition of one's demands through the use of force." At the supranational level, the European Union characterizes terrorism as the act of a structured group, consisting of more than two individuals, organized over a period of time, and established with the intent of committing terrorist offenses (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2004).

The coordinated response to terrorism at the international level is also evident in the actions of global institutions. On March 6, 2003, a special session of the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) was held in Vienna, hosted by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and supported by the UNODC. In the final declaration of the conference held on March 11–12, 2004—just days after the Madrid attacks—representatives of international and regional organizations condemned terrorism in the strongest terms:

"We express our deepest sympathy and condolences to the Government and the people of Spain. We stand in solidarity with the victims and their families of the terrorist attacks. We affirm our strengthened determination to combat all forms of terrorism in accordance with our respective mandates and responsibilities and recognize that such acts constitute a threat to international peace and security" (UNODC, 2004). This statement illustrates the increasing consensus within the international system regarding the necessity of collaborative anti-terror efforts and the moral condemnation of indiscriminate violence against civilians.

Historical efforts to codify terrorism in international law also date back to the Geneva Conference of 1937. Held on November 16, this intergovernmental meeting culminated in the adoption of a convention titled *Prevention and Elimination of Terrorism*. The final act of the Geneva Convention emphasized the following understanding:

*"Attacks directed against any state aim to undermine that state's authority. Organized violence targeting innocent civilians constitutes a terrorist act"* (Öktem, 2011, pp. 15–16).

This early articulation laid the foundation for future legal frameworks concerning the criminalization of terrorism in international law. Although the Geneva Convention of 1937 was limited in scope and influence, it established the norm that the protection of civilian life and state sovereignty should be paramount in the international system. Overall, Spain's experience illustrates how democratic resilience, coupled with coordinated international responses, remains essential in addressing terrorism. The shift from national to transnational

frameworks—embodied by legal definitions and joint resolutions—reflects the evolution of counter-terrorism as both a legal and political imperative.

### **Emergence Stages of Terrorism: The Historical Process**

The phenomenon of terrorism has deep historical roots, tracing back over two millennia. One of the earliest documented forms of terrorism was carried out by the Sicarii, a radical Jewish group active in Palestine between 66 and 73 BCE. They engaged in politically motivated assassinations aimed at undermining Roman authority and collaborators (Öktem, 2011). During the 11th–13th centuries, the Hashashin, a sect associated with Ismaili Shia Islam and led by Hasan-i Sabbah, used targeted assassinations as a method of psychological warfare across Persia and the Levant. Similar tactics were observed in India, where the Thuggee cult engaged in ritualistic killings justified by religious belief (Altındal, 2006). Moving into modern history, post-Civil War America witnessed the rise of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), a white supremacist terrorist organization founded in 1865, using fear, violence, and murder to intimidate African Americans and political opponents. In Europe, nationalist revolutionary groups such as Macedonian, Serbian, Armenian, and Irish militants conducted terror campaigns in pursuit of autonomy or independence during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Helvacıköylü, 2007). In the post-World War II era, terrorism evolved in both scale and complexity. Anti-colonial movements increasingly employed terrorist tactics. The FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) in Algeria waged a violent campaign against French colonial rule during the Algerian War of Independence. The EOKA organization in Cyprus similarly sought enosis (union with Greece) through armed struggle. In Palestine, civil conflict and the activities of Jewish paramilitary groups—such as the Irgun—also played a role in the foundation of the State of Israel (Öktem, 2011). From a tactical perspective, leaders such as Mao Zedong, Fidel Castro, and Che Guevara significantly influenced modern insurgency strategies by shifting the focus from urban to rural guerrilla warfare. These methods were later adopted and adapted by various insurgent and terrorist organizations globally.

In the Turkish context, Armenian nationalist groups perpetrated numerous terrorist acts between 1915 and 1918, and the ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) revived these tactics in the 1970s. Similarly, the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) has pursued a violent separatist campaign since the 1980s (Bilgiç, 2009; Arıboğan, 2005). The Cold War era introduced a new dimension, where some states supported terrorist groups as proxies to maintain influence in ideologically aligned regions. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, the bipolar world order disintegrated, and terrorism emerged as a transnational threat. Contemporary global terrorism includes actors such as DAESH (ISIS), Al-

Qaeda, the Taliban, PKK, PYD, and YPG, all of which have engaged in armed conflict to promote ideological, political, or territorial agendas.

Psychological and sociological factors contribute significantly to terrorist recruitment. Three core reasons are often cited:

**\*Psychological Conflict**

Many terrorists exhibit deep internal conflicts, often rooted in identity crises or existential beliefs. For instance, Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the PKK, confessed in his autobiography that he experienced a "deep conflict between religion and God" and expressed no remorse for civilian casualties resulting from the organization's operations (Bilgiç, 2009, p. 9).

**\*Social Alienation and Marginalization**

Individuals released from prison who face systemic rejection and lack of employment opportunities often gravitate toward extremist or criminal networks as a means of belonging and survival (Arıboğan, 2005).

**\*Coercive Recruitment**

In the 1980s, organizations like the PKK engaged in coercive recruitment strategies, particularly targeting impoverished rural areas. Young individuals were taken from villages, indoctrinated, and integrated into armed insurgency groups. This historical overview reflects the evolving nature of terrorism—from religiously motivated assassinations in antiquity to globally networked ideological violence in the 21st century. Understanding the continuity and transformation of terrorist practices is critical to shaping effective counter-terrorism strategies in both domestic and international spheres.

**Attitudes of World States to Terrorism**

In the contemporary era, terrorism has acquired more complex and transnational dimensions compared to the past, threatening national and international security with increased resources and means. During the Cold War, the focus of Western states, particularly the United States and European powers, was on containing the potential communist threat. However, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, on the United States marked a turning point that shifted global security paradigms. These attacks exposed the vulnerability of even the most powerful states and underlined the emergence of new forms of terrorism originating from radical religious ideologies, predominantly associated with the Middle East.

In response to this shift, U.S. and European security doctrines were reformulated. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States developed specialized departments dealing with counter-terrorism, counter-intelligence, international organized crime, narcotics, and arms trafficking, both domestically and internationally (CIA, 2012). These measures reflect

the structural transformation of U.S. security policy, particularly under the influence of the "Bush Doctrine." This doctrine emphasized preemptive strikes and unilateral action against perceived terrorist threats, marking a departure from traditional deterrence strategies. In his post-9/11 speech, President George W. Bush stated: "You are either with us or with the terrorists," affirming a global ultimatum and the necessity of aligning with the U.S.-led anti-terror agenda (Karabulut & Değer, 2015, pp. 74–76).

While realist perspectives gained prominence in international relations during this period, idealist frameworks, such as those promoted by the United Nations, faced criticism for ineffectiveness. For instance, despite Israel's military operations targeting Palestinian civilians and bombing a United Nations school, international responses from the UN and EU were limited to condemnations, reflecting a gap between principle and practice in global governance.

Another focal point has been the increasing relevance of terrorism motivated by radical religious ideologies, particularly in the post-Cold War era. This perspective became a strategic priority in U.S. foreign policy under the Bush administration, which now viewed the primary threat not from rival ideologies such as communism or fascism, but from non-state actors espousing extremist beliefs.

A noteworthy example is the arms export scandal involving Germany. On April 27, 2016, five journalists were sentenced to life imprisonment for allegedly revealing classified state information. Their reports indicated that weapons produced by the German arms manufacturer Heckler & Koch were sold to Mexico and later redirected to Israel and various terrorist organizations. Holger Rotbücher, the lawyer of activist Jürgen Grässlin, claimed that these transactions were substantiated by internal correspondence from the German Federal Ministry (BBC News, 2016).

These incidents underscore the complex and often contradictory global approaches to terrorism, wherein states simultaneously condemn terrorism while enabling it through covert operations or strategic alliances. Such dualities challenge the coherence of international counter-terrorism norms and reflect the *realpolitik* that shapes contemporary global security policies.

The original classified documents related to arms exports were later compiled and published under the title *Netzwerk des Todes* ("Death Network"). On July 8, 2016, freelance journalist Martin Lejeune publicly protested Germany's arms exports to Israel by organizing a demonstration in front of the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin, where he used Palestinian flags and delivered a speech alleging that the weapons provided by Germany were used by Israel during its 2014 Gaza operations (BBC News, 2016).

It is widely acknowledged today that many states indirectly or overtly support terrorist organizations as part of their strategic foreign policy agendas. Such support includes the provision of arms, logistical support, or even humanitarian aid in forms such as food and basic supplies. In a significant public admission, Sigmar Gabriel, then Vice Chancellor of Germany and the leader of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), stated in an interview with *Bild am Sonntag* that previous German governments had supplied weapons to authoritarian regimes in the Middle East, including indirectly to terrorist organizations such as Daesh (ISIS) (BBC News, 2016).

Gabriel pointed to the post-2003 Iraq War context and explained that under the logic of “the enemy of my enemy is my friend,” Germany, like many Western states, enabled the arming of local militias, including groups such as the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, and the PKK, in hopes of countering larger geopolitical rivals. It was claimed that the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) of Germany preferred to undermine U.S. influence through proxy support to regional powers and armed groups rather than engaging in direct military confrontation.

As these dictatorial regimes weakened in their confrontations with the United States, they allegedly channeled these weapons into smaller, decentralized terrorist groups, thereby fueling instability across the region. A similar claim was made by retired NATO European Commander General Wesley Clark in a CNN interview, where he acknowledged that U.S. allies had actively supported and supplied terrorist organizations including ISIS, the Taliban, and Al-Qaeda (Herman, 1999).

Huseyn Ramahi, Deputy Secretary-General of the Hezbollah Political Council, further stated that weapons marked “Made in USA” were found in ISIS-controlled areas in Iraq, implying a deliberate strategy of destabilization by Western powers. He argued that the advanced capabilities of the U.S. military made accidental weapons drops implausible (Herman, 1999).

Iran’s Deputy Chief of the General Staff, Massoud Jazayeri, also made a controversial declaration, claiming that the CIA was behind the founding of Daesh, and stated that Iranian intelligence had obtained documents proving this involvement (Herman, 1999). A significant judicial case highlighting these allegations took place in London on June 1, 2015. A Swedish national, Bherlin Gildo, was charged with participating in terrorist activities in Syria. Initially sentenced to life imprisonment, Gildo later submitted confidential documents to the tribunal that allegedly established links between Western intelligence services and the Daesh organization. The submitted materials were purportedly from the British MI6 and the U.S. CIA and claimed to confirm their operational cooperation with terrorist groups during the Syrian

conflict (Herman, 1999). These examples illustrate the deeply entangled nature of global intelligence networks, arms trade, and terrorist group formation in modern geopolitics. They also underscore the difficulties in distinguishing between state and non-state actors in contemporary conflict environments.

This controversial decision sparked widespread criticism, especially following the *Guardian* report that highlighted the alleged complicity of Western actors in the establishment and spread of Daesh-ISIS. According to *The Guardian* columnist Seumas Milne, both the United States and the United Kingdom played foundational roles in the emergence of Daesh, dating back to the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. Milne argues that Daesh was a direct consequence of the decisions taken by then-U.S. President George W. Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair during the occupation (Guillaume, 2004).

The repercussions of these decisions were later scrutinized in the extensive *Chilcot Report*, a 2.6-million-word document compiled over seven years by a commission in the United Kingdom. The report, released in 2016, severely criticized Blair's role in misleading the public and committing to war without sufficient justification. Blair publicly accepted responsibility, stating, "I accept all responsibility for this decision today, without any exception or excuse" (BBC News, 2016b).

Public backlash intensified when family members of British soldiers killed in the Iraq operation demanded Blair be held accountable. The then-leader of the Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn, issued an apology on behalf of the party for Blair's actions. Moreover, Sir John Chilcot, chair of the inquiry commission, emphasized that while military action might have been justified at a later point, Saddam Hussein did not pose an "immediate threat" in 2003 (BBC News, 2016c).

These revelations raised serious ethical and legal concerns regarding Western intelligence activities and their entanglement with global terrorism. The case of Bherlin Gildo, in particular, served as a rare but significant window into the often opaque operations of global intelligence agencies and the judicial compromises that can result from political pressure.

When terrorism transcends national borders, it evolves into what is commonly referred to as *international terrorism*. In contemporary usage, this term largely denotes terrorism that either simultaneously targets multiple countries or operates across several nation-states. This transformation into a transboundary phenomenon has led to more complex challenges in security governance and international cooperation.

Terrorist organizations sustain their operations through a variety of illicit financial channels, as well as external support. These sources, which form the economic backbone of terrorism, are as follows:

- \*Foreign aid (both covert and overt),
- \*Drug trafficking,
- \*Human trafficking and forced migration,
- \*High-profile robberies and heists,
- \*Forced tributes and extortion,
- \*Compulsory community donations under duress,
- \*Voluntary but ideologically motivated donations,
- \*Smuggling of arms, antiquities, and contraband,
- \*Miscellaneous voluntary or ideologically driven financial contributions.

These resources highlight the nexus between organized crime and terrorism. Institutions, organizations, or individuals that channel such support to terrorist entities are participating in internationally recognized criminal activity and may be subject to prosecution under international law.

In response to this evolving threat landscape, many countries periodically publish national lists of entities officially recognized as terrorist organizations. These lists, updated at different intervals depending on state policy—ranging from annually to every five years—aim to identify and isolate such groups economically and politically. Additionally, the United Nations Security Council maintains and revises a consolidated list of individuals and organizations associated with terrorism. These designations are reviewed periodically and may be modified or removed based on new intelligence or diplomatic developments.

The typology of terrorism has likewise become more diverse and dynamic. It is now commonly categorized into four major classifications:

\***Ethno-religious terrorism**, where groups exploit ethnic or religious identity for mobilization and violence,

\***State terrorism**, referring to acts of violence committed by state actors against civilian populations or political opponents,

\***Narco-terrorism**, which merges organized narcotics trafficking with ideological violence, and

\***Cyber-terrorism**, involving digital attacks on critical infrastructure, communication networks, and financial systems.

This contemporary taxonomy reflects the multifaceted and globalized nature of modern terrorism, which can no longer be confined to local grievances or national borders.

### **Terrorist Organizations Exploiting Ethnic and Religious Identities**

Terrorist organizations that exploit religious or ethnic values are among the most dangerous groups threatening global security. These organizations commit acts of terrorism by misusing religious beliefs and ideological justifications. In recent history, organizations such as DAESH, the Taliban, Hezbollah, and the so-called Islamic Operations Organization have exemplified this approach (Kuyaksil, 2014). These groups aim to unite individuals under the guise of religious unity and ideology, yet their interpretation of religion often diverges significantly from mainstream doctrines. In reality, these organizations prioritize their own political and strategic goals, masking them under religious rhetoric, often employing brutal violence and undermining sovereign states in the name of religious or Sharia law.

In addition to religious terrorism, ethnic terrorism also continues to pose a significant and ongoing threat, particularly to Türkiye. Türkiye has been confronting ethnic terrorism for more than four decades and has endured continuous attacks from organizations such as the PKK and ASALA (Abdurahmanlı, 2023). The PKK initiated its violent campaign with the attacks in Şemdinli and Eruh on August 15, 1984. These events, which are etched into Turkish history for their brutality, marked the beginning of a prolonged period of ethnic terrorism targeting both the Turkish state and its people.

Another key actor in the history of ethnic terrorism in Türkiye is ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia). ASALA was established on January 20, 1975, in the Beqaa Valley of Lebanon by an Iraqi-Armenian named Harutyun Tokaşyan. During his terrorist activities, Tokaşyan used aliases such as Agop Agopian, Vahram Vahramian, and Iranian Iramian (Güler & Akgül, 2003, p. 361). The organization's name in English—“Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia”—reveals its ideological commitment to Armenian nationalism.

Following its foundation, ASALA carried out numerous bloody attacks both within Türkiye and abroad. These included the assassination of Turkish diplomats and bombings in public spaces, actions which positioned ASALA among the world's most notorious terrorist organizations (İşeri, 2008, pp. 43–44). It received military support from Syria and arms from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (Sabah Gazetesi, 2003). Operating through various front organizations, ASALA maintained its violent campaign for about 15 years, embedding itself in global memory through the scale and brutality of its attacks (Kantarıcı & Laçiner, 2003).

These cases underscore how terrorist organizations manipulate religious and ethnic identities as tools for achieving strategic goals. Whether through international support or regional networks, such groups contribute to the destabilization of both domestic and global security structures.

*Figure 1: State Terrorism Example*



### **State Terrorism**

State terrorism refers to the use of coercion, violence, and fear by governments—often those considered superpowers such as the United States, Russia, China, the United Kingdom, and Israel—to assert control over weaker states or populations. Unlike non-state terrorism, which is carried out by organized groups or individuals, state terrorism is conducted by official authorities under the guise of national interest or security, often targeting civilian populations.

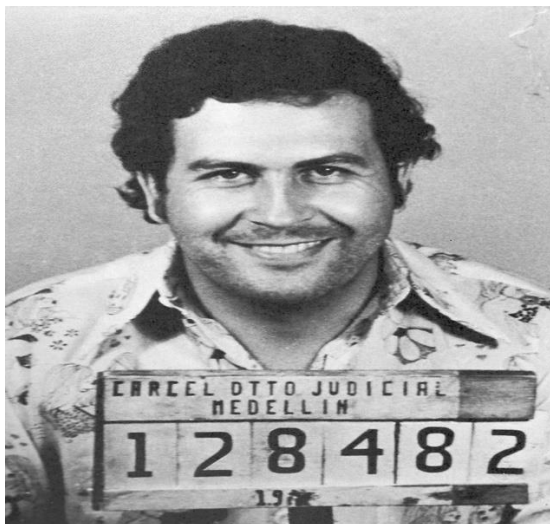
One prominent example is the reported killing of civilians in Afghanistan and Iraq by U.S. military forces, particularly through the use of armed unmanned aerial vehicles (drones) during military operations. These incidents have raised significant concerns about violations of international humanitarian law, especially when such operations result in large-scale civilian casualties and extrajudicial killings. Similar allegations have been made regarding torture and ill-treatment of detainees in conflict zones.

Another frequently cited instance of state terrorism is the Israeli military's operations in Gaza, which have resulted in civilian deaths and have been criticized by international observers as disproportionate and indiscriminate. Likewise, the actions of the Chinese government against the Uyghur population in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) have been described by various human rights organizations as systematic repression, including internment in re-education camps, forced labor, and suppression of religious freedoms.

Further, Armenia's treatment of Azerbaijani civilians during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict—particularly reports of torture and unlawful killings—has been condemned as an example of state-perpetrated violence. These acts, carried out under the authority of national governments or occupying military forces, illustrate the coercive power of states to inflict terror for political or strategic gains.

It is also widely acknowledged that the Taliban, once classified solely as a terrorist organization, has historically received covert support from various state actors, complicating the boundaries between state and non-state terrorism. The long-term impact of such state-sanctioned or state-enabled violence has had lasting consequences on regional stability, human security, and international norms (İnsel, 2023).

*Figure 2: Narco Terrorism example: Pablo Escobar*

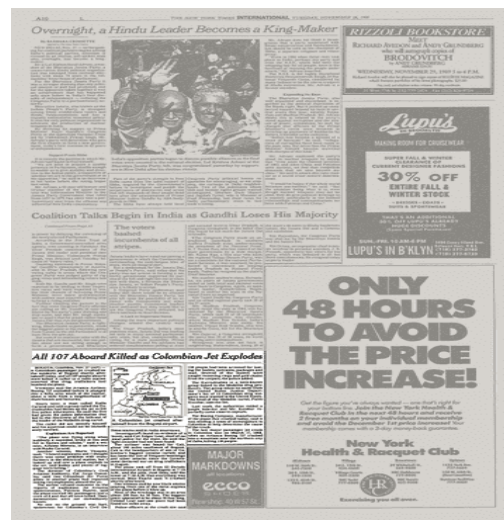


### **Narco-Terrorism**

Narco-terrorism refers to the nexus between drug trafficking networks and terrorist organizations, where illicit drug revenues are used to fund terrorism, and, conversely, terrorist groups provide protection and logistical support to traffickers. In this context, drug traffickers, manufacturers, and so-called drug lords establish operational or financial ties with terrorist organizations, making narco-terrorism a multidimensional threat affecting both national and international security. One of the most striking examples of this phenomenon is the case of Colombian drug lord Pablo Escobar, leader of the Medellín Cartel. During the 1980s, Escobar was responsible for trafficking approximately 80% of the global cocaine supply. His organization, while primarily a criminal enterprise, engaged in systematic violence and acts of terrorism to eliminate opposition and manipulate the political landscape.

A historically significant terrorist act linked to Escobar was the bombing of Avianca Airlines Flight 203 on November 27, 1989. According to reports, Escobar orchestrated this attack by collaborating with Efraín González, a bomb specialist allegedly connected to the Basque separatist group ETA in Spain. González was reportedly brought to Bogotá to execute the bombing, which resulted in the deaths of all 107 passengers and crew aboard a Boeing 727 aircraft. The attack was allegedly an attempt to assassinate a presidential candidate opposed to Escobar's interests, though the intended target was not on board (The New York Times, 1989). The New York Times described the Medellín Cartel as a powerful and organized group of drug manufacturers. The name "Medellín" gained international notoriety when the U.S. Department of Justice listed it among the most dangerous transnational criminal organizations. Pablo Escobar, positioned at the top of this list, personified the convergence of organized crime and terrorism in Latin America.

**Figure 3: The New York Times, 1989.**



### **Further Testimonies and Investigations into Avianca Flight 203**

Fred Whitehurst, a former FBI forensic expert who later became a whistleblower, provided a critical perspective on the investigation surrounding the Avianca Flight 203 incident. In an interview with *WordPress* in 2017, Whitehurst discussed internal dynamics within U.S. intelligence institutions at the time of the investigation. He emphasized that no FBI agent acted without direct orders, and that there was institutional pressure to produce evidence that supported predetermined narratives, especially when prominent political figures made strong public statements.

According to Whitehurst, when the President of the United States declared that Dandeny Muñoz Mosquera—also known as "La Quica" and linked to the Medellín Cartel—was among

the most dangerous assassins globally, agents within the bureau interpreted it as a directive to produce corroborative evidence regardless of foundational truth. He criticized the politicization of justice, stating, "If leaders don't worry about the foundation of truth, most people will follow" (Whitehurst, 2017). He reiterated that the case of Avianca Flight 203 was shaped not solely by forensic analysis but also by political expectations.

The crash occurred on November 27, 1989, when Avianca Flight 203, a domestic passenger flight traveling from El Dorado International Airport (Bogotá) to Alfonso Bonilla Aragón International Airport (Cali), exploded mid-air shortly after takeoff, crashing into the municipality of Soacha. All 107 people on board perished in the bombing. The incident is widely regarded as one of the deadliest terrorist acts in Colombia's history and has long been associated with Pablo Escobar's campaign of violence against the Colombian state and its allies.

**Figure 3:** (<https://gosint.wordpress.com/gedies->).



In recent decades, the involvement of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) in drug trafficking has been widely discussed in both academic and intelligence reports. According to journalist and researcher İhsan Bal, the PKK terrorist organization has provided transit routes for international drug smuggling operations. Bal notes that the PKK is engaged in various stages of the drug trade—including production, street-level distribution, and international export—positioning itself not only as a security threat but also as a critical actor in the global narcotics economy.

Additionally, Bal highlights that the financial activities of the PKK extend to money laundering schemes. In this context, several leaders of the organization have been placed on the U.S. Department of the Treasury's "Specially Designated Narcotics Traffickers" list, an international designation that signals the PKK's direct involvement in narcotics-related crimes at a global scale (Bal, 2023). This alignment between narcotics trafficking and terrorism underscores the emergence of narco-terrorism as a strategic and operational framework for terrorist organizations to finance their activities.

Figure 4: Cyber Terrorism



### Cyber Terrorism

The concept of cyber terrorism began to gain traction in the aftermath of critical vulnerabilities exposed in the U.S. security infrastructure. Prior to the September 11, 2001 attacks, a series of cyber-related incidents revealed systemic weaknesses within the technological infrastructure of the American military. These developments highlighted the inadequate cyber readiness of U.S. military systems, particularly the gaps in electronic security that left even critical government institutions, such as the Pentagon, vulnerable.

The events of 9/11 ultimately underscored how modern terrorism was no longer confined to conventional battlefields but had extended into cyberspace. In response to these emerging threats, the concept of cyber terrorism—defined as the use of digital technologies and networks to carry out politically motivated attacks—entered the security discourse as a pressing global concern.

As noted by Alınak (2004), cyber terrorism has the potential to evolve into one of the most dangerous forms of asymmetric warfare in the future. With the increasing dependence of governments, militaries, and societies on digital infrastructures, the risk posed by cyber terrorists is likely to grow, demanding proactive strategies in both policy and defense mechanisms.

### Globalization After the Terrorist Attack of September 11, 2001

The strategic foreign policy of the United States during the Cold War (1945–1990) can be divided into two major periods: the 1990s and the post-September 11, 2001 era (Gözen, 2014). Following the Cold War, the U.S. aimed to dominate the Middle East, which triggered significant geopolitical consequences, including the economic crisis of 1979 and both Gulf Wars. The collapse of the USSR in the 1990s marked a turning point, paving the way for the

spread of the phenomenon of globalization. Several republics gained independence, reshaping the global order.

In the 2000s, particularly after the September 11 attacks, the concept of "security" was institutionalized in international relations. These attacks not only reshaped the domestic and foreign policies of the United States but also marked a turning point for the entire world. September 11, 2001, signified the dawn of a new global order, introducing a new phase of international conflict shaped by terrorism and counter-terrorism under globalization. The attacks generated widespread Islamophobia, especially across Western societies. The global media contributed to constructing a narrative that equated Islam with terrorism, thereby stigmatizing Muslim communities worldwide.

On that day, four commercial airliners were hijacked by members of the al-Qaeda terrorist organization. Two planes struck the North and South Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, leading to their collapse within hours. A third aircraft crashed into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the U.S. Department of Defense. The fourth plane, which was likely intended to strike a target in Washington D.C., crashed in Pennsylvania after passengers intervened. The attacks resulted in 2,966 fatalities, becoming one of the deadliest terrorist acts in modern history. According to the FBI, the Pentagon attack alone claimed 125 lives, including 53 passengers, six crew members, and five hijackers (FBI, 2001). In the aftermath, the international system—particularly in the Middle East—underwent profound changes. Proxy wars began to redefine state boundaries and influence zones. The Arab Spring became a manifestation of these transformations, reshaping the geopolitical map of the region. Superpowers such as the United States, Russia, and Israel, alongside regional actors like Saudi Arabia, sought influence through indirect engagements.

According to Sandıklı (2023), proxy wars are conflicts in which powerful global and regional actors refrain from using their own military forces and instead manipulate local or allied groups to fight on their behalf. These wars reflect a new method of achieving strategic objectives through indirect control and conflict management.

The Arab Spring also laid the groundwork for the U.S.-driven Greater Middle East Project (BOP), whose goal was to integrate Middle Eastern countries into the Western political and economic system. However, other global powers such as Russia, China, and Iran opposed this strategy and responded by strengthening the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, whose primary aim is to prevent unilateral dominance by the United States in the region (Sandıklı, 2016).

## **Conclusion**

Terrorism has historically been employed by activist or extremist groups as a means of instilling fear and panic in society in order to impose their own ideological or political agendas. During the Cold War period (1945–1990), global superpowers, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union, often sought to influence or control smaller states through indirect means. Although the two superpowers did not engage in direct military conflict, they frequently instigated civil wars, supported coups, and provided military and economic aid to allied regimes or insurgent groups in the developing world.

One of the most dangerous and persistent intersections between terrorism and criminal activity has been narco-terrorism. Throughout and beyond the Cold War, the global narcotics trade has provided financial resources for various terrorist organizations. Drug lords such as Pablo Escobar exemplified how deeply intertwined the narcotics trade and terrorist acts could become. Escobar and others funded terrorist activities through drug revenues, resulting in widespread violence and the loss of thousands of lives due to both drug abuse and terrorism.

In recent years, it has been confirmed that the PKK terrorist organization has supported and facilitated narcotics trafficking, particularly in transit corridors across the Middle East. From Turkey's perspective, the Cold War era was also a period marked by intensified ethnic terrorism. Organizations such as ASALA and PKK targeted the Turkish state and citizens, with ASALA focusing on the assassination of Turkish diplomats abroad during its 15-year campaign. The onset of globalization in the 1970s—through increasing international interconnectedness and the resolution of ideological polarizations—unintentionally created fertile ground for the proliferation of terrorist activities and ideologies. As Elvin Abdurahmanlı (2019) notes, globalization facilitated reciprocal provocation and reinforcement between terrorist groups, expanding their reach and operational capacities.

Following the collapse of the USSR in 1990, the emergence of new independent republics such as Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan marked a shift in global power dynamics. However, the trajectory of international security was fundamentally altered by the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States. This event not only reshaped American foreign policy but also generated global narratives that associated Islam with terrorism, especially within Western media. Anti-Islamic sentiment intensified, further exacerbated by disinformation spread through newspapers, television, and digital platforms.

Post-9/11, the geostrategic architecture of the Middle East was transformed. The region, once perceived as NATO's "red belt" during the Cold War, was rebranded as a "green belt" defined by instability and ideological radicalism. The U.S.-led Greater Middle East Project

(BOP) and the subsequent Arab Spring accelerated this transformation, plunging the region into cycles of proxy wars and violence.

The rivalry between superpowers, particularly the U.S. and Russia, for influence in the Middle East has contributed to the emergence and endurance of numerous terrorist organizations such as DAESH, the PKK-affiliated PYD/YPG, al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and Hezbollah. As long as the financial, logistical, and political support for such groups continues, the Middle East will likely remain ensnared in terrorism and regional instability.

### References

Abdurahmanlı, E. (2019). Küreselleşme olgusuyla birlikte büyüyen terörizm. *Anadolu Akademi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 1(1), 93–119.

Abdurahmanlı, E. (2019). ASALA terör örgütü nasıl ortaya çıktı ve terör faaliyetlerinin amacı. *Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 1, 60–73.

Abdurahmanlı, E. (2023, August 14). Düünden bugüne Ermeni terör örgütleri ve “ASALA” terör örgütünün analizi. *Tum1 Haber*. Retrieved October 13, 2025, from <https://www.tum1haber.com/dunya/dunden-bugune-ermeni-teror-orgutleri-ve-asala-teror->

Ağaoğlu, A. (2018). Kelime terör. Retrieved November 15, 2022, from [https://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com\\_gts&kelime=TERÖR](https://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_gts&kelime=TERÖR)

Alınak, O. (2004). Siber terörizm. *TASAM Dergisi*, 11–15. Retrieved October 2, 2018, from <http://www.tasam.org/tr-TR/Icerik/4162/siber-terorizm-raporu>

Altındal, A. (2006). *Türkiye’de ve dünyada casuslar*. Destek Yayınları.

Arıboğan, D. Ü. (2005). *Nefretten teröre*. Ümit Yayıncılık.

Bal, İ. (2012, July 22). PKK ve narko-terör. *Habertürk*. Retrieved February 22, 2023, from <https://www.haberturk.com/yazarlar/ihsan-bal/760658-pkk-ve-narko-teror>

BBC Haberleri. (2010, January 29). Tony Blair’in Irak ifadesi. Retrieved December 27, 2023, from [https://www.bbc.com/turkce/multimedya/2010/01/100128\\_live\\_inquiry\\_tony\\_blair](https://www.bbc.com/turkce/multimedya/2010/01/100128_live_inquiry_tony_blair)

BBC Haberleri. (2016, April 27). Almanya’da 'gizli belge yayımlayan' gazetecilere soruşturma talebi. Retrieved October 19, 2022, from [https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2016/04/160427\\_alman\\_gazeteciler](https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2016/04/160427_alman_gazeteciler)

BBC Haberleri. (2016, July 6). Chilcot raporunda Blair’e sert eleştiriler. Retrieved December 31, 2022, from [https://www.bbc.com/turkce/dunya/2016/07/160706\\_iraq\\_chilcot\\_rapor](https://www.bbc.com/turkce/dunya/2016/07/160706_iraq_chilcot_rapor)

BBC Turkish. (2005). Kazakhstan should not be a nuclear dump. Retrieved June 10, 2023, from [https://www.bbc.co.uk/turkish/news/story/2005/04/050419\\_kazak\\_nuclear.shtml](https://www.bbc.co.uk/turkish/news/story/2005/04/050419_kazak_nuclear.shtml)

Bilgiç, M. S. (2009). Terör ve terörle mücadele. *BİLGESAM Yayınları Dergisi*, 7–10.

CIA. (2012, December 18). CIA hakkında. Retrieved November 27, 2022, from <https://www.cia.gov/tr/>

- Dedeođlu, B. (2014). *Uluslararası güvenlik ve strateji*. Yeniüzyıl Yayınları.
- Deniz, A. Ç. (2015). *Toplumsal hareket teorileri ve Ortadođu isyanları*. Orion Kitabevi.
- Emre, Ö. (2011). *Terörizm, insancıl hukuk ve insan hakları*. Derin Yayınları.
- Gözen, R. (2014). *Amerikan dış politikası*. Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Guillaume, G. (2004). Terrorism and international law. *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 53, 537–548.
- Güler, A., & Akgül, S. (2003). *Sorun olan Ermeniler*. Berikan Yayıncılık.
- Helvacıköylü, G. (2007, February 13). Terör nedir? *Türk Asya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi*. Retrieved December 30, 2022, from [http://www.tasam.org/tr-TR/Icerik/515/teror\\_nedir](http://www.tasam.org/tr-TR/Icerik/515/teror_nedir)
- Herman, M. (1999). *Intelligence power in peace and war*. Cambridge University Press. Retrieved November 16, 2022, from <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/intelligence->
- İnsel, A. (2017, September 9). Devlet terörü. *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*. Retrieved February 2, 2023, from [http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/koseyazisi/819931/Devlet\\_teroru.html](http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/koseyazisi/819931/Devlet_teroru.html)
- Kantarci, Ş., & Laçiner, S. (2002). *Ermeni sorunu el kitabı*. Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi.
- Karabulut, A., & Deđer, F. (2015). Uluslararası ilişkilerde güvenlik kavramı ve realist yaklaşıma genel bakış. *İstanbul Gelişim Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 74–76.
- Kuyaksil, A. (2014). Terör örgütlerinin ideoloji unsuru olarak kullandığı bazı dini kavramlar. *ASSAM Uluslararası Hakemli Dergi*, 1(1), 79–114.
- Norton, R. T. (2015, June 1). Terror trial collapses after fears of deep embarrassment to security services. *The Guardian*. Retrieved December 18, 2022, from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk>
- Özdağ, Ü. (2016). *İstihbarat teorisi*. Kripto Yayınları.
- Sabah Gazetesi. (2011). İsrail'e karşı mücadele veren Filistinli radikal örgütler. Retrieved January 1, 2023, from [http://www.sabah.com.tr/ozel/arafat206/dosya\\_211.html](http://www.sabah.com.tr/ozel/arafat206/dosya_211.html)
- Sandıklı, A. (2016, January 19). Vekalet savaşları: Ortadođu ve Türkiye. *Bilgesam Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi*. Retrieved January 3, 2023, from <http://www.bilgesam.org/incele/2293/->
- Sandıklı, A. (2016, November 15). Arap Baharı ve Türkiye. *Bilgesam Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi*. Retrieved December 18, 2022, from <http://www.bilgesam.org/incele/2551/-arap->
- Sancaktar, C., et al. (2016). *Uluslararası güvenlik*. Beta Yayınları.
- Special Agent S.M. (2018, September 18). Video transcript. *FBI*. Retrieved March 9, 2023, from <https://www.fbi.gov/video-repository/about-us-ten-years-after-the-fbi-since-9-11-911->
- Sun Tzu. (2016). *Savaş sanatı* (Çev. Otkun, F.). İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Terör tanımı. (1991, April 12). *Terörle Mücadele Kanunu (Kanun No: 3713)*. Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi. Retrieved May 21, 2023, from <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/Mev>

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2004, March 12). Report of the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) Special Meeting, Vienna. Retrieved January 2, 2023, from <https://www.un.org/sc/ctc/news/document-source/united-nations/unodc/>

Whitehurst, F. (2017, November 30). Suspicious aviation tragedies — November 27 1989: Avianca Flight 203. *WordPress*. Retrieved February 2, 2023, from <https://gosint.wordpress.com/2017/11/30/suspicious-aviation-tragedies-november-27-1989->

#### **Telif ve Lisans Bildirimi**

*Bu makalenin tüm yayın ve telif hakları Journal of Academic History and Ideas / Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi'ne aittir. Makale, dergi tarafından Creative Commons Atıf-GayriTicari 4.0 Uluslararası Lisansı (CC BY-NC 4.0) kapsamında açık erişimli olarak sunulmaktadır (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>). Bu lisans kapsamında, makale uygun bilimsel atıf yapılması koşuluyla ve yalnızca ticari olmayan amaçlarla her türlü ortamda kullanılabilir, çoğaltılabilir ve paylaşılabilir; ancak orijinal içeriğin değiştirilmesi, dönüştürülmesi veya üzerinde türev eser üretilmesi kesinlikle yasaktır. Dergide yayımlanan çalışmaların bilimsel, hukuki ve etik sorumluluğu tamamen makale yazar(lar)ına aittir; dergi editörleri ve yayın kurulu bu içerik nedeniyle sorumlu tutulamaz. Makalenin ticari yeniden kullanımı, çeviri veya yeniden yayımlanmasına ilişkin tüm talepler, derginin editör kuruluna [akademiktarihvedusunce@gmail.com](mailto:akademiktarihvedusunce@gmail.com) adresi üzerinden iletilmelidir.*