

CASE STUDIES IN TERRORISM-DRUG CONNECTION:
THE KURDISTAN WORKERS' PARTY,
THE LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM, AND THE SHINING PATH

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Thesis Prepared for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

August 2001

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Sahin, Fuat Salih, Case studies in terrorism-drug connection: the Kurdistan Workers' Party, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, and the Shining Path. Master of Science (Criminal Justice), August 2001, 111 pp., 7 tables, titles.

This study scrutinizes the drug-terrorism nexus critically with intent to conceive possible remedies for the problem. The vast turnover of the global illicit drug industry constitutes the largest portion of organized crime enterprises' income. Different circles have argued that these enterprises are not the sole actors of the drug business, but terrorist groups, whose ultimate aim is a political change rather than financial strength, also profit from the "business." The controversial nature of the problem fuelled heated debates and requires an in depth and impartial analysis, which was the main subject of the current study. At the first stage, three different cases, the PKK, the LTTE, and the SL, were studied either to prove or deny the alleged phenomenon. The sampled groups' ideology, structure, and operations helped understand the motives pushing the organizations into the 'business.' Subsequently, several recommendations capturing vital issues both in countering terrorism and breaking terrorism-drugs link were spelled out.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the twentieth century, drug use (or abuse) such as opium smoking in China, Burma, Persia, opium eating in India and other Asian countries, cannabis consumption in India (charas, ganja, bhang), Egypt (hashish) and Morocco (kif) and coca chewing among indigenous tribes in South America were regarded as "local" phenomena. At that time, only the licit and illicit export of opium (from Asian countries), morphine, heroin and cocaine (from European countries) to China and the smuggling of hashish into Egypt (out of other eastern Mediterranean countries), were considered to be international aspects of the drug problem (United, 1999).

Today, illegal drug use, or experimentation with drugs, has become closely woven into the experiential and cultural fabric of 'ordinary' everyday life especially in western society. Worldwide, the UN estimates that there are 200 million regular and casual drug users in all regions of the world, more than 50 million of which are considered to be regular users of heroin, cocaine, and synthetic drugs (United, 1999a). Global anticipated number of the injected drug abusers is around 5.3 million (United, 1995). The United States is the largest single consumer of illicit drugs in the world, with some 12.8 million current drug abusers out of a total population of 260 million (United, 1998). Millions more are involved in production, trafficking, and sale of illegal drugs. The trade in illegal drugs is a multi-billion dollar global business.

The turnover of the illicit drug industry could lead us to understand the magnitude

of the extent of the drug problem. Due to the clandestine nature of the industry, its complexity, and range of operations, estimates of the turnover of the illicit drug industry vary considerably, from about US \$ 100 billion to more than US \$ 1 trillion a year. The most frequently found figures in the literature range from \$ 300 billion to \$ 500 billion a year and seem to be the most reasonable estimates. Such a turnover of the illicit drug industry would be equivalent to approximately eight per cent of total international trade in iron and steel and motor vehicles, and approximately the same size as the trade in textiles, oil and gas, and world tourism (United, 1995).

World trade and investment have expanded and brought substantial economic benefits to some areas of the developed and developing world. Capital, goods, and people move much more frequently and freely across national borders than was the case previously. In many industries, multinational enterprises operate on a world scale by allocating production according to the comparative advantage of individual countries or regions. They achieved this colossal state by selling to diverse geographical markets and by undertaking financial operations where it is most advantageous. This macroeconomic environment, which facilitated the growth and development of global legitimate business, has also provided the opportunity for drug producers and traffickers. These groups organize themselves on a global scale, to produce in developing countries, and to distribute and sell in all parts of the world, to move drug cartel members easily from country to country and to place and invest their profits in financial centers offering secrecy and attractive investment returns (United, 1995). The illegal drug trade has become a global organized industry with no particular national identity and barrier. The trafficking organizations run like multinational enterprises run by organized criminal

groups in all continents of the globe (United, 1999a).

The huge profit of the illegal drug industry not only attracts the organized criminal groups but also terrorist groups that are struggling for political change and in need of financial sources. In fact, illegal drug trade is just a section of organized crime activity which Abadinsky (1994:6) defines as “a non-ideological enterprise involving a number of persons in close social interaction, organized on a hierarchical basis, with at least three levels/ranks, for the purpose of securing profit and power by engaging in illegal and legal activities.” Cressy (1997) notes the operational areas of American organized crime as the illicit sale of lottery tickets, changes on outcome of horse races and athletic events, and the sale, illicit sale, or manipulation of sexual intercourse, narcotics, and liquor. Today the organized crime enterprises can reach into many areas ranging from white-collar crime to arms-related crime.

Illicit drug trade, with its US \$ 300 to \$ 500 billion annual turnover, is considered to be the most profitable and extensively dealt with segment of the organized crime activities. Aside from being a rich source for criminal enterprises, the global drug trade possesses several *sui generis* threats for societies as Chalk (2000a) correctly listed. First, the drug-crime nexus promotes social instability by encouraging high rates of crime either committed by addicts to promote their habit, or violence directed towards third parties under the influence, and violence within the business. Second, heavy and unprotected drug use is considered to be a main cause of lethal infectious diseases. Third, attempts to control the global illicit drug trade weaken the economic performance of governments especially in developing source and transit countries. Fourth, illicit drug money

flourishing in these countries undermines the unstable regimes by corrupting the officers and the system.

The obvious harm created by the illegal drug business do not prevent organized crime characterized by several attributes such as corruption, violence, sophistication, structure, discipline, multiple enterprises, legitimate business, and bonding, to invest in the business (Maltz, 1990). More interestingly, there are allegations that not only organized crime enterprises engage in drug business but also terrorist groups benefit and profit from illegal drugs.

According to different sources, politically motivated terrorist organizations, mostly due to financial burden, has established links with the illegal drug business. Throughout the second half of the previous century this new concept has been raised especially among government and law enforcement circles, the terrorism-drug connection. This connection is mostly referred to terrorist groups' involvement in illegal drugs and spelled out as a new and growing threat to humanity, which in turn, created a rich source of controversy. At one hand, governments use these allegations as part of their propaganda campaigns. At the other hand terrorist[s] fiercely deny their involvement in the business and even take extreme measures such as threatening the media and people referring to the subject matter. In between, some scholars take a more cautious stand and suggest no clear link between drugs and terrorist groups (Lee, 1991; Salamon et al., 1996).

In fact, insurgent groups can generate several benefits from illegal drugs. First, they condemn all kind of illegal drugs and picture themselves, as “protectors” of would be, liberated society. That way they gain sympathy of both third countries and people

they address within the country. Further more, they act like a moderator between drug traffickers and drug producing peasants to keep prices at a level that keep peasants supports. Second, they may use illegal drugs as an extension of their all-out war against the foe to deteriorate the stability of the counties by “poisoning” their people. Third, aside from their political condemnations of drug dealing and symbolic executions of drug dealers, insurgent groups, either by revolutionary taxes or via actual trafficking, raise a considerable amount of financial profit from illegal drugs vital for furtherance of “the war”. Given the degrading nature of drug dealing, aside from legal consequences, insurgent groups have justified this business to themselves. Because, as Bandura (1998) stated, mechanisms of moral disengagement operate in everyday situations in which average people routinely perform activities that further their interest but have injurious human effects. In fact, terrorists are not immune to this process and have to justify their use of violence as well us drug dealing.

This study intended to investigate the highly debated terrorism-drug link phenomenon and reveal the link, indepth. The main issues of the study are, first, to investigate the scope, extend, and nature of drug connection of terrorist groups with descriptive case studies and, second, give some [general] strategic recommendations and point the direction toward a solution.

Methodology

Intrigued by the controversial nature of the terrorism-drug connection phenomenon, the author decided to investigate the issue at hand to unearth the current state of the 'link' and address remedies for the problem.

This study is designed as an action-oriented policy research that helps related parties have some insight about the "drug-terrorism connection" and better direct their program and policies. Throughout the paper a two-step approach has been implemented. First, the groundwork of the study is laid out by exposing drug-terrorism connection as objective and undeniable as possible with case studies of three different insurgent groups: the Kurdistan Workers' Party (the PKK) of Turkey, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (the LTTE) of Sri Lanka, and the Shining Path (the SL) of Peru. The question addressed by the case studies is quite a simple one: Do terrorist groups deal with drugs as a method of financing their organizations? While primarily focusing on these groups' methods of raising fund, together with their drug dealing, several other issues such as their ideology, area of operation, basic history, reasons for insurrection, operational capabilities, violence inflicted by their terrorist activities, and financial requirements of organizations were also taken into consideration.

The reason for slightly different content and structural nuances exist between the first case study (Chapter III: The PKK) and the other case studies is that rich sources about the PKK contain ample information on actual cases that help initiate drug-terrorism link. The other two case studies built through a slightly different approach by showing the existing opportunities, motives, and results that refer drug-terrorism connection. In

the PKK case study, owing to the detailed information regarding drug trafficking, more time spent on drug-terrorism connection through reviewing individual drug cases. Using three different cases studies help eliminate bias and proclaim the drug-terrorism connection as a more general phenomenon than a single isolated case would do.

Individual incidents are explained where appropriate both to give a full insight to the operational activities of organizations and to support the ideas mentioned throughout the thesis. At the end, as the second step, some conclusions and policy recommendations are offered to tackle the drug-terrorism connection within the countries the problem occurred. These recommendations are mostly made on the basis of conceptual explanations rather than specific interests of any group or party.

Since terrorism has a vague meaning and often mixed with some other terms, related definitions together with several concepts like “drug-crime equilibrium” were given in the second chapter. Because of the nature of the hypothesis, case study method has been applied to reveal the drug-terrorism nexus in this thesis. In fact, without either proving or rejecting this link, one cannot build this study. The biggest challenge faced was the access to information on terrorist-drug connection issue. At the end, even though the clandestine nature and extreme secrecy of the business, enough literature has been found on the subject. Case studies on selected three insurgent organizations operating different continents [literally thousands of miles away from each other] gave the power of presenting the problem as a common phenomenon.

This study is based on secondary data analysis gathered through variety of sources. These [open] sources include:

- scholarly articles,

- books on the subject,
- international organizations reports,
- non-governmental organizations' information,
- government sources this not only includes governments that are party to the conflict
- third party governments and Intelligence agency resource, as well as, other - governmental documents (census data, statistic, etc.)
- media resources and Internet.

In addition to documentary material examined and analyzed, some interviews with several experts of the area under consideration were also done. This problem, to some extent, was solved by using as much data as possible.

Utmost care has been given in the selection of sources due to the sensitive nature of the problem. The propaganda value of the subject makes it a popular tool for any party. Any information regarding terrorism-drug link is open to subjectivism and could be exploited by any side to mount a negative propaganda campaign against the foe. This negative effect intended to be eliminated by use of a wide array of sources and cross referencing existing information with several different sources. The non-governmental and international sources, which do not have direct links with the on going conflicts used as a leverage to erode the problem. It is important to note that the information used is not one hundred percent free of bias because most of the initial allegations were made by government sources, which is a part of an ongoing struggle with "the other side." This 'side' more often than not is the terrorist group in question. Terrorists never accept any kind of incriminative accusation that ties them with drugs due to very nature of this crime. Dealing with drugs not only makes them common criminals but also cuts the popular support they are looking for both at home and abroad. The term "narco-terrorist"

tends not to be used in the study not only because of vague concept and artificial sound carries but also interchangeable meaning attached to it. First, the narco-terrorism is used to explain situations where criminal organizations, whose pure aim is to make profit from drugs, employ violence and use terrorism as method to intimidate rival groups, native population, peasants, or government forces. Second, the term is also used to explain some terrorist groups that benefit either taking revolutionary tax from smugglers or with some other method, or are somehow involved in the smuggling phase of drug cycle to finance their organizations.

Before going deep into the case studies, which are the backbone of the project, some basic definitional explanations and analysis are needed for background information. Several concepts and definitions related to drug-crime connection and terrorism are depicted in the next chapter. The case studies of three different terrorist groups and strategic recommendations targeting drug- terrorism link will follow that, respectively.

CHAPTER II

DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

Terrorism: definitions and concepts

Up to this point much was mentioned about terrorism without giving any definition. But it is necessary to have some terminological explanation of terrorism since the core of the study is based on three different terrorist groups' connection with illegal drugs. Thus, focusing more on the differential characteristics of the terrorism and related terminology, a conceptual explanation rather than concrete definitions will be presented in the following pages.

In fact, terrorism is a tactic that can be used by a multitude of actors for a number of reasons. In his paper, Kellen (1982) gives us the basic parameter that we need to identify a terrorist. According to him, a terrorist is a person who commits acts that are designed to terrorize or frighten. He spreads violence by committing acts against human beings or material property in attempt to sway or attract public opinion. Further, the terrorist is also different from a madman who shoots a president in order to win the affection of a girl or who spreads terror by brandishing a weapon or a bomb or an individual who tries to kill people by poisoning the water supply etc. These crazy actions can also terrify people and can affect their behavior, but they have no political content or impact. A terrorists' belief system functions in a different way than an ordinary criminal. He believes to be serving a good cause for the public at large. A terrorist without a cause is not a terrorist. Lastly the terrorist is a person who does not see himself a terrorist. He considers himself a fighter who fights for the cause. So this means that every criminal

activity is not terrorism. Clearly there should be a line [which can be real fuzzy in some cases] between criminal activities and terrorism (Lesser et al., 1999).

All these attributes of a terrorist help us identify terrorism; in general, but not completely solve the definitional problems. A major hindrance in achieving a widely accepted definition is the negative emotional connotation of the term. Terrorism has become merely another derogatory word, rather than a descriptor of a specific type of activity. So, it is not very satisfying to use the legal definitions of terrorism since, most of the time, they represent views of a side and their legalistic approach includes bias. So, scholars' explanations gives more insight into the terrorism phenomenon and pin the term more accurately, due to their causal approach.

In fact, terrorism is a method of action rather than an ideological trend or movement. It is a kind of strategy and tool to reach a specific definite goal. As White (1998: 6) noted Jenkins, "terrorism is the use or threatened the use of force design to bring about a political change". He uses a simplistic approach and argues that any attempt to move beyond simple definition is a waste because the term is so controversial.

On the other hand, Crenshaw follows a different path and uses a cause-and-result approach, which analyzes the act, the target, and the possibility of success in defining terrorism. Schmid intends to solve the definitional problem through analysis of previous definitions and concludes that terrorism is a method of combat in which the victims serve as symbolic targets and terrorist produce a chronic state of fear by using violence which results in a change of public attitude and actions (White, 1998).

Ariel Merari offers a brief and schematic solution for a basic classification of political violence (Merari, 1993).

Table 1: Merari's classification of political violence.

		Target	
		State	Citizen
Initiator	State	Full-scale war; belligerent; activity in peace time, eg. cloak-and-dagger operations and punitive strikes.	Law enforcement legal or illegal oppression STATE
	Citizen	Guerilla; insurgent terrorism; coup d'etat; Leninist revolution	Vigilante terrorism; ethnic terrorism

Source: Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency

Another way to differentiate the terrorist groups is to distinguish different aims of terrorist groups. According to Kellen (1982) there are three different types of terrorist groups.

1) Terrorism based on Nationalistic Motivations.

2) Terrorism based on ethnic minority Interests. Some of these movements also have nationalist motivations.

3) Terrorism based on Revolutionary-Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Motivation.”

He further claims that terrorists motivated by nationalist or ethnic factors may also use social-revolutionary ideology, but these are not the cores of their thinking.

Even though this approach covers most of the terrorist groups, the third category of his listing should be more general including right-wing ideologies and should be an umbrella group for all kinds of ideological terrorism.

Furthermore, someone has to add religious terrorism to a different category [as the fourth group]. In fact, the religious terrorism is a form of ideological terrorism and no more or less different than the revolutionary Marxist-left or far right in terms of a pure ideological approach. Thus, differentiating the religious terrorism as a separate group is

nothing more than a practical necessity. Because religiously motivated terrorist groups grew six-fold from 1980 to 1992 and that makes them a main point of concern for states and scholars (Lesser et al., 1999). This situation and growing concern about religiously motivated terrorism make the fourth group of terrorist typology.

Merari also stresses another differential term, which causes confusion. He states that as a strategy of insurgency, however, terrorism and guerilla tactics are quite distinct. Guerillas try to establish physical control of a territory, mostly a partial control (Merari, 1993). Case studies in this study, clearly support this distinction, except Communist party of Peru-(Shining Path, PCP, Sendero Luminoso, Sendero, SL), which had believed that at the beginning liberated zones should be formed and then revolutionize the oppressed Peruvian people all together in the end. But the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE, Tamil tigers) and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) wish to control a very specific part of the country[ies] for their ethnic group of people. Most of the time these groups systematically employed a mixture of both strategies [terrorism and guerilla] together. They have employed guerrilla tactics in the rural; carried out attacks on police and military convoys; and have established control over certain areas. Besides, they have conducted severe and violent terrorist campaigns in the cities; committed assassinations of government agents; bombed shopping malls and government offices; and kidnapped tourists and media workers. Merari (1993) points at the same strategy and argues that all insurgent organizations, which have adopted guerilla as their main strategy, have also used terrorism regularly because what they are trying to do is to promote the political cause by any method possible.

All the terrorist activities include not a single action but a variety of activities.

Since the terrorism is in a constant transformation, which is the main purpose of the terrorism, we can observe different stages and different tactics used in the course of the terrorist struggle.

The initial purpose of terrorism is to draw people's attention to a definite belief/ideology. They use different methods to convince their followers/masses that they are strong enough to launch a revolutionary campaign. Violence is the tool to create a political atmosphere, in which governments repress people and abuse their powers, conducive to the revolution and success. Not only the terrorist act itself but also several features instilled in these acts make them more affective and fearful. The actual number of terrorist acts may be relatively few, but the fear of terrorism affects the lives of vast populations due to its randomness and unpredictability.

There are different theories that tend to base revolutionary thoughts on violence. As White (1998) noted, according to Fanon, guerrilla warfare was the base in rural revolution, but urban terrorism would become the major weapon rendering the governments impotent. Marighella (1999), however, constructed his theory on the urban warfare. He intended to move violence from countryside to city, because only that way one could enlarge the struggle and makes revolution successful.

Drug-Crime Equilibrium

The drug-crime equilibrium works in several different ways. To a casual observer, drugs and crime can appear to be linked in several ways. The drug trade itself can be a crime. Dependent drug users may need to commit crimes to get the money to buy illegal

drugs. Drug users may commit crimes of violence when under the influence of drugs.

Eugene cited Goldstein who described the "drugs/violence nexus."

Drugs and violence are seen as being related in three possible ways: the psychopharmacological, the economically compulsive, and the systemic" (Eugene, 1998:4).

Blumstein explains Goldstein's analysis more fully:

- 1) pharmacological/psychological consequences, where the drug itself causes criminal activity;
- 2) economic/compulsive crimes, which are the crimes committed by drug users to support their habit; and
- 3) systemic crime, which includes the crimes committed as part of the regular means of doing business in the drug industry. This would include the violence used as a means of dispute resolution between competing sellers or as retribution between a seller and a buyer as a result of renegeing of some form in a drug deal (Blumstein, 1996:26).

Blumstein further develops the argument made by Reiss and Roth on the broader community disorganization effect of the drug industry and its operations on the larger community. In sum, Goldstein and Blumstein identify a total of four links between drugs and crime: pharmacological/psychological, economic/compulsive, systemic (related to the drug trade) and the community disorganization created by adoption within the community of the norms of the drug industry (Eugene, 1996).

Aside from Goldstein and Blumsteins' explanations, several reports suggest additional links between illegal drugs and crime, which is the use of drugs as a currency in transactions to obtain firearms, and vice versa (Department, 1994). Sometimes these direct exchanges take on even larger dimensions, such as when paramilitary or terrorist groups trade drugs for weapons. Thus, organizations in drug source countries (Colombia,

Thailand, Pakistan, among many others) might supply or transit drugs in exchange for weapons.

Terrorism-drug nexus

Terrorist groups may themselves sell drugs for cash, or "tax" drug producers to get sufficient funds to finance their campaigns or arm the guerillas. So-called 'narco-guerillas' appear at the third link of the drug-crime nexus. In this context a much-discussed question concerns the links between illicit drug-trafficking organizations or trafficking itself and terrorism or insurgent groups in terms of financing operations, gaining political support or undermining an existing government. (United, 1998) Eugene cited Berthiaume to show the more complex relation between drugs and insurgent groups.

The "narco-guerrillas" are more politically oriented groups of guerillas that have become involved in the drug trade, ... These groups are primarily motivated by political considerations, contrary to the "narco-terrorists." They are trying to overthrow the system and generally seek a fairer redistribution of income. Their involvement in the drug trade takes a number of forms: they may protect the local peasant populations from the "narco-terrorists" or the law enforcement agencies in exchange for a "war tax" that funds their guerrilla activities. They may also cooperate with the drug dealers in exchange for weapons or funds to finance their activities (Eugene, 1998:17).

As Berthiaume explored, several reasons push these highly politically motivated groups into drugs. More often than not these groups do not get involved in drugs during the initial stage of their struggle, but during the enlargement stage –increase in number of cadres and operations somewhat, force them to do so. Their success in terms of

“enlargement” and “offensive campaign” brought rigorous organizational demands along. Managing a terrorist campaign is a complicated business. Before carrying out a campaign several requirements has to be met: creation of several support networks; existence of facilities and resources to support training activities; a vast infrastructure of active supporters; transportation of goods and peoples; organizational communication; means for propaganda facilities all of which require a vast amount of money.

Based on these reasons, large-scale terrorist organizations are involved in organized criminal activities. In this respect, a comparative analytical study with regard to the modus operandi and the principal objectives of organized criminal and terrorist groups is important for a better understanding of why terrorist groups, which always exploit existing ideologies in order to lay the legitimate groundwork, carry out these activities.

Terrorist groups differ from other criminal networks because of the motive behind their crimes. Unlike drug traffickers and organized crime groups that primarily seek monetary gain, terrorist groups usually have non-financial goals such as publicity, dissemination of ideology, political legitimacy, and political influence. Terrorist fundraising is a means to these ends. While they do not seek financial gain as an end, international terrorist groups need money to attract and retain adherents and to support their presence and activities locally and overseas. Some groups also need funds for media campaigns, to buy political influence, or even to undertake social projects such as building hospitals, orphanages, schools, and so forth-largely with the aim of maintaining membership and attracting sympathetic supporters. Indeed, for many terrorist groups the planning and execution of violent attacks seem to comprise a small part of their budget.

Terrorists, like traditional criminals motivated by profit, do rely on traditional crime to fund a part of their activities. Many terrorist organizations operating throughout the globe engage in robbery; kidnapping for ransom; drug trafficking; extortion; benefit assistance program, insurance, credit card, tax, and other types of fraud; smuggling; and other similar crimes in order to fund their terrorist efforts. However, a much larger portion of the terrorists' funding comes from these contributors either voluntary or not (Adams, 1986).

There are several other distinctions between insurgent groups and criminal networks. First of all terrorist groups are usually highly motivated from an ideological point of view whereas organized criminal groups strive for a bigger share of illicit and licit markets. When brought to trial, terrorists usually admit to their deeds and use the courtroom as a forum for political declarations. As a consequence, media coverage is generally sought by terrorists to acquire public support for their cause. On the other hand, organized criminal groups generally employ every possible defense to downplay the degree of their own involvement in crimes and to conceal their activities from the public. Parallel to this, terrorist groups also give utmost importance to cover their illegal drug business, since this kind of criminal activity could not be sympathized and more than likely alienate them from the mainstream public. Such activities are also detrimental to the foreign state support, because not a single country supports an organization that poisons people. And considerable damage could be done to these groups by addressing them as a major influence in the expansion of drug traffic worldwide. Furthermore, victimization resulting from terrorism is generally more indiscriminate, whereas the link between victim and motive is much stronger in the case of organized criminal groups.

Terrorism and “ordinary crime” (in the sense of law breaking for monetary gain) clearly overlap. Several examples can be given of political terrorists using kidnapping and extortion to finance their campaign. Five million sterling in ransom launched the EI Salvador rebellion in 1979-1980. Terrorists also regularly use two crimes, narcotics and white-collar crime, both to obtain and launder their money. And international criminal gangs use terror (like the Mafia) or subsidize political terrorists (as drug cartels in Colombia) to further their own activities (Clutterbuck, 1990).

Terrorist Networks' Tending towards Illicit Drug Trade

Just like every living entity, terrorist organizations need to raise funds to sustain their existence and resort to illegal means to finance their crimes. According to Interpol (1999), the basic reasons are:

- The new professional structure of organizations as a natural result of social, economic and technical developments,
- Enlargement of cadres,
- Lodging and living costs of members,
- Financial burden of safe houses,
- Illegal and legal psychological propaganda activities, such as postings, booklets, Internet, publications, media broadcasting,
- Logistics (weapons and ammunition, training, health services)
- Financial portrait of front organizations in legal platforms such as cultural associations and political wings,

- Providing financial aid to the cadres, prisoners and their families.

One other possible reason different than the listed ones is that some terrorists see drug dealing as a method, among many others, in their all out campaign against the enemies (as in Afghanistan).

This connection has also taken attention of International organizations. In its 1992 Annual Report, United Nations International Narcotic Control Board stressed its concern about some groups' engaging in illicit drug production, distribution and marketing to get financial profit for their terrorist activities. Interpol, in its 1992 Annual report, pointed out a more specific connection: "The money derived from illicit drug trafficking crimes constitutes an important source for income of terrorist networks operating in South America (Interpol, 1992).

All terrorist groups have begun with a few dedicated idealists, no money, no training and few concrete ideas. In the progression from fringe radicals to recognized terrorists, all groups first have to acquire some income; second, they have to buy some arms; and third, they have to achieve international recognition that will help gather donations from supporters outside the organization. Many terrorist groups have achieved the first two aims but have failed to gather the international support necessary to build up an infrastructure that can survive the activities of counter-terrorist forces (Adams, 1986). So, this means that all roads to success must go through money, which is essential for all these listed needs of a successful campaign. With some of the most common activities and operational needs of the terrorist groups' explained, a clearer picture of the organizational expenses could be visualized.

Insurgent groups do not operate on local and narrow terrains, but do operate in a hostile environment. They operate on either mountainous terrain that is uninhabited and entirely isolated from the public in different cities and/or countries or just act-in houses used as cells/headquarters in cities with some cosmopolitan settlement. Terrorist cadres are always in constant movement; stable living is not possible and acceptable. In rural areas they have to move around to expand and control their territory as well as sweep detection. In urban settings, living among people not sympathetic to the cause, living is more difficult and forces organizations to employ well planned disguise methods- some of which are highly costly.

Living this way is painstakingly hard. Considering that militants and sympathizers are entirely occupied with organizational matters, it becomes apparent that the lodging and food requirements could not be met on individual contributions. Aside from that most of the terrorist organizations pay to their cadres. According to J. Adams, “the payroll, within the PLO, is paid in cash; at the bottom end of the scale a fighter is paid \$320 a month” (Adams, 1986:105). The situation is almost the same for the Shining path: it was paying its supporter around \$300 a month in a country where the monthly average income is not more than \$150 a month (Palmer, 1992).

Even if the organization grows large enough to open up subsidiary companies and businesses, it could not be sufficient as sources of income, considering the probability of the commercial activity's becoming disclosed by security forces or the risk of bankruptcy. A basic principle of a terrorist organization is that it is founded upon armed action. The three important expenditures in this type of action are:

- Arms & ammunition,

- Telecommunications,
- Propaganda activities (Department, 1996).

Since it is not possible to obtain arms and ammunition through legal ways, it requires another organization and covert operation, which means either some additional charges or some illegal activity for receiving necessary equipment. In fact, the Shining Path has obtained its unlimited supply of explosives [dynamite] by robbing mining camps (McCormic, 1990).

Having merely telephones for intercommunications among terrorist networks, particularly the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) that has beyond-borders militant and active supporter cadres, would not suffice. It requires state of the art mobile satellite communications systems. Money is a vital requirement to obtain such systems. According to Interpol, PKK runs a TV station over the satellite which had cost US \$ 3.2 millions of dollar and plus MED TV Broadcasting Ltd. affirmed to have enough means to broadcast one or two more years. That is a multi-million dollar business (Interpol 1999). Today almost every terrorist group runs several Internet sites for propaganda and communication purposes, aside from conventional media tool.

Guevara's basic strategy of acquiring guns and ammunition (seize from the opponent) has long changed. Today, terrorist groups use sophisticated weapons system in their 'war' against 'the enemy.' For example, the LTTE is at the cutting edge of technology. According to Gunaratne (1998) the LTTE uses, US \$ one million apiece, SAM missiles procured from Cambodia, which is accurate, effective but expensive. The terrorist organization has to find finance for all these above-outlined expenses to maintain its presence and continue with its activities in line with its goals.

Main Sources of Income for Terrorist Organizations

Even though there seems to be a couple of differences, criminal and terrorist groups use similar, though not entirely overlapping tactics. According to Interpol (1999) sources, the basic organized criminal activities of some terrorist groups to raise money are:

- Contributions, Donations and Fees,
- Drug Trafficking,
- Extortion,
- Revolutionary Tax,
- Armed Robbery,
- Kidnappings,
- Legal companies,
- Publications, legal and illegal,
- Front organizations,
- Internet.

Silke (2000) studied the financing of loyalist terrorism in Northern Ireland and found similar methods employed by these groups. These are: drinking clubs [legal companies], robberies, drug dealing, loan sharking, counterfeiting, fuel rackets, other frauds. Adams (1986) differentiates the sources of IRA as (1) covert (illegitimate) and (2) overt, (otherwise legitimate commercial enterprises) which is true in nature, because terrorist groups do earn profits from businesses they own. The very best example of this

overt business can be seen when the operation of the PLO's financial wing (SAMED), that operates as an international company and generates more than US \$500 million annually, is observed. To better understand terrorist groups' involvement in money raising activities, we should take a look at some of their financial sources.

Particularly in the 1980s, the ability and desire for States to supply terrorist organizations with funds in cash have gone forever. Large states have decreased their support of terrorism since the end of the cold war. Even the PLO who, inaccurately, seemed to heavily depend on contributions of Arab governments for its survival has never received the money promised but rather became one of the larger investors of the region with five hundred million dollars worth business (Adams, 1986, p. 243).

Therefore, supporting states aid, in form of hard cash, has turned into supplying shelters and training cadres in their soil [or in places under their control], instead. As Adams quoted an intelligence officer: "The Russians have never given the PLO anything except for a few scholarships." After the 1960s most of the groups appeared self-sufficient, in terms of financing themselves. That is why Adams (1986) stressed that terrorism has become a big business and to counter terrorism the sources of income should be removed.

For a terrorist group, robbery and extortion appear to produce both financial support and propaganda value (Criss, 1996; White, 1998). These tactics may be appropriate for the first step in financing an organization, but fail to become either permanent or sufficient sources of income owing to the security systems established by big financing institutions and the counter measures taken by security forces. Like Tupamaros of Uruguay who raised US \$6 million from a Bank robbery, the PKK has

used this method often. The Red Brigade of Italy received US \$ 2 million of ransom from just a single case (Criss, 1996 and Adams, 1986).

Racketeering, which proved to be a profitable tool, might be either cash or material, and may take place in the form of providing protection, threat with giving harm, intimidation, abduction, and threat with reporting a crime or situation to the authorities-in-question. Some known and common methods employed are:

- Collecting contributions from supporters,
- Threat with killing, or doing harm to the workplaces of those who oppose to the organization.
- Threats of reporting those workers with no working permission to the police or
- Protecting unlicensed workers against police (Department, 1994).

Additionally, two other sources of income are commission on false passports or visas prepared for taking people away, and money on the "delivery-on-the-border organizations". Fraud earns a considerable amount of income; yet, the risk of getting caught is relatively low, it supplies hard cash in the short-term.

Furthermore, several characteristic such as easy to produce, transport, market, and exchange with cash currency or equivalent, makes the illicit drug business a valuable source for terrorist groups. According to several sources, terrorist groups are very good at drug trafficking, in terms of operation and organization. One of the reasons for this success lies within the structural similarities of both groups. Some of the common properties of illicit drug trafficking (organized crime) networks and terrorist organizations are as follows (United, 1996; Department, 1996).

- Confidentiality is essential in both organizations.

- A hierarchical echelon exists.
- A cell-type activity is conducted.
- Areas of responsibility according to areas of activity exist.
- Through front organizations, they form "pressure groups" in foreign countries.
- The "lead" is not disclosed among layers of the organization.
- Domestic and foreign connections are attached importance.
- Organizational trust becomes a critical issue in the activities.
- Maintaining internal discipline is used to control the organization (Department, 1994; ECOSOC, 1996).

All these specifications make a terrorist organization a good trafficking network.

Terrorist groups involvement in illegal drug business will be explored in the proceeding case studies.

Eventhough it is an issue of the conclusion chapter, some information regarding similarities and differences will help with understanding their involvement in drugs and give some insight about their mind set. All the terrorist organizations that have been studied fit in the "Citizens against the State" category in Merari's classification and in the third group of Kellen's listing. All three organizations [the PKK, the LTTE, and the SL] seem to firmly believe and carry out the Fanons' theory of rural guerrilla warfare even with variances in their ideologies. For example, all three groups believe in revolutionary Marxist ideology. The PKK and the SL blend it with Maoism, the LTTE, on the other hand, primarily a nationalistic organization, also employs guerrilla warfare in its struggle.

One of the most striking points about all these groups is that they are the most violent ones, especially the LTTE. They have carried out a bloody campaign that has

claimed tens of thousands of lives including innocent by-standers, harmless peasants, political figures, law enforcement and military officers, and militant cadres. According to Turkish authorities, since the beginning of the armed campaign [1984] of the PKK, the violence has claimed the lives of 30,000 people (Department, 1998). The figure for SL is no less than that. Since 1980, when Sendero first started its military campaign, more than 25,000 lives have been lost, and 600,000 rural Peruvians have been displaced (Masterson, 1999). The Tamil Tigers (LTTE) of Sri Lanka claimed more than 60,000 people dead since 1983 and perhaps 800,000 people have been displaced (Economist, 1999). This point is important, especially when someone try to understand the following question; “How could they justify their drug dealing?”

One other distinct characteristic of these groups is that they are all involved in illegal drug business, in one way or another. Aside from financial needs of the organizations, there are some other characteristics, which are slightly different for each group, that give them advantageous in drug dealing. First, they are in close proximity to drug producing areas and/or transitting routes. Second, Diaspora (a group of people belonging to same race, athnicity, or religion who migrated from their own county[ies]) of several hundred thousand people allaround the world which enables extensive communication and organizational structure for any kind od activity. Lastly, there seem not to be a big concern among people and authorities in all three countries regarding drug consumption. These arguments will be studied in depth in the following case studies.

CHAPTER III

THE KURDISTAN WORKERS' PARTY (THE PKK)

All terrorist groups begin with a few dedicated idealists, no money, no training and few concrete ideas. In the progression from fringe radicals to recognized terrorists, all groups must first acquire some income; second, they have to buy some arms; and third, they have to achieve international recognition that will help gather donations from supporters outside the organization.

These case studies investigate three insurgent groups that are allegedly seeking their fare share from the global illegal drug business: One from Turkey: Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), one from Sri Lanka: The Liberation Tiger of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), and the other one from Peru: Shining Path.

Throughout the paper, rather than cursing “bloody”, “inhumane”, and “merciless” actions of these insurgent groups, a neutral stand was taken. Because, in terrorism there are no black and white areas rather this term is shaped by its large gray area that changes by different perceptions. At the initial state, U.S. Department of State's (2000a) “Foreign Terrorist Organizations” listing used as starting point to select the groups under study. Even this list also has some bias given to the U.S politics and vagueness of the term [terrorism] itself, but it is far more objective than some other existing categorical lists.

History, Ideology and Operations

Some authors see the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) movement as a reawakening of Kurdish national consciousness. By the end of the 19th century, given the nationalistic stirrings all around the world, the Ottoman Empire's attempt of enlarging centralization caused unrest in the region. Several revolts against the Ottoman state were suppressed rigidly. These initial actions constituted the first wave. The second wave came in the early years of the newly founded Turkish Republic over the ashes of the Ottoman Empire. The central government's extension of political, cultural, economic and social role was met with Kurdish resistance. The Seyh Sait rebellion of 1925, which initially was interpreted correctly by the government as a Kurdish and religious reaction, was followed by the 1930 Agri and 1937-1938 Dersim [Tunceli] revolts that fit in the second wave (Barkey, 1998 and Rugman, 1996). Lastly, the PKK, the self-proclaimed "savior" of Kurdish people, showed up in the first half of the 1980s with armed guerillas, violence, and blood as the third wave.

In 1974, a new group, more of a thought, has emerged in the midst of a political turmoil and economic hardship in Turkey: PKK. Criss (1995) documented the initiation of the group. According to her, the story of the PKK began with a Kurdish student [Abdullah Ocalan] at the Political Science Faculty of Ankara University. Ocalan, first inspired by the revolutionary leftist thought of Turkish People's Liberation Army and became a member of the left-wing Revolutionary Youth Organization. However, the rather prejudiced attitude of the left made him believe in a "Kurdish National Liberation Movement" and he distanced himself from the Turkish left. Because they, contrary to his

wish, hypothetically divided the country [Turkey] into separated zones, leaving the eastern to Kurdistan but not as a separate state rather a part of the big colorful picture. His early works focused on exploitation of Kurds in Southeast Turkey and suggested that the Kurds should determine their own faith (Poulton, 1997). Between 1974 and 1978, Ocalan only studied the theories of revolutionary thought to get a foothold and establish a party. Thus, the PKK was formally launched in 1978 to achieve a communist revolution by guerilla warfare. The target was to create a separate Kurdish state but at that time there was neither a guerilla army nor arms to initiate this aim (Criss, 1995). And, ironically, this initiation stage of the organization was started not in the rural guerilla camps or a remote eastern village but in the capital of Turkey: Ankara.

According to Gunter (1997), in November 1978 seven central committee members formally established the PKK in a village in Diyarbakir province of Turkey. The seven founders including the supreme, undisputed leader Abdullah Ocalan (also known as Apo and/or president Apo) and his wife Kesire Yildirim (later separated) became the central committee members, as well. Ocalan fled to Syria in May 1979 where he established contacts to obtain training for his group. Then, PKK recruits were sent to Palestine for military and political training.

By 1980 armed PKK militants infiltrated back into the country to wage a campaign, but it was not until August 1984, when the PKK launched its military operations against the state, that the authorities became aware of the “real” PKK (Barkey, 1998). Starting then, the PKK emerged as a rising threat against to the state both as armed militants and supporters. The allied operation against Iraq, or the Gulf War, has created an unexpected opportunity for this group. When Iraqi Kurds, protected by the “no flight

zone” umbrella, established a de facto state in northern Iraq, it allowed the PKK to set-up permanent bases there. That in turn, led to a rise in the groups armed actions within Turkey, as well.

The PKK has quite a professional structure that is not different than any other large-scale terrorist organization. It is comprised of a political nucleus, the party consists of an ultimate leader, leadership committee, and a central committee/executive committee; its fulltime fighting force, the Kurdistan National Liberation Army (ARGK), and a popular front, the Kurdistan National Liberation Front (ERNK) (Poulton, 1997 and Gunter 1997). The ERNK, set up in 1985, is supposedly responsible for political work such as mass activities (press meeting, public gatheringd, and alike) and support activities (training, recruiting, logistic, finance and alike). The ARGK, set up in 1986, carry out the armed campaign as a professional guerilla army. It has a military-like organizational structure that consists of Military Units, Local Units, and Peoples’ Defense Units. The ARGK functions under the General Military Council, and Field Commands, Provincial Military Councils, Regional Command Offices and Local Stations come under it. The organizational structure tends to resemble regular armies, which is the ultimate aim of the organization. Other sub organs include several Patriotic Unions, a PKK affiliated news agency and a satellite broadcasting TV [MED-TV] (Gunter, 1997). Besides the formal party structure there were several hundred legal/semi legal supporter and/or sympathizer organizations and associations working all around the world (mainly in Europe) (Department, 1996).

Robbing and smuggling was the main method of financing its activities and enlarging its cadres at the initial phase. Around the military coup of 12 September 1980,

PKK leaders left Turkey for the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley, where they found the sanctuary they needed for a strong hold in terrorism and “professionalism”. Subsequent years have seen a rise both in number of cadres and actions (Criss, 1995). By 1984, a decade after the creation of the PKK, the organization was ready to wage an armed campaign. For over a decade, Turkey has engaged in armed conflict with the PKK, whose goal is a separate state of Kurdistan in Southeastern Turkey. At the end of the decade PKK gained substantial ground with an active cadre of over 10,000 guerrillas fighting in rural areas. Besides, several training camps and shelters were operational both in Turkey and neighboring countries like Iran, Iraq and Syria (Gultekin, 2000).

The ever-growing PKK activity inside the Turkish borders pushed the government to take some drastic measures. In 1987, a state of emergency that allows regional governors to exercise certain quasi-military martial laws declared in six southeastern provinces (U.S., 2000). But the initial response of the government of Turkey proved not to be very efficient, and the PKK expanded its activities and violence in the region.

The PKK campaign of violence effectively restricts the public's freedom to travel after dark in certain regions. PKK terrorists also committed random killings, including some in tourist areas, in their effort to intimidate the populace. PKK militants frequently killed noncombatants, targeted village officials, village guards, teachers, and other perceived representatives of the state. Human rights abuses such as extra judicial killings, kidnappings, extortion, and destruction of property were typical methods of the PKK. It was one of the several groups who had successfully employed suicide bombers against its foe (Weapons, 1995 and U.S., 2000). Subsequently, especially the second half of the 1990s, have taken a different course for the PKK. Its initial success did not last too long.

The PKK suffered severe setbacks since 1998, due to more professional counter-terrorism approaches of the government. The group's second in command was arrested in March 1998. Then, the PKK leader was expelled from Syria, and detained for three months until January in Italy where he was soon thereafter apprehended. Detention of its, unquestionable leader Abdullah Ocalan (a.k.a. President APO) in Italy signaled the beginning of the end for the PKK, at least in terms of military campaign. Late in the year, the PKK intensified its campaign of random killing and suicide bombings that caused several deaths and many injuries to protest the arrest of its leader. In February the government captured PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan in Kenya and transferred him to Turkey. In June he was tried in a State Security Court on the charge of treason through trying to separate part of the country from government control (i.e., sedition) and sentenced to death. His sentence was upheld in November, and the case is pending before the European Court of Human Rights (Weapons, 1995).

After his capture and trial, Ocalan called for PKK members to leave Turkey and commit themselves to a peaceful resolution of the Kurdish problem. The PKK briefly declared and then suspended a cease-fire in September, following the pattern of previous unilateral cease-fires, all of which ended with renewed PKK violence. The current situation shows a lower rate of PKK terrorist acts following recent developments (Saldiri, 1999 and Ankara, 2001)

The initial position of the PKK has also been changed during this time. The PKK started as a Marxist-Leninist movement heavily drawing upon ethnic identity, for the purpose of establishing a separate state or a federation in Eastern and Southeastern Turkey. The PKK succeeded to form a basis in the region by using violence, frightening

people, and performing propaganda activities. In the following years, especially since 1995, drastic changes have been observed in the organization's political orientation. The group's initial Marxist-Leninist rhetoric was not prominent, but the party still holds Leninist features of democratic centralism (Barkey, 1998). Some also argued that rather than Marxism, they started to address an ideology of "scientific socialism" (White, 1998). However, the most prominent shift in the ideology was in the concept of religion.

The PKK has moved away from an earlier condemnation, which could be seen in its 1977 party programme, of religion to acceptance of Islam (Barkey, 1998). The conservative and traditional nature of the region forced the PKK to take a moderate stance against the religion, mostly due to its propaganda and support value of the position. Especially in the 1994 local elections the RP (a religiously oriented political party) became the first among all other parties and this seemed to affect the PKK's position. In fact, its fifth congress brought some new concepts that made way for the changes. At that congress, delegates rejected the concept of Soviet socialism and an emphasis was given to political and diplomatic activities as well as guerrilla warfare. Following the 1994 elections, Ocalan proclaimed that the campaign mounted by the group was in harmony with the religious rhetoric of Islam. They further moved towards acceptance of an Islamist movement (Parti Islami Kurdistan) within the pro-PKK parliament in exile (Barkey, 1998; Kirisci, 1997 and White, 1998).

Even Ocalan's views on separate state of Kurdistan seemed to change drastically. Ocalan, and also other PKK spokesmen, announced in March 1994 that the party was open to all solutions and that it did not intend to divide Turkey up. Later he repeated similar opinions stating that the federation should not necessarily be prone to a separate

state. But all these fluctuations by the federation-like state were considered pragmatic deviations and not detrimental to the initial objective of setting up a separate Kurdish state (Kirisci, 1997 and Rugman, 1996).

Aside from its rhetoric PKK's operational tactics proved that it firmly believed in and applied Fanons' theory of rural guerrilla warfare, blended with Maoist rural warfare strategy. During its active armed campaign, the PKK continued to commit politically motivated extra judicial killings, primarily in rural southeast Turkey. The range of their targets had expanded to include economic and military, as well as civilian (Kirisci, 1997). Victims included state officials (law enforcement officers, local mayors, imams-Muslim priest, and schoolteachers), state-paid paramilitary village guards and their family members, young villagers who refused to be recruited, and PKK guerrillas-turned-informants.

The main purpose behind the target selection was to weaken state presence and hinder its ability to provide basic public services. Creating a line drawn by hatred between communities was another aim of the PKK. Since 1984 the separatist PKK has waged a violent terrorist insurgency, which claimed lives of more than 30,000 people (U.S., 2000). The armed campaign was carried out through the "teachings" of Mao, Guevara, and Marighella. As the "masters" of the guerilla warfare preached targets focused on symbols of government authority, attacks were carried out by surprise; nights became the kingdom of the terrorist (Guevara, 1999).

Since the 1984 starting of an armed campaign, the PKK has grown as one of the largest terrorist groups around the world. The PKK recruited lower class mostly Kurdish peasants and alike who form the majority of the regional population and ready to fight

Kurdish tribal leaders as well as the authorities. At its zenith, between 1991-1993, initial seven central committee members of the PKK grew to a full-scale military machine.

According to official figures, the number of ARGK was between 2,000-3,000 guerillas, where as Ocalan himself put the figure around 10, 000 (Gunter, 19997). Even the chief spokesman for the PKK stated that there were over 35,000 guerrillas 3,000 of which were women (Rugman, 1996).

Financing

In a decade the organization, with its active cadres of tens of thousands of guerrillas and several hundred thousand active supporters, became one of the most active, effective and largest terrorist group operating in the Middle East region and in most of the European countries (Gunter, 1997). This success in terms of “enlargement” and “offensive campaign” brought rigorous organizational demands along with it. Previously stated requirements such as support networks, training, transportation and etc., demand money and material. Based on these reasons, large-scale terrorist organizations are involved in organized criminal activities, including illegal drugs (Interpol 1999).

Tracing of financial sources of terrorist organizations in general has shown clearly that, for some groups, illicit drug trafficking constitutes some portion of overall income of the organizations operating throughout the globe. The PKK is no exception to this trend. It uses every possible, politically accepted or not, option to raise money (Interpol, 1999).

The PKK used the Diaspora and Turkish migrants living European Continent as bridgeheads, with the players setting up networks to earn cash for its cause. It is observed that the PKK got in touch with international illicit drug trafficking organizations to meet the requirements of the arms and logistics of its militant cadre, which has carrying out an armed campaign in Turkey. Profits gained from drug dealing gave them the financial relief they have sought. Criss (1995) states that the PKK, in order to finance its activities, turned to robbing jewelry stores and getting involved in drug trafficking. Aside from drugs, the PKK also employs other covert and overt activities to raise funds.

Extortion became a regular tool to fill out the war chest. The PKK raised a good amount of money from the estimated 500,000 Kurds working [or not] in Europe and business that are forced the pay revolutionary taxes. Some called this as “voluntary gifts” or a “revolutionary tax,” but to others this is plain “extorsion of funds’ or a “racket” (Gunter, 1997). The British National Criminal Intelligence reported that in 1993, alone, PKK extorted 2.5 million pounds from immigrants and businesses within the country (Criss, 1995). It mostly takes monthly contributions paid by the members of the PKK and sub-organizations such as the Union of the Patriotic - Revolutionary Youth of Kurdistan (YCK), the Union for the Promotion of Culture (YRWK) and other front organizations. According to International Police Organization (Interpol) sources, the amount of the required monthly due is determined during the discussions among the committee members. For example, in Germany in 1993, a PKK sympathizer receiving welfare benefits was expected to contribute between 20 and 50 DM per month, whereas the front organizations were estimated to pay 80,000 DM a month, excluding income from publications. By 1995, the contributions exceeded 466,500 DM more than a five-fold

increase. The 1995 targets set for “contributions” by the European Headquarters, the net sum of which was supposed to be transferred to the Central Finance Office, amounted to one million German Marks (Interpol 1999).

Robbery proved to be another profitable source of income (Criss, 1995). PKK has an intricately structured network at its disposal that makes it possible to reach most of the Turkish Nationals of Kurdish origin who live in Europe, especially in Germany. Most PKK publications are sold, with threats/coercion and use of physical force, at Kurdish clubs and associations and in connection with various events to persons interested in the PKK’s cause. The increasing numbers of complaints regarding extortion of donations and taxation in Europe are being filed having a PKK background. In 1997 alone 79 cases of extortion have been reported to German police and in 46 percent of those cases physical force was used (Interpol 1999).

On Sept. 18, 1996 operation “Spoutnik” was started with the simultaneous actions of the Luxembourg, Belgium Police and Scotland Yard targeting the PKK’s screen company; MED TV Broadcasting Ltd. The operation initiated following the allegations of MED TV’s involvement in money laundering. MED TV over the satellite started broadcasting in May 1995 through the Independent Television Commission based in London. They had a huge budget in mid-august of 1995. With the yearly rental cost of the transponder estimated at \$ 3.2 million and considerable amount of staff, broadcasts represent an important financial outlay for the organization. MED TV Broadcasting Ltd. affirmed to have enough means to broadcast one or two more years without any financial problem. This TV station provides daily news and commentary on Kurdish world aside from regulars PKK’s communications, Ocalan’s speeches, calls for violent offensives,

particularly suicidal ones. This TV Company has always stressed their financial independence pretending to have their members' volunteer contribution. However, as a result of the Sputnik operation, the seizure of 350 million Belgium Francs, equivalent of 8 million US Dollars, belonging to MED TV in a Luxembourg Bank, revealed that this money simply comes from drugs, arms, and human smuggling contrary to the PKK's vehement denial. This operation also revealed an extremely complicated financial construction, with branches to other European countries and Canada and that the PKK disposed of 15 companies, used for money laundering operations (Interpol 1999).

Underlying Reasons for the PKK's Dealing with Illegal Drugs

Drug trafficking became one of the most lucrative [illegal] businesses of today's world was an alluring area of finance for the PKK. The PKK did not need an exclusive organizational structure to deal with drugs, its already existing migrant Diaspora of supporters in European countries was the necessary tool for street dealing and further, major drug [mainly heroin] routes toward the consuming zones were passing through its area of operation. The organization found itself in an irresistible situation in times, when money is the main tool for success. The appeal of the easy and voluminous money became a magnet, sucking the PKK right in middle of the drugs.

The terrorist organization is in need of sources of income with considerable amounts of cash due to the armed campaign it maintains and the interior organizational structure it bears. Illegal drug business is one of the avenues for easy access to the money needed. Furthermore, the PKK organization has considerable advantage, which come

from its origins and operational era, in the illegal trade compared to some other groups. According to Turkish authorities, the most noticeable of these advantages are listed below (Department, 1996).

Turkey's geographical position makes it a major transit route for Southwest Asian (Golden Crescent Region) opiates moving to Europe, and for some synthetic drugs to the Middle east and Turkey. Turkey remains one of the major transit routes for the flow of Southwest Asian heroin to Europe. Via the Balkan Route, (a hypothetical drug smuggling route starting from Turkey and splitting several braces before reaching to the European markets) a considerable amount of heroin travels through Turkey en route to western European markets. Drug Enforcement Administration of US (DEA) estimates the monthly heroin transit figure between 4 to 6 tonnes (DEA Report, 1998).

Despite the emergence of some other alternative and challenging routes, mainly, due to the collapse of communist block, the Balkan route is still the leading way for drug markets. It is estimated that about 75 percent of the heroin smuggled into Europe is transported through the Balkan route. As much as 75 percent of heroin seized in Europe has a Turkish connection; having either transited through Turkey; been processed there; or been seized in connection with Turkish criminal syndicates (Van, 1998).

Coincidentally, the PKK also operates either in the form of the ARGK (guerilla army) or the ERNK (popular front) in the stretches of the Balkan Route. Thus, the organization during its routine activities regularly comes into contact with drugs and drug smugglers.

Another important reason for PKK's involvement in the drug business would be the high profits derived from illicit drug trafficking. Heroin –worth 12 times its weight in gold - is by far the most profitable commodity on the market. A kilogram of heroin, worth \$1,000 to 2,000 in Thailand or Afghanistan, rises to \$ 6,000 to 8, 000 in Turkey, wholesales for \$20,000 to 80,0000 in Germany with a street value of \$200,000. This difference in price is so striking that within Turkey 1 kg heroin costs 40 percent cheaper in a drug-entry point compared to existing prices in a distribution point, namely Istanbul (Department, 1995).

Prices of drugs through the distribution system multiply after being transited over thousands of kilometers from production zones to consumption locales. Thus, would-be potential of gathering large sums of hard cash allures not only organized criminal groups but also the PKK, which is in need of mounting cash. The following table (TNP, 1996) of price structure of the drug market in some countries reflects the “opportunities” waiting out there.

Table 2: Price structure of the drug market.

Country	Heroin		Cocaine		Hashish	
	1 grs.	1 kgs.	1 grs.	1 kgs.	1 grs.	1 kgs.
Denmark	130-200		130-165		6.5-8	
Germany	20-200	20,000-80,000	26-200	26,000-92,000	2.6-10	1,300-4,000
Italy	90-120	25,000-30,000	90-150	18,000-27,000	5-7	1,500-2,500
Sweden	130-200		130-200		13-16	
Turkey	30-40	9,000-11,500	100-200	40,000-60,000	5-7(piece)	250-400
U.K.	140	28,000-47,000	125	35,000-47,000	100 (ounce)	2,600-3,800

Figures are given in USA Dollars.

It should be taken into consideration that drug prices vary according to its purity and distance to source.

Source: Department of Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime: Drug Connection of PKK Terrorist Organization.

Members of the organization are widespread throughout Europe. These supporters, most of which have refugee status, as well, gather at the associations acting under the PKK umbrella and the refugee camps and safe houses to widen their activities. Living in close quarters with the PKK militants makes them vulnerable to [either by intimidation or voluntarily] drug businesses. This group of people makes the street level drug dealers for the drugs that have already been transported to these countries.

According to a German broadcasting TV [SAT-1] that aired a documentary regarding Turkish nationals of Kurdish origin conducting illicit drug trafficking, during a routine search conducted by German police, a German heroin addict and a Kurdish dealer were apprehended. There was a set of keys on the person of the dealer for the flats where Kurdish refugees resided. Further searches in the residences revealed propaganda materials, the PKK and Abdullah OCALAN posters aside from ready-to-sell drugs. It was concluded that the PKK was financing its combat via heroin trade, and the Kurds never hesitate to use their children for that purpose, since no penalties were imposed on children under age fourteen (Department, 1998a).

The already existing structure of the PKK allows them to not only carry out the armed campaign but to deal with drugs, as well. Various front organizations, disguised as socio-cultural associations (Kurdish Committees) and so-called “information centers” are manipulated and guided by the PKK’s popular front (ERNK). These organizations provided all the vital needs such as political, moral, and financial support for the existence of the PKK. At the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, European countries opened their borders and allowed the members to flood into Europe. On one

hand, armed guerillas operating hand in hand with the smugglers at the hatch of the Balkan heroin route and on the other hand 100s of front organizations flourishing in the drug-end user European countries (Department, 1995).

The PKK and Illegal Drugs

Those developments created an environment conducive to drug business. The region has traditionally been [and still is] a major conduit for drug trafficking; especially under conditions of guerrilla warfare and lawlessness [as in Northern Iraq] many organizations and individuals are profiting from trade. The temptation of the large profits to be made further fuels the trend. Some of the authors and reports (Poulton, 1997; Barkey, 1998; Rugman, 1996 and U.S., 1999) pointed to the PKK's involvement in drugs with some caution. Some other reports, on the other hand, detailed the organizations involvement in drug schemes and even made estimates about the money collected via the business (Gunter, 1997 and Criss, 1995). Furthermore the Interpol and Turkish authorities offered some insight to the PKK's business following a detailed case-by-case approach (Interpol, 1999; Department, 1996; 1997; 1998).

Even former PKK members revealed the link. Selim Curukkaya (a.k.a. Tilki), former PKK leader, after sentenced to death by the organization, fled to Germany and mentioned that he has made a considerable amount of money from drug deals. Chief prosecutor of Frankfurt, Germany alleged that 80 percent of the drugs seized in Europe have PKK connection and that the money generated from drug dealing is used to purchase arms (Gunter, 1997). Gunter (1997) also mentions an anecdote from a writer,

who was told by a PKK fighter “the smugglers and guerillas work together.” A similar case supporting Curukkaya’s statement was presented in a Turkish report: “Hakki KITAY, godfather of the KITAY drug trafficking network, subsequent to his arrest in 1996, stated that he has smuggled drugs for the PKK and transferred the money to the organization through Selim Çürükkaya, at that time, financial affairs officer of the PKK in Germany.” He revealed further information pointing his connection with the organization. “Kitay also mentioned that his brother was killed in an armed clash between security forces. His son, after training in Bekaa Mahsun Korkmaz Training Academy of the PKK, became a member of the ARGK field unit under field commander Mahmut Çürükkaya (a.k.a. “Dr.süleyman”) who is the brother of Selim Çürükkaya. He joined the meetings of the organization in which they discussed the transport of heroin from Turkey to Europe” (Department, 1998a).

A case from the Interpol Criminal Data Bank (ICIS) uncovers PKK-illegal business connection: Following the murder of a Huseyin AKPINAR in Belgium on 26-27/06/1993 a series of investigations were carried covering five countries. The deceased, previous to his death, had contacts in international heroin circles and was arrested on various occasions for heroin trafficking and was in close contact with several drug ring members. One of his contacts, a certain Muhittin ERIK, was working as a clandestine drug lab assistant for the notorious BAYBASIN family who was very well known as PKK members in many Interpol projects. Interpol found out that ERIK who previously committed a murder in Amsterdam in 1992, also murdered AKPINAR for the motive of the non-delivery and non-payment of 40 kilos of heroin. Information obtained by Interpol revealed that on the day of the murder, ERIK and his friends also participated in pro-PKK

demonstrations. The investigation referred among others to one Salih UCAR who has also been granted refugee status and was involved in various cases of extortion on behalf of the PKK. They conclude that the victim kept the drugs on behalf of the PKK and he was murdered with the instructions of BAYBASINs after the non-delivery of 40 kilos of heroin (Interpol, 1999).

Turkish official reports suggest that in the late 1980s, illicit drug traffickers operating in Turkey began to heroin manufacturing instead of transiting heroin obtained from the source Golden Crescent region. Thus, they first purchased raw material [base morphine] then converted it into heroin in clandestine laboratories and shipped to Europe, and increase their profit several folds. According to Observatoire Geopolitique Des Drugs (OGD), “the rebel Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) has set up laboratories in areas under its control and organized distribution networks in Europe. Mafias, feudal paramilitaries, and guerrillas are all in fierce competition to control the profits from the heroin trade” (Observatoire, 2000).

A report by the Turkish National police reveals that 18 people, among others, arrested in 15 different lab cases were found to be members of the terrorist organization. They further pin the connection with a latest drug case:

In 1995, in Tekirdag Province when anti-terrorist units raided a known PKK member's dwelling, by surprise, they discovered a clandestine narcotic laboratory. The group was conducting domestic and foreign marketing of drugs and supplying financial support to the PKK organization by transferring 10 percent of the profit derived through heroin smuggling (Department, 1998a).

Smuggling has a long tradition within the East & Southeast regions of Turkey. Common ties of language, culture, and religion among the residents of Southeast Turkey, Northern Iraq, and Northwest Iran encouraged the smugglers. Seeing already existing opportunity, the PKK used these ties and nourished its insurgent uprising. Rising sympathy for Kurdish people in Europe, gave the PKK another opportunity to control and channel people who seek refugee statuses within the European Community (Department, 1996). According to a Turkish report (1998a), some of these refugees directed into drug business, as well: “On April 1993, in Içel province several PKK members were arrested during an anti-terrorist operation. Arrested PKK members stated that in the summer of 1992, two men from Batman province offered one of them to smuggle drugs into Germany, which he accepted. However once he was there German police seized the drugs when he managed to flee. Furthermore, they were told to go on which they could not do due to lack of financing. Thus, they were asked to give 300,000 to 400,000 DM for the loose drugs. As soon as they explained that they did not have money to pay for the loose drugs, PKK's military commander in Mersin (a.k.a. Siphon) and another PKK rank from Germany intimidated them but somehow they got their way out of the situation.” The interesting point about these people was that they were not ordinary drug smugglers rather, convicts who were charged with being a PKK member. One of them was arrested for shooting and wounding a police officer, while another one arrested and convicted for armed robbery and attempted murder charges. All of these crimes were which politically motivated. This case, among others, reveals how the PKK deals with drugs, and how the organization becomes a mediator in drug deals.

Turkish official reports (1998a; 1996) present some other interesting findings that suggest the organizations involvement in illicit drugs. According to reports, once the organization realized the highly profitable nature of the drug business, getting its fair share by demanding 'transit fees' from smugglers in eastern Turkey was not enough. As previously stated, transiting drugs from source to market and retailing them provides the opportunity to substantially increase the money returning to the organization. The already existing structure in Europe consists of asylum seeking Kurdish people considered to be a perfect drug runner ring, as well. The program aired by German SAT-1 TV channel has explained the dynamics of the scheme.

One Kitay drug family member, Sertif Kitay, stated that he has seen and done some "street-level" drug dealing, in addition to, delivery [marketing] of organizational publications to a refugee camp in Germany in 1992 where he remained until his 'political refugee' status was granted by the authorities (Department, 1998a). In the same report some other indicators point the same direction, as well. A comparative analysis of the numbers of Turkish nationals apprehended in Germany and the PKK associations or cultural clubs in this country provides further insight into the PKK drug link. (Department, 1995)

Table 3: PKK associations in Germany.

Federal State	1992	1993	PKK Associations
Nordrhein-Westfalen	1239	1187	34
Bayern(Bavyera)	328	428	17
Hessen	707	567	6
Baden-Württemberg	409	286	11
Hamburg	804	576	7
Berlin	391	339	11
Nieder Sachsen	171	255	10
Bremen	249	223	11
Schleswig-Holstein	89	78	1
Rheinland-Pfalz	66	51	1
Saarland	10	10	1
Brandenburg	1	2	1
Mecklenburg	-	-	1
Sachsen(Saksonya)	5	-	1
Sachsen-Anhalt	1	-	1
Thüringen	-	2	1
Unknown	55		

Source: Department of Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime: Drug Connection of PKK Terrorist Organization.

Even though, that would not be considered as concrete evidence, the existing correlation between number of associations and number of suspects raises some serious questions. In fact, the trend is not only distinctive for Germany but bears similar outcomes throughout Europe (Department, 1995).

One other indicator is also worth mentioning. That is the overall number of Turkish citizens involved in drug offenses throughout the World. But it is worth mentioning that more than 90 percent of the indictments were made within the European countries. According to “Turkish Drug Reports” (from 1994 to 1999) the numbers were as follows:

Table 4: Number of Turkish drug offenders in foreign countries.

1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
738	1042	1066	941	863	744	582	521	398

Source: Department of Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime: Annual Drug Reports.

One of the important reason that this trend occurred is the PKK's realization of the side effects of the drug business. In his statement Ocalan mentions that in the 1990s he advised his subordinates to stop drug dealing since that was detrimental to their political cause (Ankara, 2001). Figures above reflect the concern announced by 'president' Ocalan. Even though we do not know the exact date of his speech when he raised concerns about drugs, it is probably around 1992 or 1993. Interestingly enough, following his speech the number of Turkish citizens arrested in foreign countries showed a constant decrease.

By the end of the 1980s there was a growing sympathy towards Kurdish people, and the European countries have proved to be generous in granting these people political refugee status. They have exercised very little control on refugees. This helped the PKK organize these people and take control of drug markets in the European countries (Department, 1996).

Some cases revealed by the police investigations seem to verify the PKK-street drug-dealing link. In Germany, the Stuttgart Police's crack-down operations on street dealers started in late January 1994. Following a six-week period the operation resulted in seizures of 76 Kurdish origin Turkish people. Almost all the arrestees were political refugees and, among them, there were 6 people who previously were convicted in Turkey in relation to PKK terrorist organization with charges ranging from aiding and abetting and armed strikes against military posts. A similar incident occurred in 1993 in Recklinghausen province of Germany where 15 individuals [Turkish citizens] were arrested for possession of 1.6 kg. of heroin. Of those individuals, three of them were

former convicts charged with armed attacks and being members of the terrorist organization (Department, 1998a).

The code of secrecy is an essential element within a drug trafficking network. All the jobs were delegated by need to know basis and highly professionalized and sophisticated structure of the organizations put layers among each level or people assuming different responsibilities. When hierarchy and secrecy that strict in a drug trafficking network, then the situation within the terrorist groups is even stricter. Since, they have a lot to loose in terms of political support, the PKK and any other terrorist organizations rigidly stand against any statement that suggests a link between them and illegal drugs.

According to Turkish authorities, “it has been brought to public attention by both the works of Turkish Narcotic Police within its organization, and joint work with its European counterparts that PKK organizes illicit drug trafficking.” The Turkish authorities established links between 138 drug cases and PKK organization, which led seizure of more than twenty tons of illegal drugs (Department, 1999).

As Solomon (1996) quoted, the U.S. reports state that the PKK received money to protect drug labs in eastern Turkey, the crossroads and production center for Afghan heroin on its way to Europe and North America. The PKK used the money, which estimates put at \$500 million annually, to buy guns for its struggle to establish an autonomous Kurdish state within Turkey. An Interpol report (1999), however, concludes that more than 100 cases - in which more than 15 tons of different types of drug reaching a base value of millions were seized - exist in their files (ICIS). These cases have shown

clear links between the PKK and international drug trafficking, executions within criminal organizations, money laundering, and extortion.

In fact, the figures given by Turkish authorities overlap with the Interpol findings. According to Interpol, in their data bank, they have over 100 cases in which depicting the PKK members` involvement in drug trafficking. They further conclude that more than 15 tons of different types of drug reaching a base value of million US dollars were seized (Interpol, 1999). Even Ocalan himself, rather naively, admitted the accusations by saying that ‘our organization has no relation or whatsoever with illegal drug business, but our ranks in Van and Hakkari regions have taken their fair share from the existing illegal drug trade’ (Ankara, 2001).

As a result it could be said that the secretive nature of the business and precaution given by the terrorist groups have always been made it hard to prove the link between drugs and the organization itself. However, the information presented here suggest that the PKK involved in the drug business not only ‘demanding transit fees from drug dealers, but also directly mixed up with the illegal business. Even their supreme leader felt it necessary to inform his cadres about the probable political implications of ‘the business.’

Even though the reliability of the information supplied by Turkish authorities is questionable, mostly because of its counter-propaganda value, international sources such as the Drug Enforcement Administration of the U.S.A., OGD, and Interpol also support the findings of the Turkish authorities and, to a degree, declare the PKK`s involvement in drug trafficking.

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDY: THE LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM (THE LTTE)

Within only three decades, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has emerged as one of the most feared terrorist organizations in the world. They have assassinated heads of states and set up a global network to fund their terrorist activities. The Tigers spun a massive web. It ranged from the northern Sri Lanka to North America, there to Europe where ethno-religious and linguistic ties facilitated operations.

History

The roots of the Tamil struggle goes back to the ninetieth century. Today, some 3 million Tamils that make up 18 percent of the total population live in Sri Lanka, formerly known as Ceylon. Britain took control of the island in 1815 and established a plantation economy. In 1931, the British granted Ceylon self-rule and a universal franchise. On Feb. 04, 1948 Ceylon became independent, but that was not an end to gloomy days, rather it was a beginning of a series of long lasting, mainly ethnic, problems.

The British colonial policy of divide and rule sowed the seeds of renewed tension between Sinhalese (75 percent of the population) and Tamil (18 percent) communities after independence. Tamils, contrary to their small number, were given a disproportionate number of top jobs in the civil service. Once the Sinhalese majority held sway, its politicians sought to redress the balance with populist and also discriminatory policies

against the Tamils. The figures regarding “ethnic distribution in certain government positions”, in 1947 and 1982 given in the tables respectively, clearly reflect the phenomenon mentioned above (Vaidik, 1986. p.75).

Table 5: Ethnic distribution in certain government positions in Sri Lanka.

Permanent secretaries	4	66.7	2	33.3
Ceylon civil services	52	71.24	21	28.76
Police	13	76.5	4	23.5
Medical Services	142	67.3	69	32.70
Inland Revenue	13	48.2	14	51.8
Irrigation Dept.	11	31.43	24	68.57
Public Works Dept.	34	54	29	46
Ceylon Gov. Railways	6	42.86	8	57.14
Total	275	61.64	171	38.34

Secretaries to Ministries	39	95.12	2	4.88
Heads of Dept.s	224	79.15	46	16.25
Additional Secretaries	25	83.33	4	13.33
Assistants	892	81.24	171	15.57
Other Secretaries	107	89.17	9	7.50
Chairmen of Corporations	86	88.66	6	6.19
Deputies	394	76.06	100	19.31
All other senior grades	2232	76.57	559	19.18
Total	3999	78.38	897	17.58

Source: Ethnic Crisis in Sri Lanka: India's Options.

It is clear that in certain jobs the Tamil had exceeded the Sinhals even though, their relatively small population within the country. But this picture has changed rapidly with the spread of education among the Sinhals and their rising aspiration for benefits from the government establishment. These policies resulted in Tamils losing their positions in general, and their ratio of employment, in some state departments (Vaidik, 1986).

Following the 1956 elections tension among Sinhalese and Tamil communities grew due to “Sinhala only” ethnic propaganda of the Sri Lanka Freedom Parties (SLFP).

They based their campaign on “one language only for the nation-the language of the majority- Sinhala” slogan. This attitude led to Tamils demands for equality of status for both languages and for greater autonomy for Tamil areas, which generated anxieties about a Tamil separatist movement and threatened the integrity of the state. Economic hardship, unemployment, and the rise of discontented youth groups have created unrest among not only the Sinhalese youth, but also Tamils and produced violence prone insurgency movements-the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) among the Sinhala and the Liberation Tigers of Eelam (LTTE) among the Tamils (Rotberg, 1999; Manor, 1984).

The government policy of restrictive admission to the university, discrimination in recruitment to government jobs, and Sinhala colonization of Tamil areas has created an army of unemployed and frustrated young Tamil men. Dissatisfied with the non-violent parliamentary approach of their middle class leaders, who generally belonged to the high castes, the Tamil youth chose to blaze their own trail by turning on to open violence. As a result of the pressure arising from the Tamil youth, the Tamil Federal Party changed its name and manifestation, becoming the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), committed to an independent Tamil state.

The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) [a legal political Tamil party] had to bow to pressure of public opinion in expressing its sympathy with the 'boys' who used to be killed in the police action. The police and the military received the strongest condemnation from the TULF platforms. But these actions are far from satisfying the stranded Tamil youth, who are also called “Tamil terrorists”, had started making attempts on the lives of some pro-government politicians, first of which initiated on June 1972 and

on January 1973. TULF members took oath to sacrifice everything to make Tamils independent of Sinhala domination after the suicide of one member (Vaidik, 1986)

A more extremist group named Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam established within the youth movement following a series of changes. The Tigers claim that they originated in 1972 by members of the Tamil Student's Union (Fuglerud, 1999). However, they did not begin to operate as an organization -the Tamil New Tigers (TNT)- until 1974 by the leadership of a former common criminal, Chetti Tanabalsingham.

Vellupillai Prabhakaran who is still the leader of the LTTE, first developed the military organization of the TNT, and later, in 1973, he founded the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. According to LTTE sources, the leadership of the V. Pirabakaran founded the Tamil National Army, so called LTTE, on May 5, 1976 (Liberation, 2000).

Ideology

In the mid-1970s they reconstituted themselves as the extremist revolutionary Marxist-leaning "Liberation Tigers" and emerged as the spearhead of Tamil separatism. They were prepared to use extreme terror and violence, which they did, in the pursuit of an independent Tamil homeland-Eelam, to include Tamil dominated Northern and Eastern provinces of the Sri Lanka.

During the late-1970s, the Tamil Tigers were few in numbers and limited in scope. Initially, their aims were to murder and terrorize moderate Tamil politicians and police. Their number was around one hundred and they operated in four groups around the Jaffna peninsula (Rotberg, 1999).

The emergence of the LTTE marked a dramatic change in the political situation in Sri Lanka. Now the state had to contend with a group that resorted to violence for political secession. As recruitment increased, mainly composed of students, operations were extended and bank robberies provided the vital income for the initiation of the war. Aside from robberies, the LTTE exercised planned acts of violence such as damaging state property, and assassinating members of the police and the army as well as others, ranging from Tamil politicians who supported main political parties, to persons considered to be police informants and members of the other rival groups.

The LTTE ideology is Tamil nationalism and it draws heavily on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Like most ideologues, current LTTE theoretician Anton Balasingham was a confirmed Marxist-Leninist and had extensively written on the subject (Gunaratna, 1998). But today, it seems that the Tamil nationalism idea has proceeded the other ideologies of the group, since this is more appealing to sections of the Tamil society. But it is clear from their campaign that they have employed the most fierce guerilla tactics that have been explained by Marighela, Guevara, and Mao. In an interview, Parabharakan describes the form he thinks the future state should take being heavily drawn from Marxist rhetoric, as well:

“The government of independent Eelam will be a socialist government; there will be only one party supported by people; I do not want a multi-party democracy. Under a one-party government Tamil Eelam can develop and change much faster. In a socialist constitution the need of the people will have priority.” (Wilson, 2000. p.132)

Structure and Operations

The murder of thirteen government soldiers in the Tamil stronghold of Jaffna on 23 July, 1983 by an ambush operation and wide-spread anti-Tamil riots across the country following the incident, which left over 600 people dead has marked by most of the people as the starting point of the Tamil Tigers' armed struggle. Since then, they have waged a guerilla campaign using terrorism as both a prelude to guerilla warfare and a way to support uniformed guerillas in the field (Smith, 1999).

Until now, the Tamil Tigers have mounted three on-again off-again terrorist campaigns. S. Kelegama, for convenience or reference, calls these campaigns the Eelam War I, II and III. He states that: "Eelam War I started in 1983 and continued until 1987 when the Indian Peace Keeping Force established itself in commanding positions in the north and the east. With collapse of peace talks initiated in early 1990, Eelam War II started in June 1990 and continued until December 1994, when the Lankan government announced a proposal for a cease-fire, which was collapsed three months later. Eelam War III, which commenced in mid-April 1995, following the end of the cease-fire continues to date" (Kelegama, 1999).

This constant state of war created negative side effects to the economy, as well. Figures regarding Economic Growth rate of the country clearly overlaps with the Kelagama's Eelam War I, II, and III concept (Kelegama, 1999).

Table 6: Economic growth rates in Sri Lanka.

1980	5.5	1989	2.3
1981	6.1	1990	6.2
1982	5.1	1991	4.6
1983	5.0	1992	4.3
1984	5.1	1993	6.9
1985	5.0	1994	5.6
1986	4.3	1995	5.5
1987	1.5	1996	3.8
1988	2.7		

Source: Economic Costs of Conflict in Sri Lanka.

In the mid 1980s, the LTTE decided it was time to establish supremacy over the other Tamil groups to wipe out the contradictory voices. Another reason for LTTE to eliminate these groups was that they were serving Indian politics rather than Eelam cause. As early as 1984 the LTTE decided that it would not tie its future prospects, funding, training, and so on so closely to India, since they believed that the Indians were not behind the ultimate aim of Eelam and that they merely wished to use them to pressure the Sri Lankan government.

By May 1984, hundreds of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) cadres were killed in Sri Lanka, including its leader, which literally eliminated the TELO. The LTTE justified the massacre with two reasons: first, they were a group of criminals and robbers; and second, they were “acting as the agent of Indian imperialism” (Krishna, 1999). Following the TELO’s elimination, in late 1986, the LTTE killed more than one hundred members of the Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF, another rival group), including prominent leaders, and the reason given was same as the one given for the former. By the late 1980s the LTTE had become the strongest and most violent group remaining alone as protector of Tamil sovereignty. They are the most notorious rebels who managed to assassinate two state presidents (Rajanayagam, 1994).

Before 1983, both sides in Sri Lanka had practiced indiscriminate non-routine violence, since then ethnic violence in Sri Lanka has been organized, routinized, and systemized through several methods of human right violations by armed groups. While all parties to the conflict have committed these violations, the LTTE has participated in ethnic cleansing of the areas it claims, principally Jaffna and the bordering areas (Rotberg, 1999 and Obeyesekere, 1984). The LTTE regularly committed extrajudicial killings, including killing prisoners taken on battlefield, as well as arbitrary arrest, detentions and extortion. The public execution and display of 14 people who were found guilty to offenses by the LTTE's self described courts is best shows the violent nature of the group (U.S., 2000).

Fuglerud (1999, p.41-42) further gives several examples of violence in Sri Lanka: Anuraphuna 1985: LTTE members attack a bus station-150 civilians dead; Kituluttuwa 1987: the LTTE unload two buses and kill their passengers on the roadside-126 civilians dead; Kattankudy 1990: the LTTE attack two mosques during Friday prayer-103 civilians dead; Kokkadichchola 1991: an army unit goes into the village-150 civilians dead; Kallerewa 1995: the LTTE attack village-42 civilians dead; to mention but a few. A group of armed LTTE militants brought ten prisoners accused of giving information to Army. They were told to stand on the sandbags, which have been placed ready 'so that their blood would not stain the soil'. Following a brief interrogation, and a so-called trial, they were ordered to be shot. All ten were shot in the back. The LTTE members cut off the head of one prisoner and then put in a box and handed over to a passer by who has been told to take it to the sentry point of the Army.

But these incidents do not mean that LTTE is the only party to blame. Amnesty International has reported that between June 1990 and September 1991 more than 3,000 Tamil people 'disappeared' in the custody of the government forces and verified extrajudicial executions in the same period amounting to hundreds (Fuglerud, 1999). On Jan 31, 1996 a truck bomb exploded outside the Central Bank building in Colombo killing 91 and injuring over 1,400 was one of the most devastating terrorist attacks in the history of the Tamil insurgency (Economist, 1996).

Today according to US state department, LTTE has strength of approximately 10,000 armed combatants in Sri Lanka; about 3,000 to 6,000 form a trained cadre of fighters. Also has a significant overseas support structure for fundraising, weapons procurement, and propaganda activities (U.S., 2000). According to Jane's Sentinel, the LTTE deployments, as of 1997, were: Jaffna (200 cadres, mostly intelligence), Kilinochchi (2,000-strong, mostly in the outskirts of the town), Vavuniya (north of the military defence lines, about 2,000 men), Mullaittivu/Weliyoa (4,000-strong), Mannar (2,000 men), Trincomalee (1,000-strong) and Ampara/Batticaloa (2,000 men), a total of more than 13,000 (Jane's, 2000).

In less than three decades, the LTTE has risen from a hundred "boys" to a 13,000-strong guerilla group seriously challenging the Sri Lankan forces. The liberation Tigers provided a formidable threat to both the Sri Lankan and the Indian security and according to the international security and intelligence community it is assessed as the world's most ruthless terrorist organization. In its 27-year history of armed struggle (since 1983), the LTTE has claimed too many innocent people's lives and the death toll, has risen to 60,000. It has assassinated two heads of government and has developed a daring guerilla

navy capable of challenging a powerful conventional navy (Jane', 2000). At the end of the 1994 cease-fire talks, the LTTE appeared in uniforms and was stronger than ever. Its reputation, in large part, is owed to the extremely sophisticated international network that has been built by the organization.

Chalk (2000) illustrates the LTTE organizational structure the best. According to him the Tamil Tigers has a two-column structure: a military wing that is similar to many professional armies; and a subordinate political wing. Oversight is a Central Governing Committee. Headed by the LTTE supreme leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran, this body has the responsibility for directing and controlling several specific subdivisions, including:

- An amphibious group (the Sea Tigers, headed by Soosai).
- An airborne group (known as the Air Tigers, headed by Shankar).
- An elite fighting wing (known as the Charles Anthony Regiment, headed by Balraj).
- A suicide commando unit (the Black Tigers, headed by Pottu Amman).
- A highly secretive intelligence group.
- A political office headed by Thamil Chevlam (political leader) and Anton Balasingham (political advisor and ideologue).

Central Governing Committee also consists of an International Secretariat. This body has the responsibility for ensuring the smooth running of the LTTE global network which functions like a multinational corporation, although different sections of the structure are run by specific leaders expert in that particular field. External activities consist of three main areas: publicity and propaganda; fundraising; arms procurement and shipping (Chalk, 2000).

The Tiger network works almost flawlessly. This was proved when the LTTE sea fleet crippled Sri Lankan government arms deals. In late 1997, a consignment of 32,400 pieces of 81mm mortar bombs ordered from Zimbabwe and destined for the Lankan government vanished by a LTTE operation. Ill-fated lethal cargo loaded on to a LTTE ship by using false papers and probably ended up in the Tigers' war chest (Smith, 1999).

Financing

The powerful presence of an international link was a major morale supporter, which later turned out as the main financial support for the Tamil insurgents. Gunaratna states that the international component enhanced the domestic survival of the organization. Even though the limited financial assistance of the Sri Lankan Tamils at the beginning of the armed struggle, there were many more who were sympathetic to the cause and willing to support it, at least financially (Gunaratna, 1998). Aside from this domestic assistance, the Tigers are able to activate international networks to supply equipment necessary for the armed struggle and to collect contributions from 500,000 expatriate Sri Lankan Tamils, which constitute an extremely affluent community (Rotberg, 1999). Davis (2000) correctly calls this complex, shadowy network developed over more than a decade, which draws on loyalties and resources of members of a global Tamil Diaspora as "LTTE International Inc." Chalk (2000) presents the number of the quasi-diplomatic LTTE organization that, as of May 1998, was thought to be composed of offices and cells located in at least 54 countries ranging from UK, Germany, Switzerland, Canada and Australia to Cambodia, Burma, South Africa and Botswana.

Tamil expatriates generate the main source of income. By some estimates the Tamil Tigers have managed to collect \$1 million a month from expatriates mainly in Canada, Britain, Switzerland, Scandinavia, the US and Australia (Rorberg, 1999). Gunarante (1998) states that the LTTE generates 60 percent of its war budget from overseas since the loss of Jaffna peninsula. He further states that unless the LTTE international operations are disrupted the LTTE's domestic capability and capacity to engage the Sri Lankan forces will remain powerful. Tamil Eelam society of Canada has received about \$4.3 million in government grants since 1990 (Gang, 2000). The LTTE also operates gasoline stations, restaurants, and small shops around the world. Although tigers have been known to resort to extortion, Tamil Diaspora has proved to be generous (Rotberg, 1999).

The LTTE, to support more than 10,000-strong armed military-type-uniformed cadres, has engaged in a number of both covert and overt ventures that bring them massive revenue. It has also invested in a number of farms, finance companies and in other high profit endeavors. Aside from the overt operations, the Tigers are also mixed up with money laundering and narcotics trafficking, which brought substantial revenue (Gunaratna, 1998).

The LTTE and Illegal Drugs

During more than two decades of Sri Lanka's civil war, neither the government, owing to the billion dollars budget, nor the Tamil Tiger insurgents have lacked the money to pay for the enriched arsenal of weapons to go on fight. Cost of struggle to the Tamils is

somewhat guess work, but it must amount to multi-million dollars, since the Tigers have plenty of modern weapons including a small navy that helped them win some daring victories against the Sri Lankan conventional armed forces (Asia, 2000).

Tigers employed several money rising methods, one of which is drug business, to meet the costs of the struggle. Numerous reasons facilitated the Tigers' involvement in the business. First feature is their geographical position, and operational areas. The LTTE waging its campaign right over one of main drug transiting routes, connecting the producing Southeast Asian countries to the consuming west. The route originates in one of the main drug [heroin] producing region-Golden Triangle and goes either over land through India where over 50 million Tamils who are sympathetic to the LTTE's cause live or by the Indian Sea.

Second, they have operational bases, offices, and cells in 54 countries, some of which are main drug producing countries such as Burma, Afghanistan, Cambodia and a like. For example, in a southern Thai island a half-built miniature submarine discovered at a shipyard which belong to an ethnic Tamil but bearer of Norwegian citizenship is similar to a vessel once used by Tamil Tiger rebels in Jaffna in the early 1990s. The sub, if completed, could accommodate two to three people and be used for any purpose. Even Thai authorities have acknowledged this year that the rebels had established a presence near Phuket (Lanka, 2000).

Third, the LTTE operates a shipping fleet containing deep sea going ships, which is capable of not only shuttling between India and Sri Lanka, but also charter operations. The fleet comprises five or six small freighters registered under flags of convenience, owned by LTTE front companies. Lloyd's insurance company put this figure as high as

11 merchant ships (Arming, 2000). Davis (2000) states that Tiger's arms-procurement wing is backed by tens of millions of dollars and founded in Velvetturai: a fishing port famous with smuggling contacts. This place, even before the Tamil insurgency, had problems with the army, the police, and the state as the smugglers ferry contraband between India and Sri Lanka, and now become the nerve center of the Tamil supply network.

Fourth, 500,000 Tamil expatriates residing mainly in the developed drug consuming countries, which could help the LTTE operate in this countries easily carry out their secret drug business. La Courrie (2000) argues that the LTTE deals with retail selling of drugs this way they tend to keep the organization from being accused of "drug trafficking". Several LTTE members arrest with small amounts of heroin (less than 500 gr.) in Europe suggests the same point.

Fifth, their weapons trade and smuggling activities exercised on the same roads as heroin does. Many of these arms routes pass over, either directly or very close, the major drug producing and transit centers, including Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, southern China, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Lastly, there are extensive profits to be made from the drug trade. According to United Nations (1998) sources the turnover of the illicit drug industry vary considerably, from about US\$ 100 billion to more than US\$ 1000 billion a year and all these groups in need of money seek their fare share from this trade. All these credentials make the LTTE a successful candidate for highly competitive drug business.

According to a Bongkok Post newspaper article, the LTTE is deeply involved in massive drug trafficking with the Burmese regime in making and distributing heroin. The

Tigers are allowed to train at military bases in Southern Burma in return for supplying couriers for the worldwide smuggling of Burmese heroin. Tamil militants trained in northern India provide security for Burmese drug caravans from western Golden Triangle. Furthermore, Tamil drug smugglers with links to the Tigers have been arrested in Sri Lanka, India, Australia, Britain, Germany, Switzerland, France, the USA and Canada (Tigers, 1997).

Davis (2000) mentions the same points that the Tigers would be a privileged position given to: (1) their existing transportation network and (2) their ties with drug producing countries as Burma and Afghanistan. The well-established drugs-arms nexus also improves their privileged position as one former militant told whose first arm-buying visit to Pakistan in 1984 had been in the company of Tamil heroin smugglers. Tigers' main arms suppliers, among possible other states, are Hongkong, Lebanon, Cyprus, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Slovakia, Kazakshtan, and some of these countries are also serious drug producing and/or transiting zones.

The Swiss paper *La Courrier* (2000) puts drug trafficking as one of the insurgents' source of finance, as well as acts of piracy, illegal migration and arms trafficking. According to the paper, the LTTE-drug connection surfaced after the seizure of 14.5 kilos of heroin following a Tamil terrorist's arrest after a shoot out in 1999 in New Delhi, India. Pursuant to the investigation, Indian authorities managed to connect one of the former drug-lord of Bombay Mafia who served as an intermediary between the Pakistani drug-lord Ali Khan and two LTTE members. The Tamils were organizing the transport of the seized heroin.

Some other more serious and dependable sources such as Observatoire Geopolitique Des Drogues (OGD), Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) and Interpol mentioned similar points. According to Interpol, the most profitable activities for the LTTE are drug trafficking, donations, contributions, trafficking in refugees, selling of the publications, Internet, and of course the extortion of Tamils expatriates. They further suggest that the LTTE narcotic trafficking operations remain highly secretive and Praphakaran seemingly took a stand against it, nevertheless, Interpol has made some significant detection in the LTTE's involvement. Particularly, in the seizures made in Europe and North America, there are indications that LTTE is involved in this type of criminality either directly or indirectly by getting a certain percentage from some of the trafficking.

The Drug Enforcement Administration (2000) of the USA mentions the flow of official reports by police officials in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu reporting drug smuggling activities among Tamil Refugees living there. They also believe that the LTTE helps finance its insurgency through drug trafficking.

Chalk (2000) referring to a 1995 report by the Mackenzie Institute, a non-profit research group based in Toronto, suggests that the LTTE raised money through drug running, particularly heroin from Southeast and Southwest Asia. The most profitable LTTE activities have been in the form of heroin trafficking. Sri Lankan officials concur, with one senior diplomat asserting "collection of money from Tamil expatriate sources is insignificant compared to money from narcotics." He states that the highly efficient international network it has developed to smuggle munitions around the world puts the LTTE in a particularly advantageous position to traffic narcotics.

Moreover, a fair amount of circumstantial evidence exists which suggests at least some sort of a nexus between the LTTE and narcotics business. The Mackenzie Institute has documented the arrests, worldwide, of several Tamils with links to militant organizations for drug running since the early 1980s, including V. Manoharan, the LTTE's present International Chief. Indeed, Interpol disclosed that he had been imprisoned in France for two years for possession of heroin. Suspicions that the narcotics had been traded on behalf of the Tigers were subsequently raised after it was discovered that Prabhakaran had authorized the LTTE France to pay a monthly salary to his family while he was in jail.

Observatoire Geopolitique Des Drogues (1999) also refers to the LTTE's cautious method of drug dealing. And sees the arrest of two LTTE militants in Kathmandu in 1996 with forged German papers and 500 grams of brown sugar [heroin] as the organization's aim to distance itself from drug trafficking. They also see the 14.5 kilos of heroin seizure of 1999 as the concrete link between organized crime and the Tamil guerilla movement. Apart from heroin, the Tigers buy Mandrax manufactured in secret labs located in Gujarat, ship to Sri Lanka and from there to southern Africa. The same year, huge amounts of counterfeit dollars, allegedly to be used to buy heroin, were also discovered in several LTTE stash houses in India. OGD ties a large drug-and-arms seizure made by Indian authorities in March 1996 near the Pakistan border in the state of Rajasthan with the LTTE as well as Khalistan Liberation front and Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front.

CHAPTER V

CASE STUDY: THE SHINING PATH (THE SL)

Peru has a long history of revolutionary tradition that goes back to the Incas and ranging from revolts against colonials to military juntas. Shining path: one of the most violent, ruthless and successful terrorist group among all the others was emerged in the Peruvian department of Ayacucho, high in the Andes, long ignored and the most impoverished in the country. It is one of the less known terrorist groups owing to its policy of silence rather than interacting with media which created an aura of mysticism blended with fear.

History

According to the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) (People's, 2000), the term "Luminous path" was first used by the Revolutionary Student Front (FER), a youth branch of the PCP at San Marcos University (Lima) in the 1960s, whose publication had the line: "The PCP follows the luminous path laid down by Jose Carlos Mariategui." And, following the armed struggle (People's War) of 1980, several scholars announced: "The PCP-Shining Path!". One other source ties the name back to a poem dedicated to Victor de la Torre, founder of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, which ran: "You are the light that shines on the path / before so dark" (Strong, 1992, p.46). Whatever the initial source was, today, The PCP is also known as Shining path, Sendero Luminoso, Sendero or SL.

Shining path: a movement that claims to go back centuries ago flourished in the high plains of the Peruvian Andes surfaced at a time when poverty, exploitation and political unrest were common among the population. It is no surprise that the Shining Path took off at a junction of transition from military rule to democracy in Peru claiming that their military campaign would liberate the oppressed not by free elections but by the people's rule that they would introduce to the masses. So, they first stroke on the day of the [free] presidential election in May 1980.

History of the Shining path coincidence with the re-opening of the San Cristobal de Humanga University in 1959 in Ayacucho, a place where people believe that they totally lack social and economic mobility and political influence and further frustrated with defected infrastructure, permanent shortage of drinking water, limited production of energy, and inadequate means of communication. The university became a fertile ground both for the people, who were eager to learn, and the Peruvian Communist Party through a group of professors led by Abimael Guzman Reynoso, the supreme leader of the Shining Path later known as President Gonzalo. Within the first couple years, Guzman and his followers formed a clandestine Red cell in the PCP. After the split of the PCP in 1964, Guzman and his friends aligned themselves with a Maoist faction rather than pro-Soviet. In few years they gained influence in the student federation and among the faculty but were defeated within the party. In 1969 he was arrested because of his part in the massive public movement in defense of free education and spent sometime in the jail. By the 1970, Guzman and his followers were expelled from the PCP and they moved to take control of the radical left at Huamanga and established the true Communist Party of Peru-Sendero Luminoso (Degregori, 1992).

During the first half of the decade most of the professors and students of the university became members of the new party. Sendero soon moved beyond Huamanga to begin recruitment among the Indian populations of Ayacucho and established local cells in the surrounding departments of the region. According to Degregori (1992), two elements helped fast and unnoticed growth of Sendero in the region. First, Ayacucho's strong provincial perspective was increasingly in conflict with those of people from the outside area. Second, the ethnic fabric of the region: non-Spanish speaking peoples of the highlands frustrated with ages-long ignorance proved to be loyal supporters.

Many students came from poor peasant families hoped that, once graduated from the university, they can move beyond the social and economic situations of their past. However, in turn, the only job that is available was schoolteacher often in the very village they came from. So, all hopes of the past gave way to the same poverty from which they intended to escape through University education and exactly the same place they intended to move beyond. This phenomenon made them strong believers in to the organization's causes; because Sendero's thought introduced them as the only scientific truth help them achieve their goals. That science proposed a new but strictly hierarchical order where students, upon accending to the party and its truth, could move from the dirt of the village to the peak of the social pyramid. Degregori (1999, p.181) states this as "Sendero is primarily a movement of intellectuals and young people without hope."

Ideology

Sendero's ideological perspective is best seen through the name used among its file and rank: the Communist Party of Peru. That says more than anything else does about the ideology of the insurgent group.

Sendero is a self-proclaimed Maoist organization. Its ideology is based on Mao's writings and deeds blended with the thought of the president Gonzalo. Sendero rejects all institutions of a capitalist system by proclaiming the abolition of a national market economy, industry, the banking system, all foreign trade, the use of currency, and the establishment of a communal village-oriented economy based on a system of barter exchange. Final goal is the creation of a new state of workers and peasants: a view, which is more drawn upon to the works of Mariategui than classic Maoist thought (McCormic, 1987).

As Masterson cited, Guzman puts the organization's ideology in perspective:

"Listen to this! We see worldwide Maoism is marching relentlessly forward in its task of leading the new wave of the world proletarian revolution. Listen well and understand. Those who have ears, use them. Those who have understanding, and we all have it, use it well. Enough nonsense! Enough confusion! Understand this! We need Maoism as a living force, and this is happening. We need Maoism to generate new Communist Parties to direct the next great wave of world proletarian revolution that is upon us. (Masterson, 1999. p.172).

Aside from the ideology, the wording of Guzman's speech also shows his power and testifies his ultimate leadership, as he is being both the fourth sword of Marxism and the president Gonzalo.

Sendero's ideology is, like former anarchists, to destroy society in order to build a new one. They do not want to modify, since building a new one is easier than modifying

the existing one. That is very clear when Sendero's actions against other main stream left were observed. They were the main obstacles and rivalry for their success that is why Sendero took action against not only to the state, but also all other groups and isolated itself from the main stream.

Structure and Operations

According to Trazano (1992), Sendero is composed of different levels of organization: national, regional, and local levels. The National Central Committee composed of Guzman and a few top lieutenants were controlling and directing the organization. The National Committee is responsible of setting ideology, strategy and policy for the entire organization and further oversees the movement's operations. Six regional committees that handle the planning and evaluation of Sendero activities within their boundaries exist beneath the National Committee. Rank-and-file members are organized along cellular lines and draw upon the assistance of local sympathizers and part time activists (McCormik, 1992). The National Committee allows regional commanders a significant portion of autonomy. But that is because of geographical difficulties and enhancing effectiveness of military operations and includes, some degree of, tactical independence. The ideology and policy areas are free from discretion of the regional commanders, since decision-making is highly centralized. As Trazano (1992) noted, one of the Sendero militant's words explains this best: "In the party they teach us that we are not loose pearls but rather a pearl necklace". This was the initial organization; following years have seen new structural changes directly related to new strategies (urban

strategy) and expansion of active militant (6,000-10,000) cadres. These new units, founded in the late 1980s, were the Department for Organizational Support, Group of Popular Support, Department of Finance, and Department of Internal Relations (Trazano, 1992).

Sendero's strategy resembles the three-step process (strategic defense, stalemate, offensive) of Mao doctrine. Marks noted the process as follows:

The first stage was one of "agitation and propaganda," in which Guzman and his followers recruited, trained, and organized cadres in the Andes. Sendero initiated its second stage of creating the social and material bases of people's army in 1980, when democracy was being restored in Peru. It also made its presence known through attacks on public buildings and other symbols of authority. In 1982, Sendero launched its so-called third stage, which was to initiate an armed struggle in the rural areas and gradually move into urban areas to create the conditions for the fourth stage- peoples' war (Marks, 1992. p.193).

Sendero leadership, for years, refused to use media for propaganda rather pursued the policy of "propaganda by the deed". This policy showed itself within every aspect of the movement. They hanged dogs at lamp post and anti-senderist peoples' homes rather than media speeches.

Sendero's main goal was, simply put, to mount a general uprising in the Andean highlands and destroy the regime in Lima. Their ends, at least for themselves, were just but their means were ruthless. For more than a decade Sendero used violence in every aspect of its struggle and claimed more than 30,000 lives throughout the country. Toward its end, Sendero systematically intimidated and eliminated representatives of the

authority around its rural base. This campaign of violence directed to the elected officials, nationally funded teachers and medical workers, church leaders and even accused members. Power vacuum resulting from intimidation and violence allowed the group to create liberated zones in which it attempted to redistribute wealth and impose justice (Woy-Hazelton, 1992).

Sendero is brutal but not indiscriminate. Its actions were nothing more than a carefully designed, calculated and executed terror. Shining path is one side of the terrorism that affects the region since 1980. Since the beginning of the terrorist campaign of the shining path some 120,000-peasant families were forced by fear of the organization, the army or both to leave their homes in Peru's central Andes and Amazon regions.

Following Guzman's capture, the SL has weakened and become a mere shadow of itself. Many of its members have turned themselves in or been arrested. The group has split, with one part abandoning armed struggle, in line with others of the jailed leader. But the "Red Path" faction under Oscar Ramirez, who also was later arrested, has continued terrorist activities, with finances coming primarily from the drug trade.

Financing

Several factors affected Sendero's actions and expanded its need for a more regular money flow. First, by the mid 1980s it had become a large organization with an active cadre of 3000-6000 armed militants and an active support network of about 50,000 operating not only in the country side but also in urban Peru (Palmer, 1992). Second, Sendero relied on domestic funds to finance the operations and strictly kept itself from foreign support bases, but poor peasant of the region were merely making good sources of finance. Lastly, following the initial rural campaign Sendero expanded its operations toward cities, which required more people more support bases and more funds.

Operating in urban areas, by its very nature, requires more liquid funds rather than supporters' material aid. In the first years of the armed struggle the SL's revolution and "liberating the masses" ideology was a hit for the people living in poverty with no hope but the SL. Later, insurgents' ever increasing violence, even against the peasant, together with aids and money collected under the name of revolutionary taxes at gunpoint for the survival of this large organization alienated them from masses. The furtherance and expansion of the military campaign demanded much more equipment than TNT, which was enough for the first days became insufficient, because they were faced with a more determined and well-equipped army than local police forces.

All these needs and profits of the Upper Huallaga Valley (UHV), where more than half of the world coca was grown, both forced them and gave opportunity to a new fund: drugs.

The SL and Illegal Drugs

By the 1987 the SL started to operate in the UHV and started initial contacts with local and Colombian drug traffickers. A symbiotic relationship developed between cocaine trade and the SL terrorists over the course of the time. The narco-traffickers and terrorists were in conflict, with SL extracting payments, but the two groups also cooperated in the face of the forces of law and order (Clawson, 1996).

Sendero's existence in the Upper Huallaga Valley of main coca growing areas of not only Peru but also the world started in 1980 with political work. But it was not until 1984 that the government discovered telltale signs of the organization's existence in the region. Following the government and U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration joint operation initiated in 1984, authorities found evidence of the existence of the SL's schools in small hamlets and coca paste laboratories on the banks of the Huallaga River and detained several members of the organization (Gonzales, 1992).

Several reasons gave Sendero opportunity to establish its power bases in the coca growing regions. In 1984, Sendero murdered the mayor of Tingo Maria together with a prominent figure respected among coca growers, which in turn forced government to place the area under a state of emergency in the same year. This was the spark of a process, which alienated coca growers and pushed them towards Sendero. Following the state of emergency, the army declared the SL as the one and the only problem and ignored drug production and trafficking. Peruvian army's concentrated efforts on the SL dispersed the guerillas from the region and put the drug lords in charge. Able to seize the advantage of power vacuum drug lords in collaboration with some policemen started a

terror campaign over the local coca growing population (Gonzales, 1992). The agricultural wage fell from US 1.20 per day in 1982 to .50 per day in 1985 (Berg, 1992)

These abuses of the population allowed Sendero to resurge and reestablish their influence in the valley by the second half of the 1980s. Extended US government and local administration -Control and Reduction of Coca Corps (CORAH) – joint-efforts intensified coca growing peasant hostility toward the government and allowed and justified more increased and more violent guerilla actions. The slogan “Against genocide and eradication” common among the population represents the level of alienation that exists among the citizens. In fact, this is true, because coca growing is the main portion of the income among the 95 per cent of the inhabitants of the region (Gonzales, 1992).

By late 1988, the SL controlled the valley road and even started to collect a fee from every passing vehicle. Sendero’s control over the UHV and peasant support was based on protecting and expanding coca crop rather than political cause of the organization. What ever the reason was, once Sendero has begun to operate in the region it also started to benefit from the gross national product of the coca economy which is estimated around 1.1 to 2 billion, equal to almost half of country’s total export of 3.3 billion (Olarate, 1993 and Tammen, 1991).

Sendero not only gained politically but also financially from the coca politics of the country. By gaining control of the estimated 120 landing strips of the region Sendero was also able to collect sums [protection money, war tax] paid by coca traffickers per flight. Even though Sendero has killed some people proclaiming that they were tied with drugs, the SL did not hesitate to fill its war chest with the profits of the drug business.

According to the U.S. reports, the estimates of annual revenues received by SL from its activities in the UHV range from 10 to 100 million USD most of which come from “protective” services. The Shining Path’s charges on coca growers for its services and on traffickers for their flights out of UHV (about US \$20,000 per flight) were producing the mentioned net profit. There were reports from the region of Shining Path’s insistence that coffee growers start planting coca alongside their coffee bushes (Tammen, 1991; International, 1999). Sendero used this amount not only for obtaining new equipment but also to fund its domestic operations throughout Peru such as salaries for its militants; financial support for families; fees for lawyers to try Sendero cases in courts.

Getting in touch with coca traffickers generated some other advantages for the SL aside from the hard cash. Until that time, Sendero was depended on arms and ammunition that has been sized from the government forces and TNT robbed or stolen from the local mining industry. Then, came the drug traffickers with their international links to arms dealers and sophisticated machinery that helped Sendero better arm the militant cadres and execute more violent and successful strikes. Since their contact with the drug traffickers, the SL has been profoundly upgraded. New Belgian FN-FAL rifles, RPG rocket launchers, and other rocket-propelled weapons were used by the guerillas (Hamack, 1993).

This could be best seen when some figures are observed. Deaths due to political violence in Peru, between 1980 and 1991 are as follows (Palmer, 1992:83):

Table 7: Deaths due to political violence in Peru.

1980	12	1986	1451
1981	82	1987	1115
1982	193	1988	1451
1983	1977	1989	2881
1984	3587	1990	2708
1985	1476	1991	3181

Source: Peru, the drug business and Shining Path.

It is reasonable to conclude that these are one of the side effects of the SL-drug connection. Because Sendero's first conquest in the UHV was in 1983-84 until army wiped them out and second wave came in 1987. These actions supplied them hard cash that they needed to wage a large-scale campaign throughout the country, which they did, resulted in high number of casualties.

Even after the arrest of the cult-like leader President Gonzalo [Abimael Guzman] Shining Path continued its operations leveled down by number and casualties. According to Observatoire (1997) Geopolitique Des Drogues (OGD), drug money is funneled to the SL enabling them to rebuild their strength. Peruvian guerillas, Shining Path in particular, are counting on drug profits to rebuild their organization. Militants themselves are alleged to sow coca, while others concentrate on collecting cocaine-base pasta and others still in charge of marketing outside guerilla operation areas.

Notorious Peruvian drug trafficker Demetrio Limonelo Chavez Penaherrera and captured terrorists he dealt with confirmed that he had supplied Shining Path arms and had paid \$5,000 per flight plus \$3.00 per kilogram of paste (or US \$6.00 for base) transported in the aircraft (Clawson, 1996).

Drake stated that Sendero not only raised much of its income through “taxes” on traffickers but also took steps to prevent major traffickers from forcing down the prices charged by peasant coca growers (Drake, 1998).

According to arrested drug traffickers and former SL members, Ramirez had collected \$200 million by early 1994. Weapons and communications gear captured in battles against Ramirez’s group in 1994 came from the drug trafficking group of Waldo Vargas. Drug traffickers financed SL not due to any political alliance, rather they were too weak to resist effectively against the guerillas’ executions (Clawson, 1996).

Tammen (1991) estimated that the Shining Path was producing a net profit of between \$20 million and \$100 million annually, in the late 1980s, much more money than is available to any other political group in Peru. The SL was operating as a mediator, a ruthless one, imposing control over growers, Colombian traffickers, and lab operators to follow pre-fixed prices by the guerillas, moreover, occasionally executed traffickers and growers who will not follow its price schedules. They were even putting pressure on coffee growers to start planting coca alongside their coffee bushes.

It is quite clear that these terrorist organizations, somehow, involved in drug business even though it is against their basic ideology. Whatever else may be said about it, drug dealing is an extremely profitable activity. For illegal organizations that are constantly searching for new avenues of funding, drug dealing offers a hard-to-reject solution.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although terrorism is an extremely economical method of violence, funds are essential to the support of full-time activists, weapons purchases, transportation, and logistics. As Crenshaw (1998) noted, terrorism is the weapon of the weak who lack numbers, an equalizer in an unequal political struggle, but when the groups became larger, as in the studied cases, maintaining organizational structure and carrying on operations turn out as a major burden which forces them toward any kind of covert and overt fund raising actions.

The case studies lay out the terrorist groups' financing schemes and focus on the terrorism-drug link, in depth. If the only claims regarding the terrorism-drug link were being made by the opponent sources [or as they put it in: "oppressive" government] then the observer would be best advised to treat the claims with considerable skepticism since security forces have mounted too many 'black propaganda' campaigns against these organizations in the past. Here, the review sources, aside from the related governments' pamphlets, such as international organizations' reports, news media, and third country sources that are not directly related to struggle, corroborate the drug connection of these groups.

Today terrorist organizations, in terms of financing, are in a transformation. All groups tend to grow and function on their own. Recently, they have not enjoyed overwhelming support from client states. Most of the former sponsor states of terrorism are hesitant to supply direct financial and material support to insurgent groups. They wish

to use them but are not willing to pay them. Thus, terrorist groups evolve as international business conglomerates dealing with almost any kind of legal or illegal operations, including drugs, as the prime source of income.

For example, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), over time, has established an economic wing called Samed that uses modern organizational theories providing economic benefits and has developed into a rational business structure. During the last decade the PLO became a legal organization supporting Palestinian cause. The organization enjoys the acceptance of the international community, but during the early days of the struggle they used any means to raise funds.

According to Israeli sources, the PLO's control over part of the marijuana export trail over Lebanon, together with its existing international substructure, has enabled it to successfully engage in the Lebanese drug trade (Adams, 1986). The PLO, in turn, has taken great steps to establish regular [mostly legal] financial conglomerates to support its needs and now enjoy the regular flow of money into the organization. But 'what about the other organizations that have not been able to do so then they probably will use any opportunity and mean to raise funds until they became, if they could ever be, a legal (or semi-legal) organization which could enjoy domestic and international recognition.

The case studies clearly indicate that terrorist organizations can and do benefit from any form of illegal activity to raise funds. The direct involvement of terrorist groups in drugs is a relatively recent and growing phenomenon. Experiences seem to show that, in every instance where terrorists become involved with drugs, they have earned very large sums of money in a short time. With the cash has come the ability to buy both new followers and political influence.

The information presented in the preceding chapters contains considerable amount of circumstantial evidence and excerpts of actual incidents suggesting a link between terrorist groups and illegal drugs. As stated earlier there are no black and white lines between drugs and terrorism, but rather a large grey area. That is mainly because of the nature of the illegal business and activities of the organizations: the business is illegal and the activities are covert. The possibility of the information bias further forces any researcher to apply a more cautious approach. The reason is that more of then not the claims regardin drug-terrorism connection were initiated by government sources, and their adversary nature in the confrontations makes the reliability of the allegations questionable. But, it should be kept in mind that the groups have the motive, opportunity and desire to become involved in the illegal drug business, which they inevitably do. As consistently mentioned, it is clear that these organizations profited and benefited from illegal drugs.

They run drug operations rather discreetly. When one looks at their documents and propaganda material it seems that they are the divine supporters of a drug-free world. The PKK translates the allegations as a government plot against peoples' revolution. The LTTE took stand against a paper that ties them to illicit drugs and strongly condemns the author of a research paper who happened to show the same direction. The Shining Path sees it as a governmental tactic to create international public opinion against the SL and accuses the capitalists for using their media to spread lies about "Sendero being with the drug traffickers".

All these statements contain valuable information about how they see the drugs and how they can and do use it for propaganda, as well. It is true that in the past, the SL

publicly executed some drug dealers claiming them enemies of the society but it does not mean that they did not benefit from drugs. It simply was another version of their “propaganda by the deed” strategy, nothing more nothing less.

In fact, as Kellen (1982) mentioned, drug use is in conflict with the left-wing ideology and candidates for terrorist organizations who are found to be drug users are screened out. That is an important point: terrorists do not want and support drug use among their cadres [except for a motivational tool for suicide actions] and in the society they have been fighting for. On the other hand, they do benefit and profit [still doing so] from drugs not only financially but also politically. When we think about the end users of drugs, the ones that are most affected by drug use: capitalist and imperialist countries, the very enemies of the revolution. That is why, aside from financial relief generated from the business, they ignore drug smugglers and skim their profits through revolutionary taxes or security charges.

The Provisional IRA, largely on moral grounds, has always refused to deal in drugs of any kind, and they have been at the forefront of an underground war both the north and south of Ireland aimed at undermining the distribution network of drug dealers, but they use drugs to gain political influence. Kneecapping and kidnapping drug dealers has become commonplace, and the IRA calculated that, by attacking the drug business, they will win support among the more conservative working-class groups, who will then tend to view them more as guardians of the community than as terrorists. At the end, they shared the profits of drug dealers and smugglers in a way that also supplied them substantial political support (Silke, 2000 and Adams, 1986).

Afghanistan based Taliban movement takes a slightly different stand against drug

problem. Taliban leaders say that hashish is consumed by Afghans and is therefore anti-Islamic. But as opium is exported to the West and there is no cash crop alternative for farmers, there is no urgent need to ban poppy growing:

"We let people cultivate poppies because farmers get good prices.....We cannot push the people to grow wheat.....There would be an uprising against the Taliban if we forced them to stop poppy cultivation" (Rashid, 1997).

Taliban's supreme leader Mullah Omar in his interview in *Politique International* stated that "[i]n the long term our objective is to completely cleanse Afghanistan [of drug production]. But we cannot ask all those whose living depends entirely on the opium harvest to switch to other crops.....At any rate, one thing is certain: we will not allow opium and heroin to be sold in Afghanistan itself. If non-Moslems wish to buy drugs and intoxicate themselves, it is not our job to protect them." (*Observatoire*, 1998a. p. 97)

Beneath the wording of this statement a dual benefit seems to exist. First, Taliban, as Sendero did in Peru, supposedly act in good faith to supply innocent peasant a decent life by allowing or ignoring highly profitable opium cultivation. Second, since the illegal drugs are destined to non-moslem countries, which are also their foe in the holy war against infidel-west and alike, it's a permissible tool of the war. That further proves that drugs not only help them fill their war chest, but are also used as a weapon against the enemy.

As it was mentioned above, there are several ways to explain the terrorist organization drug connection. Case studies illustrate that these groups either this way or the other are involved in the drug business even though it is against their basic ideology. Whatever else may be said about it, drug dealing is an extremely profitable activity. For

illegal organizations that are constantly searching for new avenues of funding, drug dealing offers a tempting solution. This solution also brings the moral and political acceptability problem, as well. But they seem to justify their involvement in illegal drug business well.

Bandura (1998) states that People do not ordinarily engage in reprehensible conduct until they have justified to themselves the morality of action. Thus, before taking any action, not only terrorist but also anybody who intended to conduct a violent act should premeditate its consequences and justify the necessity of the action.

Some of the Peculiarities of the Studied Groups

Before starting to spell out would be solutions for the drug-terrorism phenomenon, it is a necessity to work on the studied cases, this time from a different perspective. An overall picture drawing specific characteristics and similarities exist within and among these groups give us some insight and also help us understand that the drug-terrorism nexus is not a single isolated issue but rather a general phenomenon. The illegal drugs-terrorism connection is not peculiar to these three groups only. Any group under the similar environment and drives may turn into illegal drugs to finance its activities.

First of all, all three groups are in close proximity to major drug producing zones or important drug transit routes.

According to the United Nations Drug Control Programme (United, 1996), the main coca cultivating and producing counties remain Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru. Even

though the considerable decline in production in Peru in the 1990s, Peru still accounts for over 40 percent of both coca cultivation and production. That makes Peru the largest coca producing country. Turkey's situation is slightly different than Peru. It is more of a transit country rather than a producing one. It was estimated that in 1997 over 80 percent of the heroin seized in Europe transited the Balkan Route. Turkey, located at the starting point of the route always vulnerable to drug trafficking originating from the Golden Crescent and heading towards Europe (Interpol, 2000). Sri Lanka on the other hand has a more similar situation with Turkey than Peru. Sri Lanka, given its unstable situation as a result of continuing terrorist activities, is increasingly used as a transit territory for narcotics, in particular those coming from Southeast Asia (Observatoire, 1998). One of the major routes for Golden Triangle heroin passes through India and the Indian Ocean.

All three groups seemed to take a stand against illegal drugs and any kind of illegal drug business. They all vehemently deny any kind of allegations, which suggests a connection between illegal drugs and them, and interpret those claims as part of a government plot against a peoples' war. That is probably because of fear to loose popular support exists not only among the people they fight for, but also within the countries sympathetic to their cause. One other reason should be the need for justification: eliminating the dissonance aroused between different cognitions. They appear to employ moral justification methods well. In fact, if someone could justify a murderous act through cognitive reconstrual or psychological mechanisms of moral disengagement, then he/she can easily justify simple drug dealing. Because this is a lesser wrongdoing compared to slaughtering innocent women and children in cold blood. Through

justification process, drugs have become another tool in the process of fighting with the ruthless oppressor, another weapon in their arsenal. Violence is used to intimate, threaten, coerce, advertise the cause, and, on the other hand, drugs used to finance the struggle. So their final aim is the same: saving humanity from subjugating to an evil ideology and toppling the oppressing government. They are both not the ends, but means to an end.

In their web page Sendero gives a perfect example of ‘how they operate the mechanisms of moral disengagement’:

“Linked to the reactionaries need to annihilate the People's War is the problem of drug trafficking. We begin by pointing out that drug addiction is the product of social degeneration. It occurs more in the heartland of imperialism and less in the oppressed nations. The PCP is totally opposed to this. The drug problem is a social problem and it will be resolved through revolution. The New Power that the PCP is building has not only totally eliminated drug addiction,.....” (Liberation, 2000).

This excerpt mirrors their notion of “them” versus “us” duality and displacing the responsibility over their opponents. They blame “them” as the criminals through projecting “them” drug smugglers and by ignoring their involvement, even though the facts suggest the opposite.

The LTTE also uses same duality and displacement mechanism:

“The policy of the Liberation Tigers is that drugs are dangerous to humanity and hence all sources of its traffic should be destroyed. Due to the untiring effort of the LTTE in the past, there were no sellers or users of drugs in the regions under its control. Even illicit arrack (liquour) and prostitution are banned [by the LTTE civil administration] because they are detrimental to the well-being of society. In contrast, the use of drugs and child prostitution are an everyday occurrence in Colombo and other Sinhalese areas in the south of the island..” (Eelam web page.)

A similar version comes from the SL:

“The reactionaries in Peru have had to recognize that the economy of the old state grows ever more dependent on the currency provided by the drug trade and that all policies to eradicate it have failed. More than 200,000 rural families, which represent around 1.5 million people, live off the cultivation of coca and Fujimori and his armed forces are afraid of attacking them to avoid "converting them into soldiers of the People's Liberation Army" as they say. With this excuse the government and armed forces extract large sums of money from the drug.” (PCP web page)

On the contrary, existing information suggest that Sendero has controlled the very centers of drug production areas in the Upper Huallaga Valley (UHV) and during that period coca growing was increased without a sign of elimination. In fact, this is the correct course of action for Sendero, because they cannot neither afford to make coca growers their enemies by banning cultivation nor push away the substantial income generated through drug dealing.

The PKK, Sendero, and the LTTE are some of the most violent terrorist groups. They continuously used terror, fear and intimidation as part of the campaign. The armed campaign of the three groups has cost, in total, more than 100,000 lives. They were not aimed only at the establishment [state], but also directed violence against their people who oppose their policies or offer alternatives different than theirs. They focused to eliminate rival groups operating in their respected territories against the government to become the primary power.

The blood-ridden day of these organizations, which is not quite over yet, have claimed hundreds of thousands of lives. In fact, this was beyond a mere all-out indiscriminate killing rather an outcome of the revolutionary ideology they have pursued. In their view, since changes in status quo and balance of power can be achieved by violence, then the ends justifies the means. Terrorism appears as a special form of

violence as Wilkinson puts it. According to him there are five characteristics of political violence and terrorism is only one of these. Terrorism is used to influence political behavior in several ways; either to provoke an over-reaction, or serve as a catalyst for more general conflict or to publicize a cause, or to give vent to deep hatred and thirst for revenge, or to help undermine governments and institutions designated as enemies by the terrorist (Wilkinson, 2000).

Terrorist groups, by their very nature, are too small and too weak [compared to the foe] to achieve an upper hand in an open struggle for power. Violence therefore accomplishes nothing in terms of immediate goals. Because of that terrorists aim at psychological rather than physical results. The purpose of terrorism is, as Wilkinson covered, to create emotional state of extreme fear in targeted groups. In fact, these intentions have seemed to exist in studied groups tactical approaches toward violence. Mainly, Fanon, Mao and Marighella have carved the theories and tactical nature of terrorism in the context of armed struggle employed by most of the groups. Fanon upon observing the French colonialism in Algeria, he called oppressed people to revolt which needed to be violent, including guerilla warfare and acts of terrorism. Colonized, dehumanized lower class rural population would be the base, but urban terrorism would become the major tool to weaken the enemy. Marighella, a loyal follower of Fanon, supported the concept of urban-based guerilla war. But his foremost importance has risen due to a practical guerilla manual: a checklist for terrorist while exercising violence (White, 1998).

Among others, one of the reasons for armed and violent terrorist attacks is to destabilize government power in the initial phase, with his authority challenged and the feeling that terrorists in control spreaded, and then the government would be forced to declare some form of martial law using extreme measures against the people. In fact, that is exactly what the terrorists wanted: repression of the government. Thus, masses would be able to see the real nature of the state, thereby alienated by the government and turn to the revolutionary forces [guerillas or terrorists]. “When the enemy forced to transform the political situation into a military one, then dissatisfaction will reach all strata of society, and the military will be held absolutely responsible for all failures” (Marighella, 1999). Shining Path, the PKK and the LTTE seemed to perceive Marighella’s strategy and employed it to a certain level, but the current situation proves to be far from the projected results and initial success has been fading.

Even though, terrorism has been losing ground, some excerpts taken from Gunter (1997) and Rugman (1996), show both despair and alienation of ordinary population trapped between the cross fire. The success of the groups in implementing the guerilla tactics can best be seen through an army official’s statement: in 1995, an army official argues that “democratic conditions and human right protections prevented an effective military response against terrorism” (Gunter, 1997). Despair of the people stuck between governments and the terrorists appears in people’s words: “the PKK aims to establish a Kurdish government or state, but they kill Kurdish people and I can’t understand the reason for that. We don’t know what to do: we are caught between two forces and either one or the other attacks us.” Another resident puts it like that “We

[villagers] just want the terrorists and the security forces to leave us alone. We just want to live a decent life” (Rugman, 1996).

Turkey, Sri Lanka, and Peru all responded to the terrorist threat with harsh military countermeasures, which resulted with questionable success and considerable amount of consequences. Berg (1992) finds the growth of Sendero interesting considering the overwhelming military force directed against the organization. A major consequence of this approach has been the brutalization and suffering of the civilian population in the emergency zones. A similar provision has been implemented in Turkey: an emergency decree put several provinces under, quasi-military, emergency rule that furnish the regional governor with extraordinary powers (Gunter, 1997). The army and police have defeated, to some extent, the guerillas in violence against civilians. Kidnapping and murder of political prisoners, massacres of whole villages, and systematic torture have been documented (Berg, 19992). The situation in Sri Lanka also bears similar peculiarities: a long list of goods was restricted, which is called economic embargo, into the Jaffna peninsula (Rajanayagram, 1994); extra judicial killings are an important problem and since 1995, 761 people have been killed this way by security forces (U.S., 2000).

All the three groups draw on, although there are some nuances in intensity and formation, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory, and adopted the generally left-wing anti-imperialism rhetoric. The PKK, which is deep in the heart is a nationalistic movement, and the LTTE have extensive amounts of ethnic considerations as well. Episodic civilian riots and discriminative laws against the Sri Lankan Tamil minority ignited the LTTE

insurgency in the country. The PKK, to some people, was an expression of a national identity quest to others a group of terrorists that wish to create an independent Kurdish state, and to some others a revolutionary movement promising to save the exploited poorer classes of workers and peasants. And, the SL was there to liberate the oppressed American Indians against injustice, oppression of colonization, and poverty. The LTTE targeted the state due to its no or less regard for the Tamils [their people], the Sendero and the PKK targeted the wealthy landlords [‘aghas’ in Turkey; ‘hacendados’ in Peru], as well. All the three countries are some of the poorest countries in the world: per capita income (purchasing power parity figure is \$2,600 for Sri Lanka (22 percent of the population is below poverty line), \$4,400 for Peru (54 percent of the population is below poverty line), and \$6,200 for Turkey (before the 30 percent devaluation of February, 2000) (The World, 2000).

They have had, in a period of time, large numbers of (more than three to five thousand) armed cadres. Even, the LTTE and the PKK armed cadres wore uniforms to distinguish their “regular” guerilla units [armies]. The leadership of these organizations was undisputed and unquestionable among the ranks. The leaders were called as the president [baskan for the PKK; the presidente for SL; the supreme leader for the LTTE]. Even though the groups consist of military-like hierarchical and vertical structure of armed and political wings, they also seemed to apply Zanini’s notion of network structure, as well. Because after the arrest of their leaders both the SL and the PKK seemed to loose some blood and weakened, but the groups are still active and very much alive (Zanini et al., 1999)

The listed similarities help - to the extent - understand the logic and the motives behind the confrontations and as well as organizational peculiarities and operational tactics of the groups. After this background information, it would be easier for anybody to both suggest and understand some solutions applicable to the problem of terrorism, in general, and terrorism-drug connection, in specific. Suggestions given below are distant from being complete and all-inclusive, however, they may help related parties think once more towards a possible solution.

Some Thoughts Towards a Solution

Common solutions designed to answer, “how terrorism ends”, by the very result, can also be implemented to deteriorate or extinct drug-terrorism link. In fact, that is the ultimate solution for drug-terrorism nexus; this way you not only take, merely, a funding or propaganda tool away from an organization but also evaporate the causes altogether.

Crenshaw (1999) offers the most comprehensive explanation as a solution ranging from success of terrorist to emerging new options for a political change to eliminate terrorism. But it should be noted that terrorism is not a finite problem that can be solved once and for all. Bearing that in mind, she gives emphasis on two sets of variables that influence terrorism. First set of variables is composed of internal and external factors affecting the strengths and weaknesses of terrorist groups, as well as root causes of any terrorist movement. The second set includes government program and policies ranging from regulations and target hardening to possible political solutions.

Crenshaw lists possible situations, which may end terrorism, on a continuum starting with terrorists’ success to emergence of new avenues for political change. Some

of the circumstances that may lead to this could be concluded as terrorists' accomplishment of either long or short term objectives; hinderance of organization due to insufficient funding or inadequate recruitment; existence of new alternatives including traditional warfare, mass protests or political negotiations. Further more, governments' military success against terrorism could also be added in to the list. (Chrenshaw et al., 1999). Thus, governments need to decide on "what kind of a solution they need or wish" and then to assign their sources towards this end[s]

She further goes on to mention several practical applications of counter-terrorism tactics and possible consequences of these courses of actions. Instead of going deep into these tactical approaches it would be the best to say that there is no clear-cut rules for effective counter measures but more of gray areas. In fact, as she pointed, the authorities should put themselves in terrorists' shoes before proceeding into any direction; 'such groups' calculations are based on the groups' perceptions of costs and reward, not those of the authorities confronting them.' Groups' leaders and causes change; only the overall threat remains constant, thus, concentrating on short-term aspects of the problem, perspective solutions rapidly become out of date (Chrenshaw et al., 1999). Therefore, the authorities must be willing (committed to the solution), and powerful (timing of the offer can not be seen as result of government weakness rewarding terrorism) before granting any peace offer and executing any counter measures, and antiterrorism policy must be long-term in scope since terrorism is a continuing problem. Also while implementing any policy or program, the authorities must have access to effective and accurate intelligence for such crucial decisions.

When we focused on to the terrorism-drug link several possible solutions to this end can be stated as follows.

First, an antiterrorism policy framework has to be composed of, equally important, two law enforcement apparatus: international and domestic law enforcement. Unfortunately high level of international cooperation against terrorism is hard to find, though it is essential. In the absence of an international mechanism, international law and bilateral treaties can be seen as a medium for increasing and maintaining international cooperation. In fact, the global level of co-operation against drugs is more critical than this, since the globalization of international finance has facilitated the emergence of a single global market for both legal and illicit commodities offering sanctuary to illicit fund transfers. Further more, global problems, like illegal drugs, emerging almost every part of the world transcend national boundaries and goes beyond the capabilities of individual nation-states (Krasna, 1996). This globalization trend of illegal industry makes the international efforts to promote cooperation in enforcing drug controls an integral part of combating strategies. That is especially necessary while dealing with insurgent groups like the PKK and the LTTE both of which has a Diaspora of 400,000 to 600,000 people living mainly in the drug consumer countries. It does not seem plausible to expose and eliminate cross-border illegal activities and extent of operations carried out by the terrorist groups.

Second, governments can make smuggling harder and they can use intelligence capabilities to monitor illegal drug activities. Swift, stiff, and effective legal measures, which also have some deterrence capability, must be implemented in drug related crimes.

However, there may be several drawbacks to this approach. Strict and harsh counter measures against terrorism may alienate the public, provoke revenge-driven retaliations, and can create holy-like figures. Similarly, ‘get tough on drugs’ approach sometimes may backfire, particularly in producing countries where people solely depend on drugs for their living. In fact, this strategy was proved not to be very successful in Peru. Source countries have a tendency to view narcotics as primarily a problem of the consumer countries. In Peru and similar drug producing countries drug cultivation is merely seen as an evil thing, rather perceived as a necessary tool for survival. Further more, in our case Peru, coca eradication, and alternative crop cultivation also seemed ineffective, due comparably high profits of coca cultivation - 8 to 25 times higher than other crops (Krasna, 1996). One farmer reflects the native peoples’ perception as “we produce only coca, because it is the only profitable crop” (Rensselaer, 1989, p.26). Even more, eradication alienated the rural population of Peru where the SL played on growers’ hostility toward U.S.-favored eradication campaigns, which directly threaten the livelihood of many people. This in turn can increase anti-government sentiments among the affected populations and drive them into the camps of insurgents. Besides, limited mutual solidarity between terrorists and traffickers are quite convenient and benefit both sides, in the long run coexistence is problematical because deep down the SL sees the cocaine dealers as part of the foe: property-owning classes.

Third, one other problematic area is the militarization of anti-narcotic efforts. Because military sees terrorists as the number one problem to tackle with, not drugs. Militarization of the struggle brings some unintended consequences that seriously hinders

governments' anti-narcotic efforts: charging military units with drug enforcement responsibilities can worsen problems of corruption; one Bolivian minister describes the threat posed by an unaccountable military when he said, "When you have a corrupt chief of police, you fire him. When you have a corrupt chief of army, he fires you" (Rethinking, 1997). Military ranks often oppose counternarcotic efforts, as contrary to the objective of the counterinsurgency strategy and they may even become allies with drug trafficking organizations in combating insurgents. In this case, the authorities place the fight against drug trafficking in the back burner. This is exacerbately evidence that the country's [Peru] anti-drug budget comes under the responsibility of the ministry of defense (Observatorie, 1999). Thus, a great deal of time has to be spent before handing the struggle over to the military units. Instead, it is best to use powerful, strong, professional, and determined law enforcement units in any kind of crime and even the terrorism itself should be treated accordingly. Further more, before declaring an all-out war against drugs, especially in drug-supply countries some steps have to be taken toward a democratic, accountable, market-oriented state that reckons the standard of living of the drug cultivating populations.

Fourth, almost all the terrorist groups, especially of those national-liberation movements, began to understand that they could not achieve their goals without either '*de facto*' or '*de iure*' support or at least with some sympathy from the governments other than the foe. That fact pressures these groups to act with some dignity and employ politically acceptable tactics in several areas ranging from target selection to sources of funds. They have to be selective while not only raising funds but also presenting them:

racketing and extortion of funds should be presented as voluntary gifts or a revolutionary tax; and drugs must be presented as malevolence and utmost importance is given to disguise the illicit drug activities. So effective information campaigns both at home and abroad raising the issue of the terrorist groups' involvement in illegal drugs based on genuine facts and figures were proved to be effective. The PKK case shows that the organization, even though their constant denial has been mixed up with the illegal drug business, due to the need for large amount of funds. Because, by the beginning of the 1990s number of the PKK cadres was all time high (10,000 to 15,000 active militants) and they were waging an all-out armed campaign. The initial signs of the PKK's involvement in drugs were surfaced, probably, at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s: a period when the number of Turkish citizens indicted for drug charges in foreign countries was all time high (see Table 4). Consequently, the Turkish authorities initiated an information campaign addressing the issue at hand, which resulted with an attitude change within the organization (Department, 1993-1999). Their supreme leader, realizing the possible consequences of the campaign, has warned the PKK cadres and the organization followed more discreet methods in its further operations.

In fact, the Turkish authorities' campaign appeared to be a positive example of "How the attitude of a terrorist group can be altered" and such campaigns should be implemented where and when deemed appropriate.

Fifth, one other solution is to change the terrorist groups' attitudes toward illegal drugs and drug trade. People are not born with permanent attitudes, but their attitudes about specific objects emerge throughout life. Different approaches could be implemented for success of an attitude-change process. The process works either through

persuasive messages, which is the most effective tool of contemporary advertisement business, or to get people act in ways that are inconsistent with their current attitudes. In fact, several psychological theories, such as cognitive dissonance, are based on the belief that people will adjust their attitudes to match their behavior. Aronson (1976) claims that most people are motivated to justify their own actions, beliefs, and feelings. The need for adjustment or justification is explicitly evident when the terrorists are considered. The theory of cognitive dissonance sees people as rationalizing animals, rather than rational animals, because they don't want or like to see or hear things that conflict with their deeply held beliefs or wishes since dissonance produces cognitive discomfort. People take great steps to make themselves believe that dissonance-inducing situation is enjoyable and/or pleasant (Aronson, 1976; Bernstein et.al, 1997).

These information presents another opportunity to counter terrorism-drug connection problem. It is possible to alter a terrorist's belief system and create dissonance among cognitions by using different mediums in which he is exposed to the message that presents the ill nature of illegal drugs. It is likely to change their attitudes and break the link between terrorism and drugs through an information campaign that uses television, radio, newspapers, flyers, or any other available tool and targets the individual terrorist.

Lastly, one thing should be kept in mind that countering terrorism is a long and tiring way that requires patience, knowledge, and courage. To achieve a sound solution one should critically observe and evaluate each case within its unique environment.

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