E-Conference Proceedings
"Radicalization, Terrorism and Deradicalization: Perspectives from Azerbaijan"

June 18, 2020 | Zoom

ADA University, Center of Excellence in EU studies conducted an E-Conference on the "**Radicalization, Terrorism and Deradicalization**" within Prevention of Radicalization Network (PRaNet) project on June 18, 2020.

PRaNET is an international project and entails the creation of a university wise network between the University of Bergamo (Italy), ADA University (Azerbaijan) and Université Mohamed Lamine Debaghine de Sétif 2 (Algeria) aiming to deepen knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon of radicalization, development of social inclusion and de-radicalization policies and to provide the improvement of integration, through post-university education activities and academic research.

The conference aim was to bring together academicians, researchers, practitioners, and graduates to exchange and share their experiences and research results on all aspects of Deradicalization and Radicalization. It also anticipated a premier interdisciplinary platform for researchers, practitioners and educators to present and discuss the most recent innovations, trends, and concerns, as well as practical challenges encountered, and solutions adopted in these fields.

The conference has been built around panel discussion and research presentations. The panels specifically focused on role of education in preventing radicalization and deradicalization, agenda of the international organizations in counter-terrorism measures to address extremism/radicalization of individuals and social inclusion policies of government in preventing radicalization.

PROGRAMME

18 June 2020	
13:00- 13:10	Welcoming
13:10-14:00	Panel Discussion on the role of education in preventing radicalization and deradicalization, agenda of the international organizations in counter-terrorism measures to address extremism/ radicalization of individuals and social inclusion policies of the government in preventing radicalization **Speaker 1:** Dr Anar Valiyev, Dean, School of Public and International Affairs, ADA University, Azerbaijan **Speaker 2:** Dr Michelle Brunelli, Director of MARTe Program, University of Bergamo, Italy **Speaker 3:** Mr Vladimir Gjorgjiev, Chief of Mission, IOM **Speaker 4:** Dr Elgun Safarov, Member, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
14:00-14:10	Q&A
14:10-14:40	Presentations by the graduates of MARTe (Master of Arts in Radicalization and Terrorism) Program and Professionalisation Course within PRaNet Project **Speaker 1:** Mr. Jalil Hasanov: NAM: Could it be the counterterrorism Policy of Azerbaijan **Speaker 2:** Mr. Safar Safarli: What is the main reason for the absence of sectarian violence in Azerbaijan? **Speaker 3:** Mr. Vugar Mammadov: Modern terrorism: semi-states, lone wolves and suicide attacks **Speaker 4:** Ms. Gunel Madadli: Political Terrorism: what is its impact on Political Systems: The case studies of ASALA and PKK
14:40-15:00	Final remarks

PRESENTATION ABSTRACTS AND PAPERS

Dr Anar Valiyev, Dean, School of Public and International Affairs, ADA University, Azerbaijan

Education and enlightenment today plays significant role in preventing and decreasing radicalization and terrorism in societies. Most of the modern societies are spending funds for educating most vulnerable groups in order to prevent their entrapment to the nets of terrorist organization. Not surprisingly, the countries with high number of radicals are societies with dilapidated education systems. Nevertheless, we have to distinguish between education and impact of education on values of citizens. Proper technical education does not necessarily means that the person would not have radical values. Instead, most often the people with education lead radicals. There are abundant examples of that. Thus, the current education policy in countries should seriously think about values that education bring and how these values can shape the people's attitudes and actions.

Dr Michelle Brunelli, Director of MARTe Program, University of Bergamo, Italy

Education is one of the most powerful weapons in fighting terrorism, and more in general against extremism. In the last decade the main international organisations started to elaborate different strategies in fighting terrorism even through education. UNESCO, the European Commission and even the World Bank dealt with this issue, suggesting roadmaps, conceptual frameworks from which national actors, such as Governments, academia, NGOs and different stakeholders active in this field could draw inspiration in elaborating local policies and put into action effective and successful strategies. As for Italy, a draft bill suggests a comprehensive action in exploiting education in fighting extremism as a concrete action that in our PraNet project has been translated in different education activities such as a Master and a series of professionalisation courses, which - with the help of active partners such as ADA University, they all started to be considered as one of the best "inspiring practices" at the EU and at the international levels.

Mr Vladimir Gjorgjiev, Chief of Mission, IOM

The main root causes and key drivers of violent extremism and radicalization are complex and multidimensional, such as issues of social marginalization; a sense of injustice; perceived historical injustices, losing the individual identity, to name a few. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) - the UN Migration Agency recognizes that to prevent violent extremism, a comprehensive approach that brings together a range of actors including government agencies, academia, civil society, at-risk communities, private-public partnership, and UN/NGOs is what is needed. To be fully effective, it must be implemented alongside and in coordination with other

strategically interlinked approaches, such as awareness-raising, building capacities, improving education component, etc. These are key activities of the ongoing projects with preventing violent extremism component implemented by IOM Azerbaijan and funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in close cooperation with the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

We all know that no one is born a violent extremist. As prevention, our main aim is to recognize and strengthen the resilience to the threats of violent extremism and promote civic engagement and build understanding for intercultural dialogue. The ways to solve the problem, namely investing in education, research, strengthening institutional capacities, work with families, communities, and youth engagement would create more opportunities for youth and improve their critical thinking. An integrated approach that will create a sense of purpose and belonging to the society and community, is the right way of preventing violence and extremism.

Dr Elgun Safarov, Member, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

'International law and human rights in the process of protection international peace and security: social and humanitarian policy'

XXI century changed all possible and impossible guidelines and rules of international peace and security. We are witnesses to United Nations and other international organizations recreate process and forms of activities, reform protection of human rights and freedoms, prevention of all kinds of violence and etc.

The UN Charter adopted in 1945 was universal document based on the humanistic ideals, but is it standing nowadays? Does this document answer to the modern international human rights protection standards? World population should find answers to these questions.

During pandemic situation we see the best systems of protection human rights collapsed. But what about Azerbaijan? How we are working against terrorism and radicalization? We create already our own experience. Multinational Azerbaijan community consists from the Islam, Judish, Christian parts. Pandemic situation unite all population. State agencies are much closer to the population and working with at-risk families. Human capital and protection of human rights are in high priority. Azerbaijan is already sharing its experience in the field of its fighting with Covid-19.

Terrorism and radical organizations have not face, nationality, gender, religion or race. That's why states and international organizations fight against transnational criminal organizations, fight against human trafficking, drug business. Today international organizations try to create effective system of prevention armed conflicts and to protect international peace and security.

Mr Jalil Hasanov, Alumni of the first cohort of PRaNet Professionalization Course

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM): Could it be the counterterrorism Policy of Azerbaijan

Walter Laqueur and other scholars defined the terrorism almost similarly, that constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective by targeting innocent people. Because of political intents, terrorism has gained the status of state terrorism, which is not a new tendency, which has been existing from ancient times up to now. The underpinning of terrorism is based on Sun Tzu's concept of directing the strength to weakness to take advantage on opponent. The same tactics is used in international or domestic affairs to obtain results when the balance among two or more dealing states or non-state actors is not equal. The national and non-national interests determine the political will of the states and non-state actors in international arena. Meanwhile, the main reason of terrorist acts derived from political contradiction between states or the contradiction between state and a group of people, called terrorist organizations. The perfect political model in relationships among the states, as well as in economic and other fields is to have mutual respect to each other. This is the main idea of the NAM, created on the five basic principles: *Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, Mutual non-aggression, Mutual non-interference in domestic affairs, Equality and mutual benefit and the Peaceful co-existence*. By recognizing the main principles of the NAM: solidarity, the highest expression of respect, friendship and peace among States, Azerbaijan began its prezidency as a new chair of NAM at 18th Baku summit, encompassing the sustainability of international relations and the peaceful coexistence (BAKU DECLARATION of the 18th Mid-Term Ministerial Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)[1].

Creating and supplying the terrorist organizations by the states is a historical practice. Historically, even from the Roman Empire period, number of states were using terrorism as a tool to fight against other state. French-Indian war; fight of Indian and Afghan Muslims against Britishs (Central powers (Germany, Austro-Hungary) were supplying Indians with weapons), WWII (U.S. and Great Britain actively provided Italian mafia with weapons and finance to wage terror campaign against Mussolini's government). After the WWII USSR supported leftist terror organizations in the West countries to change governments. Established in 1982 Hezbollah, a terrorist organization, supported and financed by Iran fought against Israel in Lebanon. In the 1970s, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) based on Marxist-Leninist and nationalist ideas, supported by Moscow both financially and politically was founded in order to exert pressure on Turkey[2]. Thereby we can find hundreds of example of state terrorism in last century. The states instead of finding a compromise in some issues try to obtain more without respecting mutual interest of opposite side. Hitting the Russian plane by Turkish forces on November 24, 2015 is a clear sign of state terrorism. Russians immediately began their campaign to support PYD, which is Syrian wing of PKK terrorist organization. Analyzing the historical cases, we can conclude that the state terrorism, the most widespread kind of terrorism, is a result of inadequate foreign policy of rival states. The miscalculation of regional and global politics results in exerting pressure to each other by his proxy elements, in most cases are terrorist organizations.

There is another kind of state terrorism, which is a result of conflict between states and non-state actors. The historical examples are an Anglo-Irish conflict, the Algerian war of independence, Kurdish (PKK)-Turkish conflict, Russian-Chechen war of independence and so on. All these conflicts are the result of inadequate policy of governments not guaranteeing the basic human rights of the population leaving under their governance.

Since October 18, 1991, after gaining the independence from USSR, Azerbaijan aced several terrorist attacks such as Baku metro bombing (13 killed) on 3 July 1994, the Azerbaijan State Oil Academy shooting occurred (twelve killed) on 30 April 2009. Not having terrorist attacks on own territory for the last decade Azerbaijan has the lowest global terrorism index (0.96) in the region[4]. In contrast, European Union countries have a medium index 1.71. Therefore, Azerbaijan joined NAM as a full member in 2011 by declaring full responsibility toward his policy which adequately responses Non-Aligned Movement's main principles and international law. Because of its multilateral foreign and effective internal policy, NAM community respectively accepted Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan is not a member of any military block and does not have any foreign military base on its soil. Azerbaijan's accession to the Non-Aligned Movement could be interpreted as turning one's back on NATO[5] and other military alliance. Azerbaijan refused to sign a protocol renewing the treaty for another five-year period for Collective Security Treaty Organization as well[6]. This can be considered as an act of Baku's determination to uphold its multilateral foreign policy. Thereby, Baku has shown its ability to counter main global and regional actor's initiatives via balanced multipolar foreign policy in Caucasus. For example, Azerbaijan included Western energy companies so that they had incentives to safeguard domestic stability and regional peace. Meanwhile, Russia and the West consider Azerbaijan as a valuable partner. Unlike its neighbors in the region, Azerbaijan has a relatively strong economy and enough resources to keep its distance from both camps and remain flexible in not only its relations with Russia, the United States, and the EU, but also with the Middle East. Azerbaijan is a key energy partner for Israel and it buys Israeli-made arms, but it does not prevent it from supporting the Palestinian Authority in the United Nations and cause of Palestinian independence consequently, it receives additional support and no irritation from Arab world. In addition, Azerbaijan is strengthening its relations with Iran, considering it as a potential economic partner in the North-South Transport Corridor project, as well as the Caspian Sea. Moreover, Azerbaijani officials claim in different international events that its territory cannot be used for military purposes against Iran.

"The Non-Aligned Movement accepts the universality of human rights and social justice, but fiercely resists cultural homogenization. In line with its views on sovereignty, the organization appeals for the protection of cultural diversity, and the tolerance of the religious, socio-cultural, and historical particularities that define human rights in a specific region"[7]. If states do not take into account aforementioned values, it would result in fatal conflicts between government and its people as we see from historical state terrorism cases.

"Azerbaijan adheres to the most civilized norms of ethnic and religious coexistence. The environment of tolerance and relations between the state and religion in the country serve as a model in the world. Today multiculturalism is a state policy as well as a lifestyle in Azerbaijan". (Ilham Aliyev, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan). The multicultural model introduced by Azerbaijan to the international community is a model, which provides the peaceful coexistence of cultural and ethnographic diversity inside the country. Therefore, Azerbaijan with its multicultural policy guarantees the human rights and social justice to its multinational population in order to prevent any contrast between the state and some minorities in the country.

The terrorism and the explanation of its motives have been enlightened in the introduction part of this article. The NAM policy is introduced as an adequate model and right policy in terms of dealing with international and domestic matters consequently preventing terrorism and radicalization. NAM model is originally against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics[8]. NAM is a forum of 120 states not formally aligned with or against any major coalition or bloc. It should be noted that Azerbaijan's foreign policy is not aligned with any bloc and with any major power in the region or in the world. Its policy is balanced and there are no any disputes with major powers in region. Even the disputes are also balanced by some geopolitical or economical tools. Consequently, Azerbaijan has the lowest terrorism index in the region, despite the fact that it is located between internationally recognized terror supporter country and Russia, which is using Nagorno-Karabakh conflict to get more political leverage on Baku's sovereignty.

Unlike numerous ethnic conflicts occurred between the state and its minorities around the world, Azerbaijan has never faced such kind of unrest in its territory. This is a result of successful internal policy carried out towards ethnic minorities living in Azerbaijan. Because of multicultural policy of Azerbaijani government the minorities living in the country do not face any discrimination related to their national identity, religious beliefs, cultural and political views. Having relied on its Non-aligned, balanced foreign and multicultural domestic policy Azerbaijan is successfully preventing terrorism and religious radicalization in its soil.

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Mr Safar Safarli, Alumni of the first cohort of PRaNet Professionalization Course

What is the main reason for the absence of sectarian violence in Azerbaijan?

Azerbaijan is located at the crossroads of civilizations borders to the Russian Federation in the north, Georgia in the northwest, Armenia in the west and southwest, Turkey in the west and Iran in the south. It is clear that the intense geographical location of Azerbaijan, which had been the part of the Soviet empire for 70 years and is currently in conflict with Armenia, has also contributed to the existence of various religions and sects. However, there has never been any serious confrontation on the religious ground in the history of the country. We will make this more clear in the following sections.

The existence of various religions in the country, along with the emergence of pluralism, has led to interreligious relations in the context of peace and coexistence. Tolerance is a way of life in modern Azerbaijan which is widely accepted by many countries (including in a number of authoritative international press (Jewish Journal, The Hill, Jerusalem Post, etc.). Despite the fact that there is a separation of Sunni-Shia sects in the country, no serious conflict or confrontation has been observed in this regard. On the basis of this stability, the economic, legal and ideological organization of religious security issues in the country is very important. But although Azerbaijan is a Muslim country, how the state ensures secularism? How are state-religion relations regulated? How are foreign influences prevented for the absence of sectarian conflict in the country?

During the 70 years of the Soviet government's atheist policy, religious knowledge and religiosity of the population were almost completely eradicated. Even basic Islamic rituals such as prayer and fasting are not practiced by the majority of the population, but only in the form of exceptions, the Muslim identity has been able to maintain its identity by manifesting itself in mass religious rituals and ceremonies, such as Muharram, Ashura, Sunnah, funerals and visit to sacred places. It drew the attention not only to the advancement of national thought, but also to the actuality of religion. In the Soviet era both ideological and practical suppression of religion manifested itself in all spheres of society. In the early years of the Bolshevik rule, the attitude towards Islam was not so bad, on the contrary, it was created to use Islam for various purposes.

But in the late 1920s, this attitude changed dramatically, Islam was suppressed and hundreds of mosques were closed. By 1933 there were only 17 mosques. In 1985 there were only 18 registered mosques and 53 registered communities in Azerbaijan. There were only 123 official religious leaders during this time and people were at a high risk for the Hajj. In the first years of independence, there were only 16 religious educated people in the country. From time to time, in Azerbaijan, the struggle of national spirit has been strengthened, religious figures and politicians were working together in the struggle for national independence and in 1991 they achieved success. Gradually the state began separated from the religion. Since 1993, the government has begun to register officially the activities of religious leaders to prevent religion from becoming increasingly politicized.

On the one hand after the independence the spread and revival of Islamic values and on the other hand the emergence of various missionary activities, could become a threat in the future. For this purpose, the adoption of the Law on Freedom of Religion and its full alignment with the principles of the secular state was also preventive. The preventing of the foreign missionary activity and state control to the activity of independent religious communities began. Religious management began to function within the Cabinet of Ministers. Along with the integration of Islam into the religious community, it was existed within the framework of state law. In turn of it, it did not create any contradictions to the preservation of national spirit and stability and as a result, Islamic religion in Azerbaijan increased and it did not cause any conflicts on the basis of the sect. Thus, the number of mosques increased to 2,250. At the same time, 13 churches and 7 synagogues began to function.

It is difficult to accurately determine the religious structure of the population in the country, but, according to estimates, 95% of the population are Muslims. 4% are members of other religions (Christianity, Judaism, Baha'is, Krishnaites, etc.). About 65% of the country's Muslims are Shiites and 35% are Sunnis.

The dynamics of religiosity

Before abovementioned, it is necessary to determine the level of religiosity in the country and the religiosity caused by external influences. Religious differences in Azerbaijan are not a serious factor in determining religious identity among the population. The results of a survey conducted by the Center for Strategic Studies show that 38.5% of the respondents consider themselves Shi'a and 14% Sunni. The vast majority (45.9%) do not identify themselves with any of Islam's goals and simply say they are Muslims. Religion, which is caused by external influences, is not the last goal in itself, but a tool to meet other human interests. In itself, the coherence of a system of needs and beliefs is, in fact, an indication of true religiosity and thus there is no any assumption on threat or violence. Of course, this is not the end, but the ignorance is one of the factors that can lead to extremism.

The fact that institutionalized Islam out of the political process in Azerbaijan is also one of the factors that make the Muslim identity move to the background in the identity hierarchy of the country's population. Another important reason for the religious identity in Azerbaijan that were behind of other identities was that the institutionalized religion had not taken a serious place in the movement during the national-liberation movement which was a crucial moment for the formation of a collective identity.

In beginning of the 20th century, people living in this geography had to identify themselves first as Muslims and then ethnicity, the region in which they lived and so on (a condition of the sequence). One proof of this is that the massacres committed by Armenians against Azerbaijanis in 1905-1906 remained in the collective memory an 'Armenian-Muslim conflict'. Today, citizenship is at the top of the identity ladder.

After reviewing the aforementioned reasons, let's look at what policies are pursued in this country and what steps they can take to prevent sectarian violence. First, it would be resonable to review state-religion relations in this area. Although, the country is predominantly Muslim, Azerbaijan is a secular state and is one of 11 countries where secularism is constitutionally defined. Firstly, as mentioned in Article 18 of the country's Constitution, religion is separate from the state and all

religious beliefs are equal within the law. At the same time, article 5 of the Law on Freedom of Religion states that religious communities do not participate in political parties and do not provide them with financial support. When religious clergy are elected to the state bodies, their professional religious activity shall be suspended for the period of their employment.

As we can see from this point, the state uses a mechanism to regulate religious issues carefully, avoiding direct and open interference with religion and preventing politicization of religion. Whom and how the religious leaders are legally identified is one of the priorities for the country. Official religious figures are registered and appointed by the Caucasus Muslims Board which is the Islamic center of the country. In this regard, the State Committee on Religious Associations provides legal registration of religious communities in accordance with the law (up to 50 minors (18 years) can build a community). How are religious communities operating in the country? First of all, the state allocates financial aid to various religious communities. Religious places of worship are renovated by the state and most are provided with free gas. Religious radicalism which may result from the emergence of foreign tendencies in the country, is mainly prevented in 3 ways: through ideological, economic and juridical struggle. In fact, religious radicalism caused by ignorance and external influences is inextricably linked. One of the issues that plays a major role in the fight against religious radicalism is the collapse of the economic base of those radical religious groups. This is because the economy is very important here.

If the economic base of ISIS and other radical groups collapse, they will soon disappear. Because the economic base plays a huge role in recruiting new people, purchasing weapons and other factors. At the same time, in the legal sense, law enforcement agencies launch criminal cases against such radical groups and violators of the law and they are being punished by Azerbaijani courts for a period of time. One of the most important means is religious education. Thus a number of views are exchanged in this area both inside and outside the country (especially with the Islamic Republic of Iran, the relevant religious organizations of the Turkish Republic, Georgia, as well as in Central Asia) and a number of important issues are discussed together to preserve existing stability, prevent future threats and dangers.

Another reason for the declining of foreign religion is the unification of institutional Islam in Azerbaijan. Article 9 of the Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan on Freedom of Religion reveals that Islamic religious communities in the Republic of Azerbaijan combine with each other in their historical Islamic religious center - the Caucasus Muslims Board.

One of the factors contributing to foreign influence is religious education abroad. Theologian Institute under the State Committee on Religious Associations was established by the decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on February 9, 2018 in order to ensure the preservation and development of the high religious and spiritual environment, training of highly qualified personnel in the organization of religious activities. Simultaneously, the Moral Values Promotion Fund was established by the Presidential Order of the Republic of Azerbaijan on October 10, 2017 in order to provide support for the existing religious confessions, protection and development of moral values, as well as strengthening of state support to this area. Heydar Mosque, the largest mosque in Caucasus is located in the Binagadi district of Baku. According to the order of President Ilham Aliyev, the construction of the mosque began in September 2012 and was completed in 2014. One of the biggest features of the mosque is the Sunnis and Shiites who pray together. Every week in the Friday Sunni and Shia muslims pray together behind of the imams belong to the sect (Sunni or Shi'a). In addition, the Sunni and Shia muslims of the Pensar village of Astara pray together in a sunni mosque in a Friday and the other Friday at a Shi'ite mosque. Another interesting

fact is that in the leading muslim families of the country, men and women are dominated by affectionate circumstances even though they belong to different sects (Sunni-Shia). All these facts prove that there is no discrimination and conflict in the country on the denominational background.

When we look at the basic principles of Islam, it is completely wrong to use the terms violence, radicalism or extremism along with the word Islamic. Unfortunately, we can witness that there has never been a serious conflict on religious, especially denominational grounds due to the correct understanding of the essence of Islam in society, the proper adherence to the fundamental principles of religion and the proper establishment of state-religion relations. Negative attitudes to Islam and the concept of humanity in general, such as Nietzsche (God died in Europe) and Ratsel (the strong must crush the weak), are itself radical elements and do not respond to the challenges of the globalized world. Religious-state relations in Azerbaijan are, in fact, more consistent with the principles of cooperation rather than the concepts of "church separation" or "state church", as in other countries. The announcement of 2017 the Year of Islamic Solidarity in the country and holding of the Islamic Games in that year was a great challenge for peace and unity not only at the local level but also internationally. Low levels of education and social welfare are one of the main causes of violent tendencies and it should be a major concern for the state. Although in previous years it has been low in the country, these problems are beginning to be solved.

Mr. Vugar Mammadov, Alumni of the first cohort of PRaNet Professionalization Course

Modern terrorism: semi-states, lone wolves and suicide attacks

How are terrorist organizations present from previous formations?

Before analyzing the current situation, you need to understand the very concept of terrorism. Bruce Hoffman, a leading American researcher on the phenomenon of terrorism, proposes to define terrorism as the deliberate provocation and use of fear due to violence or, just as importantly, the threat of violence to achieve political goals. Given this definition, three main characteristics can be set that clearly distinguish a terrorist act from a criminal offense or, for example, military sabotage, namely:

- conscious and planned use of violence against others;
- the desire and intention to intimidate with the actions of a person, a group or the whole society;
- the presence of a clear political goal.

In addition to these three main features of terrorism, they sometimes use additional ones, for example, the priority of civilians as an attack target, orientation on the long-term psychological effect of terrorist attacks, performers' belonging to a certain organization, and others. Examples of the conscious use of violence to intimidate others for a political purpose can be found in the Old Testament. The most famous and one of the first organized terrorist groups in the history of mankind can be considered Sikario - the radical wing of the religious Zealot sect, whose members in the 1st century AD e. organized a terrorist campaign against the occupying power of Rome. Terrorism as a phenomenon received a new impetus during the French Revolution. The "reign of terror", organized by the Jacobins, was justified by the need for "quick, harsh and inevitable justice" against the enemies of the revolution, who in return after the English philosopher Edmund Burke dubbed the revolutionaries "terrorists", and the republican regime itself "terrorist", that is, such that "Systematically uses terror as a policy".

Terrorism receives a new edition at the end of the 19th century with the advent of the first mass political movements. In the hands of political radicals of predominantly socialist views, terrorism is becoming a popular tool for accelerating the people's revolution. The killings of state leaders, attacks on members of royal families, explosions and shots at political opponents had laid the foundation for the construction of a new world, but they provoked the beginning of the first truly world war in the history of mankind. Terrorism has been actively used by leftist radicals - from Russian populists to European anarchists. This allowed the famous American terrorism researcher David Rapoport to define this period in the history of the development of terrorism as anarchist. In general, Rapoport identified four historical periods of evolution (in his interpretation, four "waves") of terrorism in modern world history.

It should be noted that the temporal boundaries of each wave are conditional and therefore, for example, anarchist terrorism is still relevant for Greece, and the most famous terrorist organization of the anti-colonial wave time - the Irish Republican Army - today remains among the leaders in the number of terrorist attacks in Europe. But, using combinations of characteristics such as weapons used by terrorists, media channels to disseminate information about the purpose of terrorist attacks, terrorist tactics in confrontation with the state, certain stages and time frames in the continuous process of the development of the phenomenon of terrorism can be distinguished.

The Wave of Anarchist Terrorism (1880-1920)[1]

The beginning of social protests at the end of the 19th century and the spread of revolutionary ideas in the conditions of harsh and brutal reaction from the authorities formed the conditions for the emergence of radical advocates of "direct action" through violence. The most famous and most dangerous adherents of such tactics were anarchists. As weapons, anarchists used mostly homemade bombs. Newspapers have become the main source of dissemination of information about terrorist activities. The victims of terrorism were, as a rule, representatives of state power, members of aristocratic dynasties, royal families, and presidents of the republics. During the time of anarchist terrorism, the most striking organization was the People's Will (a non-anarchist socialist organization that operated in the Russian Empire), whose members managed to kill the Russian emperor.

No less effective were the actions of small anarchist groups and individuals. The assassination of US President McKinley in 1901 by anarchist Leon Cholosch forces political elites to seek cooperation to jointly combat the first manifestations of international terrorism. The successor to McKinley as US president, Theodore Roosevelt, announces a crusade against the anarchists, initiating a series of measures aimed at strengthening internal security in the country. The need for international cooperation against terrorism forces 10 European countries in 1904 to temporarily reduce their own geopolitical claims to each other and create the first anti-terrorism international coalition. And although the activity of left-wing terrorists continued for a long time after the end of both Second World Wars, nevertheless, with the beginning of revolutionary processes in Europe, other forces and organizations came to the fore.

The wave of anti-colonial terrorism (1920-1960)[2]

The First World War, the revolution in Russia, and most importantly the collapse of multinational empires caused an intensification of the political struggle for the national and cultural rights of peoples. Faced with political obstacles, primarily the reluctance of traditional elites to sacrifice part of political power, some members of nationalist, anti-colonial organizations and movements have chosen terrorism as an additional tool in the struggle, the reward of which was independence.

The struggle of the Irish Republicans against the British authorities in Ireland resonated with the struggle of the Jews against the British authorities in Palestine and the anti-colonial uprisings in Vietnam, Algeria, and Cyprus. Without the strength and resources to openly fight against a much stronger enemy, the weaker and more aggressive groups used terrorism as an instrument of influence on society and the enemy. A typical organization for this period was the Irgun organization, led by Menachem Begin, which brought terrorist methods of struggle to a new level. For Begin, terrorism was to be the asymmetric response of the British authorities in Palestine. Terrorism for Irgun is not a means of destroying the enemy's military strength, but the very foundation of British power.

The very existence of clandestine movements ultimately undermines the prestige of the colonial regime, which holds thanks to myths about its omnipotence. Each attack, the state fails to prevent, strikes a reputation. Even if the attack is not successful, it will leave a noticeable mark on the prestige of the government, which will grow into a crack over time, growing with every successful attack," Begin said. In addition to explosives, adepts of second-wave terrorism used guerrilla methods, ambushes, raids, snipers, and the like. Radio played a large role in reporting on terrorist activities. The range of targets for terrorist attacks is expanding significantly. In addition to politicians and officials, the victims of terrorist attacks are increasingly becoming military and civilian. Explosions in markets, hotels, squares, etc. clearly distinguish anti-colonial wave terrorism from anarchist terror.

The Wave of Left Terrorism (1960-1990)[3]

With the outbreak of the Vietnam War, various left-wing radical groups and organizations became more active in Europe and the USA. Starting with non-violent demonstrations and rallies, these groups gradually moved to terrorism as an instrument of propaganda through violence of their own position and views. The small number of such organizations, their closeness and limited operational space by urban neighborhoods distinguished them from the mass, predominantly rural anti-colonial movements. For groups like the German Red Army Faction or the Italian Red Brigades, the goal of the struggle was not the political victory of their own project, but the most possible damage to the state and the political elite. And while in propaganda the left-wing terrorists portrayed themselves as defenders of entire social groups and classes that bring the revolution closer, the factual isolation and isolation forced such groups to turn to terrorism as the only available means of propaganda and resistance.

The main mouthpiece of terrorists is television. The role of journalists for terrorists is growing so much that the latter were ready to go to change their own plans for the sake of a good television picture. For example, the notorious terrorist Carlos Jackal (Ilyich Ramirez Sanchez) deliberately stayed with his group at the OPEC headquarters in Vienna, captured in 1975, so that journalists could photograph the terrorists leaving the building.

The Wave of Religious Terrorism (1979 - the first decade of the 2000s)[4]

Although left-wing radical organizations continued to terrorize Europe for a long time, 1979 saw several events that provide another impetus to the evolution of terrorism in the world. The revolution in Iran and the rise of Islamists to power, led by Ayatollah Khomeini, creates an unprecedented contender. The victory in the revolution against the Shah and the announcement of the creation of a purely religious state inspire dozens of religious groups around the world to engage in an active political struggle. Soviet troops invade Afghanistan, thus provoking the beginning of resistance under religious banners, drawing hundreds and thousands of fanatics into

the conflict. Network structures consisting of a core or base (the notorious Al-Qaeda is translated from Arabic) and autonomous cells and groups united by a common goal come to the fore.

Fifth Wave of Terrorism[5]

David Rapoport wrote his material in 2002. Since then, the face of world terrorism has changed once, which made it possible to talk about a new, for the fifth consecutive wave of world terrorism. First of all, the terrorists themselves have changed. If you look at the number of terrorist attacks in the world, you can see that since 2011 it has increased dramatically. For example, if in 2008 there were 4795 attacks in the world, in 2010 - 4785, then in 2011 it was already 5013, and in 2012 - 8500 attacks. At peak 2014, 16860 terrorist attacks were committed in the world. The world leader in the number of terrorist attacks in 2016 is the Islamic State (1132 attacks, which killed 9132 people, 7723 people were injured), then the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan or the Taliban (848 attacks killed 3583, 3550 people were injured) , Al-Qaeda with its branches (539 attacks killed 1349, injured 2201 people) and the Nigerian Boko Haram (192 attacks, 1079 died, 1119 people were injured).

All these terrorist organizations position themselves as religious. However, at the same time, they have clear political goals, the main of which is to create their own state "here and now". Organizations like the Islamic State or the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan use terrorism not only to "advocate action" or weaken the state. For them, terrorism is just one of the tools to capture and maintain control over a certain territory and further form its own state on it. This political phenomenon among Western scholars is called the "Terrorist Semi-States" (TSS). Semi-state terrorism is an organization that, on the one hand, controls part of an existing state, and on the other hand, continues terrorist attacks on both citizens of this state and citizens of other states. The main reason for the emergence of the phenomenon of a terrorist semi-state is the weakening for various reasons (war, revolution, environmental disaster) of the power of the existing state apparatus over a certain territory or social / ethnic / religious group that is the bearer of its own political project.

Signs of TSS are:

- the presence of a clear political project to create their own state, its propaganda inside the organization and outside;
- positioning itself as a state;
- full military control over a certain territory, inseparable from other organizations;
- the provision to the population living in this territory of such typical public services as security, justice, social protection, education, and others (not necessarily all and fully);
- financing from internal resources (taxation of the population in the controlled territory, confiscation);
- terrorist attacks on citizens of other states;
- lack of official recognition by the international community and some states.

One of the first to draw attention to the new phenomenon of "state within the state" was the guru of American diplomacy Henry Kissinger, describing this new phenomenon on the example of the Lebanese Hezbollah as "a non-state entity based on the state, has all the attributes of the state and is supported by the main regional authority". Limited support from other states, the presence of a long conflict with the existing government, and radicalism in views contributed to the evolution of such "non-state entities" into terrorist semi-states - a phenomenon much more complicated than the usual terrorist organizations.

Typical examples of TSS are the Islamic State, Boko Haram (Nigeria), the Taliban (Afghanistan), Tehrik-e-Taliban (Pakistan), Al-Qaida on the Arabian Peninsula and others. A non-religious example is the Kurdistan Workers Party, which not only controls territories in the mountainous regions of Turkey, but is also closely linked to Syrian Kurdistan.

Fifth-wave terrorists are no longer separate groups or network structures that attack civilians from time to time to draw attention to their own political ones. These are already complex structures that control hundreds and thousands of square kilometers of a territory with a population, infrastructure, and natural resources. For them, terrorism is only one of the tactics next to the guerrilla war and the social welfare of the population for the sake of preserving and expanding their own "state". Suicide bombers for these organizations are not just a tool of terror, but a full-fledged weapon, primarily against the military and the police. They do not focus on traditional media, they pay all attention to building their own media systems, with an emphasis on social networks as the main recruiting tool.

An orientation toward the protection and preservation of the territory deprives such organizations of the classical advantages of terrorists, namely, anonymity, covertness, flexibility and mobility. Fifth-wave public terrorist leaders often cost them their lives. Headquarters, important institutions and facilities are localized, which is essentially the demand for their destruction. The desire to protect the capital of their "state" drains and bloodshed the forces of terrorists in the fight against a strong enemy (examples of Iraqi Mosul and Syrian Raqqa for the "Islamic State").

The advantage of terrorist semi-states over terrorists of the past is the potential that such a structure gains thanks to control over the territory. The TSS-controlled territory is becoming a training camp for hundreds and thousands of new terrorists, an operational base for organizing and coordinating attacks in other parts of the world. Even a short example of the existence of their own "state" gives impetus to the emergence of new, more radical and decisive terrorists and organizations. A myth is born about the effectiveness and invincibility of the political project of terrorists. The defeat and loss of territory is not due to the weakness of the idea itself, but to the dominant power of opponents. Rethinking the experience creates the conditions for the emergence of even more radical terrorist organizations that advocate an even more cruel and uncompromising implementation of the idea in practice.

Conclusion

The fifth wave of world terrorism, which we are witnesses, has all the conditions in order to become the most ambitious and cruel in history. The latest information technology, the privatization of war, the availability of weapons, combined with millions of refugees and billions of poor, implicated in the primitive simple ideology of hatred and radicalism - all this creates fertile ground for new terrorists. In order to effectively counter this danger, you must first recognize the complexity and scope of the problem, and not hide from it. We must admit that any borders are not able today to protect the political, cultural, religious, worldview and value space of this or that people, society, state from the danger of escalation of terrorist practices, including the "speculatively Muslim" type. The inexhaustible conflict-generating potential of the present-day reformatting of world civilization, unfortunately, leaves no doubt about the fact that the threats of international terrorism remain in the near future, most likely in its new forms and manifestations, but on the same basis, already tested on religious grounds.

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Political Terrorism: what is its impact on Political Systems: The case studies of ASALA and PKK

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Abstract

The study focused on to identify the purposes and causes of political terrorism and how it affected the political system of the country. This matter has been discussed among scholars for years and its importance emphasized by policymakers as well. This research analyzed political terrorism used to achieve the goals of the terrorist group and its impact on the political life of the country. The results of the activities were differentiated as advantages and disadvantages of terrorism and compared to clarify which outcomes overweigh the other, and consequently it led to the answer the question of terrorism is effective. The problem was examined on practical side by analyzing the activities of two terrorist groups, Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) and Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) to see the political impact which they caused in Turkey. The research concluded that political terrorism happens because of oppressed minority, and usually the represented communities are the biggest supporters of the terrorist groups, while rejecting individual terrorist. Even though they establish significant pressure on government, on the long-run, political terrorism does not help to accomplish the set objectives of the terrorist organization.

Introduction

Terrorism is a complex man-made phenomenon which is mainly the systematic use of terror, especially as a means of coercion[1]. Despite the lack of agreement among scholars as to the defining characteristics of terrorism as well as legally binding, criminal law definition, there are several aspects involved such as fear, violence, political, ideological, or religious cause and civilian targets. Terrorism is committed for achieving the goal of terrorist attacks but not limited to obtaining the comprehensive psychological effects. These impacts, both at local and international level, targets to gain political objective through intimidation of rival group, government, or political party, more often an entire country[2]. However, modern terrorism is the product of developments in weapon technology and mass communications as well as increase of radical ideologies[3]. The identities of the terrorists can be modified from drug traffickers and terrorists to freedom fighters and terrorists[4], however, at their core all the groups have one thing in common: they violently target civilians for political gain[5]. United Nations Security Council describes the terrorism as "any act intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act"[6]. This definition is argued as very broad description on terrorism, although there are ongoing debates related to it over the years. Unfortunately, lack of definition caused by scholar's "we know it when we see it" attitude[7] establishes a double standard, which is followed by uncertain policies for counterterrorism strategies. According to Schmid and Jongman, terrorism is a fighting method by targeting random or symbolic person, object or place which carries the characteristics of certain group or class. Using violence or the threat of violence, that group faces in "a state of chronic fear (terror)". In this definition, the authors included "the target of demands", which in this context could be

governments and "the target of attention", for instance public opinion, and explained the ways of achieving the purposes by indirect manipulation[8]. Although this definition emphasized more on "victims" and "target audiences", it also maintained the main elements such as "fear", "purpose" and "violence" just like the description of most researchers. Consequently, the core elements of the more useful definitions are following: (i) means of fear, violence, and coercion to intimidate mostly civilians, (ii) in order to change the behaviour of political leaders to do what they otherwise would not be willing to do. These factors indicate the limitations to personal freedom on the part of others and coercion, both of which are not granted rights in liberal law-oriented societies. Considering this kind of violation of basic rights, terrorism in the end is a political strategy. It also can be a political tactic within other political conflicts[9].

In early 1975, the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals of United States classified terrorism into six categories considering the common traits of being violent acts: civil disorder, political terrorism, non-political terrorism, quasi-terrorism, limited political terrorism and state terrorism[10]. According to the Report of the Committee, political terrorism is described as violent, criminal behavior committed primarily to generate fear in the community, or a significant part of it, for political purposes. The phenomenon was clarified with example of killing a police officer for ordinary reasons regardless of the brutality level of the act and killing a police officer with the purpose of intimidation of other members of police force or perhaps the whole community. Furthermore, the political terrorism is distinguished from other criminal acts by elucidating the main characteristics of the term, such as its violent, criminal nature, its larger target audience, and the primacy of its underlying objective, which is spreading of fear throughout the community for political purposes[11].

Political terrorism was predominantly used to characterize the left/right-wing dimensions in Europe during Cold War Era. However, after the collapse of socialist bloc, the class warfare as the driving force of revolutionary legitimacy became very passive[12]. At the end of twentieth century, political terrorism illustrated itself as nationalist-separatist activities. Paul Wilkinson described eight categories to differentiate political terrorism from criminal terrorism, while categorizing main elements of political terrorism[13]. Firstly, moral justification of political terrorism is the significant notion that supports all the means to achieve the goals in contrast to the criminal terrorism motivated by personal greed and selfishness. Even though both criminal activities pursue economic gain, in political terrorism, money is used for political ends. Moreover, the target selection of political terrorism is much more distinctive and unpredictable, since everybody or everything can be a target, while criminal terrorists tend to aim specific people and more logical places. Fourthly, political terrorism plans to obtain long-term period of intimidation and fear, as well as more vicious attacks, such as car bombing, double bombing targeting civilians. Furthermore, political terrorists are willing to sacrifice their lives for the cause and take as much as attention possible by attracting big audience[14]. According to the research developed by John A. Tures on whether terrorism works to achieve a group's goals, an analysis of 90 political organizations reveals that using terrorism is less effective than peaceful alternatives at achieving political ends[15]. The selected groups were divided into 45 pairs of groups operating in the same country or region in relatively the same time period. The results demonstrated that only six of the 45 terror groups – that's 13.3 percent – achieved their broader goals, however the others did not. Meanwhile, among the 45 groups that chose not to use terrorism, 26 – or 57.8 percent – accomplished their objectives, while 19 did not[16]. Hence, the objective of that study was to illustrate the failure of the tactics of political terrorism and focus on the "what if" options, meaning

instead of use of violence, threatening and other coercive strategies, which are not contributing to the final victory of those organizations, less aggressive approach would be much more fruitful.

Considering the mentioned matters, this research is aimed to answer the following questions: What are the main causes behind political terrorism? Which factors are more effective for political terrorism to influence the political sphere? How political terrorism affects the political environment of the country? Whether political terrorism is a serious obstacle in achieving political goals or useful tool for contributing to the agenda of the organization? In that sense, the research study hypothesizes that political terrorism used by terrorist organizations to achieve their goal and have an impact of the political life of the country results important negative outcomes on the set objective of the organization. The problem will be examined on practical side by analyzing the activities of two terrorist groups, Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) and Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) to see the political impact which they caused in Turkey. The purpose selecting these cases are explained with the following reasons: firstly, they both focused on the same target country (Turkey), which provides the opportunity to observe the counter-policies of Turkey towards these two organizations. Secondly, they claimed that the purposes of their activities were to fight against the historical injustice against them for a long period of time, and the main agenda of both groups was to establish an independent country in the territories of the Republic of Turkey, which made them very good examples for political terrorism.

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