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ANALYSING THE NEW TACTICS AND STRATEGIES OF PKK IN TURKEY? DO TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS COPY EACH OTHER?

Abstract

Terrorism is basically defined as a kind of “political violence” however its very contentious concept so that there is still no single definition that is accepted by all around the world. The PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê/ Kurdish Workers Party), which was established at the end of 1970s and carried out its first action in 1984, has undergone many changes since its inception, is defined as a terrorist organization by many international organisation and states. The organization had affected by the changes in the world conjuncture, is now regarded as both a Marxist-Leninist and an ethnic-separatist terrorist activity. During that transition process of world, the tactics and strategies of the PKK have also changed. The PKK, which had set out for the aim of an independent Kurdish state, has been talking about an autonomous federal Kurdish region today. At the same time, the PKK, which originally fought with security forces with tactics of rural-guerrilla warfare, has now turned its tactics to the city wars and has attacked the security forces that have no defence capabilities (unarmed) or civilians especially by using its proxy organisation TAK. The latest two attacks in December 2016 in İstanbul and Kayseri are just examples of this new tactics. These tactics, in other words, attacking to civilians rather than elements of the state and using rural guerrilla warfare (security forces or state officials) have been similarities to the tactics of the PIRA (the armed part of the IRA) in the period before Belfast Treaty. In fact, the PKK and the (P)IRA are different terrorist organizations in terms of organizational philosophy, motivational elements and forms of action. However, after the operations carried out by the Turkish Military

Forces in the eastern regions of Turkey, the PKK moved its terrorist acts from rural areas to cities. They have been applying new tactics that they learned from other terrorist organisations. Beside the PIRA, the PKK has started to use bomb-cars tactics that they learned from Al-Qaeda and IS from the period of Iraq invasion and Syrian civil war. In this context, the aim of this study is to analyse the new tactics and strategies of the PKK's transformation process by revealing the similarities of the PKK with other terrorist organizations, and to identify possible prevention proposals. First of all, the concept of terrorism will be examined in detail. Subsequently, the change that the PKK has undergone will be discussed by its major and new actions will be introduced that resemble PIRA and other Middle Eastern terrorist organizations.

Key words: *terrorism, PKK, strategies, tactics, Middle East terrorist organisations, PIRA.*

Introduction

Terrorism is defined basically as a kind of “political violence”. However, its very contentious concept so, there is still no single definition of terrorism that accepted from the world. The most important debate about terrorism is “what is terrorism” and “who is the terrorist” because there is a disagreement between parties on “one’s terrorist the other’s freedom fighters”. All we know that the concept of freedom fighters is come to the world agenda after the decolonisation period. From this decolonization perspective, there should be two important features for being freedom fighter. First one is being under from other state/s and the second one is being under undemocratic regimes. For example, we can easily define the “Kuvai Milliye¹” forces as freedom fighters in the period of Turkey’s War of Independence, because, the territories of Ottoman were occupied by Western States. If an armed group, which is both living in a sovereign state and under a democratic regime and act some terrorist attacks to innocent people is directly defined as terrorist group. Also for freedom fighters the second issue is guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare has some rules and if the freedom fighters apply these rules in their freedom fighting process they could gain legitimacy from international law. But if an armed groups use guerrilla warfare they must not attack innocent people. In other words, must not do terror. They can only fight against military forces.

In this context of above, PKK and its all proxy organisations can be defined as terrorist. If PKK were established in Ottoman period and claimed that they were

¹ Turkish militia forces in the early period of the Turkish War of Independence

under occupation on the so called Kurdish territory it could be acceptable as freedom fighters because there was an empire, territories was gained by wars and there was no democracy. But in today's world, under the international law rules, the activities of PKK are terrorist activities because, it's totally against democratic Turkish Republic.

The PKK, which was established at the end of 1970s and carried out its first action in 1984, has undergone many changes since its inception, is defined as a terrorist organization by many international organisation and states. The organization had affected by the changes in the world conjuncture, is now regarded as both a Marxist-Leninist and an ethnic-separatist terrorist activity. During that transition process of world, the tactics and strategies of the PKK have also changed. The PKK, which had set out for the aim of an independent Kurdish state, has been talking about an autonomous federal Kurdish region today. At the same time, the PKK, which originally fought with security forces with tactics of rural-guerrilla warfare, has now turned its tactics to the city wars and has attacked the security forces that have no defence capabilities (unarmed) or civilians especially by using its proxy organisation TAK. The latest two attacks in December 2016 in İstanbul and Kayseri are just examples of this new tactics. These tactics, in other words, attacking to civilians rather than elements of the state and using rural guerrilla warfare (security forces or state officials) have been similarities to the tactics of the PIRA (the armed part of the IRA) in the period before Belfast Treaty. In fact, the PKK and the (P)IRA are different terrorist organizations in terms of organizational philosophy, motivational elements and forms of action. However, after the operations carried out by the Turkish Military Forces in the eastern regions of Turkey, the PKK moved its terrorist act from rural areas to cities. They have been applying new tactics that they learned from other terrorist organisations. Beside the PIRA, the PKK has started to use bomb-cars tactics that they learned from Al-Qaeda and IS from the period of Iraq invasion and Syrian civil war.

The theoretical framework of this study is to analyse the new tactics and strategies of the PKK's transformation process by revealing the similarities of the PKK with other terrorist organizations, and to identify possible prevention proposals. In this context, in this study, first of all, the concept of terrorism will be examined in detail. Subsequently, the change that the PKK has undergone will be discussed by its major and new actions will be introduced that resemble PIRA and other Middle Eastern terrorist organizations. The prevention of these actions will be driven by the experience of the UK.

1. Conceptualizing Terrorism Its Components

Terrorism is one of the controversial issues in international security discipline. Throughout history, terrorism has always had very different meanings. The most

important reason for this is that the concept of terrorism is related with both politics and violence. So terrorism could be defined as politically motivated violence. However, the situation is not simple as this. There are nearly two hundred different definitions of terrorism and too many parameters that have effected the conceptualisation of terrorism. Especially after the attacks of September 11, the states have given greater sensitivity to the definition of terrorism. But this paper will focus on the parameters related to terrorism instead of the definition of terrorism. The definition of terrorism of the UN or the EU can be used as a comprehensive example. According to UN Security Council Resolution 1566 in 2004;

...criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act (Department of Emergency and Military Affairs, tarih yok).

and in Art.1 of the Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism in 2002; provides that terrorist offences are certain criminal offences set out in a list comprised largely of serious offences against persons and property which:

...given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organization where committed with the aim of: seriously intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization (European Council, 2002).

Basically it is possible to classified terrorism as terrorism against state and terrorism by the state. State terrorism is basically defined as the type of violence that the state imposes on its citizens. State terrorism, which initially did not have a pejorative meaning, is now considered in a wide range from violence in the classical sense to the psychological violence. In state terrorism, the state aims to maintain the existing regime by suppressing political opposition groups or ethnic groups (Falk, 2003) (Taşdemir, 2006) (Başeren, Uluslararası hukuk Açısından Terörizm, 2002). The most well known example of this situation, which is common in totalitarian systems in general, is the Hitler-era Germany.

Terrorism against state on the other hand is difficult to define for many reasons but especially because of history. In the process of decolonization in international history, the militia groups formed within the colony states have been defined as “freedom fighters” by some states and “terrorists” by other states. The term that we

use today "someone's terrorist is the others' freedom fighter" has coming from this perspective and this understanding is depended on the concept of the self-determination in one of the article of UN charter. Self-determination is, in short, that "people living in one country can freely choose their own government" (Acer & Kaya, 2010, p.88). The Charter of the United Nations defines the right to self-determination that was officially included in Article 1, Article 55, Article 76 of the United Nations Convention, but the use of this right is bound to certain conditions (UN , 1970). In order to limit the arbitrary use of this right, Article 51 of the UN Treaty emphasized the importance and importance of protecting the territorial integrity of states in particular. In the 1st article of resolution 1514 conditions of self-determination was stated as "*The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation*" (UN, 1960) and limited the subject of the self-determination to colonial people. Moreover, article 6th same resolution it has been defined clearly that any attempts that tried to partial or totally destruction of national unity and country unity has been determined as contrary to the UN Treaty (UN, 1960). Similarly in the General Assembly decision no 2625 emphasizing the condition of protection of the integrity of the country, the Declaration has laid down that the principle of self-determination cannot be interpreted in a way that the sovereign and independent states, which have the power to represent all the people of the country without discrimination of race, or belief, cannot partially or totally disintegrate the territorial integrity or political unity (UN , 1970). In sum, it has been clearly stated that according to UN, self-determination cannot be used in situations where there is no colonial power or no authoritarian regimes.

In the light of these historical developments that the state system has been experiencing, for the concept of this "freedom fighter" that has become controversial, freedom fighter groups have to struggle for national liberation and self-determination. Countries as Ireland, Israel, Cyprus, Yemen and Algeria were established in that period and as well as for example terrorist organization IRA or EOKA were created against the colonial policies of United Kingdom. Guerilla warfare is another concept that has been always mentioned with the concepts of self-determination and freedom fighters. But it is merely a war technique that is often used by freedom fighters. For this reason both freedom fighters and terrorists called themselves guerrilla warriors. In other words, freedom fighters are the groups with independence purpose that use guerrilla warfare tactics. This guerrilla warfare is legitimate in terms of both the international arena and the international law, since it has some distinctive elements. On the other hand, terrorist organizations use only guerilla war tactics, but they carry out terrorist acts. For this reason they never have legitimacy. Because their aims are different and terrorist organizations make terror.

The history of guerrilla wars goes back to the 19th century but for today, the most important difference between terrorism and guerrilla warfare or war is the symbolic nature of attacks of terrorism. In other words, terrorism acts symbolically that everyone will see, to give fear. It tries to “Harming three people, and let three thousand people to fear”. In response to these symbolic actions of terrorism, in guerrilla warfare and war, the aim is to achieve a goal. Guerrilla warfare is a kind of a rebellious protest that practiced primarily through selective violence. The most widely used practices for Guerrilla warriors are; to work like a military unit, that attacks enemy military forces and seizes and holds the land; to have a defined geographical area and some sovereign authority over the territory of that territory and to express a numerically larger group of armed individuals. Moreover, as in the same military units among guerrilla warriors, there is a subordinate relationship and the obligation to keep their weapons open. Terrorists do not make their actions like the guerrillas explicitly, they do not attempt to occupy or retain a generally defined geographical area, specifically avoid entering direct conflict with enemy military forces and they rarely exercise direct control or sovereignty over the people of the land. The general purpose of terrorists is to direct the violence to the civilians and the general aim of the guerrilla warfare is to direct the violence to the military targets. Military targets are exception to terrorist attacks; it is not a rule. Whereas military targets are the rule for guerrilla attacks; it is not an exception. As a result, it is possible to make a distinction between terrorist and guerrilla warriors, to the extent that they do not resort to terrorist methods, fight against government military forces and have distinctive marks, being selective in targeting the military units rather than civilians (Hoffman, 2006) (Başeren, Terörizm ve Uluslararası ilişkiler, 2003) (Taşdemir, 2006). For example at the beginning of the Turkish War of Independency, Turkish militia forces was established by the citizens, called Kuvai Milliye forces, can be easily defined as freedom fighters. Because on that period, after the World War I, the territories of Ottoman Empire was occupied and these small militia groups started to fight against the enemies’ military powers by using guerrilla warfare tactics. In other words, it is possible to call this Kuvai Milliye forces as freedom fighters, which give the struggle for independence to take back occupied territories by using guerrilla tactics.

2. Background of PKK Strategies and Tactics

The PKK was founded as a university students association in Ankara in 1974, and on November 27, 1978, the association organized the meeting held in the village of Lice District of Diyarbakir (1st Congress), the establishment declaration was declared and the association changed its name to Kurdistan Workers Party. According to this declaration of establishment; the minimum goal was to break down colonialism in the region and establish an independent, democratic and unified Kurdish state. The

maximum goal was; to establish a state, based on Marxist-Leninist principles. The ideology of the PKK includes the Maoism. Because of the geographical structure of the main fighting zone (east and southeast part of Turkey), PKK firstly used the Maoist “Protracted Peoples War²” strategy. Therefore, the PKK's ideology and methodology includes concepts such as "war of guerrilla", "ethnic nationalism" as well as the theory of classical Marxism-Leninism.

There is there stage in Maoism protracted peoples' war strategy. Strategic Defence, Strategic Equilibrium and Strategic Offensive. The Strategic Defence stage is the active guerrilla phase that constantly moving and attacks without fixed positioning, organising the peoples' and trying to rise the number of members. The second stage is the period of Strategic Equilibrium, that the guerrilla is grown up, makes effective attacks with its actions, and creates some safe territories and base areas. This period can be defined as a period in which the battle of war is based, the safe territories can be held, and the two forces are being balanced. In the period of Strategic Offensive, which is the third period; the guerrilla is made itself an army, and at the same time, prepares the people for uprisings in the cities, it can make strategic attacks and achieve results, by means of total struggle. In short protracted peoples' war strategy comprise of the armed struggle that started in the countryside and spread to the whole area, because the state is being relatively weak in rural areas, with the use of intense violence guerrillas can cut off the bonds of the people with the state, and later, reorganized politically and militarily by the organization. According to this strategy, when all the rural areas are taken over by the organization, the cities will be blockage and the popular uprisings will be initiated in the city centers and these rebellions will be transformed into bigger rebellions and the desired goal will be reached. (Bilgiç, 2014).

From the first attack in 1984 to 1994, most of the attacks of PKK were against the fixed target oriented or blockage the roads, similar the first stage of the guerrilla warfare. In 1994, PKK tried to pass the second equilibrium stage and create the safe territories. However, with the low intensity fight against PKK initiated by Turkish Armed Forces, PKK had never had a chance to pass the second stage of guerrilla warfare. In the following years, beside the classic tactic that consist to be attacks on fixed targets, PKK started to use large-scale remotely controlled explosives (Bilgiç, 2014). After Öcalan was arrested and brought to Turkey, efforts were made for political struggle, the political struggle was taken as a basis and a new strategy was

² Maoism, Chinese (Pinyin) Mao Zedong Sixiang, (Wade-Giles romanization) Mao Tse-tung Ssu-hsiang (“Mao Zedong Thought”), doctrine composed of the ideology and methodology for revolution developed by Mao Zedong and his associates in the Chinese Communist Party from the 1920s until Mao's death in 1976. Maoism has clearly represented a revolutionary method based on a distinct revolutionary outlook not necessarily dependent on a Chinese or Marxist-Leninist context. For more information; <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Maoism>

declared and the army groups were withdrawn from the territory of Turkey domestically. PKK left the motto of 'Independency' with Öcalan's capture and adopted the motto of 'democratic union'. In 2002, first the PKK changed its name to KADEK and continued its political campaign, their current aim was to guarantee the survival of Abdullah Öcalan, recognition of Kurdish identity and cultural autonomy, so they started to use the method of civil disobedience to reach these aims. In 2003, KADEK changed its name to "Kurdistan People's Congress" (KONGRA-GEL) and in 2004 the attack period was started again (Yılmaz, 2011).

It has been about 40 years since the PKK first started its actions and more than 35 000 people have lost their lives in Turkey. According to the PKK "Kurdistan" region is under the control of "colonizers", who are Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria and their aim is establish an independent, democratic, and united Kurdish state. However after 1999, PKK has turned its ideology from independency to recognition of the Kurdish identity and limited autonomy by Turkey. On the other hand, nearly 30 percent of Turkey's 80 million population are ethnical Kurdish origin and they have full political rights under the Turkish constitution. In other words, the ethnical Kurdish originated population have same rights with the rest of the population in Turkey. from this point of view it is not possible to say that there is a colonized or undemocratic administration against ethnical Kurdish population in the borders of Turkey according to constitution.

3. New Strategies of PKK and Comparison of Other Terrorist Organizations: European and Middle East Rooted Terrorist Organisations

After arrested of Ocalan, the PKK organized the Extraordinary Seventh Congress in January 2000 and announced its new program with a declaration on February 9th in 2000 which called as "Democratic Republic and Peace Project". The change of the PKK's target and strategy were declared openly at this congress. In this context, the organization has begun to develop methods of struggle in the political arena with legal formations without abandoning the armed struggle altogether. After under arrested, Öcalan had introduced the thesis of "confederalism and democratic republic" instead of "Independent Kurdistan", suggesting four partner states (Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria). In this context, Ocalan expressed his desire for "democratic structuring" while establishing his new strategy and has brings forward the claim of "Kurdish identity and cultural rights" instead of independence (Karaca, 2010). This process of politicization has already been used by other terrorist organizations similar to IRA in United Kingdom. Apart from the process of politicization, a change has also been observed in types of PKK attacks after 2000s. These attacks have carried traces of both PIRA and the Middle East rooted terrorist organizations.

Actually, there is many difference between PKK and pIRA. The main difference between two terrorist organization is ideologically, the PIRA has been more or less purely nationalistic, but also has some roots on religion while, the PKK on the other hand, has been much more of Marxist-Leninist tendency, ethno-nationalistic but has no religious oriented. Also, the fact is that there is no historic, ideological and cultural or goal oriented resemblance between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Turkey. The other difference is that both terrorist organizations have existed in a different region. The IRA has been limited to the island of Ireland and Britain and isolated from global politics. They have been existed in urban areas as an underground movement. Their international dimension has been in of Irish diaspora in USA. They have collected funds from them. Other international support had come from Libya and President Mohamed Gaddafi. Because he was in political fight with Britain, he supplied IRA with arms. From the other hand, the PKK exist in some of the world's richest oil reserves region and it is a part of the Middle East equation. The PKK's sphere of interest includes areas of South East Turkey, Iraq and Syria, where Kurds population are living. While the IRA exists in urban areas as an underground movement, the PKK has established its own court, roadblocks a carrying out ID checks. The PKK and its Marxist-Leninist ideology always uses terrorism, threats and violence such as bloodshed, ruthlessness and savagery, as a means to an end on the path of revolution. The IRA has never burned entire villages to the ground; it has never cold-bloodedly murdered babies in their cribs or pregnant women. Hundreds of thousands of Kurds have been displaced because of the PKK, while the IRA had never done these activities.

The IRA found its international dimension and involvement in international terrorism in co-operation with Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (Spanish initialism FARC). The link between IRA and this terrorist narcotic organization have been suspected in the past, more precisely at the beginning of this millennium when FARC has paid IRA operatives about US\$2 million for training in arms, explosives, and techniques of urban warfare, using money laundering schemes and off shore bank accounts (Alderson, Bamber, & Francis Elliott, 2002). They have been leaders in guerrilla warfare. No nation has a greater tradition of guerrilla warfare then IRA and Ireland. In 1956, General Headquarters of IRA had issued a Handbook for Volunteers of the IRA notes on guerrilla warfare (General Headquarters, 1956). Using guerrilla tactics, they never fought the enemy in a long period where reserves would overwhelm him: they strike only when they can win. They always avoid superior forces. When the enemy advances, they withdrew. When the enemy rests, they hit them.

Overtime, they started to use the "proxy bomb". The proxy bomb (also known as a human bomb) was a tactic used mainly by the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern Ireland during the conflict known as "the Troubles". It involved forcing people (including off-duty members of the British security forces, or people working for the security forces) to drive car bombs to British military targets,

after placing them or their families under some kind of threat (i.e. as human shields or hostages). The tactic was later adopted by FARC in Colombia (BBC News, 2003) and by rebels in the Syrian Civil War (Allam & Tice, 2012). The tactic was also been used by Palestinian terrorists in an attempt to bomb a commercial airline flight. The tactic has been compared to a suicide bomb, although each bomber in these cases is coerced rather than being a volunteer (Moloney, 2002, s. 347-348). David McNarry, the chair of the Northern Irish branch of Ukip, revealed to Express.co.uk a growing partnership between the IRA and ISIS in Ireland which he labelled "extremely worrying." According to him "the switch from the jihadist's suicide attacks to car bombs was due to bomb-making lessons from former Provisional IRA members, known as "Provos", in the Republic of Ireland. Provos never strapped body bombs to themselves. The people I spoke to were keen to stress it was very likely they had learned how to make car bombs from Provos. These were people I trust. Car bombs are more lethal. Suicide bombers announce themselves almost, but car bombers don't. I know from experience, as does anybody who has lived through the terrorist activity here, that you can bomb the hell out of a city. An ISIS cell operating in the Republic of Ireland, he said, was very capable of launching an attack on mainland Britain with their new IRA bomb knowledge" (Millar, 2016).

Looking the source of funds, the IRA used both illegal and legal sources to funds. The IRA illicit financial sources are coming from fuel smuggling, income tax frauds, counterfeiting currency, extortion, video piracy, rackets, etc. In one of the more odd cases of smuggling, the IRA raised \$2 million in one year by smuggling pigs across the border between Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic border (Freemen, 2011). They raised money in counterfeit clothing, compact disks, perfume, videos, currency, and so on and have raised around a million pounds for both sides combined (Silke, 2000). Additionally, IRA financing their activity from legal sources which includes funds from salaries, membership fees, etc. The funds are coming from their members and supporters (Oftedal, 2014). Also they used legitimate business to finance organization activities. They operated drinking pubs or clubs and restaurants, gaming machines, taxi companies. They also run security firms that guaranteed the safety of local companies and stores and their workers.

They use multiple methods for moving funds from sources to the final beneficiary and these are usually either through cash couriers, informal transfer system, formal banking, fast money transfer system and high value commodities. The detection of these methods and money flows is extremely difficult. There is a spectrum of methods and flows extending from legitimate sources (e.g. own businesses, salaries, loans, credits, family supports, donations) to illegal activities (drug trafficking, counterfeit goods, financial fraud).

Terrorist organizations need to continue their existence with acts of violence that create fear and pressure on state (s) and people (s) to reach ideological, political and religious goals. Terrorist organizations are aiming to turn their movements into an

uprising or popular movement with the fear and pressure they create on the people. The acquisition of legitimacy on the axis of uprising has vital importance for the terrorist organization. In this context, the terrorist organizations provide fear and pressure on the state and the public by terrorist acts from one side, on the other side, the terrorist organisation has tried to internalizing the methods of insurgency and seeking a way out for their legitimacy. What is new for the PKK is precisely the introduction of this strategy in an active manner.

One of the most important innovations that the PKK has experienced during the Syrian civil war is the “city wars”. However, as mentioned above, this method had been used by the IRA before. This kind of war, which contains a great deal of methods of regular and irregular warfare, has been moved to Turkey since the first half of 2015 by the PKK. The PKK, which has created new armed elements for the city conflict, has also blocked some of the districts (like Diyarbakır Sur region), especially in the east and south-eastern region of Turkey. However, PKK was unable to achieve its desired success in this way and after increasing in its losses, has sought to integrate the violence into a wider network by merging with other radical leftist organizations. This has added a new dynamic to terrorism and conflict. With this new "terrorist" strategy of "hybrid" and "mobile" character, the PKK has begun to use a hybrid offensive tactics. Among these tactics, there is a mixed type of organizational structure (such as using other leftist groups TAK), a pragmatic conflict strategy that is flexible and capable of adapting to every circumstance, sensational terrorist attacks that targeting civilians, a propaganda and communication strategy that uses social media in an active, aggressive and disruptive manner, and illegal network of criminals that uses all illegal means to provide financial resources (Yeşiltaş & Özçelik, 2016).

On the other hand, by 2011, PKK started to use “bombed vehicle” tactics as anew way of attack especially at the western cities of Turkey. The first bombed vehicle attack by PKK was held in 2011 in Ankara. Also, the history of bombed vehicle attacks in Turkey is not old. The first bombed vehicle was held by al-Qaeda in 2003 when it had been increasingly used with the invasion of Iraq. Later, in 2011 it is seen that the PKK have started to use the same attack type. Also IS terrorist organization used bombed vehicle attacks in Turkey. However by the support of “solution process” PKK paused all attacks against Turkey for a few years. Especially after the second half of the year 2015, the PKK attacks which had resumed due to the end of the “solution process” between government and terrorist organisation, has been started and increased its impact again. In fact, although the PKK terrorist organization had often used bombed attacks in earlier periods, these attacks were suicide attacks. Between 2015 and 2017, it was observed that more than forty bombed vehicles attacked held by the PKK (Özçelik, 2016). As exemplified above; although it seems as if the PKK has begun bombed city wars and bombed vehicle attacks after the crises in the Middle East, these strategies and tactics were used by the IRA against the United Kingdom in the 1970s and 1980s. In other words, the PKK did not learn bombed vehicle attacks

from the Middle East. These types of attacks were used by terrorist organizations that acted earlier in Europe.

Conclusion

Neither terrorism nor its strategies and tactics are new issues. Terrorism is a very old type of political violence. In the historical process, different terrorist organizations that have implemented different strategies and tactics have seen. At the same time, these terrorist organizations have carried out actions or attacks for different political ideologies. However, it is seen that these tactics and strategies, which are looked like differently, have already used many times before when looking back to history from today. In this paper, the strategies and tactics of the terrorist organization PKK, especially since 2000s, have been examined. In this context, it has been seen that the PKK has changed both the ideology of "absolute independence" to "autonomy" and in the types of attack. The most important issue to be emphasized here is that the "city wars" and "bombed vehicle" attacks of the PKK in particular after 2010 are not only seen in the Middle East as claimed, but on the contrary, these methods had seen in 1970 and 1980 in UK especially by PIRA, and even used by other terrorist organizations in Europe.

This is the case. Terrorist organisations are learning organisations. In other words, they are coping each other depends of the conjuncture. Because, in fact, the results that each terrorist organization wants to reach are similar. For this reason, there is no guarantee that a cruel terrorist attack in one country will not have been in another country. In this context, international cooperation is of extraordinary importance in the fight against terrorism. Terrorist organizations will lose their power if they cannot make attacks, take supports, escape and hide easily. History repeats itself all the time.

Remember that the first bombed vehicle attacks in New York Wall Street in 1920, against J.P Morgan by the anarchist Mario Buda with 38 people was killed, more that 200 injured.

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