

THE ROLE OF NARCOTERRORISM FROM THE GOLDEN CRESCENT TO
EUROPE IN DRUG TRAFFICKING: PKK CASE

ALPARSLAN ULUHAN



July 2018

THE ROLE OF NARCOTERRORISM FROM THE GOLDEN CRESCENT TO
EUROPE IN DRUG TRAFFICKING: PKK CASE

BY

ALPARSLAN ULUHAN

Supervisor

Prof. Dr. EMİN GÜRSES

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER

IN

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

YEDITEPE UNIVERSITY

July, 2018

Approval of the Institute of Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. M. Fazıl GÜLER
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master



Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Bilgen SÜTÇÜOĞLU
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.



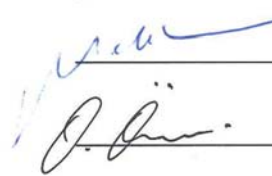
Prof. Dr. Emin GÜRSES
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Emin GÜRSES

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Melih GÖRGÜN

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ozan ÖRMECİ



I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

10.07.2018

Alparslan ULUHAN



ABSTRACT

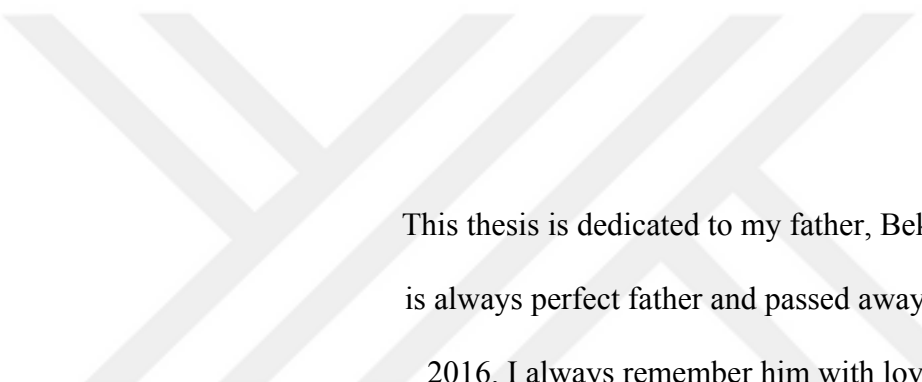
International drug trade and terrorism are interwoven nowadays. Terrorist organizations need sufficient funds to sustain their acts and to subsist their militants therefore, drug trade and smuggling have been a major source of financial revenue for the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party). Especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, deployment phase of drug production and trafficking is located at the geography of Central and Western Asia. A great amount of products of drug in the world is transshipped over Southwest Asia towards the major consumption markets in Europe. In this study, the main purpose is to analyze the role of the PKK from the Golden Crescent region to Europe within the scope of narcoterrorism phenomenon. At the same time, understanding the role and the main position of terrorist organization PKK is critical for constructing an efficient policy and strategy in countering terrorism. In this way this study is also going to strive to fill this gap in the literature.

Key Words: Terrorism, narcoterrorism, PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party).

ÖZET

Günümüzde terörizm ve uluslararası uyuşturucu ticareti artık iç içe geçmiştir. Terör örgütleri, eylemlerini sürdürebilmek ve militanlarının ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için yeterli finansal kaynaklara ihtiyaç duymaktadırlar. Bundan dolayı uyuşturucu ticareti ve kaçakçılığı PKK'nın gelirinin büyük bir bölümünü oluşturur. Özellikle Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasından sonra uyuşturucu imalatının ve kaçakçılığının yayılma sahası Batı ve Orta Asya'da temellenmiştir. Dünyadaki uyuşturucu ürünlerinin büyük bir bölümü Güneybatı Asya üzerinden Avrupa'daki büyük tüketim pazarlarına aktarılmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı narkoterörizm olgusu kapsamında Altın Hilal coğrafyasından Avrupa'ya PKK'nın rolünü analiz etmektir. Aynı zamanda terör örgütü PKK'nın rolünü ve asıl konumunu anlamak, terörle mücadelede etkili bir strateji ve politika inşa etmek için son derece önemlidir. Buradan hareketle bu çalışma aynı zamanda literatürdeki boşluğu doldurma çabasında olacaktır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: *Terörizm, narkoterörizm, PKK (Kürdistan İşçi Partisi).*



This thesis is dedicated to my father, Bekir Uluhan, who is always perfect father and passed away on February 5, 2016. I always remember him with love and respect.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my friend Ashutosh Malik for guiding me in some important subjects. I would also like to thank my advisor Prof. Dr. Emin Gürses for his mentorship and to my family who always supported me in this process.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval	I
Plagiarism	II
Abstract	III
Acknowledgements	VI
Table of Contents	VII
List of Tables	VIII
List of Figures	IX
List of Abbreviations	X
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Overview of the Thesis	1
1.2. Purpose of the Thesis	3
1.3. Importance of the Thesis	4
1.4. Methodology and Framework	5
2. The Origins of Narcoterrorism	7
2.1. Defining Narcoterrorism	7
2.2. Narcoterrorism in the Literature	10
2.3. Terrorism and Organized Crime	11
3. The Nexus Between the PKK and Drug Trafficking	16
3.1. The Crime-PKK Continuum and Modus Operandi	16
3.2. The Role and The Position of the PKK in Drug Trafficking as a Narcoterrorist Organization	20
3.3. Countermeasures and Combating PKK Narcoterrorism	28
4. Conclusion and Recommendations	33
References	37

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Distribution of Heroin Flows to Europe..... 27



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Illicit Trafficking and Instability	13
Figure 2 A Convergence Between Terrorist Organizations and Organized Crime Groups: “The Crime Terror Continuum”	18
Figure 3 The Golden Crescent	21
Figure 4 Balkan Route and Northern Route	25
Figure 5 Heroin Trafficking From Afghanistan to Europe	26



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CPEC--China Pakistan Economic Corridor
- DEA--Drug Enforcement Agency
- EU--European Union
- FATF--Financial Action Task Force
- OC--Organized Crime
- PKK--Kurdistan Workers' Party
- TADOC--Turkish International Academy against Drugs and Organized Crime
- TNP--Turkish National Police
- US--United States
- UN--United Nations
- UNODC--United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

1.INTRODUCTION

1.1.Overview of the Thesis

This thesis thoroughly examines the transnational character of PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) terrorist organization in the context of terrorism financing and organized crime by analyzing its narcoterrorism dimension within specific geographical transit points and routes and thus a nexus between terrorism and drug trafficking activities in this context. The PKK was selected as the focal point for this case study research because PKK's connection with drug trafficking and close ties with organized criminality create its funds to support its acts of terror. Moreover, its advancing role in manufacturing and marketing within illicit drug trade has turned the PKK into an illegal business enterprise, especially in some European countries (Bilgen, 2011). Consequently, this study argues that it would not be wrong to describe the PKK as a narcoterrorist organization rather than a terrorist organization based on ethnic and political aims. This study also anticipates that the kaleidoscopic nature of narcoterrorism and its role will be found out within the objectives and actions of terrorist organizations such as the PKK. As a consequence, narcoterrorism and illegal drug trade might be a serious security challenge for Turkey and its near abroad in the upcoming years. Therefore, countermeasures against narcoterrorism and the PKK will come into prominence in this thesis.

At the beginning, the purpose and the importance of the study will be revealed. The objectives of this study are to find out the existing connection between the PKK and drug trafficking to provide academic information by critically analyzing the prejudices of many current narcoterrorism studies and

to offer an extensive and neutral typology that elucidates all features of narcoterrorism. Afterwards, methodological approach of the study will be presented. This study illustrates the challenges with a solution-based approach in the context of a case study. The concept of narcoterrorism is more difficult to research in comparison to many other social science issues. For that reason, the methodological limits and specific methods will be described in this stage.

At second stage, content of narcoterrorism by defining narcoterrorism and later its place in the literature will be evaluated. Narcoterrorism is a serious threat and it presents the most devastating aspect of security issues. Narcotics and drug trade have globally become a non-ignorable international security threat despite the efforts of national and global institutions. In this sense, there are a lot of definitions of narcoterrorism in the literature and some important definitions and discussions will be revealed. Some different approaches can also be seen in regards to the literature about narcoterrorism studies and the relations between terrorism and organized crime while there is no a consensus on the definition about terrorism and organized crime.

In third chapter, the connection between the PKK and illegal drug trade is the initial subject. It is a fact that globalization process has procured a motivation for terrorist organizations. In this manner, its connection with organized crime and methodological transformation process of the PKK must be analyzed in order to understand ideally the new trends of terrorism in the 21st century and PKK's narcoterrorist structure, inherently its collaboration with criminal enterprises. In that situation, to comprehend terrorism-crime nexus very well, organizational structure of a narcoterrorist organization and its functioning is very significant. Inherently, a convergence exists between

terrorist and organized crime groups and the methods applied will be thoroughly analyzed. Therefore, the PKK's role and its position in drug trafficking constitutes the cornerstone of the thesis.

In final chapter, security dimension of PKK's narcotic trade as a growing international security issue will be discussed. Progressively increasing negative effects of PKK's narcoterrorism especially on Turkey's national security is another important aspect of this chapter. In geopolitical and strategic context, some policy recommendations will also stand out.

1.2.Purpose of the Study

It is very significant to understand that terrorist activities are the result of the extensive preparation process. It must be known that the widescale financial resources lie behind this extensive preparation process. Like other organizations around the world, terrorist groups must have the skills to obtain and to use the financial resources required to achieve their aims (FATF Report, 2015). Recently, crime activities generate a significant part of the economy of terrorism and these activities provide large amount financial resources for terrorism. From this fact, terrorist groups need to use the financial resources required to achieve their aims. Furthermore, state-sponsored terrorism decreased especially after the 9/11 period, therefore terrorist groups have generated new financial resources (Jenkins, 2006, p. 120). In this sense, the PKK uses narcotic production and smuggling to maintain and support its acts. One of the PKK's main objectives is to create a nexus between drug traffickers and its cadre. The nexus between narcomafia and terrorists becomes apparent at this point. The geopolitics of narcotic trafficking is also important in the

context of critical routes from Southwest Asia to Europe and the Middle East. Within this framework, initial purpose of the thesis is to explore and analyze the PKK's role and its position from the Golden Crescent region to Europe within the scope of narcoterrorism. Thereafter, main purpose is to identify narcoterrorism causing the potential threats based upon the PKK. Finally, this thesis tries to solve and analyze how combating narcoterrorism process can be effective by analyzing its vital role in international drug trafficking. This study intends to compose a strategy for combating potential narcoterrorist threats.

1.3.Importance of the Thesis

Drug trafficking has for many years financed the PKK and other terrorist groups. This still continues nowadays. For that reason, PKK's narcoterrorism and its place in drug trafficking deserve a special attention to investigate exhaustively this issue. Most of all, this thesis starts off to investigate how drug trafficking and PKK terrorism have converged. Within this framework, the challenges confronted in disrupting the roots of narcoterrorism may quite appear in the future, therefore countermeasures will specifically be discussed. For this reason, providing a political and strategic infrastructure in possible countermeasures against narcoterrorism threats would be a significant contribution. On the other side, this study is going to expose what is missing from the literature of terrorism studies and begin to fill this gap. This study also expects to encourage probable future studies on narcoterrorism issue.

1.4. Methodology and Framework

This study is bounded in specific time and space as such in all case studies. As it is well known, traditional scientific research techniques and methods may not always be applicable. Field research, survey and interview techniques are next to impossible in most instances due to the dangerous nature of the matters such as terrorism. Therefore, many courageous journalists conduct nearly all of the field researchs in such matters. As a matter of fact, previous studies have generally shown that any researcher who desires to conduct academic research on these matters will confront some methodological obstacles on the occasion of the unspecified nature of the cases that might be the subject of a study.

This thesis is designed as a literature-based security analysis and a case study. Case studies highlight an exhaustive and strong contextual analysis of a limited number of incidents or conditions. Yin defines a case study as an “empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2003, pp. 13-14). Yin also argues that a single case study can be the foundation for significant explanations and generalisations.

Following that, this study includes qualitative research approach. For data collection, secondary sources will be used such as documents of governmental agencies, expert reports and scientific articles. At the same time, prescriptive approach is adopted in this study. Within this scope, the main research questions are: (1) Why drug trafficking is the main financial source of the PKK rather than the other funding methods? Why the PKK adopted this

modality? (2) In this context, what is the main role and position of the PKK as a narcoterrorist organization? (3) What solution proposals and strategies to combat narcoterrorism should be in the context of this case study?



2.THE ORIGINS OF NARCOTERRORISM

2.1.Defining Narcoterrorism

Terrorism is not an issue that is quite easily defined and sheerly understood. The main difficulty in defining the concept is the controversial nature of the subject. This complexity is mostly derived from the dynamicity of activity of terror. The U.S. defines a terrorist organization in three key criteria. These are: (1) gathering for the same purpose; (2) sub-national revolutionary or anti-government or non-state movement; (3) to resort to violence in order to achieve a goal (Roth & Sever, 2007). In that direction, terrorism involves political motivations and aims. Many countries have had to deal with terrorism, consequently modern terrorism has procreated new patterns of durability and lethality, with a terminally hatred and ideological motivation, by building networks across national borders. Terrorism has nowadays become more murderous in terms of crimes committed and how many victims are involved. Naturally contemporary terrorism has anymore the characteristics beyond specific boundaries.

On the other hand, terrorism inhods several methods in order to subsist. Especially in the period of 9/11 attacks, dimensions of terrorism have stood out in the agenda as soon as the United States has declared a war against terrorism. As an asymmetric form of a conflict, terrorism is not new and it has been used since the early times in historical period. However, it is explicit that the majority of terrorist attacks have happened since the end of the 20th century. Modern terror began in Russia in the 1880s and a generation later the wave was completed. Anarchists initiated the first wave and afterwards other three waves of terrorism appeared in world history (Rapoport, 2002 Spring, p.

47). Nevertheless, unlike crime or poverty, international terrorism is a recent phenomenon. Particularly in the post-Cold War era, terrorist organizations have become a serious international threat beyond national borders along with expanding globalization worldwide. For this reason, terrorist organizations are mostly equated with non state actors or groups that are not responsible to a sovereign government.

Townshend defines terrorism as an idiocratical form of modern political structure, intended to make a threat the ability of a state to ensure its survival and the security of its members (Townshend, 2002, p. 6). Besides the structure and scope of terrorist organizations have evolved in time. Naturally, they have developed new methods and collaborations in order to achieve their goals such as creating an alliance with drug cartels. The connection between drug trade and terrorism is one of the most difficult issues to address in the world today. Drug trafficking has become a global organized industry with progressing globalization process. In the matter of illicit drug trafficking as a growing problem, the international community has no efficient ability to prevent major illegal drugs producing and transporting them. Geographical realities and implications also demonstrate that sources and diversification of illegal drugs have led to more complicated routes of illicit drug trafficking especially targeting national security of Turkey. Accordingly, terrorism essentially comprises the components of motivation and operational capability (Terrorism = Motivation + Operational Capability). In this direction, financial dimension of terrorist organizations directly influences operational capability, and it indirectly influences their motivation (Aykın, 2010, p. 145).

The widest definition of narcoterrorism is given by the Oxford Dictionary accordingly “terrorism associated with the trade in illicit drugs” (Oxford Dictionary, 1999). Narcoterrorism composes a major security threat to the countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran and Turkey. Historically, the first known nexus between organized and terrorist groups occurs in a fanatic cult of Ismaili Shiite communities between the 11th and 13th centuries in Iran and Syria (Shanty & Mishra, 2008, p. 342). After many centuries, militant groups in South America were called as “narcoterrorists” in the 1980s. Accordingly, narcoterrorism indicates the utilization of terrorist methods to coerce the state authority as a strategic tool by drug traffickers. This term initially referred to the Medellin Cartel using terrorist methods in Colombia (Williams, 2014, p. 3). However, U.N. Member States have no common definition of the concept “narcoterrorism”. On the one hand, according to the US Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), narcoterrorism refers to the “participation of groups or associated individuals in taxing, providing security for, otherwise aiding or abetting drug trafficking endeavors in an effort to further, or fund, terrorist activities” (Thachuk, 2007, p. 26).

With another definition, narcoterrorism is described as the organized employment of violence against the local populace, the security forces, and the government to intimidate anyone contemplating resistance to narcotic trafficking (Knowles, 2008, p. 79).

2.2.Narcoterrorism in the Literature

In the literature of narcoterrorism and terrorism financing, there are insufficient sources that focus on narcoterrorist organization schema, its networks, objectives and resources. There are also very few studies in this field. The literature linked narcoterrorism topic usually emphasizes the political aspects of this term. As mentioned before, the concept of narcoterrorism was first introduced in 1983 by Peruvian President Fernando Belaúnde Terry to define terrorist-like attacks against his country's anti-narcotics police. These violent attacks carried out by drug traffickers were initially used to influence the politics of the country with the primary goal of obstructing justice. In early 1980s, the term was also used to define the Nicaraguan government which condones the assistance transportation and manufacturing of illicit narcotic drugs (Thomas, 2009, p. 1896).

Terrorists are no longer funded by states, therefore they need to raise their funds to sustain global conflicts. They are transnational anymore and so closely allied to organized crime that the criminal profit and ideological objectives are mostly indistinguishable (Clark, 2008, p. 224). In the course of time, the concept of narcoterrorism has acquired two main usages. The first one focuses on drug mafia utilizing the terrorist methods to protect their own drug business. The U.S. Department of Defense uses the definition “terrorism conducted to further the aims of drug traffickers” (Davids, 2002). Second one focuses on narcoterrorism as the involvement by terrorist groups in drug trade to finance their ideology-driven operations. This also covers state-controlled drug trade outside of channels regulated by the United Nations. It also retrospectively includes First Opium War (1839-1842), when the British

Empire was the primary agent forcing China to open up its country to a free opium trade, as well as the drug operations of the CIA in Southeast Asia in the 1960s and 1970s (Boyce, October 1987, pp. 24-27). In this direction, connection between terrorism and the illicit drug trafficking can be traced back three decades. The U.S. in 1979, during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, was training and equipping mujahideen fighters to resist Soviet and communist occupation forces (McPherson, 2004). Financial gains from the drug trafficking constituted the first priority for funding the mujahideen resistance. From this fact, narcoterrorism age actually began in 1970s, however this intensified in the early 1990s during the disintegration of the Soviet Union. In this sense, increasing globalization and transitivity of the geographical borders of countries have given terrorist organizations a great opportunity in the world of crime, particularly in illicit drug trade (Aykın, 2010).

2.3.Terrorism and Organized Crime

Despite the ideological and motivational dehisces, cultural-ethnic ties and geographical proximity made possible the interaction of the terrorist organizations and transnational criminal enterprises and gangs inevitable. Apart from that and most importantly, the nexus between terrorism and organized crime takes a form through the necessity of financial profit for both of them. For this reason, terrorist organizations usually tend to use disposable criminal networks and cells for their illicit financial activities. Although both of them benefit similar strategies, terrorist organizations are more politically oriented groups. On the other hand, criminal organizations are more focused monetary gain. According to Interpol, organized crime is “any enterprise or a

group of persons engaged in a continuing illegal activity which has special purpose the generations of irrespective of national borders” (Madsen, 2009, p. 16). Terrorists and organized crime groups target weak and corruption-riddled states for their safe zones (Thachuk, 2005, p. 151). On the other hand, in 2003, the U.N. Security Council defined the relationship between terrorism and organized crime in the Resolution 1373 as “the close connection between international terrorism and transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, money laundering, illegal arms – trafficking, and illegal movement of nuclear, chemical, biological and other potentially deadly materials” (Shanty & Mishra, 2008, p. 342).

Martha Crenshaw, an expert in terrorism studies, points out the way of terrorist organizations’ survival. According to Martha Crenshaw, survival is the minimal goal of any organization and terrorist actions may be motivated by the imperative of organizational survival (Crenshaw, 1985, p. 473). To achieve this goal, terrorist organizations must have an organizational structure that supports financial entity. For that reason, they need to find profitable, reliable and consistent resources to sustain their activities.

Several terrorist organizations and organized crime groups share similarity in terms of numerous operational and organizational features. According to Sanderson, they both are involved in illegal acts such as kidnappings, assassinations and extortion and usually need the same supplies. Inherently, they threaten international security and they exploit ultraviolence and utilize the threat of violence. Apart from that, if necessary they get into their acts in disguise. Another dimension of these groups is that they challenge the state and the laws. On the other hand, they certainly back up their own

leaders and members. They are also flexible and open to innovations. However, quitting of a member in either group can lead to deadly consequences (Anderson, 2004).

In addition to all these issues, globalization process has influenced the migration and existing migrant crises around the world as well as the dynamics of cross-border conflicts. These migrant groups are a strategic base for criminal and terrorist organizations in especially developed countries. It is clear that some of migration routes are also narcotic trafficking routes as well as conflict areas. These unstable regions, in the absence of political stability, are the places where are mostly controlled by organized crime and terrorist groups as can be seen below.

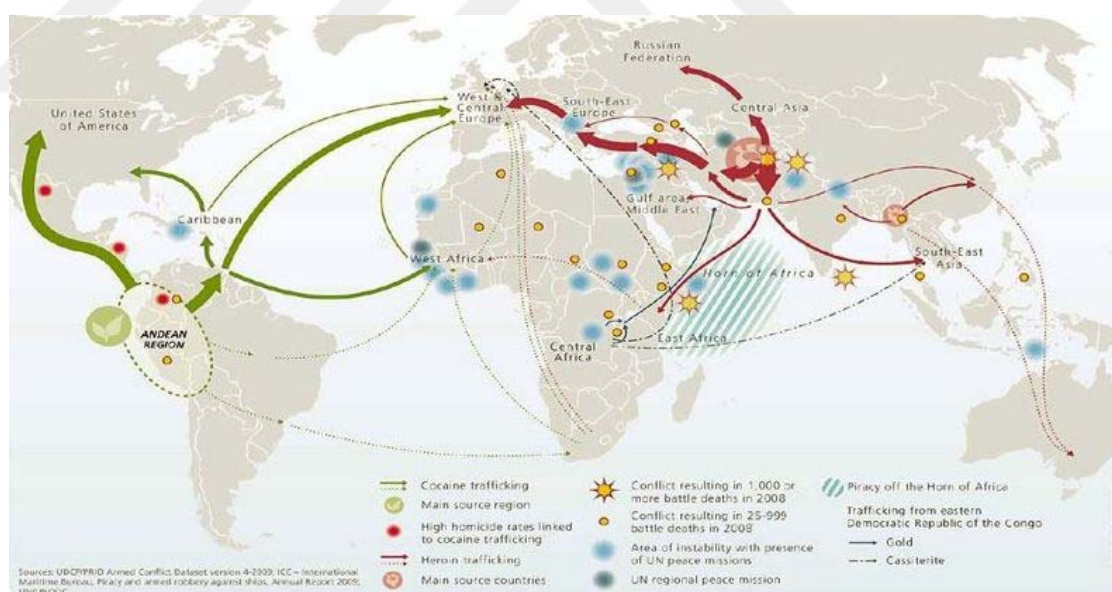


Figure 1. Illicit Trafficking and Instability. Source: UNODC, “The Globalization of Crime: A Transnational Organized Crime Threat Assessment” (2010)

At the same time, the main difference between these two phenomena should not be overlooked. Political aspirations and goals are essential for terrorism, on the other hand, financial profit is a main tool for organized crime.

In that direction, transnational criminal and terrorist organizations may not always have common interests, but they converge in same methods and aims. Terrorist organizations need services and some tools that can only be provided by criminal organizations. For instance, they seek support from transnational criminal organizations that can provide operational contribution. These groups which are mostly defined as “criminal service providers” include semi-legitimate travel experts, some attorneys and corrupt officials. Some investigations also suggest that transnational organized criminal groups aspire to provide logistical and other supports to terrorist organizations (Rollins & Wyler, 2013, p. 3).

Another difference between terrorist and criminal organizations is the role and motivations in their commercial aims. First of all, terrorist organizations seek media attention due to several reasons. Contrary to this, criminal organizations mostly prefer to be subterranean. Terrorist groups aim to achieve public goods which are mostly non-rivalrous while organized crime groups strive to provide private goods for their members. For instance, criminal organizations such as the Yakuza in Japan and the Italian-American Cosa Nostra provide a security service and private protection in exchange for money. Therefore, such organizations carry a “commercial identity” as a strategic preference for especially their vital interests (Hausken & Gupta, 2015, p. 142). Another distinctive character of terrorist organizations is that they must have committed a political base which can be nationalistic, leftist or religious. Every terrorist organization is established on ideological foundation unlike criminal organizations. Accordingly, terrorist organizations would generally aim to replace a government or a political leader, therefore, these two

types of organizations would rather strive to keep weak and corruptible political leaders.

In conclusion, a member of a terrorist organization has a strong commitment toward the political objectives and the members can always sacrifice their own individual interests, even their own lives (Hausken & Gupta, 2015, p. 143). The relationship between terrorist and criminal organizations can emerge in the form of a partnership or a merger in pursuit of attaining their goals. However, organized crime groups intrinsically prefer to act within the understanding of minimum risk and maximum profit.

3.THE NEXUS BETWEEN THE PKK AND DRUG TRAFFICKING

3.1.The Crime – PKK Continuum and Modus Operandi

The PKK was founded in 1978 in Diyarbakır, Lice. They initially launched a series of terrorist attacks in Southeastern Anatolia region of Turkey in 1984. Before this, in 1982, the PKK organized its Second Congress in Damascus, Syria, and the organization decided to commence a violent armed campaign against Turkey. In this process, Syria has also provided a safe haven for the terrorist organization PKK. (Roth & Sever, 2007).

The PKK's target is mostly the population who live in southeast of Turkey and security forces. While the state sponsorship of terrorism largely decreased after the Cold War period, terrorist groups such as the PKK gravitated to illegal methods like extortion, arms smuggling and drug trafficking activities. Terrorist groups such as the PKK also benefit from the power vacuum in order to establish its financial infrastructure and to continue the low-intensity conflict against state authority. For example, in the last four decades, the power vacuum in Turkey's near abroad comprised of the interventions and wars at the beginning of every decades since 1980. With an example at the beginning, in the period of the Iran-Iraq War of 1980-1988, Barzani's forces in Northern Iraq dissolved by Iraqi army's military pressure and operations, were obliged to move to Iran and thus the PKK confiscated the rest of the weapons of the region by taking advantage of this situation. In this manner, the PKK also recruited some peshmergas from Barzani's forces and turned into an opportunity on its behalf this power vacuum in the region. Most

of all, the PKK terrorist organization formed its financial resources and logistic potentials in this period.

The PKK desires to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of Turkish state to protect its citizens. It also politically aims to create antipathy against Turkey in international arena, however, it has modified its own mentality beyond standard mentality of several terrorist organizations. The PKK has altered its own modus operandi¹ on two bases. Firstly, latent face of the terrorist organization that functions like a criminal syndicate or enterprise coordinates crimes such as drug trafficking. According to an intelligence report of U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency, the PKK generates income from taxing narcotic traffickers and heroin production. It has also involved in the taxation of narcotic shipment and the protection of drug smugglers in the Southeastern Anatolia region of Turkey (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior, 2017, p. 44). Furthermore, the operations connected with the illegal drug trade via cell structures of the PKK were carried out, and other terrorist members have not been informed about these operations. On the other side of the medallion, political organizational form of the PKK, particularly in European countries, stands out. This is not in the shape of concealed form. Several mass activities such as press meetings or occupations can be exemplified to this. In reality, the PKK desires to perform itself on a so-called legitimate basis in domestic and international arena, at a tactical level. However, the PKK has become largely involved in criminal enterprise by trafficking narcotic drugs in order to maintain its terrorist acts. And it is recognized as a terrorist organization by all

¹ Modus operandi is a latin word and it means the method followed, particularly in the literature of law.

Western world including the Council of Europe, the European Parliament and NATO.

According to Mincheva and Gurr, the PKK has certainly the interpenetrating structure between terrorism and organized crime. They argue “due to the level of its involvement in the drug market, the PKK has become a European organized crime syndicate itself” (Mincheva & Gurr, 2013, p. 65). On the other hand, the PKK has long been categorised as “self-funding terrorist organization”, a term that exemplifies an organization’s ability to operate without receiving support (Eccarius-Kelly, 2012, p. 239). In this direction, a new kind of criminal network has emerged in illicit drug trafficking beyond the classic terrorist mentality. This mafiatric network demonstrated that both criminal and terrorist organizations converged in economic and political aims in their area of focus. Not only this, they are also converged in the area of motivations and operations making it difficult to distinguish the reality between the two phenomena (Makarenko, 2004, p. 135).

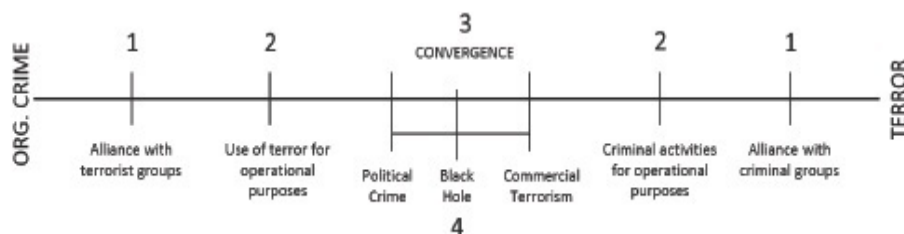


Figure 2. A Convergence Between Terrorist Organizations and Organized Crime Groups: “The Crime Terror Continuum”. Source: T. Makarenko, *The Crime-Terror Continuum: Tracing the Interplay between Transnational Organised Crime and Terrorism* (2004)

Most agencies including the German Department of Justice, the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration and the Nations Office of Drug Control put forward the PKK's linkages to nearly 80 percent of drugs seized in Europe (Curtis & Karacan, 2002). Particularly, the PKK terrorists give importance to the supply of heroin which is obtained by processing opium, because they need clients to sell narcotics, especially in European countries. When the PKK established a close tie with Kurdish diaspora in the Western European countries, it gained dominance over the drug business between the Golden Crescent and European countries. The terrorist organization has evolved its drug business by establishing illegal networks with its members and sympathizers. Moreover, most Kurdish immigrants were forced to financially support the PKK and the terrorist organization gradually strengthened its power in the drug market of Europe (Laçiner, 2008). On the other hand, the distribution methods of narcotics which are utilized by the drug cartels in South America can be implemented in European countries by the PKK. The terrorist organization uses concealed militants and political associations instead of the salaried staffs and the front companies used by the cartels in South America (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior, 2017).

In addition to these, according to statements of Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of the PKK, the terrorist organization relies substantially on organized crime in order to fund their terrorist acts. Indeed, Ocalan's trial testimony in 2003 reveals that the organization has been an important player in the world of criminal organizations. His respond to the judge's question: "Osman Ocalan (his brother) is collecting money from people who conduct drug trafficking. In addition, there are some structures called customs units of the organization and

located along the borders. They collect the money as well...” (Roth & Sever, 2007, p. 908).

In conclusion, drug trafficking is a shadowy business, while terrorists are retaining funds from drug traffickers to maintain their illegal operations and insurgency campaigns against state authority. For example, one of the similarities between the Taliban and the PKK is that they collected taxes from drug traffickers. After all, the PKK has constructed narcotics and crime network as well as being politically motivated terrorist organization. Its involvement in narcotics business has generated significant amounts of its revenue. By doing this, it has also constructed an infrastructure in all phases of drug trafficking which are manufacturing, transportation, distribution and marketing process. In this sense, the PKK is almost a mafia organization all over Europe performing criminal activities with its octopus-like presence (Çongar, 2006).

3.2.The Role and the Position of the PKK in Drug Trafficking as a Narcoterrorist Organization

It is clear that international drug trade and terrorism are interwoven nowadays. Especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, deployment phase of drug production and trafficking is mostly located at the geography of Central and Western Asia. In terms of terrorism financing, drug smuggling has been estimated more profitable than the other illegal methods. Therefore, the PKK is involved in the illicit narcotics trade that comprises the large part of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. In the context of drug trafficking and terrorism financing, this region called as Golden Crescent (Eccarius-Kelly, 2011, p. 44).

The impact of the Golden Crescent' poppies is global. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Afghanistan produced 87% of opium available in the world in 2005 (UNODC, November 2005, p. 5). This region also situated in the center of an area characterized by unpredictable radical movements and changes. Most importantly, the illicit drug trade in the region adversely impacts stability, security and development of this region. There is a strong connection between insecurity and cultivation of opium poppy in the Golden Crescent region. Consequently, the global opium trade and its cultivation continues to represent a real global threat to people health around the world.

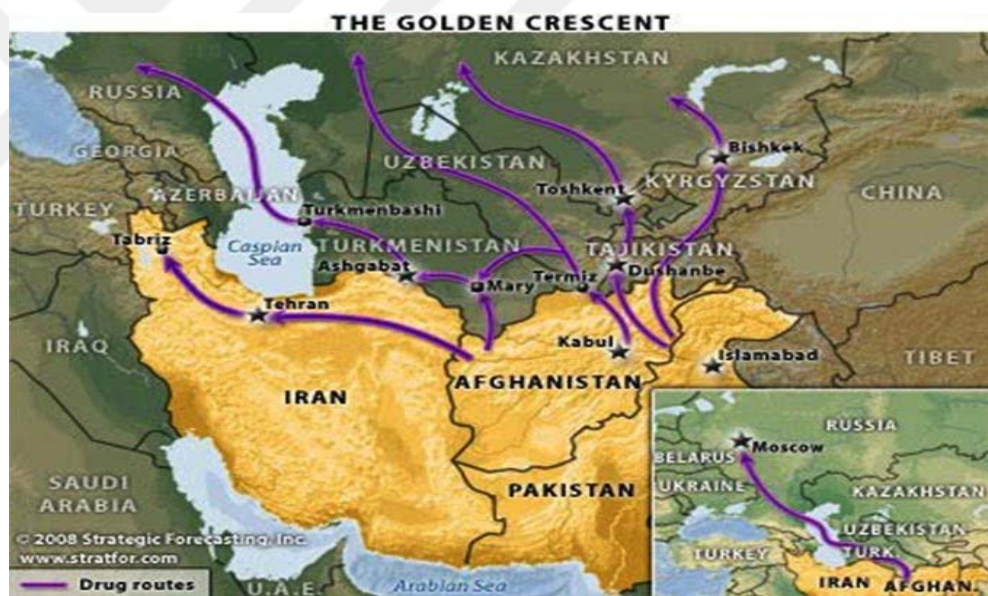


Figure 3. The Golden Crescent. Source: Stratfor

PKK's geographical position has already a critical dimension and its territory is close to the Golden Crescent countries. This region is the largest heroin and opium source in Asia. This lucrative trade in drug trafficking supports a wide range of crime and threatens to economy of the region. It also provides a significant revenue to opium poppy cultivators. There is a symbiotic

nexus between the insurgency and drug trafficking in Afghanistan. Drug traffickers already supply some weapons and financial support to the insurgents in exchange for the safekeeping of drug trafficking routes and the fields (U.S. Department of State, Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, 2013). However, most of all, subcontractor role of the PKK stands out here. From this argument, the PKK's struggle to survive did not become difficult, because it discovered and benefited from drug smuggling and trade in time. Particularly drug smuggling is one of the prominent illegal operation areas of the terrorist organization. The most lucrative business for the PKK is drug trafficking in this direction. As a matter of fact, PKK's illicit drug trade starts from Afghanistan and reaches Europe through Iran and Turkey. Since the PKK noticed that narcotic trafficking has become a new funding way, making a profit on illicit drug trafficking business emerged as a mechanism of revenue generation, similar to the Taliban in Afghanistan. In this sense, the terrorist organization realized the lucrativeness of its illicit drug trade business in financing the terrorist actions and its leap in acquiring funding from drug trafficking emerged to be a strengthening mechanism for the terrorist organization (Minteh, 2013).

The PKK's knowledge network in the region where Syrian, Iraqi and Iranian borders provided it a role to guard the transit routes in narcotic trafficking. Inherently, this safeguarding role made the PKK one of the most essential cooperators of organized crime groups. Some investigations underscore that about 50-80 percent of heroin supplies to Europe is managed by the PKK (UNODC, 2012). According to NATO intelligence and security investigators, the PKK gains profit at least 50 million dollars annually from

heroin trade alone (UNODC, 2010, p. 123). Apart from that, according to the International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, heroin as a finished product, smuggled to Turkey from Afghanistan (Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, 2017, p. 272). From these facts, in early drug smuggling times of the PKK, its only revenue was the protection money it demanded from drug traffickers. When the PKK noticed that it could earn even more money by involving more effectively in drug trade, it started manufacturing, distributing and transporting illicit drugs, notably heroin, from the Golden Crescent to Europe (Laçiner, 2008).

On the other part, Syria and Lebanon territories emerged as a safe haven for terrorist organizations in the 1980s. In 1982, the PKK began to cultivate hemp and opium poppy around the Lebanese camps known as Baelbek and Hermen that were under the wing of Syrian regime. The main transit points were the ports of Beirut, Miryan, Abdeh, Tripoli, Sayda and Sur. Afterwards, illicit drugs were sent to ports of Greek Cyprus, Italy and Greece, and as a consequences of these facts, the PKK acquired hefty sums for years (Laçiner, 2008). In that year, Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, which is under the authority of Syrian regime, was also utilized by the PKK. Opium was processed in the laboratories here and transported to Europe (Ruehsen, 2016). Because agriculture in the Bekaa Valley is mostly suitable for opium production.

Drug traffickers are absolutely in need of terrorists as a keeper and security-services provider. They utilize terrorist organizations for protecting shipment and distribution process of illicit drugs. Accordingly, terrorist groups like the PKK can be thought of as hybrid or half-criminal organizations

(Mincheva & Gurr, 2013, p. 42). In 1993, the PKK made a profit at the rate of 44 percent in drug trafficking according to the British National Criminal Intelligence (Mincheva & Gurr, 2013, p. 64). At the same time, the PKK is financially supported by the militants in Kurdish diaspora in Western Europe, especially in Germany. The terrorist organization also recruited some people from the Kurdish diaspora in Europe in an attempt to distribute narcotics, to become more effective at this illegal enterprise. The funds collected in European countries are transferred in illegal way to the PKK by its couriers. On the other hand, if these funds are small amounts, they are transferred by some companies or individual accounts. The revenue obtained from drug trafficking, or via donations and charities is channeled to purchase arms, munition and other equipments for the terrorist organization.

In addition to all these, Turkey's geographical position constitutes one of the main routes for narcotics flow. Turkey and the region have been experiencing massive flow of drug trafficking and terrorist campaigns over the last three decades. Indeed, the PKK's abroad structuring extends along the Middle East to Europe. This area includes the entire Balkan Transit Route where is one of the world's most significant drug trafficking routes. With its organizational structure, the terrorist organization can easily transports the narcotics by utilizing this route (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior, 2017, p. 48).

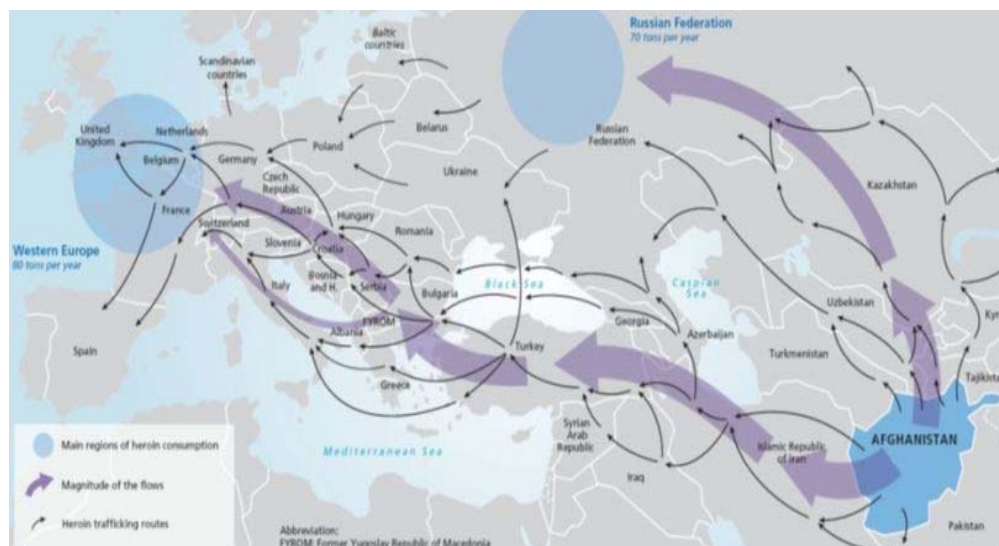


Figure 4. Balkan Route and Northern Route. Source: UNODC (2010)

According to Robert Fragnito, the PKK's budget is estimated as 86 billion dollars. A major part of the budget is derived from trafficking of heroin. These incomes are mostly used for accoutrements and some weapons (Kandur, 2016). The United Nations estimates that the annual profit of OC groups including the PKK in heroin trafficking is nearly at least 600-700 million dollars (UNODC, 2010, p. 122). The U.N. also estimates that 60 metric tons of heroin were transported through the Balkan route (UNODC, 2011). For instance, 4 tons of seized heroin in operations were directly linked to PKK militants in 2007. Moreover, the PKK and OC groups linked to the terrorist organization benefited from 1 billion dollar in heroin trafficking in 2009. The investigations found out that the PKK played a significant role in imposing taxes in Turkey and Europe on the traffickers' revenue except for the fact that in all phases of drug trafficking (FATF, 2014, p. 48). Besides, Turkish security forces in Istanbul only seized 8,892 tons of drugs in 895 separate incidents in 2017 (Rudaw, 2018).



Figure 5. Heroin Trafficking From Afghanistan to Europe. Source: UNODC

In this regard, Turkey is a significant transit country for narcotics trafficking. Afghanistan is one of the centers of illicit drug production in the world. From this point, heroin and opium are mostly trafficked through Turkey to European markets.

Table 1. *Distribution of Heroin Flows to Europe*

Route	Size of flows (tons)	Per cent
Balkan Route (Afghanistan – I.R of Iran – Turkey – South-Eastern Europe)	85	80%
Northern Route (Afghanistan – C. Asia – Russian Fed. – Eastern Europe)	4	4%
Northern Balkan Route (Afghanistan – I.R of Iran – Caucasus – S.Europe)	7	7%
Directly from Pakistan to Western and Central Europe	5	5%
Through Africa to Western and Central Europe	2	2%
Directly from South and SE Asia (except India) to W&C Europe	1	1%
Through Middle East and Gulf Area to W&C Europe	1	1%
Directly from India to W&C Europe	1	1%

Source: UNODC Heroin Report (2010)

According to the “2017 Turkish National Drug Report”, the PKK earns about 1.5 billion dollars annually from narcotic trafficking. This is generally used for ammunition and sheltering. Moreover, according to the EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report, the PKK raises fund via taxes from drug traffickers. It profits by each phase of illicit drug trafficking. In return, the drug traffickers are protected by PKK militants in this process (TNP Counter Narcotics Department, 2017). Finally, the terrorist organizations such as the

PKK which has played a crucial role in drug trafficking can be called as narco-terrorist organizations.

3.3. Countermeasures and Combating PKK Narcoterrorism

In fact, several countries have nowadays demonstrated the will to take crucial steps in order to reformulate and strengthen their domestic institutions because the drug trafficking networks have become more globalized and sophisticated than at any time in history (U.S. Department of State, Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, 2013, p. 16). At first, the entry of terrorist organizations like Hezbollah into the narcotic trafficking enterprise is largely a factor of border insecurity (Levitt, September 2012, p. 41). This is also valid for the PKK terrorist organization. To set an example, it concordantly controls both sides of the Turkey-Iran border and the drug traffickers can smuggle narcotic drugs from Iran (Cengiz, 2017, p. 7). The PKK has entirely positioned itself as a carrier of illicit drugs through the Middle East and the Balkans. It is a multidimensional criminal enterprise involved in all phases of drug trafficking from manufacturing to distribution and it considers cultivation of illicit cannabis plant as the most profitable way. The terrorist organization PKK manages this process by forcing villagers of the region to cultivate these illegal products and it receives commission from the product (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior, 2017, p. 55).

On the other hand, synthetic narcotics emanate from multifarious manufacturing zones therefore they are less vulnerable to enforcement of law which require quite easily detectable cultivation sites. Furthermore, greater cooperation between governments and international organizations is necessary

to prevent flow and cultivation of these illicit drugs (U.S. Department of State, Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, 2013). For that reason, there is need to be trained of officials of financial and government institutions in investigation and terrorism financing methods. Developing communication and coordination between domestic and international institutions makes a positive contribution to the efforts to counter terrorism process. In this sense, Turkey has organized education plans and programs through the Turkish International Academy against Drugs and Organized Crime (TADOC), including Pakistan, Afghanistan and other countries in the region. From this point, counter narcoterrorism process requires an implementation of efficient governance that contains terrorist threats gradually spreading in the world. However, the lack of a strong political will, insubstantially guarded national boundaries and weak law enforcement would constitute vulnerabilities in combating these threats. Inherently, narcoterrorist organizations would directly benefit from these vulnerabilities.

The PKK's geographical advantage is located to the strategic and also vulnerable routes between Europe and Asia. Naturally this fact reveals the main reason of the PKK's involvement in drug trafficking. Geography is a considerable problem in combating PKK narcoterrorism. Cultivation sites of illicit drugs may not always been accessible due to the circumstances of harsh terrain. Weather conditions may also impact the ability to gather information and data. From this fact, illegal crop productivity depends on a number of components. These are changes in weather, soil fertility and farming techniques and these factors can largely produce varying results based on time and place (U.S. Department of State, Bureau for International Narcotics and

Law Enforcement Affairs, 2013). Most importantly, necessity of a global effort to target ungoverned areas for drug trafficking should be aimed. To produce effective strategies and measures and to counter every phase of drug trafficking, Turkey should cooperate with Afghan government to solve this problem. In this situation, these two countries should share their own experiences to strengthen the efforts of countering narcoterrorism. For example, creating a more convenient environment for agricultural and other legal products instead of opium cultivation could be more profitable in every aspect. In that situation, terrorist groups can no longer exploit opium production. Unfortunately, Afghanistan does not have legally binding institutions to strictly control and prevent transporting narcotic drugs.

Without the support provided by governments and other non-state actors, the PKK cannot exist. For this reason, European countries should be convinced to counter PKK narcoterrorism from every aspect. The PKK's influence and its financial entity pose a serious threat to European countries as well. In this sense, common sense and strategies are crucial for a success in this field. If a consensus in specific countermeasures and strategies could be created, attaining an objective for criminal and terrorist organizations is almost impossible.

Still, illegal trafficking of narcotic drugs and illegal cultivation of narcotic plants threaten the political, social and economic stability of many countries nowadays. Compared to the previous years and with increasing numbers, UNODC estimated that there were 272 million drug users in 2010 (UNODC, 2010). This number is important in reflecting the truth that the potential consumer market has increased. And this fact demonstrates that

narcoterrorism will remain as a serious problem in the world. Vanda Felbab-Brown argues that the decrease in drug demand can influence positively countering narcoterrorism process. In this situation, an aggressive anti-drug campaign is also necessary in the global arena (Felbab-Brown, 2008, p. 28). Because huge consumer drug market is vital for narcoterrorist groups.

As mentioned before, drug trafficking composed of the four stages. These are cultivation, production, shipment and selling. The PKK almost procures majority of its illegal drug revenue from the shipment process of narcotic drugs. Particularly, the PKK has an advantage in terms of given the shipment transit routes in the Northern Iraq, the availability of numerous alternative routes and the presence of ungoverned zones where provide safe havens. The PKK's place in the heroin shipment stage has also been supported by their established cadre and its diaspora presence in both the Middle East and Europe. Especially in Western Europe, shipment of narcotic drugs became more functional for the terrorist organization, when the diaspora structure of the PKK strengthened in that region (Laçiner, 2008). Consequently the PKK is able to collect donations from Kurdish heroin smugglers in the places where its diaspora has become stronger gradually (UNODC, 2010, p. 123).

In addition to these, the UNODC has developed an approach in order to make an extensive and qualified estimate of the illicit drug trade worldwide in 2003. This trade is estimated to have a value of 13 billion dollars at the manufacturer level, 94 billion dollars at the wholesale level, and 322 billion dollars at the retail level (Hartelius, 2008, p. 4). Shipment stage at the retail level to consumer markets grabs the attention with its huge amount here. After all, within the framework of counter narcoterrorism perspective, it is necessary

to target the shipment and selling phase. This vulnerable chain can be targeted by running a very strong informational and operational campaign.



4.CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Understanding the goals and the positions of terrorist organizations is critical for constructing an efficient policy and strategy in countering terrorism. The PKK's transnational character will be well understood by taking into consideration labyrinthic cross-border liaison among various actors involved in drug trafficking activities.

In this section, some policy recommendations will stand out and finally the thesis will be concluded. There are two main approaches here. Initially, countering narcoterrorism approach requires to develop a global framework/or understanding and infrastructure planning by cooperating with global institutions. This includes an anti-narcotics policy by strengthening law-enforcement agencies. Also, an effective law enforcement mechanism in domestic should be established. And consequently providing the transfer and flow of information between national and international institutions makes a strong contribution to the analysis process in terms of intelligence activities and military operations. Most importantly, preventing of drug addiction, preparing educational and informational infrastructure within this framework and developing anti-drug policies in the context of combatting terrorism are necessary. National security and counter-terrorism departments in the universities must be increased and improved nationwide. More specifically, It is significant that academic programs targeting narcoterrorism be indoctrinated into curriculum of academic institutions including high schools, universities and colleges.

In brief, counter narcoterrorism approach comprises mostly informational and non-operational features. Some political measures can also

be added to this approach. Putting pressure and/or developing a diplomatic co-operation to fight against terrorism on countries that supporting terrorism is another necessity in combating narcoterrorism process. Defeating PKK narcoterrorism seems so difficult without assistance of the European countries. For this reason, diplomatic relations with the European Union countries are crucial.

The role of media is also important in this process. The power of media should be used in order to raise awareness. This is especially beneficial to uncover the illegal nexus between terrorist and some charity organizations.

On the other hand, establishing a national action plan is vital for the future of counter-narcoterrorism process. Creating a national action plan is so important in terms of establishing the extensive measures related to all aspects of potential dangers and risks. This is usually carried out by state organs under authority of the ministry of internal affairs by receiving research centers and experts' support. In this sense, a national action plan elaborates the concrete steps in attaining the objectives.

Regional cooperations also contribute to this process. For example, the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) made an endeavour in defeating terrorism in the region with the economic assistance to Pakistan (Pakistan Today, 2018).

Risk management process is another important factor. This process in combating narcoterrorism requires the strategic planning and an effective reaction to threats especially in terms of timing. In addition, sustainable economic and human development programs are crucial in case of planning in

the long run especially in vulnerable areas. Obviously, In countering narcoterrorism process, necessity of a long term policy as an established state policy is very significant.

The second approach is the process of counter narcoterror. This approach is mostly about military and operational capability along with the criminal dimension. This includes some security measures. For instance, private security forces should be established to combat narcoterror and should be provided a special training to them. Following that, narcotics detection in airports and strategic routes should be intensified.

In the context of intelligence gathering activities, communication between narcotics suppliers and traffickers can create vulnerabilities make it possible to gather intelligence on drug trafficking activities. An intelligence sharing system must be established among government agencies for intercepting of cross-border narcotics trafficking. Intelligence agencies should be able to identify state sponsors of terrorism. Implementing various sanctions against these supporters of terrorism should be a zero tolerance policy in this sense. In addition to this, border surveillance and security must be improved to curtail trafficking activities. Border security hereby involves both land and marine dimension.

In conclusion, the PKK's role and its position within organized crime networks should be devastated, instead of eradicating the all financial infrastructure and sources. Isolation of the PKK in criminal world makes it insecure. This can be achieved by sowing distrust within the PKK and the drug

dealers. Both groups have a natural alliance, but if lack of trust is created, this alliance falls down.



REFERENCES

- Anderson, T. M. (2004). Transnational Terror and Organized Crime: Blurring the Lines. *SAIS Review of International Affairs* , 49-61.
- Aykın, H. (2010). *Aklama ve Terörün Finansmanı ile Mücadelenin Küresel Boyutu*. Ankara: T.C. Maliye Bakanlığı Strateji Geliştirme Başkanlığı.
- Bilgen, A. (2011, November 16). *Drug Trafficking and Countermeasures in Turkey: A General Assessment*. Retrieved October 20, 2017, from The European Strategist: <http://www.eurstrat.eu/drug-trafficking-and-countermeasures-in-turkey-a-general-assessment-2/>
- Boyce, D. (October 1987). Narco-terrorism. *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* , 24-27.
- Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs. (2017). *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report*. US Department of State.
- Cengiz, M. (2017). *Amped in Ankara: Drug Trade and Drug Policy in Turkey from the 1950s through Today*. The Brookings Institution, Foreign Policy.
- Clark, M. (2008). Narcoterrorism and Australia: Is A New Theoretical Lens Required? *The Police Journal, Volume 81* , 224.
- Crenshaw, M. (1985, September). An Organizational Approach to the Analysis of Political Terrorism. *Orbis 29, no.3* , 473.
- Crime, U. N. (20 May 2012). *World Drug Report 2012*. New York: United Nations.
- Curtis, G., & Karacan, T. (2002). *The Nexus Among Terrorists, Narcotics Traffickers, Weapons Proliferators and Organized Crime Networks in Western Europe*. Federal Research Commission. Library of Congress.
- Çongar, Y. (2006, December 14). *ABD: PKK ahtapot gibi*. September 13, 2017 tarihinde Haberturk: <http://www.haberturk.com/haber/haber/9073-abd-pkk-ahtapot-gibi> adresinden alındı
- Dauids, D. J. (2002). *Narco-terrorism – A Unified Strategy to Fight a Growing Terrorist Menace* . Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers.
- Eccarius-Kelly, V. (2012). Surreptitious Lifelines: A Structural Analysis of the FARC and the PKK. *Terrorism and Political Violence* , 235-258.
- Eccarius-Kelly, V. (2011). *The Militant Kurds: A Dual Strategy for Freedom*. Santa Barbara: Praeger.
- FATF. (2014). *Financial flows linked to the production and trafficking of Afghan opiates*. Paris: Financial Action Task Force.
- FATF Report. (2015). *Emerging Terrorist Financing Risks*.

- Felbab-Brown, V. (2008). Globalization and narcoterrorism. In M. Cox, *State of corruption, state of chaos : the terror of political malfeasance*. Lexington Books.
- Freeman, M. (2011). The Sources of Terrorist Financing: Theory and Typology. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* , 461.
- Hartelius, J. (2008). *Narcoterrorism*. the Swedish Carnegie Institute.
- Hausken, K., & Gupta, D. (2015, October). Terrorism and Organized Crime: The Logic of an Unholy Alliance. *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology* , 141-166.
- Jenkins, B. M. (2006). *The New Age of Terrorism*. Retrieved June 8, 2017, from RAND Corporation: <https://www.rand.org/pubs/reprints/RP1215.html>.
- Kandur, J. L. (2016, April 1). *It is time to Europe decided for itself*. Retrieved August 18, 2017 , from Daily Sabah: <https://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2016/04/02/it-is-time-europe-decided-for-itself>
- Knowles, G. J. (2008). Threat Analysis: Organized Crime and Narco-Terrorism in Northern Mexico. *Military Review* , 79.
- Laçiner, S. (2008). Drug Smuggling as Main Source of PKK Terrorism. *The Journal of Turkish Weekly* .
- Levitt, M. (September 2012). *Hizbullah Narco-terrorism: A Growing Cross-Border Threat*. IHS Defense, Risk and Security Consulting.
- Madsen, F. (2009). *Transnational Organized Crime*. 270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016: Routledge.
- Makarenko, T. (2004). The crime-terror continuum: tracing the interplay between transnational organised crime and terrorism. *Global Crime* , 6 (1), 129-145.
- McPherson, S. (2004, January 1). The Drug War and Terrorism. The Future of Freedom Foundation.
- MFA. (n.d.). *Republic of Turkey-Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. Retrieved September 8, 2017, from Turkey's Efforts Against The Drug Problem: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-efforts-against-the-drug-problem.en.mfa
- Mincheva, L. G., & Gurr, T. R. (2013). *Crime-Terror Alliances and the State: Ethnonationalist and Islamist Challenges to Regional Security*. London: Routledge.
- Minteh, B. (2013). *Narco-Terrorism-A Risk Assessment of Global Terrorist Linkages to the International Drug Trade*.
- Oxford Dictionary. (1999). *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pakistan Today. (2018, February 23). *National action plan broke backbone of terrorists: Punjab CM*. Retrieved March 5, 2018, from <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/02/23/national-action-plan-broke-backbone-of-terrorists/>
- Rapoport, D. C. (2002 Spring). The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism. 47.

- Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior. (2017). *Fight Against Narcoterrorism: Drugs and PKK/KCK*.
- Rollins, J., & Wyler, L. S. (2013). *Terrorism and Transnational Crime: Foreign Policy Issues for Congress*. Congressional Research Service.
- Roth, M. P., & Sever, M. (2007, August 22). The Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) as Criminal Syndicate: Funding Terrorism through Organized Crime, A Case Study. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 901-920.
- Rudaw. (2018, January 5). *Ankara calls on Europe to help stem Turkey's drug problem*. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from <http://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/turkey/05012018>
- Ruehsen, M. (2016). Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan (PKK). In M. Freeman, *Financing Terrorism* (pp. 73-84). Routledge.
- Shanty, F., & Mishra, P. P. (2008). *Organized crime: from trafficking to terrorism*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Thachuk, K. (2005). Corruption and International Security. *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 25 (1), 151.
- Thachuk, K. (2007). *Transnational Threats: Smuggling and Trafficking in Arms, Drugs and Human Life*. London: Praeger Security International.
- Thomas, J. E. (2009). Narco-Terrorism: Could the Legislative and Prosecutorial Responses Threaten Our Civil Liberties? *Wash. & Lee L. Rev.* 66, pp. 1882-1916. Washington and Lee University School of Law.
- TNP Counter Narcotics Department. (2017). *Turkish National Drug Report*. Ankara: Turkish National Police Counter Narcotics Department.
- Townshend, C. (2002). *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford Press.
- U.S. Department of State, Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs. (2013). *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report*.
- UNODC. (November 2005). *Afghanistan Opium Survey 2005*. Kabul, Afghanistan: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.
- UNODC. (2010). *The Globalization of Crime: A Transnational Organized Crime Threat Assessment*. Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.
- UNODC. (2010). *World Drug Report 2010*. New York: United Nations Publication.
- UNODC. (2011). *World Drug Report 2011*. United Nations Publication.
- UNODC. (2012). *World Drug Report*. Vienna: United Nations Publication.
- Williams, P. (2014). Organized crime and terrorism. *Latin American and Caribbean Center*. Miami: School of International and Public Affairs.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

