

# Terör Tipolojileri Üzerine Bir Literatür Taraması

İhsan ÇAPCIOĞLU\*

## ABSTRACT

*A Literature Scanning on the Terror Typologies.* The literature on religion and violence, or terror was already substantial before the September 11 attacks, and it has swelled at an increased pace since then. I have not seen abundant evidence, however, that the serious reflections on violence expressed in these books has made a noticeable impact on the shape of higher education, on news media reporting, or on the thinking of government officials around the world. This bibliography provides information sources about terrorism, terrorist groups and the terror typologies. It is not comprehensive and only a starting point, since the situation is changing daily. Many of the books could have legitimately been listed in more than one of the subsections below, which highlights the somewhat artificial nature of the categories I have set up. I appended to each subsection below subject headings that will enable the reader to explore the topic further as well.

**KEY WORDS:** Terror, Terrorism, Violence, Religion, Typology.

## Giriş

Terör, yeni bir olgu olmadığı halde, 11 Eylül saldırılarıyla birlikte bütün dünyanın daha yakından tanıdığı bir kavramdır. Öyleki, 1977-2001 yılları arasında terör içerikli 11.415 eylem gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu zaman diliminde meydana gelen olayların sayısında periyodik bir azalma gözlenmekle birlikte, sonuçta ortaya çıkan tahribatın ve özellikle ölüm oranlarının giderek arttığı görülmektedir. Zamanla terörün doğası değişmiş, eylemleri daha ölümcül hale gelmiştir. 1990 öncesinde pek çok terör organizasyonu bir taraftan uluslar arası medyanın dikkatini çekecek, diğer taraftan kamuoyunun desteğini alacak bir tarzda gündeme uygun politik hedefler seçerken, yakın zamanda gerçekleştirilen saldırıların maksimum tahribata yol açacak şekilde planlandığı görülmektedir. 1998'de Dünya Ticaret Merkezi ve Pentagon'a düzenlenen saldırıların yanı sıra, Nairobi ve Darüsselam'da kalabalık kent merkezlerindeki Amerikan elçiliklerine yapılan saldırılarda 300'den fazla kişi ölmüş ve 5000'den fazla kişi de yaralanmıştır. Benzer amaçlarla gerçekleştiril-

\* Ar. Gör., Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi, e-posta: icapci@divinity.ankara.edu.tr

rilen başka saldırılar da olmuştur: 1993'te New York'ta Linkoln ve Hollanda tünellerine düzenlenen ve başarısızlıkla sonuçlanan saldırılar, 1995'te 11 Amerikan uçağının Asya'ya kaçırılması ve nihayet 1999'da Kanada sınırında tesadüfi bir tutuklama sonucu ortaya çıkan milenyum planı bunlar arasındadır. Bununla birlikte, bu olaylar hakkındaki söylem, bu tür saldırıların nedenlerini sorgulama ya da işbirlikçilerini aramanın çok daha ötesine uzanmaktadır. Bu tavır, farklı kültürleri ve bölgeleri tanımlamaya çalışan çok daha geniş kapsamlı Batılı söylemin sadece bir parçasını oluşturmaktadır. Aslında, terörizm, Batının dışında kalan bazı bölgelerin risk bölgeleri olarak tanımlanmasına temel oluşturan uzun ve tehlikeli koşullar zincirinin en son halkasıdır.<sup>1</sup>

Günümüzde küreselleşmenin kitle iletişim ve ulaşım alanlarında sunduğu imkanları kullanan terör örgütleri ve destekçileri, dünyanın çeşitli bölgelerinde birbiri ardınca gerçekleştirdikleri eylemlerle dünya gündemini her geçen gün daha fazla meşgul etmeye devam etmektedir. Terörün kamusal görünürlüğünün kitleleri terörize edebileceğini ve teröristlerin taraftar toplamak amacıyla medyanın sunduğu propaganda imkanlarını kullanabileceğini savunan bazı yazarlar, terör içerikli haberlerin halkın demoralize olmasına yol açabileceğine işaret etmektedirler. Bununla birlikte, günümüzde özellikle görsel ve yazılı medyaya yansıyan sosyal içerikli pek çok sorunu tanımlamak için kapkaç terörü, trafik terörü ve hatta gıda terörü gibi ifadelerin kullanıldığı bilinmektedir. Geniş kitleler üzerinde ortaya çıkardığı yıkıcı etkilerle günümüzün değişmez gündemleri arasına giren kitlesel terör eylemlerinin yanı sıra, yeni terör tanımlamalarının kamuoyunda bir tür terör fobisine yol açtığı, en azından bu olasılığın her geçen gün güçlendiği görülmektedir.

*Terör nedir? Terörün başlıca unsurları nelerdir? İnsanlar niçin terörist eylemler gerçekleştirmektedir? Terörün beslendiği kaynaklar nelerdir? Teröristler eylemlerini nasıl planlamakta ve gerçekleştirmektedirler? Toplumsal, siyasal ve iktisadi faktörlerin terör üzerindeki etkileri nelerdir? Siyasal yönetimler terörizmle nasıl mücadele edebilir? Terörist grupların başlıca özellikleri nelerdir?* gibi daha pek çok sorun bu çerçevede tartışılmak durumunda kalmaktadır.

Bu araştırmanın amacı, yukarıda tasvir edilen temel nitelikleri ile günümüzde çeşitli boyutlarıyla çok tartışılan kavramlardan biri haline gelen/getirilen terör fenomeni hakkında ilgili okuyucuya uluslar arası literatürde yayımlanmış bazı makale ve kitapların bibliyografik künyelerini tanıtmak ve bu sayede konu ile ilgili yayınlara erişim kolaylığı sağlamaktır. Elbette, ekonomiden dine, hukuktan iletişime ve politikadan uluslar arası ilişkilere kadar çok geniş bir alanı içine alan böylesine kapsamlı bir literatürü, sadece bibliyografik künyeleri ile bile olsa, bütünüyle tespit etmek imkan dahilinde değildir. Bu nedenle, araştırmada, öncelikle terör tartışmalarının odaklandığı belli başlı alanların ve bu alanlardaki temel tezleri ve tartışmaları ortaya koyan eserlerin tespiti amaçlanmıştır. Böylece, terör/terörizmin kuramsal ve toplumsal boyutlarının (devlet, din, medya, hukuk, siyaset, güvenlik ve ide-

1 Greg Bankoff, "Regions of Risk: Western Discourses on Terrorism and Significance of Islam", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 26: 413-414.

oloji) yanı sıra, biyolojik, nükleer, kimyasal ve siber terör gibi çeşitleri ile ilgili başlıca yayınlar belirlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu belirlemedeki temel kriter, terör tartışmalarının farklı tiplere konu olacak düzeyde bir çok yönlülüğe sahip olmasıdır. Ayrıca, eserlerin bibliyografik künyeleri verilirken yazarların soyadlarına göre bir sıralama takip edilmiştir. Konu ile ilgili olarak tespit edebildiğimiz yayınlar şunlardır:

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### Sonuç Yerine

Batıda üretilen terör/terörizm söyleminin, Batının batılı ol(a)mayan dünya ile ilgili köklü önyargı ve korkularından kaynaklanan sürekli bir olgu olduğu, artık yadsınamaz bir gerçektir. Bununla birlikte, bu yeni olguya özgü farklı niteliklerden söz edilebilir. Özellikle batılı medya, kültürel anlamda İslamiyet'in önemli bir parçasını oluşturduğu dünyanın belli bölgelerinde komşu kültürler arasındaki tarihsel düşmanlığı yeniden canlandırmaya çalışarak Müslümanlarla, özelde Hıristiyanlar ve genelde diğer din mensupları arasında karşılıklı güvensizliğe dayalı yeni bir dünya senaryosu üretme gayreti içinde görünmektedir. Yukarıda listelemeye çalıştığımız eserlerin büyük bölümü çoğunlukla bu bakış açısıyla kaleme alınmıştır. Başka bir ifadeyle, Batı (özellikle ABD) 11 Eylül öncesinde "risk bölgeleri" olarak tanımladığı bölgeleri artık kendi güvenliği ve geleceği açısından "tehdit bölgeleri"<sup>2</sup> olarak nitelendirmekte ve dünya kamuoyunu (hatta kendi vatandaşlarını) yanlış bilgilendirmeye ve yanıltmaya devam etmektedir. Elbette, terörün meşrulaştırılabilecek hiçbir boyutu olamaz. Ancak, son yıllarda Afganistan ve Irak başta olmak üzere dünyanın çeşitli bölgelerinde yaşanan şiddet olayları, terörün ya da teröristin tanımı ve kimliği konusunda zihinleri bulandırmaya devam etmektedir. Öyle görünüyor ki, burada sadece konu başlıklarıyla küçük çaplı bir tipolojisini vermeye çalıştığımız terör olgusu, önümüzdeki yıllarda da gündem oluşturmaya ve çokça tartışılmaya devam edecektir.

2 Bu tanımların ayrıntıları için bu sayıda çevirisi yayımlanan şu makaleye bakılabilir: Greg Bankoff, "Risk Bölgeleri: Batının Terör Üzerine Görüşleri ve İslam'ın Yeri", (çev.: Şahin Gürsoy, Hakkı Kardeşin), *Dini Araştırmalar*, C. 7, S. 20.